Faculty of English

Erewhon: Or, Over the Range
by Samuel Butler:
A Scholarly Edition

Rose Anna O'Rorke Plumridge

St John's College

University of Cambridge

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

September 2021

DECLARATION

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

My contribution does not exceed the extended word limit of 168,659 words, excluding the Bibliography and footnotes, approved by the relevant Degree Committee.

ABSTRACT

Erewhon: Or, Over the Range by Samuel Butler: A Scholarly Edition

This thesis comprises a scholarly edition of Samuel Butler's satirical novel *Erewhon; or, Over the Range* (1872). All prior editions and reprints of *Erewhon* have positioned it squarely within the traditions of Menippean satire and British intellectual culture; this edition situates *Erewhon* in its colonial context for the first time, stressing its debt to Butler's movement between the centre and margin of Britain's expanding empire. The General Introduction argues that *Erewhon* is a product of two experiences of Butler's early life: his education at Cambridge University from 1854–1858 and his sojourn in the Canterbury colony in New Zealand, as a pastoralist, from 1859–1864. Taking Butler's mistrust of logical reasoning as the central example, I examine how the conditions of colonial life provided a dynamic challenge to the intellectual framework of Butler's elite, localised liberal education. The Editorial Introduction carries an ancillary argument in favour of the first edition as copy-text. No previous edition of *Erewhon* has reproduced this text. Tracing the novel's complex compositional and publication history in relation to D. F. McKenzie's sociology of texts, I argue that the first edition is moulded by Butler's experiences at the imperial centre and periphery of empire, while subsequent editions are shaped by his later theories of art and evolution forged in England and Italy. My privileging of the first edition, and the manuscript from which it was forged, is reflected in the content and organisation of the scholarly apparatus, as explained in the Editorial Methods section. The apparatus includes a collation of variants between Butler's manuscript and the first edition; notes about the manuscript; collated variants from all print editions; and a comprehensive critical commentary designed to support a variety of scholarly interests, but also grounding the novel in the reciprocal flow of ideas between Cambridge and Canterbury in the mid-nineteenth century.

Rose Anna O'Rorke Plumridge
University of Cambridge

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This doctorate was generously funded by a Gates Cambridge Scholarship from the University of Cambridge, as well as a Benefactor's Scholarship and Robert Tong Bursary from St John's College. Professor Peter Whiteford and Emeritus Professors Angela Smith and Vincent O'Sullivan supported my application to the University of Cambridge; it was their gracious endorsement that made this project possible.

In the course of my research, I consulted several academics for advice in their specialty areas: all were intellectually munificent. I wish to thank Professor John Rink and Dr Ruth Smith for their advice on Butler's musical allusions, Professor Simon Goldhill for his views on the epigraph to *Erewhon*, Dr Mike Ross for his advice on Butler's engagement with te ao Māori and Dr Mark Nicholls, who helped me to interpret nineteenth-century documents relating to St John's College.

I am grateful to staff at the British Library for enabling me to consult Butler's manuscripts of the first and ninth editions of *Erewhon*, and to staff at the Canterbury Museum who responded to requests about Butler's New Zealand manuscripts. I also wish to thank the staff at the Working and Old Libraries at St John's College, especially Kathryn McKee, who responded patiently to copious archival requests relating to the Samuel Butler Collection. Archivist Jonathan Smith enabled me to view Joseph Mayor's papers at Trinity College Library and Taylor Librarian Robin Brooke-Smith kindly made possible my visit to Shrewsbury School to view documents pertaining to Butler's secondary-school education.

My research was anchored in regular interaction with teachers, friends and family. Dr Marcus Waithe and my advisor, Professor Jan-Melissa Schramm, provided invaluable feedback on early versions of parts of this thesis. Quakers of Aotearoa New Zealand/Te Hāhi Tūhauwiri supported my research through the Tessa Malcolm Scholarship. Daphne Manderson, Mary McFarlane, Char-Lien Tailby, Breanna Sowman and Emma Hyde have long provided equally invaluable friendship and encouragement. Sonic Alviar and Rose Plumridge have provided an essential bedrock of support. My special thanks are due to Jack Hawkins, whose research advice, practical assistance and patience enabled me to see this project through to its conclusion.

Three great debts of gratitude remain: firstly, to Emeritus Professor Roger Robinson, who paved the way for this project through his own inspiring scholarship on Butler and who suggested an edition such as this in the first place. This thesis is, in large part, my tribute to Roger's intellectual generosity and energising, world-class scholarship. Secondly, to my

mum, Elizabeth: *sine qua non*. Thirdly, to Dr Ruth Abbott, supervisor extraordinare, who has read, encouraged and advised over several years, and whose immense scholarly acumen is evident to me on every page of this edition. This thesis is dedicated to Roger, mum and Ruth.

ABBREVIATIONS

For reasons of space, all references to primary and secondary sources within the edition's commentary are to the author's surname, with a date added, if necessary, except those manuscripts and printed texts with specific abbreviations listed below. Full details of all texts can be found in the Bibliography. Biblical citations are taken from the King James Version, with which Butler was familiar, and which his great-great-grandfather had made a subject of study.[1] Measurements are in imperial units in accordance with Butler's own's habit. It was not common practice in the nineteenth century to use macrons when writing in te reo Māori, so quotations drawn from nineteenth century material, including Butler's own writing, will typically lack them. As a whole, however, this edition uses macrons to accurately mark long vowels in the Māori language.

Manuscript Versions and Print Lifetime Editions of *Erewhon*

E1	Cambridge, St John's College Old Library, *Erewhon; Or, Over the Range*, 1st edn (London: Trübner, 1872), BII ERE 1872.1
E2	Cambridge, St John's College Old Library, *Erewhon; Or, Over the Range*, 2nd edn (London: Trübner, 1872), BII ERE 1872.3
E9	Cambridge, St John's College Old Library, *Erewhon; Or, Over the Range*, 9th edn (London: Grant Richards, 1901), BII ERE 1901.1
MS of E1	London, British Library, Erewhon: A Romance by Samuel Butler. Autograph (1872), Add. Ms., 36711

Manuscripts and Archival Documents

Cant. 1954.47.1	Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Drawing: Mesopotamia Station (c1860s), 1954.47.1
Cant. 1954.47.6	Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Drawing: Mesopotamia Homesteads (c1860s), 1954.47.6
Cant. EC154.23	Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Forest Creek Manuscript: Samuel Butler (c1860s), EC154.23

[1] Henry Festing Jones, *Samuel Butler, Author of 'Erewhon', 1835–1902: A Memoir*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1919), I, p. 16.

SJC BV B3	Cambridge, St John's College Special Collections Library, *Hē Kainē Diathēkē = Novum Testamentum: Juxta exemplar Millianum* (Oxonii: E Typographeo Academio, 1851), BV B3
SJC BV C3	Cambridge, St John's College Special Collections Library, Oliver Cromwell, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches: With Elucidations*, ed. by Thomas Carlyle, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), BV C3
SJC P6.1	Cambridge, St John's College Working Library, 'Assorted Examination Papers in all Subjects from Various Colleges, Particularly St John's College', P6.1
Taylor A.2.E	Shrewsbury, Taylor Library, Samuel Butler Penal, A.2.E

Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler

Except where otherwise stated, abbreviated references to Butler's published works are taken from *The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler*, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926). The volume number and date of individual works are given below, together with the volume, date and page span for individual essays.

AS	*Alps and Sanctuaries*, VII (1924)
C'sD	'A Clergyman's Doubts', in *Collected Essays I*, XVIII (1925), pp. 51–99
'Desiderio'	'Quis Desiderio…?', in *Collected Essays II*, XIX (1925), pp. 103–13
EON	*Evolution, Old and New*, V (1924)
FairH	*The Fair Haven*, III (1923)
'Humour'	'The Humour of Homer', in *Collected Essays II*, XIX (1925), pp. 237–71
LC	*Luck, or Cunning?*, VIII (1924)
LH	*Life and Habit*, IV (1923)
Note-Books	*The Note-Books of Samuel Butler*, XX (1926)
'Ramblings'	'Ramblings in Cheapside', in *Collected Essays I*, XVIII (1925), pp. 133–47
TWAF	*The Way of All Flesh*, XVII (1925)
UM	*Unconscious Memory*, VI (1924)

Other Editions of Works by Samuel Butler

Butleriana	*Butleriana*, ed. by A. T. Bartholomew (London: Nonesuch Press, 1932)
FY	*A First Year in Canterbury Settlement* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863).
OE 1	'Our Emigrant', *Eagle*, Michaelmas 1860, pp. 101–13
OE 2	'Our Emigrant: Part II', *Eagle*, Michaelmas 1860, pp. 149–69

Works by Charles Darwin

Origin	*The Origin of Species*, ed. by Gillian Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Newspapers

DM	*Derby Mercury*
LDN	*London Daily News*
LM	*London Mercury*
LT	*Lyttelton Times*
NC	*Nelson Chronicle*
NJ	*Newcastle Journal*
PMG	*Pall Mall Gazette*
Press	*Press*
TE	*The Examiner*

All other abbreviations

B&H	Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard
CD	Charles Darwin
cent.	century
CT	Classical Tripos
esp.	especially
Fr.	French
HFJ	Henry Festing Jones
It.	Italian
Lit.	literally
Mi.	Māori

MS	manuscript
NE	*Nicomachean Ethics*
n.p.	new paragraph
***om*.**	omitted
SB	Samuel Butler
SJC	St John's College

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

When Samuel Butler (1835–1903) set sail for New Zealand as an aspiring emigrant on 1 October 1859, a proverbial New Zealander was already a familiar trope in the collective English imagination. The origins of this image lay partly in Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–89), which Butler read during his voyage and '[could not] sufficiently recommend' to friends at his Cambridge college.[2] In his second volume, after contemplating the way in which certain sites of empire had seen 'the opposite extremes of savage and civilised life', Gibbon framed 'the pleasuring hope, that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere'.[3] Gibbon's passage had provided inspiration for a more famous formulation of the New Zealander image by 1859: that of imperial historian Thomas Babington Macaulay. In a review of Leopold von Ranke's *History of the Popes* (1834–36) published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1840, Macaulay had pondered the longevity of the Catholic Church, suggesting that it 'may still exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruin of St Paul's'.[4] Unmoored from its original context, an idea of the New Zealander became embedded in the imperial consciousness of the second half of the nineteenth century. Depicted in art, fiction and journalism, both in Britain and throughout the empire, 'Macaulay's New Zealander' was persistently invoked — to the point of cliché — as a colonial outsider, or, in Robert Dingley's interpretation, as an 'apocalyptic bogeyman […] a joky *memento mori*', who would one day look back on Britain and witness the once-great imperial power in ruins.[5]

---

[2] Samuel Butler, 'Our Emigrant', *Eagle*, Michaelmas 1861, pp. 101–13 (pp. 112–13). David Skilton identifies Gibbon's passage as inspiration for Macaulay's image in 'Ruin and the Loss of Empire: From Venice and New Zealand to the Thames', in *Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines*, ed. by Maurizio Ascari and Adriana Corraco (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 131–40 (p. 136) and in 'Tourists at the Ruins of London: The Metropolis and the Struggle for Empire', *Cercles*, 17 (2007), 93–119 (pp. 106–08). See also his 'Contemplating the Ruins of London: Macaulay's New Zealander and Others', *Literary London Journal*, 2 (2004) <http://www.literarylondon.org/london-journal/march2004/skilton.html> [accessed 20 February 2021] (paras 3–4 of 15).

[3] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. by David Womersley, 3 vols (London: Allen Lane, 1994), I, p. 1001.

[4] Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays, Contributed to the Edinburgh Review*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1848), III, p. 209.

[5] Robert Dingley, 'The Ruins of the Future: Macaulay's New Zealander and the Spirit of the Age', in *Histories of the Future: Studies in Fact, Fantasy and Science Fiction*, ed. by Alan Sandison and Robert Dingley (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 15–33 (p.16). On the enduring popularity of Macaulay's New Zealander in the nineteenth century, see Skilton above at n. 2. Jenny McDonnell also connects Macaulay's New Zealander to *Erewhon* in 'Brave New Worlds: Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*, Setter Colonialism and New Zealand Mean Time',

Butler, by virtue of his emigration to New Zealand and his habit, while in the colony, of writing about metropolitan life, fulfilled the function that Macaulay's New Zealander was popularly imagined to perform. Born at Langar, Nottinghamshire, Butler was the eldest son of the Reverend Thomas Butler and Fanny Worsley. As the son of a priest, and the grandson of a Bishop of Lichfield, he had been intended for the Church, and had attended Shrewsbury School before studying at St John's College, Cambridge, following an established family route towards taking Holy Orders. However, he swiftly renounced a clerical career. Instead, he persuaded his father to fund his emigration to the Canterbury colony in New Zealand, where he became a pastoralist for four and a half years. In this geographically remote outpost of empire, Butler developed the practical skills necessary to succeed as a sheep farmer. He also read widely, adding 'a larger stock of ideas to previous ones' by engaging with recent developments, emanating from Britain, in fields of study outside the narrow curricular limits of his liberal education at Cambridge.[6] Of particular significance to Butler's development as a thinker and writer was his encounter in Canterbury with Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), a work that presented a persuasive challenge to the methods and conclusions expounded in works of natural theology that Butler had read at university. While expanding his geographical and intellectual horizons in Canterbury, Butler began to reflect upon the imperial centre, at first in essay form and later in fiction: unlike Macaulay's New Zealander, he did not see the ruined capital of an erstwhile empire, but he did come to question the imperial nation's hypocrisies and the epistemological foundations of its most cherished institutions.

Erewhon, Butler's first work of fiction, was published in 1872 after his return to England; yet the novel, which draws on Butler's earliest writings in the colony, manifests the Macaulayan impulse to look upon the imperial metropole from the perspective of a colonial outsider. This is most obvious in the 'Book of the Machines' chapters 21–23, which, as Gillian Beer has observed, are powerfully resonant for twenty-first century readers owing to their 'extraordinarily prescient' prediction of the way technology could reorder human affairs.[7] These chapters are an expanded version of 'Darwin Among the Machines', an article that Butler wrote for the colonial *Press* on 13 June 1863. After reading Darwin's *Origin of Species* in Canterbury in the early 1860s, Butler had begun to consider the unprecedented

in *Victorian Time: Technologies, Standardizations, Catastrophes*, ed. by Trish Ferguson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 95–111 (pp. 98–99).

[6] Samuel Butler, 'Our Emigrant: Part II', *Eagle*, Michaelmas 1861, pp. 149–69 (p. 112).

[7] Gillian Beer, 'Science and Literature', in *The Cambridge History of Victorian Literature*, ed. by Kate Flint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 466–86 (p. 483).

technological advances of the Industrial Revolution then occurring in Britain. Butler's actual and intellectual distance from the imperial centre led him to strikingly original insights, as he extended the idea of evolution by natural selection to machinery, prognosticating the fate of humanity if inanimate appliances were subject to the same process of evolution that Darwin had proposed. By way of comically misapplied analogy, 'Darwin Among the Machines' advanced the argument that the mechanical race would evolve to outstrip humanity through our own impulse to improve it: 'we are daily adding to the beauty and delicacy of [the machines'] physical organisation'. In doing so, the article predicted the machines' increasing efficiency and eventual miniaturisation, as well as man's future 'state of domestication' under machine rule.[8] Butler later incorporated 'Darwin Among the Machines' into his first novel, where it forms the basis of his central fantasy of a society that has renounced machinery for fear of the consequences of its evolutionary development. The evolution of *Erewhon* itself, therefore, began with ideas generated in the context of Butler's emigration: the ingenious prophecy of machine intelligence that Butler developed by pondering technological developments in Britain from his far-flung station in the Southern Alps in 1863.

Yet *Erewhon* claims our attention as more than a vision of artificial intelligence. It is a satiric, topsy-turvy, sometimes perturbing, vision of that slice of mid-Victorian England with which Butler was familiar. *Erewhon* tells the story of a young Englishman who sets out from a distant British colony into unchartered terrain. Instead of fortune he finds Erewhon, a land which contains peculiar distortions of British norms. Crime in Erewhon is treated like illness, and illness is regarded as a crime; churches in Erewhon are banks; universities teach unreason. Even the Erewhonians' logic is warped, for they justify their *status quo* through lines of analogical reasoning that are superficially plausible but lead ultimately to absurdity. The novel's central fantasy amalgamates several of Butler's early literary pieces written in Canterbury and England: articles in which he had described life in New Zealand for students at his Cambridge college; another ludic Darwinian commentary, written upon his return to England and published in the Christchurch *Press*; and articles written in English periodicals spoofing the cant associated with the Church of England and its sacraments. As a patchwork of these early writings, *Erewhon* reveals the importance of Butler's early experiences — not only at the centre of the British Empire — but also at its periphery, on the development of his literary imagination. The ironic metaphors of reversal and distortion, for example, which govern the novel's central fantasy, are in themselves essentially antipodean, as Roger

[8] Samuel Butler, 'Darwin Among the Machines', *Press*, 13 June 1863, pp. 1–2.

Robinson has persuasively argued: both are drawn from the experience of 'a world that for the settler from Europe was in real day-to-day ways back-to-front and upside-down, where the winter months are summer and the cold winds come from the south'.[9] The insights that *Erewhon* offers its readers are those of the colonial settler, whose perspective on the imperial centre is at once distorting and profoundly percipient.

Erewhon was published for a British readership, and all editions and reprints prior to this one produced since Butler's death have positioned the novel squarely within the traditions of utopian fiction and Menippean satire, or within broader trends of British intellectual culture. The introduction to the 1970 Penguin Classics reprint of *Erewhon*, edited by Peter Mudford, was typical in relegating *Erewhon* to a secondary position behind the works of Jonathan Swift, passing over Butler's university education and colonial experience as of slight importance.[10] The 1981 edition produced by Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard presented the novel as essentially autobiographical; a range of Butler's early life experiences in England were brought to bear, and his engagement with Darwinian theory accorded particular importance, but his Cambridge education and emigrant period were treated as incidental.[11] Yet critics have increasingly come to recognise the debt *Erewhon* owes to Butler's life in Canterbury.[12] Foremost amongst these is Robinson, who has produced a body of criticism stressing the formative effect of New Zealand on Butler's literary ingenuity.[13] This edition builds on Robinson's scholarship by presenting *Erewhon* as a product of Butler's movement between two points of the British Empire. It stresses, in particular, the novel's debt to two key experiences in Butler's early life: his education at Cambridge University from 1854–1858, and his time in the Canterbury colony, from 1859–1864.

This edition turns to the history of universities, and in particular to the extensive body of scholarship concerning mid-nineteenth century Cambridge, in order to illuminate the

---

[9] Roger Robinson, 'From Canterbury Settlement to *Erewhon*: Butler and Antipodean Counterpoint', in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 21–44 (p. 23).

[10] Samuel Butler, *Erewhon*, ed. by Peter Mudford (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).

[11] Samuel Butler, *Erewhon; or, Over the Range*, ed. by Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1981).

[12] See, for example, Sue Zemka, '*Erewhon* and the End of Utopian Humanism', *ELH*, 69 (2002), 439–72; Helen Lucy Blythe, *The Victorian Colonial Romance with the Antipodes* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014); Porscha Fermanis, 'Capital, Conversion, and Settler Colonialism in Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 25 (2020), 424–42.

[13] Robinson's work on Butler includes 'Canterbury Settlement', pp. 21–44; 'Samuel Butler, 1835–1902', *Kōtare*, 7 (2008), pp. 65–78; 'Erewhon', in *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 166–67.

impact of Butler's university career on his intellectual and literary formation.[14] It is also informed by, and aims to complement, the body of scholarship that combines new imperial studies with a focus on paper materiality and the transnational history of the book.[15] *Erewhon* is a novel concerned with the movement of texts across empire: as he travels between Britain and its colony, *Erewhon*'s narrator frets repeatedly over the condition of his 'books […] treatises […] manuscript diaries and translations'.[16] *Erewhon* itself is forged from papers produced and circulated in imperial contexts. In New Zealand, Butler recorded experiences and engagements with new skills and ideas in paper documents of various kinds: he channelled descriptions of the colony, information about sheep farming, and ideas of machine intelligence between Canterbury and Cambridge through letters, manuscripts and magazine articles. With Butler's return to England, the flow of paper reversed its course; he sent letters to friends in the colony and articles engaging with Darwinian theory to be published in the Christchurch *Press*. *Erewhon* is an amalgam, expansion and upcycling of this imperial paper trail.

Scholars such as Daniel E. White and Miles Ogborn have advanced an interdisciplinary body of research that traces the movement of paper and text along specific imperial routes. In *From Little London to Little Bengal*, White brought a book-historical methodology to bear on his examination of the circulation of culture between Britain and India during the Romantic period.[17] Ogborn's *Indian Ink* explored the forms of writing that underpinned the ascendancy of the East India Company in the Far East from 1600, and traced the movement of these texts from the local context in which they were produced to the global

[14] This vast body of scholarship sprawls in various directions. Institutional histories include: D. A. Winstanley, *Early Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940); D. A. Winstanley, *Later Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947); Peter Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge: Volume 3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). It also includes college histories, such as *St John's College Cambridge: A History*, ed. by Peter Linehan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011). On the intellectual climate of the University in the 1850s, see Martha Garland, *Cambridge Before Darwin: The Ideal of a Liberal Education, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). On the liberal education in the 1850s, see Sheldon Rothblatt, *Tradition and Change in the Liberal Education: An Essay in History and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976). On the Classics curriculum at the time of Butler's residence, see Christopher Stray, 'A Parochial Anomaly: The Classical Tripos, 1822–1900', in *Teaching and Learning in Nineteenth Century Cambridge* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 31–44. On the university's relationship to the Anglican church, see David A. Dowland, *Nineteenth-Century Anglican Theological Training: The Redbrick Challenge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[15] See, for example, *Ten Books that Shaped the British Empire*, ed. Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014) and Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[16] Chapter 24, lines 131–2.

[17] Daniel E. White, *From Little London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print, and Modernity in Early British India, 1793–1835* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013).

landscape of imperial trade and commerce.[18] This edition builds upon this field of enquiry by illuminating the ways in which *Erewhon* is indebted to the recursive literary and cultural traffic that Butler set in motion through paper correspondence between Cambridge and New Zealand starting in 1859. Drawing *Erewhon* into this critical framework affords a clearer vision of the ways in which it embodies the revivification of English literature by the reverse migration of ideas, literary techniques and influences from colony to the imperial centre. This in turn offers a new understanding of *Erewhon*'s central themes, as a novel concerned not with an English but with a colonial perspective on the centre of the British Empire in the mid-nineteenth century.

***Erewhon* in Context: Butler's Cambridge Education**

When Butler went up to Cambridge in 1854, he entered an Anglican institution offering a narrow curriculum ill-suited to its function as an educator of much of England's clergy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the university had been, in the words of D. A. Winstanley, 'practically a preserve of the Church of England'.[19] By the mid-nineteenth century, everyone whom Butler encountered at the University was still either ordained in the Church of England or at least nominally Anglican. Although in theory the colleges could accept students of any denomination, university regulations stipulated that degrees could be granted only to conforming members (although this was relaxed somewhat in 1856) and fellows were additionally required to make a declaration of conformity with the doctrines of the Anglican Church.[20] Butler's own college of St John's enjoyed a particularly close relationship with the Church, producing a rising number of students in the early decades of the nineteenth century who would go on to take Holy Orders.[21] Despite the fact that Cambridge effectively served as a seminary for many students, its formal undergraduate curriculum was ill-suited to that purpose. Amongst Honours students, who took a Tripos degree as an elevated route to graduation, most studied Mathematics; Butler studied Classics, taking advantage of new regulations which meant that his was the first year when students could sit the Classical Tripos without having to sit the Mathematical Tripos first.[22] All other

[18] Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
[19] Winstanley, *Early Victorian Cambridge*, p. 83.
[20] Winstanley, *Early Victorian Cambridge*, pp. 83–84. See also Searby, *History*, p. 100.
[21] Boyd Hilton, 'The Nineteenth Century', in *St John's College Cambridge: A History* ed. by Peter Linehan, pp. 220–396 (p. 247).
[22] Stray, 'A Parochial Anomaly', p. 33. See also Searby, *History*, pp. 166–7, and Chapter 20, lines 189–90n.

students, known as the 'hoi polloi', were required to meet a low academic standard through the BA degree, where the range of subjects examined was still exceptionally narrow.[23] The Previous Examination, held in the Lent term of students' second year, was the only examination that all Cambridge undergraduates took in common: it contained basic questions on Euclidean geometry, arithmetic, Greek and Latin translation, the Gospels and Paley's *Evidences of* Christianity.[24]

Butler's satiric portrait of Cambridge University in chapter 20 of *Erewhon*, where he lampoons it as an institution devoted to teaching 'the science of unreason', belies the fact that neither formal logic, nor the ability to reason logically and construct arguments on sound epistemic foundations, occupied any formal place within the undergraduate curriculum. The University offered a liberal education, a term that had denoted different educational ideals at different times and places, but had long been associated with broad knowledge and transferable powers of reason.[25] Despite the fact that it centred on a restricted curriculum, the Cambridge version of the liberal education in the mid-nineteenth century was still defended on the basis that it enhanced students' ability to reason logically, enabling them 'to deal with any subject with which reason can be concerned'.[26] The University had been subject to mounting critique from the early decades of the nineteenth century, with its narrow, ossified curriculum a particular target; a Royal Commission of Inquiry had been threatened and then finally implemented in 1850.[27] Historians have consistently stressed the varied nature of response from those within the University: some embraced the idea of curricular change; others were deeply antagonistic.[28] From the 1840s, William Whewell (1794–1866), polymath and Master of Trinity College from 1841–1866, offered a particularly notable defence of the Cambridge system of education in a series of publications, chief among them *Of a Liberal Education* (1845).[29] Whewell championed what he called the 'Permanent Studies' of Mathematics and Classics over all other subjects, which he called 'Progressive Studies', as the bedrock of the Cambridge system of education because they educed 'two principal

---

[23] Searby, *History*, p. 183.
[24] *Cambridge University Calendar: For the Year 1855* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for J. and J. J. Deighton, 1855), p. 8.
[25] See Rothblatt, *Tradition and Change in the Liberal Education*, especially pp. 750–194. See also Chapter 9, line 133n.
[26] William Whewell, *On the Principles of English University Education* (London: John W. Parker, 1838), p. 41.
[27] On the external criticisms of the University prior to 1850 and the progress of the various commissions after that date, see Searby, *History*, pp. 423–544.
[28] Garland, *Cambridge Before Darwin*, p. 15.
[29] William Whewell, *Of a Liberal Education in General: And with Particular Reference to the Leading Studies of the University of Cambridge* (London: J. W. Parker, 1845).

Faculties of man […] namely, Language and Reason'. Students' ability to reason logically was sharpened primarily through the study of Mathematics, which was inseparable from 'Rational Thought', but 'Language', the faculty obtained through Classics, complemented this faculty: 'Language includes within its folds […] Reason operating purely and simply' and '[w]ithout the use of Language, we could not express general propositions, or derive them from each other, in virtue of their forms of expression, in the manner which also we call Reasoning'.[30]

The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge (1863) made similar claims of Classics, though not couched in Whewell's theory of the mind as composed of separate, discretely functioning faculties:

> As a means of educating and strengthening reasoning powers, [Classics'] chief advantage lies in the dependence of the reasoning faculty upon language as its instrument. In order to perform any logical process correctly, the habit and faculty of analysing language and tracing the etymology of terms is most necessary. […] The exact point of view from which the writer to be interpreted regards his subject must be seized, the line of thought and reasoning followed, the various interpretations which offer themselves balanced, grammatical rules must be applied correctly'.[31]

Unacknowledged by Whewell or the *Student's Guide* was the social and cultural capital that such an education afforded. What Martha Garland has said of the early nineteenth century was broadly still true of Butler's experiences in the 1850s: a Cambridge student 'was doing much more (and in some ways much less) than enrolling himself in an educational program'.[32] While Butler worked assiduously in his final year to achieve good results in the Tripos, for many students in the 1850s the Cambridge liberal education did not entail academic rigour; instead, a Cambridge student joined a society 'in which he could have life-long membership and from which, if he chose to exert himself, he could expect permanent financial and emotional support'.[33] Sara Slinn's observations of the university's function in the late Hanoverian era as a site of social capital are equally pertinent. In the 1850s the real advantages of a liberal education at Cambridge lay in its enculturating purpose, the acquisition of 'gentlemanly' knowledge and the opportunities for forging friendships amongst

[30] Whewell, *Liberal Education*, p. 30.
[31] J. R. Seeley, *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1863), p. 107.
[32] Garland, *Cambridge Before Darwin*, p. 1.
[33] Garland, *Cambridge Before Darwin*, p. 1.

the social elite, which would be useful in later life when competing for 'employment, preferment and social regard'.[34]

In this context — while he was studying Classics in preparation for entering the Church and ostensibly accruing powers of logical reasoning in the process — Butler encountered two works of Christian apologetics that made use of analogical reasoning as a buttress to natural theology: *Analogy of Religion* (1736) by Joseph Butler (1692–1752) and Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802). Joseph Butler (no relation of Butler himself) argued in *Analogy* that a succession of religious doctrines are 'analogous to what is experienced in the constitution and course of nature': the similarity between these doctrines of revealed religion and the ordinary course of experience showed, on the balance of probabilities, that a Christian God must be responsible for both.[35] He methodically countered objections (expressed chiefly by Deists of his day) to revelation as a source of divine knowledge, concluding: 'this argument from analogy is in general, unanswerable, and undoubtedly of weight on the side of religion'.[36] In *Natural Theology* Paley's project was to prove intelligent design in the natural world. He began his exposition by drawing an analogy between nature and a watch, arguing that if a watch was found on a heath, it would be reasonable to assume that

> [t]here must have existed, at some time, and at some place or other, an artificer or artificers, who formed [the watch] for the purpose which we find it actually to answer; who comprehended its construction, and designed its use. [...] Every indication of contrivance, every manifestation of design, which existed in the watch, exists in the works of nature; with the difference, on the side of nature, of being greater or more, and that in a degree which exceeds all computation.[37]

Natural Theology proceeds through a sustained mass of evidence, drawn from anatomy to astronomy to natural history, to argue for the existence of God from the evidence of perfection and order in the natural world.

---

[34] Sara Slinn, *The Education of the Anglican Clergy: 1780–1839* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2017), p. 126.
[35] Joseph Butler, 'The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature', in *The Works of Bishop Butler*, ed. by David E. White (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), pp. 147–314 (p. 155).
[36] Butler, 'The Analogy of Religion', p. 155.
[37] William Paley, *Natural Theology: Or, Evidence of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature*, ed. by Matthew D. Eddy and David Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 16.

While these works were peripheral to the formal undergraduate curriculum, they were significant as recommended readings for the many Cambridge students who would later take Holy Orders. Butler's *Analogy* had historically held some small place on the curriculum and by the 1850s it was a set text in the Theological Examination, which was by then compulsory for students who wished to enter the Church.[38] It was also tested in yearly college examinations.[39] As Aileen Fyfe has shown, Paley's *Natural Theology* played almost no part in the formal curriculum in the early decades of the century.[40] It was similarly extraneous to the formal curriculum in the 1850s, but Paley was known to all Cambridge students through his *Evidences of Christianity*, his treatise on revealed theology tested as part of the Previous Examination; *Natural Theology* was tested in some optional prizes.[41] Moreover, both works were subjects of notable expressions of admiration at the University in the 1850s, on account of their staunch defence of orthodox Christianity, but also because their rigorous applications of analogical reasoning were deemed unassailable. Adam Sedgwick, Woodwardian Professor of Geology from 1818, had, for example, published *A Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge* (1833), which provided a theocentric analysis of the Cambridge curriculum: Newtonian mathematics, Classics, and 'Ethics, Moral and Political Philosophy' (the last 'hardly touched on in our academic system') — all advanced the pursuit of religious truth, he claimed, for they shed light on the inner workings of an 'overruling intelligence' from its 'outer emanations'.[42] By 1850, the *Discourse* was in its fifth edition; Sedgwick had added voluminous introductions and appendices, one of which involved a doubling down on the Paleyan tradition of natural theology. He recommended *Natural Theology* to students explicitly: 'I cannot but urge on all those who are commencing their academic course, the habitual study of [Paley's] delightful work on *Natural Theology*'. Paley's method provides 'a wholesome exercise for the understanding' for, by 'noting the countless relations of material things around us, and their fitness for each other', he gives 'the ever-living proofs of wisdom and creative power'.[43]

---

[38] Searby, *History*, pp. 269, 567. On the place of *Analogy of Religion* in the Theological Examination, see *Cambridge University Calendar: For the Year 1855*, p. iii.
[39] See, for example, the college examination paper for 1864 in Cambridge, St John's College Working Library, 'Assorted Examination Papers in all Subjects from Various Colleges, Particularly St John's College', P6.1.
[40] Aileen Fyfe, 'The Reception of William Paley's *Natural Theology* in the University of Cambridge', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 30 (1997), 321–35.
[41] See, for example, the second question for the Crosse Scholarship in 1856 in *Cambridge Examination Papers: A Supplement to the University Calendar, 1856–59* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1857), p. 35.
[42] Adam Sedgwick, *A Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge*, 5th edn (Cambridge: John Deighton, 1850).
[43] Sedgwick, *Discourse*, p. 144.

In Part II of his Preface to the Fifth Edition, Sedgwick attacked recent trends in biblical scholarship to which he was opposed, excoriating, in particular, *The Life of Jesus* (1835) by German theologian David Friedrich Strauss, a work that had caused controversy when introduced to an English-speaking readership in 1846 for the way it applied historical criticism to the life of Jesus and interpreted the New Testament in a way that stressed its mythic, rather than purely historic, value.[44] Sedgwick was hostile to Strauss' conclusions, but also his methodology: Strauss' technique of sifting evidence he considered 'subtle, hostile, and captious criticism conducted like the cross-examination of a cunning advocate, whose business is not to make out the truth in a seeming conflict among the minute details of evidence, but to destroy, by whatever means, the credibility of a witness who is opposed to him'.[45] The antidote, he claimed, was the argument from analogy, written in 'truth-loving spirit' by Joseph Butler, where natural religion could be seen to support doctrinal orthodoxy. Sedgwick advocated *Analogy* as essential reading: 'Thousands, I am certain, have gained both in their moral and intellectual health by the study of Butler'.[46] While Sedgwick cannot be regarded as representative of all Cambridge dons, his voice was a prominent one. His *Discourse* enjoyed such wide circulation that it functioned, in John R. Gibbins' assessment, as an informal 'handbook for prospective students' by the 1850s.[47] Student recollections from the period also testify to the fact that the *Analogy* and *Natural Theology* were, for decades, a ubiquitous element of a Cambridge education. Darwin, for instance, studied Paley's *Evidences*, admiring its 'clear language. […] The logic of this book and, as I may add, of his *Natural Theology* gave me as much delight as did Euclid. The careful study of these works, without attempting to learn any part by rote, was the only part of the Academical Course which, as I then felt and as I still believe, was of the least use to me in the education of my mind.'[48]

By the time Butler graduated 12th in the Classical Tripos in 1858, these works of natural theology formed part of the modicum of religious instruction he had received at the University (his biblical knowledge deriving largely from a childhood in a sententiously Anglican family). Biographers have rehearsed the personal crisis that took place when Butler embarked upon the career that his Cambridge education had purportedly prepared him for: he

---

[44] See also Chapter 19, line 3n.
[45] Sedgwick, *Discourse*, p. cclx.
[46] Sedgwick, *Discourse*, p. cccxxi.
[47] John R. Gibbins, '"Old Studies and New": The Organisation of Knowledge in University Curriculum', in *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain*, ed. by Martin Daunton (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 235–62 (p. 246).
[48] Francis Darwin, *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1887), I, p. 47.

assumed pre-ordination parish work under the Reverend Philip Perring, curate in the parish of St James's, Piccadilly, but quickly became disillusioned with the church doctrine.[49] The discovery that infant baptism had apparently no effect on the character of the children of London's urban poor was for him particularly discordant with religious dogma as inculcated into sheltered ordinands. His faith shaken, though not destroyed, Butler sought refuge at Cambridge after six months and angered his father by proposing to train as an artist. The rancorous debate that followed is an equally entrenched element of Butler biography.[50] Letters throughout the summer of 1859 were filled with accusation: words such as 'insulting', 'estrangement', 'disinherit', 'acting […] tyrannically' are typical of their heated language.[51] Amongst the various career plans proposed, emigration was agreed as a compromise. For Butler it was to be, primarily, an economic endeavour: with the proceeds of his venture he would return to England and there pursue his artistic ambitions.[52]

***Erewhon* in Context, Continued: Butler's Emigration to Canterbury**

Two years after arriving in Canterbury, Butler wrote in a letter to his aunt: 'I felt an immense intellectual growth shortly after leaving England – a growth that has left me a much happier and liberal-minded man'.[53] The letters that Butler wrote to his family after his departure for New Zealand, together with articles he wrote in Canterbury for the *Eagle*, the St John's College magazine, were collectively published as *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement* in 1863. This book, in its own right a lively narrative of mid-Victorian colonial settlement, reveals the importance of the colony's history and actual conditions in 1859 to Butler's intellectual growth.[54] Canterbury had been founded just nine years before Butler's arrival as a Church of England settlement underpinned by Edward Gibbon Wakefield's ideas on systematic colonisation.[55] In England in the late 1840s, Wakefield had, in conjunction with Irish social reformer John Robert Godley, formulated a blueprint for a colony that would reinvent the estate-based rural English community, together with its social hierarchies, in the South Pacific. Wakefield's highly-choreographed vision was of an Anglican utopia,

---

[49] Peter Raby, *Samuel Butler: A Biography* (London: Hogarth, 1990), p. 52.
[50] For a full account, see Raby, *Samuel Butler*, pp. 56–64.
[51] *The Family Letters of Samuel Butler, 1841–1886*, ed. by Arnold Silver (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1962), pp. 76, 77, 80, 82.
[52] Silver, *Family Letters*, pp. 89–90.
[53] Silver, *Family Letters*, pp. 104–5.
[54] Samuel Butler, *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863).
[55] On Wakefield's theory see: Tony Ballantyne, 'Remaking the Empire from Newgate', in *Ten Books that Shaped the British Empire*, ed. Antoinette Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr, pp. 29–49.

populated by a cross-section of English society, complete with 'its cathedral city and its famous university; its bishop, its parishes, its endowed clergy; its ancient aristocracy, its yeoman farmers, its few necessary tradesmen, its sturdy and loyal labourers'.[56] While the colony was to be formed according to Wakefield's principle that land should be sold at a 'sufficient price' (a price that would protect land sales from market forces and the chaos of individual purchases from indigenous peoples, and provide funds with which to solve the endemic problem of a dearth of colonial labour), Canterbury was to be unique amongst Wakefield's projects as a colony attractive to the higher orders of English society by virtue of its law-abiding, religious tenor.

The Canterbury Association — a body comprising senior clergy alongside Members of Parliament and high-ranking laity — had managed the settlement on the Church's behalf: emigrants had been restricted to members of the Church of England; the capital city was named Christchurch after Godley's Oxford College; Lord Lyttelton, the Chairman of the Association, gave his name to its major port; the departure of the first pilgrims involved religious rituals at Canterbury Cathedral.[57] By the time Butler arrived in Canterbury, however, the Wakefield-Godley vision had failed to materialise and Wakefield's principles had largely been abandoned, chiefly because local conditions were favourable to pastoralism, rather than the dense settlement and the small-holding system of agriculture that Wakefield had envisaged.[58] Wakefield's scheme had been posited on the large-scale expropriation of land from South Island Ngāi Tahu; by 1859, South Island Māori had been relegated to small, littoral reserves, their land having been purchased piecemeal in transactions fraught with misunderstanding and in defiance of principles agreed between Māori and Pākehā in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi.[59] *A First Year* is evidence of Butler's interest, immediately upon arrival, in the incongruities of a colony that was thoroughly English by design, but disturbingly different in reality. At every turn, the imposition of English institutions and culture on foreign soil generated juxtapositions of the alien and the familiar, as he observed in the presence of a Māori woman in the provincial capital: 'I saw a Maori woman standing near the market-place in Christ church [*sic*] […] My eyes were rivetted at once by a figure so new and so

[56] Henry Thomas Purchas, *Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1909), p. 31.
[57] On the Canterbury Association, see J. E. Cookson, 'Canterbury Association', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/93787> [accessed 2 July 2021]. On the departure of the first pilgrim ships, see Purchas, *Bishop Harper*, p. 37.
[58] L. C. Webb, 'The Land Problem and Self-Government', in *A History of Canterbury: Volume 1, to 1854*, ed. by James Hight and C. R. Straubel (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1957), pp. 186–204.
[59] See Harry C. Evison, *The Long Dispute: Māori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997).

picturesque, and the […] sensation of what a jumble it all was came over me, as I noticed that the name of the person against whose shop she stood was "Turnbull".[60] As he observed to readers of the *Eagle*, the studied Englishness of the colony only betrayed its newness in a distinctly dissimilar setting: '[a] person would understand the almost oppressive feeling of newness about everything, were he to enter into a colonial slab hut, and see an old carved oak chest in the corner marked with a date early in the seventeenth century; the effect is […] incongruous'.[61]

Other visitors to Canterbury in the 1850s, such as C. Warren Adams and Robert Bateman Paul, were struck by the effects and failures of Wakefield's vision, but in written accounts of their travels confined themselves to empirical observation and analysis limited chiefly to the country's suitability for settlement. Adams' description of Christchurch in *A Spring in the Canterbury Settlement* is typical: the town is 'by no means so pretty a town as Lyttelton […] It is larger; but the houses being scattered over a wider space of ground, have a straggling and irregular appearance. […] It is, however, a good situation in point of utility'.[62] Butler too made what Lydia Wevers has called 'the great catalogue of imperial possession', describing geography, climate and agricultural opportunities of Britain's colony for readers in England, and like Adams, his eye was attuned to the pragmatic: 'What is the opening here for young men of good birth and breeding, who have nothing but health and strength and energy for their capital? I would answer, Nothing very brilliant, still, they may be pretty sure of getting a shepherd's billet somewhere up-country, if they are known to be trustworthy'.[63] Permeating *A First Year*, however, is the frisson of the familiar made foreign in a colony that copied, but distorted, the world Butler had left behind: Canterbury was, like the Mitre Hotel in Lyttelton where he had his first meal 'so foreign' yet 'so English'.[64]

The extreme practicality of colonial life was equally significant in Butler's 'immense intellectual growth', and presented a welcome contrast to a system of education that had eschewed any element of manual or even professional training.[65] Pastoral occupation of the Canterbury plains, which had already begun when the Canterbury settlement was founded, had surged rapidly in the 1850s.[66] Finding on arrival that all accessible sheep country had

---

[60] Butler, 'Our Emigrant: Part II', p. 157.
[61] Butler, 'Our Emigrant: Part II', p. 156.
[62] C. Warren Adams, *A Spring in the Canterbury Settlement* (London: Spottiswoodes and Shaw, 1853), p. 30.
[63] Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809–1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press), p. 165; Butler, *First Year*, p. 76.
[64] Butler, *First Year*, pp. 28–29.
[65] Silver, *Family Letters*, p. 104.
[66] L. G. D. Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1951), pp. 12–18.

been taken up, Butler explored high into the Southern Alps at the headwaters of four major Canterbury rivers in search of unclaimed land. He was eventually rewarded by finding a site on the Rangitata River, where he established the run that he named Mesopotamia (invoking an historical region within the boundaries of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers). The task of finding and subsequently developing land required diverse practical abilities: Butler raised livestock, sheared, fenced, scabbed sheep, built houses, grew vegetables and burnt pasture. Butler's Forest Creek Manuscript (named after the site where Butler had initially planned to settle, at a tributary to the Rangitata, called Forest Creek) has particular value as the only extant manuscript actually written by Butler while he was living in the colony.[67] In this document, Butler presented his newly acquired knowledge, in almost loving detail, for the would-be pastoralists amongst his Cambridge readership: he advised on a range of manual tasks, from building a 'V' hut ('a roof shaped like the letter V set down, without any walls'), to tying 'a peculiar kind of New Zealand knot', to burning off pasture: 'A match is the first step in the subjugation of any large tract of new country […] the match had better be applied in spring'.[68]

By acquiring such skills in the context of empire building, and circulating them within university educated, economically privileged networks, Butler can be thought of as participating in the phenomenon that swivelled, in Elleke Boehmer's terms, along a 'horizontal axis' in later decades through the scouting movement.[69] Yet life as a pastoralist also afforded time for cultural and intellectual pursuits. Butler brought a piano to Mesopotamia on a bullock dray from Christchurch, and when not practising music, he devoted his energies to translating into English the New Testament from ancient Greek, eager to reconstruct an historical account of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ under the influence of the Straussian criticism that Sedgwick had disparaged. Robert B. Booth, one of Butler's station-hands, called Mesopotamia at this time 'the most civilised experience I had had of up-country life'.[70] Yet Butler maintained in *A First Year* that it was the skills acquired through sheep farming that honed the mind so effectively: people in Canterbury, he claimed, 'show their sense by devoting their energies to the work. Yet after all, it may be questioned

[67] Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Forest Creek Manuscript: Samuel Butler (c1860s), EC154.23.
[68] EC154.23, f. 4^{r}, ff. 5^{r} and 5^{v}.
[69] Elleke Boehmer, 'The Text in the World, The World through the Text: Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*', in *Ten Books that Shaped the British Empire: Creating an Imperial Commons*, ed. by Antionette M. Burton and Isabel Hofmeyr, pp. 131–52 (p. 134).
[70] Reported in Joseph Jones, *The Cradle of 'Erewhon': Samuel Butler in New Zealand* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959), p. 44.

whether the intellect is not as well schooled here as at home, though in a very different manner'.[71]

While extolling the intellectual benefits of pastoral life, Butler tended in his early writing to deride the cultural tenor of the colony: 'it does not do,' he wrote to his family of Cantabrian society, 'to speak about John [*sic*] Sebastian Bach's Fugues, or pre-Raphaelite pictures'.[72] However, the friendships that Butler forged amongst the Cantabrian intelligentsia, and his participation in efforts to galvanise the colony's intellectual life, were also decisive factors in his intellectual expansion. Particularly influential was Butler's friendship with the Provincial Geologist Julius von Haast, founder of Canterbury's first Philosophical Institute and, from 1860, an enthusiastic advocate of Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection.[73] Haast had studied geology at the University of Bonn, arriving in New Zealand in 1858. He had been made an employee of the Provincial Government in 1861; thereafter, his official duties required him to explore and map colonial terrain to determine its mineral potential. In the early 1860s, Butler's Mesopotamia run provided a base from which Haast could carry out his exploration of the Southern Alps.[74] Butler was also involved in Haast's ambitions to forge a scientific career in his own right. This task, as Ruth Barton has shown, required patronage from leading men of science in imperial centres, but also '*inter*colonial relationships' and 'self-promotion' in Canterbury.[75] When Butler began attending the meetings of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury from July 1862, he joined a society which had been officially founded for 'the advancement of science, literature, and arts, as well as the development of the resources of the province', but unofficially as a conduit through which Haast could promote his research amongst the colony's 'leading men', comment on scientific developments in Britain, and curry favour with leading men of science at the imperial centre by reporting to them the Institute's activities.[76]

Soon after reading Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1862, Haast praised and avidly expounded Darwin's theory of evolution, probably in private conversations with Butler, and

---

[71] Butler, *First Year*, p. 51.
[72] Butler, *First Year*, p. 51.
[73] For biographical information on Haast, see: Heinrich Ferdinand von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder* (Wellington: Avery Press, 1948); Mark Edwards Caudel, 'Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation of his Life and Work' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Canterbury, Department of History 2007); Colin J. Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005).
[74] Reported in 'Lecture on the Geological Structure of the Province of Canterbury, by Julius Haast, Esq., Provincial Geologist', *Lyttelton Times*, 23 October 1861, p. 4.
[75] Ruth Barton, 'Haast and the Moa: Reversing the Tyranny of Distance', *Pacific Science*, 54 (2000), 251–263 (p. 252).
[76] 'Town and Country News', *Lyttelton Times*, 26 July 1862, p. 4.

certainly also at the Philosophical Institute's regular meetings. At the Institute's first gathering he devoted much of his lengthy inaugural address to a glowing review of the *Origin of Species*, explicating Darwin's theory and praising particularly Darwin's clear and honest methods of reasoning: 'Darwin not only does not conceal the enormous difficulties against which he had to contend in supporting his theories, but actually points them out himself, and his endeavour to answer them affords the best proof of his sincerity'.[77] Haast instigated an ongoing correspondence with Darwin by sending him a copy of the address, but he also stimulated interest in Darwin's book and its logical methods amongst the upper echelons of Cantabrian society: the Christchurch *Press* was confidently assured by the end of 1863 that many in the colony had 'already been convinced by the irresistible logic of Mr. Darwin'.[78] So while Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard have rightly observed that Butler read the *Origin of Species* in 1862 because its author was connected to his family circle (he 'probably got it because Darwin was an old family friend, pupil of his grandfather, and classmate and friend of his father'), Butler's interest in Darwin's theory was unquestionably heightened by the highly receptive colonial context in which he encountered it.[79]

In 1864, Cantabrian farmer Edward Chudleigh related in his diary a 'long talk' he had had with Butler in Christchurch, describing him in March of that year as '*ultra*-Darwinian. He thinks Darwin in two hundred years' time will be looked on as a most wonderful philosopher and possibly a prophet'.[80] Darwin's theory that species had come into being by a gradual process of slight mutation and selection under environmental pressures had an immediate impact on Butler, but not because it sounded the death-knell of his religious belief, as critics have mistakenly supposed.[81] Following the publication of *Erewhon*, Butler would go on to produce his own works of evolutionary theory which maintained 'that science and religion, when rightly conceived, were never at war'.[82] Yet the *Origin of Species* was significant for challenging the notion that species had been designed by a divine power and brought into being at one moment in time, or at punctuated intervals, and also cast doubt on the methods of reasoning employed in *Analogy* and *Natural Theology*. Darwin supported his

[77] Heinrich Ferdinand von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder* (Wellington: Avery Press, 1948), p. 227.
[78] 'Scientific Gossip', *Press*, 9 December 1863, p. 2.
[79] Breuer and Howard (eds), *Erewhon*, p. 26.
[80] Edward Chudleigh, *Diary of E. R. Chudleigh 1862–1921* (Christchurch: Simpson and Williams, 1950), p. 125.
[81] This view was expounded especially in Malcolm Muggeridge, *The Earnest Atheist: A Study of Samuel Butler* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1936).
[82] Bernard Lightman, 'A Conspiracy of One: Butler, Natural Theology, and Victorian Popularization' in *Victorian Against the Grain*, ed. by James G. Paradis, pp. 113–142 (p. 123).

theory, which challenged especially Paley's concept of intelligent design, through what Butler called a 'lawyer-like faculty of swearing both sides of a question and attaching the full value to both'.[83] Darwin addressed objections to his theory and even made cautious use of analogy, leading his readers from the apparent effects of breeders' selection, via analogy, to nature's selective influence.[84] Where Joseph Butler and Paley had deployed analogy as a buttress to intelligent design, Darwin's use of analogy supported a theory that undermined their teleological vision of the origin of life.

As well as amplifying Butler's interest in the *Origin of Species*, the intellectual community in Canterbury supported an irreverent literary response to Darwin's work. From 1862, Butler engaged local readers by submitting a series of comic commentaries on Darwinian ideas to the *Press*. These articles reveal Butler's preoccupation with Darwinian method. His first submission, a dialectic between two imaginary interlocutors entitled 'Darwin on the Origin of Species', begins with a disagreement over Darwin's 'dry reasoning': for 'F' the *Origin of Species* is too 'hard and logical' whereas 'C' finds Darwin's 'judicial calmness' congenial. 'F' objects to Darwin's theory as 'subversive of all Christianity'; 'C' concludes that 'F' has 'no right to object' to Darwin's conclusions unless he can contradict the reasoning that produced it.[85] The *Press* articles are also evidence of the importance of a colonial readership to the development of Butler's ideas on Darwinian evolution. 'Darwin on the Origin of Species' prompted a minor controversy in the pages of the *Press*, with Cantabrians submitting a host of pseudonymous articles on the same topic: one claimed, for example, that Darwin's theory was 'nothing new [...] a réchauffé of the old story that his namesake Dr Darwin cooked up at the end of last century'.[86] A third writer questioned the impartiality of the second, claiming he had written 'with the tone of a partisan, of one deficient in scientific caution'.[87] Butler's final contribution to the *Press* while in New Zealand — one that capped the controversy — was the ingenious 'Darwin Among the Machines', produced in part for the amusement of Haast and his circle: Butler ended the article by presenting his ideas 'gratis to the members of the Philosophical Society'.[88] By the time Butler left New Zealand on 15 June 1864, therefore, he had done more than increase his

[83] Samuel Butler, 'Darwin on the Origin of Species', *Press*, 20 December 1862, p. 2.
[84] On Darwin's use of analogy see: Mark A. Largent, 'Darwin's Analogy between Artificial and Natural Selection in the Origin of Species', in *The Cambridge Companion to the 'Origin of Species'*, ed. by Michael Ruse and Robert J. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 15–29.
[85] Butler, 'Darwin on the Origin of Species', p. 2.
[86] 'Barrel Organs', *Press*, 17 January 1863, p. 2.
[87] 'Darwin on Species', *Press*, 21 February 1863, p. 4.
[88] Butler, 'Darwin Among the Machines', p. 1.

father's capital: he had acquired skills and experiences which enabled him to challenge the assumptions that underpinned his liberal education, and had registered this intellectual development in letters, articles and *A First Year*. Disliking his father's role in compiling *A First Year*, Butler had written a facetiously savage review in the *Press*.[89] Yet all Butler's New Zealand writings, together with the sum of his colonial experience, would provide the vital foundation for his first work of fiction.

The influence of Cambridge and Canterbury on *Erewhon*

The importance to Butler's fiction of his experiences at Cambridge and in Canterbury is most obvious in *Erewhon*'s textual lineage. The novel is an expansion of the articles that Butler wrote in and about Canterbury for Cambridge readers and those in which he lampooned texts associated with his life in England for a colonial readership. The mountainous high country where the story starts is drawn faithfully from the landscape around Butler's run at Mesopotamia; details of the region and of the unnamed narrator's journey inland are lifted — sometimes verbatim — from *First Year* and Butler's *Eagle* pieces. The narrator's discovery, as he starts his expedition inland, of 'last-night's tea leaves' frozen at the bottom of his pannikins after a 'camp-out' is, for instance, a vivid detail of colonial life that Butler had described in his Forest Creek Manuscript and then published in the *Eagle*.[90] The purpose of such details, embedded in taut, even-handed prose, is intended, at first blush, to lend verisimilitude to an imperial tale of derring-do. As the narrator sets out from an unknown British colony with his native guide, Chowbok, on a quest to find unchartered country, riches or personal glory 'over the lofty range of mountains', we seem to be in the world of colonial adventure.[91] However, details drawn from Butler's practical guide on colonial sheep farming are in *Erewhon* made part of a ruse whereby generic expectations are undercut. At the end of his journey into the alps, the narrator emerges into a country where characters are monotone and practices harshly disturbing; expectations that *Erewhon* would earnestly advance the 'energizing myths' of empire seem disconcertingly misplaced.[92]

This hoax, whereby verisimilitude decoys the unsuspecting reader into satire, is borrowed from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, but recast in a Butlerian mould. The society that

---

[89] 'A First Year in Canterbury Settlement', *Press*, 28 October 1863, p. 2.
[90] See Chapter 3, line 75; EC154.23, f. 5r.
[91] Chapter 1, line 37.
[92] Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 3. This phrase is usefully contextualised in Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 23.

the narrator encounters on the other side of the mountain range is not Lilliputian, but one that has chosen to rewind mechanical progress: Erewhon is a society that has effected the advice that Butler issued half-jestingly to readers of the *Press* in 'Darwin Among the Machines' that 'war be declared' on mechanical appliances; in this sense, all of Butler's central fantasy is indebted to the ideas he presented for colonial readers in 1863. The arguments from 'Darwin Among the Machines' are, in *Erewhon*, part of the Book of the Machines, the treatise that centuries ago inspired the Erewhonians to reject machinery. Another article, entitled 'Lucubratio Ebria' (meaning 'working drunk at night'), which Butler wrote for the *Press* after his return to England in 1864, is presented as the treatise of a second writer. This writer's argument that machines are merely an extension of man himself is deemed by the Erewhons to be less persuasive than the first writer's logic.[93] When incorporating his *Press* articles into *Erewhon*, Butler pruned allusions to the colonial context in which it was written, excising, for instance, the final paragraph of 'Darwin Among the Machines' addressed explicitly to the Philosophical Society in Christchurch. Instead, Butler added in-jokes for the knowing Cambridge reader, for the Book of the Machines, he tells us, was written by a Professor of Hypothetics at the Colleges of Unreason; any Cambridge-educated reader who had encountered Joseph Butler's *Analogy* or Paley's *Natural Theology* would immediately recognise in them the satiric target of the portrait of an Erewhonian don convincing his readers of irrational beliefs through the unreliable application of analogy.[94] Such refinements and additions aside, *Erewhon* is in essence a synthesis of the ideas that Butler had formulated in the 1860s through imperial networks of literary exchange.

Erewhon's dual heritage can also be traced through an intertextual field of reference, as well as the textual forms on which it tacitly relies. The narrator's discovery that the Erewhonians treat disease as a criminal offence, but criminal acts, such as embezzlement and drunkenness, as illnesses, is a chiastic inversion inspired partly by *Elements of Social Science* (1861), a curious critique of Victorian attitudes to physical and sexual health by the physician George Drysdale, a work that Butler had encountered just prior to his emigration.[95] But, as this edition demonstrates, the real inspiration for the inversion was the 1863 murder trial of George Victor Townley, which was reported in the pages of Cantabrian newspapers.[96] The Townley trial had attracted the attention of alienists (pioneers in the field now known as

[93] Samuel Butler, 'Lucubratio Ebria', *Press*, 29 July 1865, p. 2
[94] On Hypothetics and the Hypothetical language, see Chapter 20, lines 170–1n.
[95] See Chapter 10, lines 3–7n.
[96] See Chapter 11, line 2n.

psychiatry) who were beginning to apply evolutionary theory to their work on mental disorder.[97] Townley's sentence rested on the question of whether he was bad (if the murder he committed was a calculating act) or mad (if he had, as some alienists theorised, suffered an hereditary form of insanity) and attracted interest in Canterbury, in part because George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, was involved in commuting Townley's sentence. [98] Chapters 10–13, concerning crime, disease and deviant behaviour, comment on developments in psychiatry as played out in English courts, but draw on the content of the colonial newspapers, the medium through which Butler was apprised of events in Britain while living in the colony.

The crime–disease analogy, while inspired by what Butler read in Canterbury, is framed within an epistemological method expounded in one of Butler's set readings at Cambridge. The narrator's summary of common Erewhonian opinion in Chapter 10 is not only a convenient structural device for introducing the inversion and enabling the Erewhonians to demonstrate their sophistic lines of reasoning. It alludes also to the *endoxic* method of ethical enquiry that Aristotle adopts in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, a set text in the 'Greek Prose translation' section of the Cambridge Classical Tripos.[99] In his treatise on the individual virtues necessary to promote *eudaimonia* (human flourishing), Aristotle promotes a three-stage strategy of ethical enquiry, which involves amassing current or common opinion (*endoxa*) held by 'the many' or 'the wise', then reviewing the *endoxa* and resolving any apparent inconsistencies, before proving how remaining *endoxa* have been preserved.[100] Butler's treatment of Aristotelian epistemology is parodic: the Erewhonians' opinions are, to us, arbitrarily brutal or nonsensical: men are 'punished very heavily' for getting seriously ill, and any reference to health, even in phrases common in England such as 'how do you do?' are considered 'signs of gross ill-breeding'.[101] Butler's inversion forces us to think analogically: what nonsense or revelations can be wrung from the situation where disease is treated *like* crime and crime *like* disease? Yet, through reference to a Cambridge textbook, Butler cues his reader to expect one epistemological method — Aristotelian *endoxic* inquiry — while exploring another: that of analogy.

---

[97] See Chapter 11, lines 63–6n.
[98] See 'Sir George Grey and the Criminals', *Lyttelton Times*, 24 March 1864, p. 3.
[99] J. R. Seeley, *The Student's Guide* (1863), p. 27.
[100] See Richard Kraut, 'How to Justify Ethical Propositions: Aristotle's Method', in *The Blackwell Guide to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. by Richard Kraut (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 76–95 (pp. 77–80). See also Chapter 10, line 2n.
[101] See Chapter 10, line 62.

Butler's Cantabrian and *Cantabrigian* experiences are borne out also in the literary strategies that he uses to construct the novel's central fantasy. As the narrator puzzles his way through Erewhon's suggestive distortions, Butler's systematic strategy, sometimes of satire and sometimes of provocative irony, is gradually revealed: Butler pairs, and often reverses or analogises, categories typically considered biologically or morally distinct, creating in the process an imagined world that is a disconcerting distortion of the established order. Humanity is paired with machinery, and the evolutionary process of the one is transferred to the other; birth and death are inverted, the unborn Erewhonians regard their emergence into the world as the end of life as they know it. These inversions and reversals can be traced to Butler's earliest writing in the colony: the impressions he recorded on arrival of a jumbled settlement, where local conditions clashed with imposition of institutions and social structures, are carried over into his fiction as powerful ironic techniques. The result is generically unstable: a fantasy world that is neither utopian nor completely dystopian, but one that is 'an inversion of the Wakefieldean ideal, which satirises the superstructure of British class society, namely the Church and the education system'.[102] *Erewhon*, through its antipodean reversals and analogies, demands of its readers what colonial experience had demanded of Butler: that they enter a world that is (like the Mitre Hotel in Lyttelton) 'so foreign and yet so English'.[103]

Erewhon is not only a country of odd pairings and reversals, but also a country of spurious reasoning. Another of Butler's key satiric techniques involves extending each pairing or reversal through *prima facie* sense to palpable nonsense, proving in the process the frailties of analogy as a persuasive tool. The analogy between machine and human evolution, for instance, is extended through examples that each seem plausible but at the same time support two different, equally implausible conclusions: that (according to the writer of the Book of the Machines) mechanical life will evolve through the same process of Darwinian evolution that governs the organic world; and that (according to the writer of the second treatise) machines are simply 'part of man's own physical nature'.[104] The technique baffles through its admixture of insight and absurdity. The writer of the second treatise supports his conclusion by extending the analogy in ways that strain its credibility ('[o]bserve a man digging with a spade; his right fore-arm has become artificially lengthened, and his hand has

[102] Simon During, 'Samuel Butler's Influence', in *A History of New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Mark Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 44–55 (p. 48).
[103] Butler, *First Year*, pp. 28–29.
[104] See Chapter 22, lines 284–5.

become a joint. The handle of the spade is like the knob at the end of the humerus; the shaft is the additional bone').[105] Yet he also presages future developments with astonishing clarity when he argues that people have already begun to transfer their memories onto little machines (a man's 'memory goes in his pocket-book').[106] All the while, the basic analogy drawn between human and machine evolution forces a specious correspondence between entities dissimilar in key aspects. The strategy enables Butler to lampoon an array of mid-Victorian attitudes and institutions: religious hypocrisy, in the analogy between banks and churches; the ludicrous abstruseness of a university education, in his analogy between reason and unreason; Darwinian theory, in the analogy between human and machine evolution, — but in each instance, analogy is the deceptive element, enabling arguments associated with one phenomenon to support its opposite.

Butler's technique of extending analogical reasoning to the point of absurdity has the potential to obscure, rather than clarify, the purpose of his satire: contemporary reviewers of the first edition of *Erewhon* were bewildered by the machine chapters in particular and echoed the judgment of the critic of the *British Quarterly Review*, who supposed that 'the machine chapters satirise Mr Darwin's theory of development' on account of the fact that Darwin's ideas were treated farcically.[107] The real object of satiric attack in *Erewhon*, as Breuer and Howard and David Gillot have all confirmed, is the use of analogy itself and, by extension, the works of Joseph Butler and Paley that employed analogical reasoning as part of the armoury of natural theology. This fact Butler himself confirmed in a letter to Darwin, written soon after the publication of the first edition of *Erewhon* in March 1872. Seeking to palliate any offence caused by the confusion amongst critics that *Erewhon* was intended to mock the theory of natural selection, Butler wrote to Darwin:

> I have developed and worked out the obviously absurd theory that [machines] are about to supplant the human race and be developed into a higher kind of life. When I first got hold of the idea I developed it for mere fun, and because it amused me and I thought would amuse others, but without a particle of serious meaning; but I developed it and introduced into "Erewhon" with the intention of implying "see how easy it

[105] See Chapter 23, E9 additions to line 293.
[106] See Chapter 23, lines 312–13n.
[107] 'Erewhon; or, Over the Range. Trübner and Co.,' *British Quarterly Review*, July 1872, pp. 137–38. Similar opinions were voiced in 'Back to Nowhere', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 November 1901, p. 4, and 'New Book', *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1872, p. 487.

> is to be plausible, and what absurd propositions can be defended by a little ingenuity and distortion & departure from strictly scientific methods" and I had Butler's analogy in my head as the book at which it should be aimed, but preferred to conceal my aim for many reasons.[108]

As Gillott has suggested, Butler was 'ostensibly satirizing [Joseph] Butler's *Analogy*' but 'the specific analogy he makes between man and machines was also almost certainly prompted by Paley's famous analogy between the watchmaker and God'.[109]

Indeed, it is Paley's use of analogy with which *Erewhon* seems more directly concerned. The watch is a recurrent motif; its ticking brings comfort to the narrator in the isolated mountain ranges and it becomes a taboo object upon his arrival in Erewhon. Paley, rather than Joseph Butler, is alluded to directly in the novel, in a pregnant moment of overt intertextuality: when he recognises that the Erewhonians regard his watch as something other than evidence of intelligent design, the narrator describes himself as 'a little piqued with Paley for having led me so much astray'.[110] Butler's parodic use of analogy is directed more decidedly at Paley's method. When the writer of the Book of the Machines argues that the human eye is 'a machine', which can be attached to a larger machine in the form of a telescope (the 'seeing engine which has revealed to us the existence of worlds beyond worlds into infinity'), the allusion is perhaps in part to Darwin's attempt in *Origin* to understand the eye within his theory of evolution by natural selection. More obviously, however, the writer alludes to Paley's comparison between the eye and a telescope: that they rely on similar optical principles, 'both being adjusted to the laws by which the transmission and refraction of rays of light are regulated', was for Paley evidence of organic design.[111] Given its preoccupation with logical inversions, Breuer and Howard have argued that in *Erewhon* the reader is 'in fact much closer to the nonsense sense of Lewis Carroll's looking-glass world than to that of conventional satire'.[112] While *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, published just a few months before *Erewhon* in 1871, concerns itself with various kinds of logical play, from algebraic games to 'logical puzzles lodged in the pragmatics of language', *Erewhon*'s

---

[108] Butler, Samuel, 'Letter no. 8318, 11 May 1872', in *Darwin Correspondence Project* <https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/letter/DCP-LETT-8318.xml> [accessed on 29 August 2021] (para. 2 of 3).
[109] David Gillott, *Samuel Butler Against the Professionals: Rethinking Lamarckism 1860–1900* (Leeds: Legenda, 2015), p. 33.
[110] See Chapter 7, line 145.
[111] Paley, *Natural Theology*, p. 16.
[112] Breuer and Howard (eds), *Erewhon*, p. 27. See also Alex MacDonald, 'Utopia through the Looking-Glass: Lewis Carroll as Crypto-Utopian', *Utopian Studies*, 2 (1989), 125–35 (125).

interest in logical reasoning is, on one level, particular.[113] *Erewhon* may, as its previous editors assert, poke fun at anyone who retains unwavering 'faith in reason or in the absolute validity of the categories to which it may lead us', but Butler's satiric technique serves, primarily, as a riposte to the theologians whose works he read at Cambridge, and whose methods, in support of dogmatic religious orthodoxy, he came to mistrust through engagement with Darwinian theory in New Zealand.[114]

Conclusion

I began this General Introduction by establishing a correspondence between Butler's fiction and Macaulay's New Zealander, a conceit that haunted 'the literary memory' of the second half of the nineteenth century.[115] Butler's extracurricular activities and reading in Canterbury presented a dynamic challenge to the rationale of his liberal education and to works of natural theology endorsed by Cambridge dons; empowered by skills and ideas acquired during his emigration, Butler surveyed mid-Victorian England in correspondence, journalism, and then in fiction, with a gimlet-eyed gaze born of colonial experience. The relevance of Macaulay's image is confirmed in the final pages of the novel, where Butler invokes the New Zealander through the figure of Chowbok, the narrator's native guide. Like the narrator himself, Chowbok travels to London at the end of the novel, and surveys, not the ruins of St Paul's, but a meeting of evangelicals at Exeter Hall. Transmogrified into the (apparently) Christianised Reverend William Habbakuk, it is arguably Chowbok, rather than Butler, who embodies the New Zealander in the truest sense. As Jenny McDonnell has observed, '[t]he image of the New Zealander seems initially to have been figured as Maori, a "noble savage" made good by the civilizing process of colonization, now capable of enduring and taking the place of his former master'.[116] The narrator, scheming to annex Erewhon and exploit its population, sees in Chowbok a threat to his own imperial ambitions; beyond one enigmatic line, however, in which he expresses 'much uneasiness', he never articulates the precise threat posed by the antipodean tourist.[117] Chowbok's role in this final scene has been variously interpreted: for Sue Zemka he is 'the inscrutable recipient of aggressive evangelization'; for Robinson, he is 'a hypocritical celebrity bishop in London, still shrewdly

[113] Gillian Beer, *Alice in Space: The Sideways Victorian World of Lewis Carroll* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 124.
[114] Breuer and Howard (eds), *Erewhon*, p. 28.
[115] Dingley, 'The Ruins of the Future', p. 29.
[116] McDonnell, 'Brave New Worlds', p. 99.
[117] See Chapter 25, line 228.

exploiting the equally hypocritical vanities of the colonizing power for his own advantage'.[118] Whether Chowbok appears in London as a colonised subject bound securely by the bonds of empire, or as the harbinger of imperial decline, his presence in these final paragraph recalls the ways in which Butler's antipodean vision of the imperial centre undergirds *Erewhon* from its inception to its narrative conclusion. It is, ultimately, this antipodean vision that makes *Erewhon* a subversive and penetrating critique of mid-Victorian England.

[118] Zemka, '*Erewhon* and the End of Utopian Humanism', p. 452; Robinson, 'Samuel Butler, 1835–1902', p. 71.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

Theoretical Framework

Recent decades have seen a movement away from the model of scholarly editing dominant within the Anglo-American tradition throughout much of the twentieth century. This model, instituted by W. W. Greg, consolidated by Fredson Bowers and elaborated by G. Thomas Tanselle, has subsequently been labelled New Bibliography, and was self-consciously motivated by the attempt to make textual scholarship 'more rigorously "scientific"'.[119] New Bibliographers appealed to authorial intention as the primary standard by which to edit a text, but rejected the long-held assumption that the most authoritative copy-text for a scholarly edition was the last edition published during the author's lifetime. Advocating a process of 'eclectic' editing, they distinguished between 'substantive' readings (the actual words or 'the essence of the author's expression') and accidentals (the spelling, punctuation, or 'surface features'): the final reading text produced was a composite of the two, incorporating early features and late revisions which were deemed to be individually authorially sanctioned.[120] The edition to emerge from such recension was not a corrected witness to the work, but a putative ideal text composed by several witnesses and seen to fulfil the author's final intentions. However, in 1994 David Greetham registered a 'major shift in the disposition of textual criticism', reflected in the previous decade even within the 'intentionalist camp' of New Bibliography.[121] While continuing to accept authorial intention as a primary standard, proponents of the New Bibliographic method had begun to propose divergent approaches to the question of how authorial intention should be determined, given that an author's intentions may alter over time and authorial revision may reflect an effort to achieve a more satisfactory embodiment of a work, but possibly a changed conception of that work.[122]

One contributing factor to the changing disposition of textual criticism was the rise of structural and post-structural theory in the attendant field of literary criticism.[123] (Post)structural theories challenged the relationship between the terms and concepts of

[119] Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, 'Introduction: Textual Scholarship in the Age of Media Consciousness', in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 1–15 (p. 4). For a succinct overview of this tradition and its internal developments, see Kathryn Sutherland, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, pp. 42–60.
[120] Sutherland, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory', p. 49.
[121] D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994), p. 335.
[122] Sutherland, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory', p. 56–7.
[123] On the influence of literary criticism on textual scholarship, see *Devils and Angels: Textual Editing and Literary Theory*, ed. by Philip Cohen (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991).

‘work’ and ‘text’, and the connection between authorial intention and meaning production. Roland Barthes, in his 1971 essay ‘From Work to Text’, distinguished for instance between the ‘authorially intended idea of the work’ and ‘its realization as a text’; elsewhere he posits that literary meaning arises less from authorial intention than ‘by means of linguistic and literary conventions, which are culturally and institutionally determined’.[124] Philip Cohen has shown how theorists such as Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault further dismantled the connection between meaning and authorial intention, but also indicated that developments in literary theory were slow to have any practical impact on textual scholarship.[125] A more immediate challenge to the Greg-Bowers model of scholarly editing came in the form of ‘social bibliographical theory’ first espoused by Jerome McGann and D. F. McKenzie.[126] The McGann–McKenzie contribution to textual scholarship has drawn attention away from the stable, ‘ideal’ text edited according to authorial intention and towards a more fluid conception of a text as ‘the product of history and the material processes of composition, production and reception’.[127]

McGann’s ‘social textual theory’, formulated principally in his *Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1984), repudiated the ‘intentionalist privilege’ of the Greg-Bowers editorial tradition: rather than adhering to the ‘Romantic’ notion of the solitary author inspired to create in an ‘originary moment’, McGann encouraged a view of the text as a social construct.[128] McGann suggested that the goal of textual scholarship should be to recover a text ‘in all its socialized states […] as it appeared and reappeared at different historical moments and by various agents: author’s friends and relatives, publishers, editors, readers’, the moment of authorial composition being just one moment in a series of ‘textual negotiations’.[129] In his essay collection *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999) McKenzie also stressed the collaborative nature of texts.[130] His ‘sociology of the text’ emphasised the ‘social, economic, and political motivations of publishing, the reasons why texts were written and read as they were, why they were rewritten and redesigned, or allowed

[124] Quoted in Sutherland, ‘Anglo-American Editorial Theory’, p. 51.
[125] See Philip Cohen, ‘Introduction’, in *Devils and Angels*, pp. ix–xviii (pp. ix–xiv).
[126] Greetham, *Scholarship*, p. 337–9.
[127] Andrew Nash, ‘Textual Instability and the Contemporary Novel: Reading Janice Galloway’s *The Trick is to Keep Breathing* On and Off the Page’, in *New Directions in the History of the Novel* ed. by Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash and Nicola Wilson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 50–62 (p. 50).
[128] Jerome McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 52.
[129] David Greetham, ‘A History of Textual Scholarship’, in *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, pp. 16–41 (p. 37).
[130] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

to die'.[131] McKenzie's interest in the way information was exchanged, not just through written means but also orally and pictorially, prompted a new conception of the kinds of materials and transmission processes that textual scholars could consider. He urged for bibliography – 'the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production' – to expand upon the book narrowly conceived to encompass all forms of communication.[132] The work of McGann and McKenzie coincided with the rise of book history as an academic discipline, which has consolidated interest in texts as collaborative constructs through its focus on the physical forms in which texts have been circulated, and the commercial and cultural and political contexts of book production.

The emergence of digital technologies has presented a fresh challenge to the New Bibliographic tradition, not only offering new tools and methods for online editing, but also by prompting a 'theoretical re-thinking of textuality, authorial property, the globalisation of knowledge and changes in reading practices'.[133] Regarding print editions like this one produced in a digital age, scholars agree that editorial trends have shifted definitively away from the notion that editors can 'deal definitively with text', toward editions that highlight textual history and the transmission process.[134] Scholarly editions have in recent years tended to privilege the process of composition, revision and production in their layout over the discrete textual 'product'.[135] Kathryn Sutherland suggests that this interest in process has led textual critics and editors in two directions.[136] One strain of textual scholarship has concentrated upon a reconsideration of authorial intention 'as promoting unstable versions, with the presentation of text as an act (or acts) of writing (not reading)'.[137] Editors such as Hans Walter Gabler, best known for his 1984 edition of James Joyce's *Ulysses* and influenced by European-based 'genetic' editorial theory and practice, best represent this form of scholarship.[138] Another strain has continued to pursue 'reader-based' theories and an interest in the literary work as socially constructed: building upon the ideas of McGann and

---

[131] McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 13.
[132] McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 12.
[133] Matthew James Driscoll and Elena Pierazzo, 'Introduction: Old Wine in New Bottles?', in *Digital Scholarly Editing: Theories and Practices*, ed. by Matthew James Driscoll and Elena Pierazzo (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2016), pp. 1–15 (p. 9).
[134] William Proctor Williams and Craig S. Abbott, *An Introduction to Biographical and Textual Studies* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1999), p. 77.
[135] Williams and Abbott, *Introduction*, p. 78.
[136] Sutherland, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory', p. 57, echoed by Williams and Abbott, *Introduction*, p. 85 and Greetham, *Scholarship*, p. 85.
[137] Sutherland, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory, p. 57.
[138] For the development of continental editorial trends, especially genetic editing, see Geert Lernout, 'Continental Editorial Theory', in *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, pp. 61–78.

McKenzie, this variety of textual scholarship finds proponents in scholars such as John Bryant, whose theory of scholarly editing, set out in *The Fluid Text* (2002), places emphasis on the multiple versions of literary works and the socio-historical context of each version.[139] Both approaches, however, rest on an assumption that it is only possible to edit a text 'interpretatively, subjectively, and […] temporarily'.[140]

These developments have accompanied a broader reconsideration of the nature of scholarly editing. The task of producing an edition was long regarded as a primarily technical one, devised to generate accurate and reliable texts which could then be subjected to the 'loftier' pursuit of hermeneutics.[141] Throughout much of the twentieth century, scholarly editors themselves also encouraged the view that their work was impartial: for New Bibliographers, the goal of scholarly editing was deemed to be the production of editions that were as free from human intervention as possible. Generations of editors aimed to employ 'apparently neutral and value-free techniques' to produce final, 'definitive' editions.[142] More recently, however, scholarly editions of literary texts, especially those in vernacular literatures, have come to be regarded as inevitably comprising a 'critical component'.[143] While publishing houses produce trade reprints by typesetting the editions nearest to hand, scholarly editions differ in that they 'enlarge the field' by taking account of other forms of the work.[144] Scholarly editors generally elect and sometimes emend a copy-text, collate variants and compile a critical apparatus. Each of these tasks, even an apparently noncritical one such as diplomatic transcription, relies on discrimination, and scholars now agree that editors are necessarily guided in their judgments by certain principles of construction, some standard by which to judge the authority of different versions of a work. Even scholarly editors who purport to efface their own handiwork from an edition operate according to certain assumptions, possibly involving a moral commitment to respect the intentions of the author, or a need to cater to the demands of the reader, or an ideological dedication to the work as an aesthetic object, which can be cleaned of the textual debris of revision and misprint. It is for

[139] John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2002).
[140] Sutherland, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory', p. 57.
[141] Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, 'Introduction: Textual scholarship in the Age of Media Consciousness', pp. 1–15 (p. 15).
[142] D.C. Greetham, *Scholarship*, pp. 295–96.
[143] Greetham, 'History', pp. 16.
[144] Paul Eggert, 'Apparatus, Text, Interface', in *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders, pp. 97–118 (p. 97).

this reason that Paul Eggert has reminded us that such texts 'never come down to us in unmediated form'.[145]

Given the current scholarly consensus that the internal architecture of an edition will systematically manifest the editor's theoretical persuasion, this edition aims to be explicit about its editorial intervention. Rather than striving to present an ultimate version of *Erewhon* that sits outside of history, this edition builds upon the McGann-McKenzie field of textual scholarship by privileging a sociohistorical approach over considerations of authorial intention. This theoretical approach complements this edition's broader purpose. As elucidated in the General Introduction, the edition as a whole presents *Erewhon* as a product of Butler's involvement in two-way intellectual, cultural and textual traffic between Cambridge and Canterbury at the height of the British Empire. The editorial strategies of this edition — from the choice of copy-text to decisions about the content and arrangement of the scholarly apparatus — are guided by a theoretical commitment to present *Erewhon* within its authorial, literary, social and historical contexts, or, in McKenzie's phrasing, to uncover the 'social dynamics' of its composition and its reception in England when first published in 1872.[146]

McKenzie, a New Zealander by birth, has particular relevance to this edition, for he developed his ideas on textual scholarship partly through a consideration of the role of print, literacy and orality during the British annexation of New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century. Taking the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) as his case study, McKenzie recounted an historical episode – the development of a treaty now 'reimaged as the nation's founding document' – to explore the problems inherent in meaning-making through a written text produced at the interface of literary and oral cultures in a colonial context.[147] McKenzie's immediate concern was to argue for a wider conception of the Treaty of Waitangi as consisting not only of its print embodiments, but also the 'spoken consensus arrived at through discussion' between Māori and Pākehā at the time of its production.[148] The broader import of McKenzie's study, however, was in his insight that works take on different meanings as they are reproduced and re-edited in different forms, an insight that has informed the choice of copy-text in this edition. So, it is with reference to a theoretical model formulated, at least in part, through analysis of the transmission of texts in 1840s New

[145] Eggert, 'Apparatus, Text, Interface', p. 98.
[146] McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 16.
[147] Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (British Columbia: UBC Press, 2014), p 52.
[148] McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 127.

Zealand that this edition stresses *Erewhon*'s debt to Butler's experiences in Canterbury just two decades later.

Compositional History

Erewhon came into being, as already established in the General Introduction, through a series of articles that Butler wrote in Canterbury for *The Eagle* and the Christchurch *Press*. Even after his return to England in the autumn of 1864, Butler's Cambridge and Cantabrian social connections had significant bearing on the composition of his novel. Butler travelled home in the company of Charles Pauli, a lawyer he had befriended in Canterbury.[149] He then settled at 15 Clifford's Inn, London, and used his new-found financial independence to train as an artist, first at Cary's then at South Kensington and Heatherley's art schools.[150] In the year after his return, Butler continued to write, while also studying art. Butler sent 'Lucubratio Ebria' to New Zealand to be published in the *Press*. He then enlarged 'Darwin among the Machines' for the *Reasoner*, where it was published as 'The Mechanical Creation'.[151] Early versions of 'The Musical Banks' and 'The World of the Unborn' chapters were published in English periodicals before the end of 1865; these articles have not been located, so Butler himself remains their best authority in his Preface to the ninth edition.[152] Between 1865 and 1870, Butler wrote nothing, devoting himself to painting instead.

According to Henry Festing Jones, Butler's first biographer, Butler had thought of resuming his literary endeavours by the spring of 1870 when he received a visit from a friend with a New Zealand connection, who gave him the 'final shove into *Erewhon*'.[153] Frederick Napier Broome, who had farmed in northern Canterbury from 1865, suggested that Butler transform his early articles into a novel.[154] Broome himself had worked as a journalist and published poetry, while his wife, under the name of Lady Barker, had published verse and *Station Life in New Zealand* (1870), now regarded as a classic of New Zealand settler literature.[155] Broome's suggestion proved attractive and Butler began writing in the evenings

[149] See Chapter 6, line 67–70n. The most thorough analysis of Butler's enduring if enigmatic friendship with Pauli remains Ross Stuart, 'Samuel Butler and Charles Paine Pauli: A Friendship Reconsidered', *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 28 (1985), 145–61.
[150] On this period of SB's life generally see Raby, *Samuel Butler*, pp. 97–115.
[151] 'The Mechanical Creation', *Reasoner*, 1 July 1865, pp. 229–31.
[152] See Preface to the Ninth Edition, pp. 65–6.
[153] Jones, *Memoir*, I, p. 182.
[154] See Editorial Introduction, pp. 42–5.
[155] First published as Lady (Mary Anne) Barker, *Station Life in New Zealand* (London: Macmillan, 1870). The best account of Butler's meeting with the Broomes is still Jones, *Memoir*, p. 151, 182. For biographical information on Broome, see F. K. Crowley, 'Broome, Sir Frederick Napier (1842–1896)', in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broome-sir-frederick-napier-3068/text4527>

and on Sundays. At Heatherley's, he had met and befriended fellow pupil Eliza Savage (1836–1885), the only child of a London architect and part-time governess.[156] Butler valued Savage's critical judgment such that he sent sections of his manuscript to her as he finished them. Just as little is known of Savage herself there is, unfortunately, little evidence of her critical response to *Erewhon* beyond one fleeting allusion to her comments in a letter of early May 1871.[157] By the end of 1871, Butler had completed his manuscript.

In the same 1871 letter to Savage, Butler said of his progress on *Erewhon*: 'I have condensed, cut out, transposed, amended, emended, and otherwise improved the MS'.[158] His references to cutting were quite literal: his manuscript for the first edition, as sent to the publisher in early 1872, consists of paper snippets cut from sheets of earlier versions of the novel, arranged into a final sequence, then pasted into a thick, red-bound paper quarto of 255 folios measuring 206 millimetres wide by 273 millimetres long. The snippets of paper vary in size and placement: some are neat squares while others are roughly chopped. Occasionally large snippets are folded in order to fit into the dimensions of the quarto. The narrative-bearing fragments are pasted onto the recto of each folio of the quarto, while the versos contain place-holder snippets, used to mark out a particular numbering system. The place-holder snippets often bear miscellaneous scribblings – sometimes scored out or upside down – indicating that they were used for stray notes before being adopted as numbered place-holders. Butler used several numbering systems for ordering the pages he patched together:

i. At the top of each recto is a numbering scheme beginning at Chapter 1 on f. 5^{r} and abandoned after f. 18^{r}. An incomplete numbering series has also been inscribed at the bottom of intermittent rectos. Tempting though it is to piece together this numbering system in order to uncover an earlier chronology to the novel, these numbers are so repetitive and apparently arbitrary that I have been unable to detect any pattern.

ii. On each verso is a complete numbering system beginning with Chapter 1 at f. 5^{v} and continuing uninterrupted until f. 255^{v}. Some versos bear additional numbers

[accessed 22 July 2021]. On Lady Barker, see Betty Gilderdale, *The Seven Lives of Lady Barker* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2009).

[156] Jones, *Memoir*, pp. 134, 148. See also: Delphine Small, 'Samuel Butler and Eliza Mary Ann Savage: The Literary Significance of their Relationship' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Miami University, Department of English, 1932); and *Letters between Samuel Butler and Miss E.M.A. Savage: 1871–1885*, ed. by Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935).

[157] See Chapter 19, line 6n.

[158] Keynes and Hill, *Letters*, p. 18.

which have been roughly deleted and do not appear to follow any obvious chronology.

iii. In the top right-hand corner of each recto is a complete, foliated numbering series, beginning at the title page and ending with the final narrative folio: f. 255^{r}. This numbering system is adopted in the present edition.

Although Butler's hand was clear and elegant, the manuscript of the first edition is difficult to decipher in places. Most folios bear numerous revisions and heavy crossings-out: words, lines, paragraphs – even whole pages of text – are excised by way of single and double strike-throughs, looping strokes and diagonal crosshatching. Butler made insertions by adding paragraphs to the side of the main body of text, drawing arrows to demonstrate where these additions were intended to sit. He also used arrows and asterisks to link portions of writing on separate pieces of paper. Butler's lines of script are sometimes widely spaced but usually small and cramped with insertions crammed above and below the line. The complexity of certain sections of the manuscript is also compounded by his tendency to revise text by overwriting: see, for example, Appendix, Chapter 8, 51–5, 'hypocrite, … chattered'. Frequently small pencil crosses appear alongside or within the text: see Appendix, Chapter 7, 73–4, 'with. When'. Possibly these were made by Savage, for when asking her to read his manuscript, Butler had instructed her to '[m]ake a cross, please, in pencil, wherever you disapprove, and I shall know what you mean'.[159] However, these crosses are often faint, partially pasted over, or overwritten, precluding any reliable interpretation of their function. The disorder of Butler's text belies some consistent habits of composition. He often uses the Greek letter rho (P) to link insertions on adjoining fragments of paper to the main section of text. Butler also habitually used ampersands when short on space, or as a calque on the Latin *que* in its most common Classical usage, to connect two words with linked or contrasting meanings (and not as a preposition for coordinating clauses): hence Butler writes 'mother & father'. The early and final pages of the quarto contain a small amount of curatorial notation made when the manuscript was deposited in the British Library in 1903 by Richard Streatfeild — a musicologist and Butler's literary executor — and British Library staff.

[159] Keynes and Hill, *Letters*, p. 18.

Publication History

The first edition (E1)

Over the course of Butler's lifetime nine separate editions of *Erewhon* were published in England. Most were reprints or reissues (advertised as editions in order to stimulate sales as was common in the nineteenth century), but three were true editions. The text of the first true edition was indebted to Butler's experiences in Cambridge and Canterbury in ways already described in the General Introduction, and readers responded enthusiastically when it was published in March 1872. Butler had sent his manuscript first to Chapman and Hall (the publisher of some of Butler's most notable contemporaries, including Anthony Trollope, William Makepeace Thackeray and Charles Dickens) whose reader, George Meredith, rejected it. He had then revised it and sent it to the lesser-known publishing house Trübner & Co, who agreed to publish *Erewhon*, but only at the author's expense. Butler was obliged to take out a loan from Henry Hoare (1838–1898), a banker and friend from St John's College.[160] Trübner imposed its house style on Butler's writing: much polishing of punctuation, but also alterations to wording and sometimes whole phrases, were negotiated by way of printers' proofs, which have not survived. When in February Butler received the initial proofs for the first 12 pages of the novel, he declared himself satisfied in a letter to Savage: 'It reads very well, and the type is excellent; even Pauli, who has been the most freezing critic hitherto (in so far as he could be got to listen to a passage here and there), thawed a little as he read'.[161]

Given the publisher's lukewarm response to Butler's manuscript, it came as a surprise to Butler and Trübner alike that the novel sold out within six weeks. Butler had opted to publish *Erewhon* anonymously (chiefly to evade his family's wrath at is many unorthodoxies that directly and derisively challenged their convictions).[162] Butler attributed its initial popularity to the public's belief that it had been written as a sequel to *The Coming Race* (1871), a work by the well-known novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–1873) that would now be classed as science fiction. In fact, while early reviews consistently compared *Erewhon* to *The Coming Race*, none attributed it to the same author.[163] Instead, English reviewers were struck, as Butler later acknowledged, by '[t]he sound of a new voice'.[164]

---

[160] Jones, *Memoir*, p. 148.
[161] Jones, *Memoir*, p. 149.
[162] On the family's reception of *Erewhon*, see Raby, *Samuel Butler*, pp. 120–22.
[163] See, for instance: 'Erewhon', *Echo*, 9 April 1872, p. 2; 'Erewhon', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 May 1872, p. 11; 'Erewhon; or, Over the Range. Trübner & Co.', *British Quarterly Review*, July 1872, pp. 137–38.
[164] See Preface to the Ninth Edition, p. 66.

Several observed that the novel was 'original' or 'fresh' and all were intrigued to know the true target of its satire.[165] A reviewer for the *Pall Mall Gazette* was typical in his conclusion that '[a]t times the author's meaning is obscure; it is difficult to find the key to this fable; nor can we quite see the drift of the crime/disease analogy or the machine chapters', and like many other reviewers he attempted to guess the target of *Erewhon*'s satire: 'perhaps the author believes machines responsible for workers' serfdom, or is laughing at Mr. Darwin or Luther. The last seems most probable'.[166] A critic for the *Saturday Review* was equally puzzled: 'The author avoids explicit expression of his moral and probably will laugh at obtuse critics unable to grasp his intention […] The bitterest attack is reserved for religion by an author who appears to be a positivist'.[167] *Erewhon*'s initial success is attributable largely, then, to the ambiguity that Butler cultivated through his perplexing distortions and satiric pseudo-logic, literary techniques formulated in response to experiences in two parts of empire.

The second edition (E2)

Trübner had opted not to make stereotypes of this first edition, not having foreseen the necessity, so within months Butler was tasked with preparing a new edition. This second edition was released by Trübner in July 1872 and included – according to Butler – 'some necessary corrections' and 'a few passages where it struck me that they would be appropriately introduced'.[168] These changes were subtle but significant. In the first place, Butler took the opportunity to emend punctuation, correct mistakes with the chronology and, in response to one reader's advice, correct his Latin spelling: significantly, E1 is the product of a writer so familiar with the classics that he could quote (if imperfectly) Virgil's *Georgics* from memory, whereas E2 was created through a degree of authorial correction.[169] In the second place, Butler added a Preface, in which he sought to clarify points that had perplexed his early readers. He was unequivocal in expressing his 'profound admiration' for Darwin's theory of evolution: 'I regret that reviewers have in some cases been inclined to treat the chapters on Machines as an attempt to reduce Mr. Darwin's theory to an absurdity. Nothing

[165] 'Erewhon; or, Over the Range. Trübner', *Fortnightly Review*, 1 May 1872, pp. 609–10; 'Erewhon', *Vanity Fair*, 4 May 1872, p. 140; 'New Book', *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1872, p. 487. For similar opinions, see: 'Erewhon; or, Over the Range (Trübner & Co.)', *Athenaeum*, 20 April 1872, p. 492; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 May 1872, p. 11; *Echo*, 9 April 1872, p. 2.
[166] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 May 1872, p. 11.
[167] 'Erewhon,' *Saturday Review*, 20 April 1872, pp. 507–08.
[168] See Preface to the Second Edition, p. 64.
[169] See Chapter 3, lines 60–1 n.

could be further from my intention, and few things would be more distasteful to me than any attempt to laugh at Mr. Darwin'.[170] He also went some way to identifying the true target of his satire as Bishop Butler: 'I am surprised […] that the book at which such an example of the specious misuse of analogy would seem most naturally levelled should have occurred to no reviewer; neither shall I mention the name of the book here, though I should fancy that the hint given will suffice.'[171] In the third place, Butler added small sections of text to Chapter 12 to correct the mistaken view — so he said in the Preface — of some reviewers that he had 'denied men's responsibility for their actions'.[172]

Butler thus sought in small ways to tidy the text but also mitigate the effect of the ambiguity he had deliberately cultivated in the first edition. Although Butler did not attach his name to *Erewhon* until the fifth edition (1873), it was already known that he was its author when the second edition was published.[173] The second edition received no critical attention, presumably because it was not deemed a new release, and, according to Festing Jones, 'the demand dropped by 90 per cent' (although the novel did continue to sell modestly throughout Butler's life).[174] *Erewhon*, as embodied in this second edition, was therefore shaped, in McGann's terms, by a new 'social-historical field', in which not only the 'originary moment' of authorial production was altered, but so too its transmission and reception.[175] The *Erewhon* of July 1872 was moulded less directly by Butler's experiences in Canterbury and Cambridge and more by the opinion of English readers and critics; ironically, *Erewhon* as moulded in accord with the opinions of those readers was no longer a commercial or critical triumph.

The ninth edition (E9)

At this point, Butler's declared intention was 'never to touch the work again' and the second edition stereotypes formed the basis of the six reprints that appeared in following decades.[176] However, in 1901 Butler was prompted by his publisher, Grant Richards, to revise *Erewhon*: Butler had written a sequel, *Erewhon Revisited*, and the addition of new material to *Erewhon* would secure copyright when the novel was republished alongside the sequel in October of

[170] See Preface to the Second Edition, p. 65.
[171] See Preface to the Second Edition, p. 65.
[172] See Preface to the Second Edition, p. 65.
[173] This fact had been reported in the *Athenaeum* and in the *Drawing-Room Gazette*, a short-lived journal with which Savage was connected, on 25 May 1872.
[174] Jones, *Memoir*, p. 155.
[175] Jerome McGann, 'Theory of Texts', *London Review of Books*, (10) 1988 <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v10/n04/jerome-mcgann/theory-of-texts> [accessed 8 August 2021] (para. 30 of 34).
[176] See Preface to the Second Edition, p. 64.

that year.[177] For this 1901 'revised and enlarged edition' of *Erewhon*, Butler took the opportunity to 'revise the book throughout for literary inelegancies — of which I found many more than I had expected' and opted to 'make such substantial additions as should secure a new lease of life — at any rate for the copyright […] instead of cutting out, say fifty pages, I have been compelled to add about sixty.'[178] This process of revision is laid bare in Butler's manuscript of the ninth edition, which consists of printed pages of the second edition, cut and pasted into a quarto the same size as his earlier manuscript, with handwritten corrections and additions inserted in the blank margins. Butler used standard proofing symbols of the era and his additions are neat and methodical. However, the orderliness of the manuscript is but one way in which the ninth edition represents yet another embodiment of *Erewhon*: by adding a new preface, a quantity of new material in many chapters and three wholly new chapters, Butler put before the reading public a distinctly different version of the novel in 1901 than he had in either of his 1872 editions.

Lee Elbert Holt and Breuer and Howard have already cogently analysed the content and effect of Butler's 1901 additions, making a full reassessment superfluous.[179] It is, however, worth reiterating Breuer and Howard's principal conclusion that Butler overlaid the novel in 1901 with 'a quite different sensibility', by incorporating theories and attitudes developed in later life.[180] In the thirty years that separated the first and second editions from the ninth, Butler had developed idiosyncratic theories in an array of diverse fields. In 1873, he had enlarged his *Resurrection* pamphlet into *The Fair Haven* (1873), an ironical attack on Christian apologists who defended dogma against the claims of higher criticism. In four books beginning with *Life and Habit* (1877), he had taken issue with Darwin's theory of natural selection and proposed his own neo-Lamarckian theory of evolution. He had brought out his vernacular prose translations of the *Odyssey* (1895) and *Iliad* (1898) and in *The Authoress of the Odyssey* (1897) presented his theory that the *Odyssey* had been written by a woman. He had also developed theories within art criticism, which ran counter to mainstream academic theory, privileging the works of obscure northern Italian artists found in the Sacre Monte at Varallo over the great masters of the Italian Renaissance in *Ex Voto* (1880) and *Alps and Sanctuaries* (1881). In 1873 he began writing his second novel, *The Way of All Flesh* (1903), a damning exposé of the hypocrisies of Victorian religion and domestic life. He had

[177] See Preface to the Ninth Edition, p. 66.
[178] See Preface to the Ninth Edition, p. 66.
[179] Lee Elbert Holt, 'Samuel Butler's Revisions of Erewhon', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 38 (1944), 22–38; Breuer and Howard, eds, *Erewhon*, pp. 13–33.
[180] Breuer and Howard, eds, *Erewhon*, p. 16.

also from 1874 begun assembling commonplace books, which he called his 'Note-Books', which he would edit for posterity as an 'artefact of his alienation' and evidence of his 'emergence as the outsider'.[181] For the publication of all his later works published within his lifetime, aside from the 1901 edition of *Erewhon* and *Erewhon Revisited*, Butler had been obliged to pay; all had been, in Butler's own words, 'still-born'.[182] Butler's use of irony in *The Fair Haven* fooled readers into thinking the book a straightforward theological treatise in defence of Christianity.[183] Butler's increasingly hostile attacks on Darwin were ignored or scornfully rebutted, and Butler came to believe that Darwin's defenders had joined forces in a conspiracy against him.[184] The intellectual establishment met his works on classical literature and art history with silence.[185]

The 1901 additions reflect Butler's mature theorising and a rather earnest, almost defensive, commitment to his new positions. Hence Butler's brief allusion in E1 and E2 to the Erewhonian's dismissive attitude towards genius in chapter 10, 'Current Opinions', is substituted for a more extended discussion at the beginning of chapter 22 of E9. In E1 and E2, we are told that the Erewhonians 'take no account' of genius, regarding it as 'more or less pleasant to meet with but of no importance'.[186] In E9, this ambiguous statement is deleted; instead, Butler develops his idea of genius as a heritable trait according to his Lamarckian *Life and Habit* theory and labours the point that genius is, in evolutionary terms, dangerous: 'woe unto that man through whom it comes'.[187] Similarly, Butler enlarged the 1872 Musical Banks chapter in order to present developments in his religious thinking. He added statements such as:

> the Erewhonian Musical Banks, and perhaps the religious systems of all countries, are now more or less of an attempt to uphold the unfathomable and unconscious instinctive wisdom of millions of past generations,

[181] James G. Paradis, 'Butler After Butler: The Man of Letters as Outsider', in *Victorian Against the Grain*, ed. by James G. Paradis, pp. 343–69 (p. 353).
[182] See Preface to the Ninth Edition, p. 66.
[183] See Elinor Shaffer, 'The Ironies of Biblical Criticism: From Samuel Butler's 'Resurrection' Essay and *The Fair Haven* to *Erewhon Revisited*, in *Victorian Against the Grain*, ed. by James G. Paradis, pp. 58–87, (p. 60).
[184] See Lightman, 'Conspiracy', pp. 128–138.
[185] See Tim Whitmarsh, 'What Samuel Butler Saw: Classics, Authorship and Cultural Authority in late Victorian England', *The Cambridge Classics Journal*, 48 (2002), 66–86 (pp. 75–80); Mary Beard, 'Why Homer was (Not) a Woman: The Reception of *The Authoress of the Odyssey*', in *Victorian Against the Grain*, ed. by James G. Paradis, pp. 317–42 (pp. 325–34); James G. Paradis, 'Butler After Butler', pp. 355–60.
[186] See Chapter 10, lines 77–78.
[187] See Chapter 20, E9 additions to lines 223–6.

> against the comparatively shallow, consciously reasoning, and ephemeral conclusions drawn from that of the last thirty or forty.[188]

In 1872 Butler was equivocal about the church's social utility and placed more satiric stress on the cant and hypocrisy that supported it. By 1901, Butler firmly believed that the church had an important social function, and expanded the chapter so as to incorporate this view unambiguously.

From 1873, all Butler's works had been written while he was living in England or sojourning in Italy; he had never returned to New Zealand or re-integrated himself within his Cambridge networks. The 1901 additions to *Erewhon* are therefore not only the heavy-handed insertions of a writer with altered and more emphatic views, but also the thoughts of an older man separated by decades from the events of his youth. This is evident in the fact that the later Butler expressed distaste for those elements of the novel most obviously indebted to his life in Canterbury. In a letter to Eliza Savage of 1871 Butler wrote of *Erewhon*: 'the passage I like best is my reflections on my attempted conversion of Chowbok'. This section of the letter he annotated when revising the novel three decades later: 'And now, July 2th, 1901, this is one of these which I dislike most and would willingly cancel … S.B.'[189] Despite the fact that the 1901 edition of *Erewhon* differs significantly from its predecessors, early twentieth century English reviewers apparently regarded it as substantially the same book that had achieved fame in 1872; they concentrated on its sequel, which they generally denounced as lacking the 'freshness' of the first edition, which had been, by contrast, 'exciting' and 'original'.[190] E9 has formed the basis of all subsequent reprints of the book, on the basis that it was the last edition published during the author's lifetime.

Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard edition (B&H)

In 1981, Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard edited a critical edition of *Erewhon*: their aim was to 'make available the second-edition text of *Erewhon* (what might legitimately be called the "nineteenth century version" of it), and to collect in an appendix all substantial additions and alterations that Butler made in 1901'.[191] Their persuasive analysis of the many

[188] See Chapter 14, E9 additions to line 293.
[189] Keynes and Hill, *Letters*, p. 17.
[190] 'Back to Nowhere', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 November 1901, p. 4. Similar views were expressed in: 'Erewhon', *Guardian*, 13 November 1901, p. 1585; 'A Disciple of Swift', *Literary World*, 25 October 1901, pp. 294–96; 'Erewhon Revisited', *Times*, 9 October 1901, p. 5.
[191] Breuer and Howard, eds, *Erewhon*, p. 11.

alterations made to the ninth edition underpinned their decision to return to an earlier text. Yet in the absence of any declared theoretical framework, their decision to reproduce the second edition text was presumably guided by the belief that E2 embodied Butler's intentions better than E1, following a theoretical persuasion that this edition resists. The Breuer and Howard edition went only some way towards linking Butler's experiences in Cambridge and New Zealand to his fiction. As Robinson noted, their edition made 'important if not yet complete progress towards establishing *Erewhon*'s dual nationality'.[192]

The true editions of *Erewhon* can be summarised as follows:

(E1) First edition (London: Trübner & Co., 1872)	750 copies sold out within six weeks.
(E2) Second edition (London: Trübner & Co., 1872)	'Revised and corrected' with a new preface. E2 formed the basis of the next six reprints.
(E9) Ninth edition (London: Grant Richards, 1901)	'Revised and enlarged' edition. E9 formed the basis of all reprints published since 1901, except for Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard's edition.
(B&H) Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard 1981 edition	Critical edition using E2 as its copy-text.

Extant manuscripts, in relation to the true editions of the novel, are as follows:

MS of E1	Manuscript of *Erewhon*	British Library Add MS 36711
E1	First Edition of *Erewhon*	St John's College Library BII ERE 1872.1
E2	Second Edition of *Erewhon*, revised and corrected	St John's College Library BII ERE 1872.3

[192] Roger Robinson, 'Erewhon or over the Range by Samuel Butler, Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 4 (1986), 83–85 (p. 84).

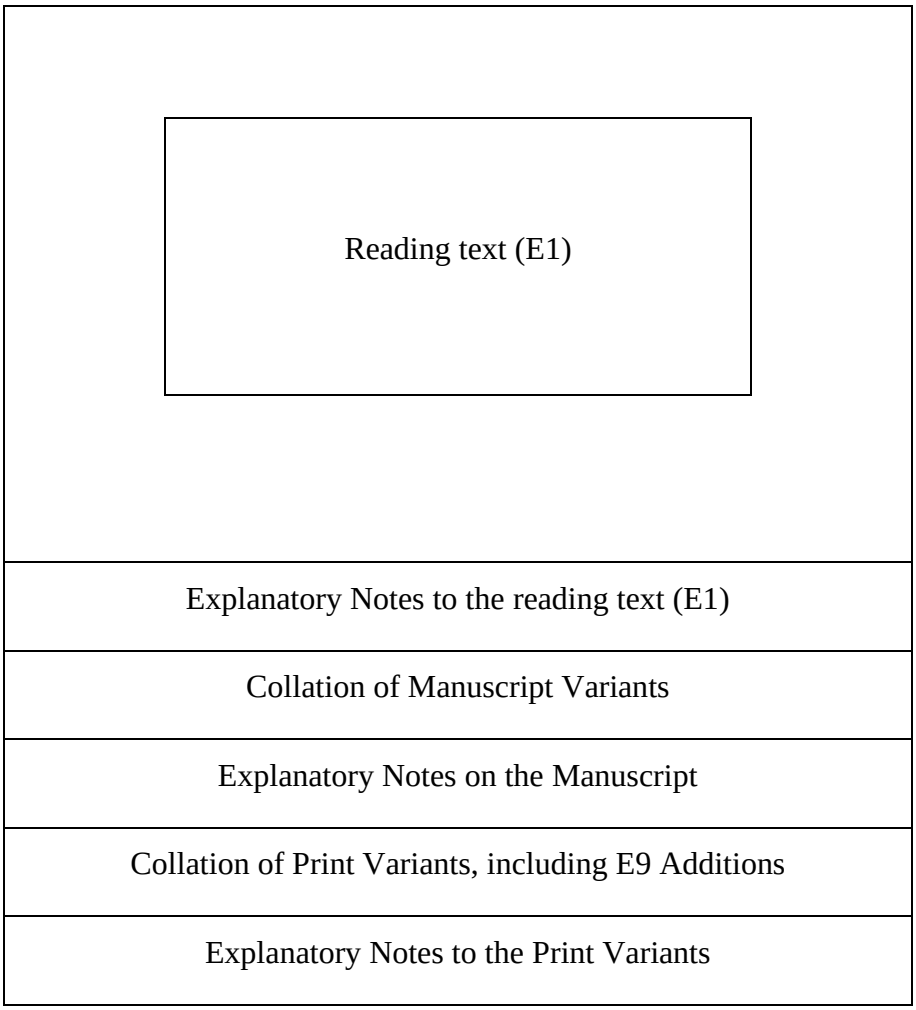
MS of E9	Revised Proofs of the Revised Edition of *Erewhon*	British Library Add MS 36712
E9	Revised Edition of *Erewhon*	St John's College Library BII ERE 1901.1

Copy-text

Three historical moments are represented in *Erewhon*'s publication history, each involving different dynamics of production and reception. The second edition was cleaned of spelling and chronological mistakes; it was given a new preface and subtly altered to render the satire less ambiguous in response to critics' comments; it found neither critical approval nor commercial success. The ninth edition was written long after Butler's experiences in Canterbury and Cambridge and was altered to incorporate the ideas Butler had developed in intervening decades; it too received no critical attention. The first edition evidences in unmediated form the literary strategies that Butler developed in response to his experiences at Cambridge and Canterbury. This edition therefore takes as its copy-text the first edition of *Erewhon* published in March 1872, making available – for the first time since its publication – the earliest printed version of the novel. Rather than prioritising Butler's intention for *Erewhon* at particular moments of its composition, this edition enables readers to engage with the version of *Erewhon* most obviously fashioned from Butler's early experiences across the empire, a version that met with unexpected popularity upon its release.

Editorial Methods

The scholarly apparatus reflects, through its content and visual layout, the commitment of this edition to present *Erewhon* at its earliest moment of publication. On each page, the reading text drawn from E1 takes centre stage. All other forms of the novel, and annotation pertaining to those forms, sit beneath it as archaeological layers showing the work's transformation through time, beginning with those most directly pertinent to E1. There are five separate sections of annotation, as follows:



Explanatory Notes to the reading text (E1)

These notes to the reading text provide definitions, translations, points of clarification, and information about the historical and literary context for the novel and other matters of obvious interest. As Anthony Grafton has observed, annotation of this nature is never 'neutral': it is a tool that has been co-opted throughout history to a variety of purposes and is 'bound up […] with the ideology and technical practices' of its author.[193] These notes are self-consciously guided by the purpose of the edition to ground *Erewhon* in the context of Butler's experiences at Cambridge and in Canterbury. Nevertheless, readers will come to *Erewhon* with a diverse range of interests, for Butler claims our attention as a political thinker, populariser of evolutionary theory, satirist of Victorian family life, art critic, classicist, writer of Biblical criticism and much more. These explanatory notes, while framing the reading text within a certain context, are also designed to support the variety of interests

[193] Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 5.

that may bring readers to Butler's novel. The information provided in these explanatory notes, together with definitions and translations, are the fruits of my own research, but where explanatory material has already been given by previous editors, and the substance of their notes is adopted here, I acknowledge their work. I use imperial units in the notes, as it was of course Butler's habit to describe distances in feet and miles.

Collation of Manuscript Variants

This section lists variant readings from the manuscript of the first edition of *Erewhon* (British Library Add MS 36711). The keyword drawn from the reading text is followed by a square bracket, followed in turn by the manuscript variant. Thus, the following example indicates that where the copy-text reads 'imagine' at line 13, the manuscript reads 'believe':

13 imagine] believe

This edition does not aim to provide a diplomatic reconstruction of Add MS 36711. However, it tries not to thwart the variety of unforeseen research interests that scholars may wish to pursue regarding Butler's prose style, syntax or compositional and revisionary practices. To this end, the collation records all substantive and accidental variants, except those instances where Butler split and hyphenated words over the end of a line. In order to declutter the critical apparatus, single letters superimposed or subjacent to another are also ignored; record is only made of variants where whole words, phrases or lines are written upon existing writing. To economise on space, line numbers are not repeated where two keywords in a row are drawn from the same line. When the keyword is one that occurs twice in the same line, a neighbouring word is included before the closing bracket as an identifier, as in the following example:

464 a sea] the sea

The following symbols are used in the collation of manuscript variants:

Editorial comments appear in italics in square brackets:	[*Torn page corner*]
Angle brackets indicate faded text, with spacing indicative of the length of the faded writing:	< >
Partially obscured text:	{ }

The substitution for a word in recording a punctuation variant is represented by a tilde:	~
All deletions are simply represented by way of a single strike-through:	~~VI~~ X
Text inserted above the line is enclosed in caret marks:	another ^which was^ loftier
Double insertions (where Butler inserted text above a line of inserted text) are enclosed in double carets:	this I cannot do, ^and ^^yet^^ I ^ dare not do otherwise
Square brackets and question marks indicate illegible text. Each question mark represents a separate word, or groups of letters, where distinguishable. Spacing is indicative of the length of the illegible text:	[?]
Illegible deletions are represented by square brackets, question marks and strike-through; again, question marks represent words or groups of letters within words, where discernible:	[? ?] [? ded] ~~[? g]~~
Conjectural readings are enclosed in square brackets and preceded by a question mark:	[?know]
Legible overwrites, where an underwrite is illegible, are enclosed in square brackets and preceded by '*owr*':	[*owr* it]
Legible underwrites, where the overwrite is illegible, are enclosed in square brackets and followed by '*uwr*':	[*uwr* it]
Where two layers of writing are illegible, the length and nature of indecipherable text explained through an editorial comment:	[*Two illegible words over two other illegible words*]
Inserts to the side of the main body of text are enclosed in double asterisks:	**Chapter XI "An Erewhonian Trial"**

Explanatory Notes on the Manuscript

Here material on place-holder versos is reproduced or, where appropriate, simply described. The occasional fragments of writing that made their way into the manuscript solely because

Butler failed to cut them out in his snipping and assembling of material are also reproduced in this section of the apparatus. It also records how text on the manuscript folios relates to, or is replicated in, the copy-text. So, for example, the following note indicates that all material between the words 'Chapter I' on line 1 and 'pecuniary advantage' on line 12 derives from f. 5^{r} in the manuscript:

1 – 12 Chapter I … pecuniary advantage: f. 5r

Instances of long division have been normalised to fit neatly into the notes. Thus where Butler wrote

36
22
<u>44</u>
202

this edition reads 36 | 22 | 44 = 202. Butler's asterisks, arrows and numbering systems, are not recorded in either the Collation of Manuscript Variants or the Explanatory Notes on the Manuscript. To do this lucidly, and without encumbering the critical apparatus to the point of obfuscation, would be impossible. The small crosses — perhaps the work of Eliza Savage — are not recorded for the same reason.

Collation of Print Variants

This section provides variant readings from the key published editions of *Erewhon*: E2 and E9. As with the collation of manuscript variants, each reading is linked to the text by line numbers and keywords. The keyword from E1 is quoted, followed by a closing square bracket, and to the right of the bracket variant readings are listed in publication order, together with their sources. The following example indicates that at line 324 the word 'bendeth' is the same in E2, but reads 'bends' in E9:

324 bendeth] E2, bends E9

Any text omitted from a particular edition is indicated by way of abbreviation. So 'manner of' appears in both E1 and E2, but not E9:

35 manner of] E2, *om*. E9

The collation of print variants includes punctuation discrepancies, but ignores differences arising purely from house style (for instance where both E1 and E2 use spaced em-dashes,

but E9 a spaced en-dash). The question of Butler's substantial E9 additions presents a great challenge to an editor of *Erewhon*. Most editors, taking E9 as their copy-text, have omitted any indication of where the 1901 material was inserted: some, such as Peter Mudford in his 1972 Penguin edition, used asterisks in the body of the text to indicate the parameters of the 1901 additions; Breuer and Howard, taking E2 as their copy-text, chose to relegate all the supplementary material to an appendix. This edition places all the 1901 additions within the Collation of Print Variants. Since this edition privileges the first edition, however, discrepancies between the 1901 print edition and the material contained in the printer's proofs for E9 are only recorded in the Notes to the Print variants when especially worthy of mention. On each page E1 sits in dialogue with all other versions of the work and the voice of the editor: the decision to retain various forms of the text on each page reflects the abiding commitment to present *Erewhon* as a novel shaped both by history and by the interpretation of modern-day readers.

Appendix

Some sections of the manuscript are so chaotic that attempting to reproduce them in the on-page apparatus would do more to hinder the reader's understanding of the manuscript than to aid it. In these instances, the reader is directed to the Appendix, where diplomatic transcription of each section is keyed by chapter and line number. The same symbols are applied as in the Collation of Manuscript Variants, except for the following:

All deletions reproduce the original number of strike-throughs:	~~VI~~
Pencil is represented through grey text	However
Text inserted above the line is represented as such:	which was another ^ loftier
Legible overwrites, where an underwrite is illegible, are in dark grey highlights:	twenty
Legible underwrites, where the overwrite is illegible, are in mid-grey highlights:	ten

EREWHON

OR

OVER THE RANGE

EREWHON

OR

OVER THE RANGE

"τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι δοκοῦντος ἀγαθοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττουσι πάντες"
—ARIST. *Pol.* **5**

"There is no action save upon a balance of considerations."
—(*Paraphrase*).

LONDON
TRÜBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW
1872 **10**
[*All rights reserved*]

4–7 "τοῦ γὰρ … —(*Paraphrase*) It would have been obvious to anyone as proficient in ancient Greek as SB that there is a comic discrepancy of meaning between the Greek quotation and SB's paraphrase. The Greek is a parenthetical observation made by Aristotle (384–322 BC) within the first sentence of *Politics*: 'Every state is as we see a sort of partnership, and every partnership is formed with a view to some good (since all the actions of all mankind are done with a view to what they think to be good)' (1.1252a.1). The chief difference between the original and SB's paraphrase is the substitution of 'balance of considerations' for 'what they think to be good'. SB thereby alerts the reader to a central message of the novel: that action should be guided by common-sense judgment or a 'mean' (see Ch. 10, ls 25n and 32n) approach, rather than the rigorous application of logic, a view nourished through his practical education in Canterbury (see Ch. 23, E9 additions **v**) and his evolutionary thought (see Ch. 18, ls 143–4n). SB toys with draft versions of the paraphrase in the collation below: his first option, 'seemeth them good' is a (probably cynical) allusion to Samuel's acceptance of God's plan in 1 Samuel 3:18 ('It is the Lord: let him do what seemeth him good'). Such jokes involving classical quotations were not uncommon within male intellectual circles of the mid-late British Empire: see e.g., Doniger, 940–42.

"τοῦ γὰρ εἶναι … —(*Paraphrase*).] τοῦ γὰρ δοκοῦντος εἶναι ἀγάθου χάριν πάντες πράττουσι πάντα. / Arist. Pol. / ~~There is no action but upon a balance of~~ ~~considerations (paraphrase)~~ / For whatever men do, they do ~~because~~ ^for^ its / ~~seemeth them good~~ ^apparent advantage.^ (translation) / ~~Consideration is of choice only.~~ / ~~(Paraphrase)~~

1–11 EREWHON … [*All rights reserved*]: f. 1[r]. SB headed this page: '(Title Page)'. Upside down, on f. 1[v], SB wrote: '(Title page) / Erewhon / or / Beyond the Range / respectfully dedicated / ~~to~~ / [a] To the ghosts of three ~~celebrated~~ ~~majordomos~~. ^serving-men.^ / τοῦ γὰρ δοκοῦντος εἶναι ἀγάθου χάριν / πάντες πράττουσι πάντα. / Aristotle's Politics. / For whatever men do, they do so because it seemeth them good. ~~to do it~~. Trans.'

[a] SB here alters the word order when quoting *Politics*, apparently from memory, but his quotation is grammatically correct. A majordomo is the chief steward of a large household. The 'serving men' Butler alludes to are the other 'butlers' he knew of: Samuel Butler (1774–1839), his grandfather (see Ch. 5, ls 80–1n); Samuel Butler (1613–8), satiric poet (see Ch. 21, ls 81–2n); and Joseph Butler (see Gen. Int., 20).

PREFACE.

The Author wishes it to be understood that Erewhon
is pronounced as a word of three syllables, all short—

thus, Ĕ-rĕ-whŏn.

15

12–13 PREFACE … The Author] Preface (for the beginning of the volume) / The Author **14–15 syllables … Ĕ-rĕ-whŏn]** syllables with the first two short: ^all short^ thus, Ĕrĕwhŏn.

---

12 PREFACE. … 15 Ĕ-rĕ-whŏn: f. 2[r]. At the top of this page of the MS are lines of script from an earlier version of the end of Ch. 25: '~~{what I have written about him in the earlier}~~ ~~part of my book is not libellous, and that it may do him~~ ~~no harm with his employers. I must certainly find him~~ ~~out and have a talk with him, but ere I shall have~~ ~~time to do so, and to do so, and to report concerning him, these pag~~es ~~will be in the hands of the public.~~ ^~~The [Printing_? ites]~~^ ~~Alas! Alas! I see a horrible complication. But I will meet~~ ~~it and be equal to it. Please subscribe~~ ^quickly, or the shares will rise.^ ^~~Feb 15—1872.~~^'.

---

12 PREFACE … 15 Ĕ-rĕ-whŏn.]

E2

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

HAVING been enabled by the kindness of the public to get through an unusually large edition of "Erewhon" in a very short time, I have taken the opportunity of a second edition to make some necessary corrections, and to add a few passages where it struck me that they would be appropriately introduced; the passages are few, and it is my fixed intention never to touch the work again.

I may perhaps be allowed to say a word or two here in reference to [a]"The Coming Race," to the success of which book "Erewhon" has been very generally set down as due. This is a mistake, though a perfectly natural one. The fact is that "Erewhon" was finished, with the exception of the last twenty pages and a sentence or two inserted from time to time here and there throughout the book, before the first advertisement of "The Coming Race" appeared. A friend having called my attention to one of the first of these advertisements, and suggesting that it probably referred to a work of similar character to my own, I took "Erewhon" to a [b]well-known firm of publishers on the 1st of May 1871, and left it in their hands for consideration. I then went abroad, and on learning that the publishers alluded to declined the MS., I let it alone for six or seven months, and, being in an out-of-the-way part of Italy, never saw a single review of "The Coming Race," nor a copy of the work. On my return, I purposely avoided looking into it until I had sent back my last revises to the printer. Then I had much pleasure in reading it, but was indeed surprised

at the many little points of similarity between the two books, in spite of their entire independence to one another.

I regret that reviewers have in some cases been inclined to treat the chapters on Machines as [c]an attempt to reduce Mr. Darwin's theory to an absurdity. Nothing could be further from my intention, and few things would be more distasteful to me than any attempt to laugh at Mr. Darwin; but I must own that I have myself to thank for the misconception, for I felt sure that my intention would be missed, but preferred not to weaken the chapters by explanation, and knew very well that Mr. Darwin's theory would take no harm. The only question in my mind was how far *I* could afford to be misrepresented as laughing at that for which I have the most profound admiration. I am surprised, however, that [d]the book at which such an example of the specious misuse of analogy would seem most naturally levelled should have occurred to no reviewer; neither shall I mention the name of the book here, though I should fancy that the hint given will suffice.

I have been held by some whose opinions I respect to have denied men's responsibility for their actions. He who does this is an enemy who deserves no quarter. I should have imagined that I had been sufficiently explicit, but have made a few additions to the chapter on Malcontents, which will, I think, serve to render further mistake impossible.

An anonymous correspondent (by the hand-writing presumably a clergyman) tells me that in quoting from the Latin grammar I should at any rate have done so correctly, and that I should have written "agricolas" instead of "agricolae". He added something about any boy in the fourth form, &c., &c., which I shall not quote, but which made me very uncomfortable. It may be said that I must have misquoted from design, from ignorance, or by a slip of the pen; but surely in these days it will be recognised as harsh to assign limits to the all-embracing boundlessness of truth, and it will be more reasonably assumed that *each* of the three possible causes of misquotation must have had its share in the apparent blunder. The art of writing things that shall sound right and yet be wrong has made so many reputations, and affords comfort to such a large number of readers, that I could not venture to neglect it; the Latin grammar, however, is a subject on which some of the younger members of the community feel strongly, so I have now written "agricolas". I have also parted with the word "infortuniam" (though not without regret), but have not dared to meddle with other similar inaccuracies.

For the inconsistencies in the book, and I am aware that there are not a few, I must ask the indulgence of the reader. The blame, however, lies chiefly with the Erewhonians themselves, for they were really a very difficult people to understand. The most glaring anomalies seemed to afford them no intellectual inconvenience; neither, provided they did not actually see the money dropping out of their pockets, nor suffer immediate physical pain, would they listen to any arguments as to the waste of money and happiness which their folly caused them. But this had an effect of which I have little reason to complain, for I was allowed almost to call them life-long self-deceivers to their faces, and they said it was quite true, but that it did not matter.

I must not conclude without expressing my most sincere thanks to my critics and to the public for the leniency and consideration with which they have treated my adventures.

June 9, 1872.

E9

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION.

MR Grant Richards wishes me to say a few words about the genesis of the work, a revised and enlarged edition of which he is herewith laying before the public. I therefore place on record as much as I can remember on this head after a lapse of more than thirty years.

The first part of *Erewhon* written was an article headed 'Darwin among the Machines,' and signed Cellarius. It was written in the Upper Rangitata district of the Canterbury Province (as it then was) of New Zealand, and appeared at Christchurch in the *Press* newspaper, June 13, 1863. A copy of this article is indexed under my books in the [e]British Museum catalogue. In passing, I may say that the opening chapters of *Erewhon* were also drawn from the Upper Rangitata district, with such modifications as I found convenient.

A [f]second article on the same subject as the one just referred to appeared in the *Press* shortly after the first, but I have no copy. It treated Machines from a different point of view, and was the basis of pp. 270-274 of the present edition of *Erewhon*. This view ultimately led me to the theory I put forward in *Life and Habit*, published in November 1877. I have put a bare outline of this theory (which I believe to be quite sound) into the mouth of an Erewhonian philosopher in Chapter XXVII of this book.

In 1865 I rewrote and enlarged ‘Darwin among the Machines’ for the *Reasoner*, a paper published in London by [g]Mr. G. J. Holyoake. It appeared July 1, 1865, under the heading, ‘The Mechanical Creation,’ and can be seen in the British Museum. I again rewrote and enlarged it, till it assumed the form in which it appeared in the first edition of *Erewhon*.

The next part of *Erewhon* that I wrote was the ‘World of the Unborn,’ a preliminary form of which was sent to Mr Holyoake’s paper, but as I cannot find it among those copies of the *Reasoner* that are in the British Museum, I conclude that it was not accepted. I have, however, rather a strong fancy that it appeared in some London paper of the same character as the *Reasoner*, not very long after July 1, 1865, but I have no copy.

I also wrote about this time the substance of what ultimately became the Musical Banks, and the trial of a man for being in a consumption. These four detached papers were, I believe, all that was written of *Erewhon* before 1870. Between 1865 and 1870 I wrote hardly anything, being hopeful of attaining that success as a painter which it has not been vouchsafed me to attain, but in the autumn of 1870, just as I was beginning to get occasionally hung at [h]Royal Academy exhibitions, my friend, the [i]late Sir F. N. (then Mr) Broome, suggested to me that I should add somewhat to the articles I had already written, and string them together into a book. I was rather fired by the idea, but as I only worked at the MS. on Sundays it was some months before I had completed it.

I see from my second Preface that I took the book to Messrs Chapman & Hall May 1, 1871, and on their rejection of it, under [j]the advice of one who has attained the highest rank among living writers, I let it sleep, till I took it to Mr. Trübner early in 1872. As regards its rejection by Messrs. Chapman & Hall, I believe their reader advised them quite wisely. They told me he reported that it was a philosophical work, little likely to be popular with a large circle of readers. I hope that if I had been their reader, and the book had been submitted to myself, I should have advised them to the same effect.

Erewhon appeared with the last day or two of March 1872. I attribute its unlooked-for success mainly to two early favourable reviews—the first in the [k]*Pall Mall Gazette* of April 12, and the second in the *Spectator* of April 20. There was also another cause. I was complaining once to a friend that though *Erewhon* had met with such a warm reception, my subsequent books had been all of them practically still-born. He said, ‘You forget one charm that *Erewhon* had, but which none of your other books can have.’ I asked what? and was answered, ‘The sound of a new voice, and of an unknown voice.’

The first edition of *Erewhon* sold in about three weeks; I had not taken moulds, and as the demand was strong, it was set up again immediately. I made a few unimportant alterations and additions, and added a Preface, of which I cannot say that I am particularly proud, but an inexperienced writer with a head somewhat turned by unexpected success is not to be trusted with a preface. I made a few further very trifling alterations before moulds were taken, but since the summer of 1872, as new editions were from time to time wanted, they have been printed from stereos then made.

Having now, I fear, at too great length done what Mr Richards wished, I should like to add a few words on my own account. I am still fairly well satisfied with those parts of *Erewhon* that were repeatedly rewritten, but from those [l]that had only a single writing I would gladly cut out some forty or fifty pages if I could.

This, however, may not be, [m]for the [n]copyright will probably expire in a little over twelve years. It was necessary, therefore, to revise the book throughout for literary inelegancies—of which I found many more than I had expected—and also to make such substantial additions as should secure a new lease of life—at any rate for the copyright. If, then, instead of cutting out, say fifty pages, I have been compelled to add about sixty [o]*invitâ Minervâ*—the blame rests neither with Mr Richards nor with me, but with the copyright laws. Nevertheless I can assure the reader that, though I have found it an irksome task to take up work which I thought I had got rid of thirty years ago, and much of which I am ashamed of, I have done my best to make the new matter savour so much of the better portions of the old, that none but the best critics shall perceive at what places the gaps of between thirty and forty years occur.

Lastly, if my readers note a considerable difference between the literary *technique* of *Erewhon* and that of *Erewhon Revisited*, I would remind them that, as I have just shown, *Erewhon* took something like ten years in writing, and even so was written with great difficulty, while *Erewhon Revisited* was written easily between November 1900 and the end of April 1901. There is no central idea underlying *Erewhon*, whereas the attempt to realise the effect of a single [p]supposed great miracle dominates the whole of its successor. In *Erewhon* there was hardly any story, and little attempt to give life and individuality to the characters; I hope that in *Erewhon Revisited* both these defects have been in great measure avoided. *Erewhon* was not an organic whole, *Erewhon Revisited* may fairly claim to be one. Nevertheless, though in literary

workmanship I do not doubt that this last-named book is an improvement on the first, I shall be agreeably surprised if I am not told that *Erewhon*, with all its faults, is the better reading of the two.
August 7, 1901

---

[a] **The Coming Race** See Ed. Int, 47–8.
[b] **well-known … publishers** Chapman and Hall: see also **J** below.
[c] **Mr. Darwin's … absurdity** SB alludes to the phrasing of a review in the *Athenaeum* of 20 April 1872 (p. 492): 'The arguments therein advanced seem to be an attempt to reduce to the absurd the whole theory of evolution'. However, other reviewers came to the same conclusion, e.g., in: '*Erewhon: or, Over the Range* (Trübner & Co.),' *The British Quarterly Review*, July 1872, pp. 137–38 and 'New Books', *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1872, p. 487.
[d] **the book … analogy** Bishop Butler's *Analogy of Religion*: see Gen. Int., 20.
[e] **British … catalogue** The catalogue of the British Museum Reading Room, which had opened in 1759 and which was a place where SB regularly worked.
[f] **second article** 'Lucubratio Ebria', see Ch. 23, ls 284–99n.
[g] **Mr. G. J. Holyoake** George Jacob Holyoake (1817–1906), an editor with secularist and socialist leanings, who edited the *Reasoner* from 1846–1861.
[h] **Royal … exhibitions** SB had exhibited *Miss Atcheson* in 1869 and *A Reverie* in 1871.
[i] **late … Broome** See Ed. Int., 43–4. Broome had returned to England with his wife, Mary Anne Broome, in 1869. In 1882 he had become Governor of Western Australia and been knighted in 1884.
[j] **the advice … living writers** The poet and novelist George Meredith (1892–1909) had rejected *Erewhon* and according to HFJ SB made the following note of the fact in 1899: 'This is not strange, for I should probably have condemned his *Diana of the Crossways*, or indeed any other of his books, had it been submitted to myself. No wonder if his work repels me that mine should repel him' (Jones 1919, I, 148). In a *Note-Books* entry on Meredith, SB said, half-jestingly, that he was 'still raw about this after twenty-eight years' (*Note-Books*, 185). According to B&H, Meredith had later told a mutual acquaintance that he could not understand why SB had been 'so strangely overlooked', and upon hearing this in 1893 SB wrote in his *Note-Books* MS that he (SB) 'ought to have said […] that it was no less comprehensible to myself how George Meredith can have so strangely acquired a literary reputation' (Jones 1919, I, 226).
[k] ***Pall Mall* … April 20** These were: 'Erewhon' published on 10 May 1872 (SB's date is an error) in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and 'The New Gulliver' on pp. 492–94 of the 20 April issue of the *Spectator*. The *Spectator* reviewer had praised the novel ('[n]othing abler in its way than *Erewhon* has been written since Swift') but had been troubled by the satirist's message, especially his apparent belief that one's conduct should be guided by public opinion: 'If the implied teachings are accepted, the reader will find himself morally and intellectually nowhere'. In 1902, in an uncomplimentary review of *Erewhon Revisited*, a critic for the *Spectator* (at p. 223 of the 8 February issue) said '[the author] in his preface claims a favourable SPECTATOR review encouraged him … But if this review is praise, it is so only because it correctly indicated where the satire is meant to lead—i.e. nowhere.' In the next issue of the *Spectator* (on 15 February 1902 at p. 253) Butler retorted that his intention had been to uphold societal wisdom: 'What sane man will uphold any other guidance as generally safer—*exceptis*, of course, *exceptiendis*?'.
[l] **that had … I would** MS of E9 reads: 'that were written more hastily in order to string the whole together I would'.
[m] **for the copyright … It was** MS of E9 reads: 'for in the first place, the book must be long enough to be priced at six shillings; in the second place, it was'.
[n] **copyright** The Copyright Act 1842, effective during SB's lifetime, gave authors ownership of copyright for life and for seven years after their death. If this period was less than 42 years from first publication, copyright would endure for the full 42 years irrespective of the date of the author's death.
[o] ***invitâ Minervâ*** Lit. 'Minerva (the Roman goddess of wisdom) unwilling', meaning without inspiration.
[p] **supposed … miracle** See Ch. 19, l. 3n.

CONTENTS.

16 CONTENTS.] List of chapters **42 XXV. CONCLUSION]** ~~Finis~~. Conclusion.

18–35 I. WASTE LANDS … WORLD OF THE UNBORN: f. 3[r]. SB's numbering ends at XXIV: he seems to have inserted the titles 'Ydgrun and the Ydgrunites', 'The World of the Unborn' and 'What they mean by it' at a later stage and confused his numbering in the process.
36–42 XIX. WHAT THEY … XXV. CONCLUSION: f. 4[r].

18 I. WASTE LANDS … 42 XXV. CONCLUSION] [*Variant chapter titles for E9 are recorded in the collation to each chapter.*]

CHAPTER I.

WASTE LANDS.

IF the reader will excuse me, I will say nothing of my antecedents, nor of the circumstances which led me to leave my native country; the narrative would be tedious to him and painful to myself. Suffice it, that when I left home it was with the intention of going to some new colony, and either finding, or even perhaps purchasing, waste crown land suitable for cattle or sheep farming, by which means I thought that I could better my fortunes more rapidly than in England.

It will be seen that I did not succeed in my design, and that however much I may have met with what was new and strange, I have been unable to reap any pecuniary advantage.

It is true, I imagine myself to have made a discovery which, if I can be the first to profit by it, will bring me a recompense beyond all money computation, and secure me a position such as has not been attained by more than some fifteen or sixteen persons, since the creation of the universe. But to this end I must possess myself of a considerable sum of money: neither do I know how to get it, except by interesting the public in my story, and inducing the charitable to come forward and assist me. With this hope I now publish my adventures; but I do so with great reluctance, for I fear that my story will be doubted unless I tell the whole of it; and yet I dare not do so, lest others with

---

7 waste crown land When SB arrived in Canterbury, land not actually cultivated by Māori was legally designated 'waste land', to which the Crown held legal title. By 1862 most of the South Island had been purchased by the Crown under 'waste land' regulations: see McAloon (para. 12 of 31). On visions of unproductive, 'waste land' within empire see, e.g., Whitehead, 83–5, and Adams 2013, 138–41. SB had to apply to the Waste Lands Board for title to the lot that become his Mesopotamia station: his application is reproduced by Maling, 35–55.

---

3 me,] me **antecedents,]** antecedents **4 country;]** ~: **5 it,]** it **6 I left]** I did left **colony,]** country **7 finding, … land]** renting or purchasing unoccupied land which might be **9 than in**] than were I to remain in **10 and … however]** and ^that^ however **11 I may]** I have may **what]** that **strange,]** strange **12 reap any]** reap from it any **13 true, I imagine]** true that I believe **13–14 which, … it,]** which (can I be the first to profit by it) **15 secure … a]** ensure me ^such^ a **16 fifteen … persons,]** 15 or 16 persons **universe. But]** universe: but **17 must …a]** must ^possess myself of^ have a **18 it, … interesting]** it without ^except by^ interesting **story,]** story **19 me. With]** me. It is with **hope I]** hope that I **19–20 publish … but]** publish ^my adventures,^, but **20 for … that]** for ~~I am afraid~~ ^I fear^ that **21 it; … others] it**; and yet if I do this, ^and this I cannot do, lest ˄but˄ and yet I dare not do so lest^ others

---

1–12 CHAPTER I. … pecuniary advantage.: f. 5r. To the right of the chapter heading SB wrote: 'leave a little space for headings at beginning of Each chapter'. In the bottom right, he wrote: 'but on the contrary have True – {It is true that} I'.
13–27 It is true, … will carry conviction: f. 6r.

more means than mine should get the start of me. I prefer the risk of being doubted to that of being anticipated, and have therefore concealed my destination on leaving England, as also the point from which I began my more serious and difficult journey.

My chief consolation lies in the fact that truth bears its own impress, and that my story will carry conviction by reason of the internal evidences for its accuracy. I am sure, that no one who is himself honest will doubt my being so.

I reached my destination in one of the last months of 1868, but I dare not mention the season, lest the reader should gather in which hemisphere I was. The colony was one which had not been opened up even to the most adventurous settlers for more than eight or nine years, having been previously uninhabited, save by a few tribes of savages who frequented the seaboard. The part known to Europeans consisted of a coast-line about eight hundred miles in length (affording three or four good harbours), and a tract of country extending inland for a space varying from two to three hundred miles, until it reached the offshoots of an exceedingly lofty range of mountains, which could be seen from far out upon the plains, and were covered with perpetual

---

29–32 1868 … nine years SB had arrived in NZ in 1859 and the Canterbury colony had been founded nine years previously in 1850: see Gen. Int., 23–5.
34–43 coast-line … settling SB's description is modelled on actual geography: the East Coast of the South Island is 522 miles in length, so possibly SB counted the Wairarapa Coast, which had been alienated from Māori by 1860, in his calculation of 'eight hundred miles' of known coastline.

---

22 than … get] than I have will ^mine should^ get **22–3 me. … therefore]** me. ~~I cannot run the risk of being anticipated, and have preferred that of being doubted: I have~~ ^~~After much hesitation~~ I have preferred the risk of being doubted to that of being anticipated, and have therefore^ **23–4 concealed … my**] concealed the my England, ~~and~~ ^as also^ the **24 which]** wh: **25–6 journey. … that]** journey: ~~whatever names are given have been altered neither is the reader~~ ^~~my chief comfort lies in my [?ch]~~ ^~~encouragement lies~~^ ~~my only consolation is~~ ^my chief [*uwr*. ~~encouragement~~] [owr. consolation] lies in the fact^ that **27 of the internal]** of ~~its~~ internal **28 sure,]** sure **28–9 so. I … 1868,]** ~~But however this may be I will keep my own counsel for the present: I may be doubted now but Time will abundantly clear me~~. I started at the beginning of Autumn 186[uwr 7] [owr 9] **30 season,]** month **30–1 was. … which]** was: the point at which I left the last traces of civilisation was one of the remotest and most obscure in the whole world: it was in a country which **32 settlers]** colonists **eight … nine]** ~~ten or a dozen~~ ^eight or nine^ **32–3 years, … save]** years, ^and was then uninhabited having been previously uninhabited^ save **34 eight hundred]** 800 **35 length … three]** length and affording ^(affording^ three **harbours),]** ~) **37 mountains,]** mountains **38 upon … covered]** [?on] upon the plains, [?] ^and were^ covered

---

27–30 of by reason … reader should gather: f. 7r. At the top, before 'by reason', SB wrote: '~~and would indeed have almost [?deserved] [?the first] [? g]~~ had ~~I not felt confident that truth carries~~ ^~~bears~~^ ~~with it its own impress, and did I not believe~~ ^~~and~~^ ~~that my story would carry conviction~~'. Upside down on f. 7v SB wrote: '~~with me, and the two or three hundred pounds which I doubt not that you will give me for the [?lat] the present [?instalment] of my advertising is a sum which I cannot af-ford to throw away: I have too much at stake to be let any opportunity go by which I can fairly profit by. I will say nothing ^here^ of my antecedents how, nor of the circumstances that led me to leave my native country: suffice it that~~'.
30–43 in which hemisphere … think of settling.: f. 8r.

---

28 accuracy. … that no one] E2, accuracy. No one E9

snow. The coast was perfectly well known both north and south of the tract to which I have alluded, but in neither direction was there a single harbour for five hundred miles, and the mountains, which descended almost into the sea, were covered with thick timber, so that none would think of settling.

With this bay of land, however, the case was different. The harbours were sufficient; the country was timbered, but not too heavily; it was admirably suited for agriculture; it also contained millions on millions of acres of the most beautifully grassed country in the world, and of the best suited for all manner of sheep and cattle. The climate was temperate, and very healthy; there were no wild animals, nor were the natives dangerous, being few in number, and of an intelligent tractable disposition.

It may be readily understood that when once Europeans set foot upon this territory they were not slow to take advantage of its capabilities. Sheep and cattle were introduced, and bred with extreme rapidity; men took up their 50,000 or 100,000 acres of country, going inland one behind the other, till in a few years there was not an acre between the sea and the front ranges which was not taken up, and stations either for sheep or cattle were spotted about at intervals of some twenty or thirty miles over the whole country. The front ranges stopped the tide of squatters for some little time; it was thought that there was too much snow upon them for too many months in the year,—that the sheep would get lost, the ground being too difficult for shepherding,—that the expense

---

47 beautifully grassed country SB had, with a budding eye for irony, written in FY of the new aesthetic sense he had acquired in NZ: 'I am forgetting myself into admiring a mountain which is of no use for sheep. This is wrong. A mountain here is only beautiful here if it has good grass on it' (70).

---

39 north … south] North and South **40 there]** their **41 five hundred]** 500 **which]** (which **42 sea,]** ~) **timber,]** timber **44 land, however,]** land however **was different]** was very different **45 sufficient;]** ~, **46 agriculture; … millions]** agriculture, ^it also ~~it~~ contained^ ~~and~~ ~~there were~~ millions **47–8 world, … sheep]** world, ^and of the best suited for all manner of^ ~~all ready~~ for sheep **48 cattle. The]** cattle: the **49 natives … few]** natives ~~ad~~ dangerous, being ~~very~~ few **52–3 they … Sheep]** they ^were not slow to take advantage ~~perceived~~ of its capabilities ~~and took advantage~~ ~~of them~~^ ~~took to it very kindly~~: sheep **53 introduced,]** introduced **54 country, … one]** country going ^inland^ one **55 a few]** ~~ten~~ ^a very few^ **55–6 acre … up, and]** acre ^~~between the sea and~~ ~~the first ranges~~^ which was not ~~occupied~~ ^taken up^ ~~by some one~~, and **58 front]** first **59 some … time;]** some time: **60 months]** ~~yea~~ ^months^ **61 lost,]** lost **shepherding,—]** ~ – **expense]** expence

---

44–75 With this bay … to see the: f. 9r. The main body of writing on this page begins with the following section of text: '~~hidden by other and ranges of a somewhat~~ lower elevation, as one pro~~ceeded inland [?] The coast was of course perfectly well known North &~~ ~~South ^of the tract to which I have alluded, but in either direction the mountains~~^ ~~but the mountains were here~~ ~~densely wooded and descended almost into the sea,~~ ^~~and were densely wooded;~~^ ~~neither was there a single~~ ~~harbour for five hundred~~ ~~miles in either direction, so that no one~~ ^~~none~~^ ~~would ever think of settling the~~re'.

---

50 number,] number E2, E9

of getting wool down to the ship's side would eat up the farmer's profits,—and that the grass was too rough and sour for sheep to thrive upon; but one after another determined to try the experiment, and it was wonderful how successfully it turned out. Men pushed farther and farther into the mountains, and found a very considerable tract inside the front range, between it and another which was loftier still, though even this was not the highest, the great snowy one which could be seen from out upon the plains. This second range, however, seemed to mark the extreme limits of pastoral country; and it was here, at a small and newly founded station, that I was received as a cadet, and soon regularly employed. I was then just twenty-two years old.

I was delighted with the country and the manner of life. It was my daily business to go up to the top of a certain high mountain, and down one of its spurs on to the flat, in order to make sure that no sheep had crossed their boundaries. I was to see the sheep, not necessarily close at hand, nor to get them in a single mob, but to see enough of them here and there to feel easy that nothing had gone wrong; this was no difficult matter, for there were not above eight hundred of them; and, being all breeding ewes, they were pretty quiet.

There were a good many sheep which I knew, as two or three black ewes, and a black lamb or two, and several others which had some distinguishing mark whereby I could tell them. I would try and see all these, and if they were all there, and the mob looked large enough, I might

---

67–8 great snowy one Inspired by Mt Cook (12,218 feet), NZ's highest mountain, which SB saw during expeditions from which station and described as 'that most magnificent mountain […] one of the grandest I have ever seen' (FY, 67).
70 cadet A cadet was of a lower social status to SB: in FY SB describes him as 'a young fellow who has lately come out, and who wants to see a little of up-country life. He is neither paid nor pays. He receives his food and lodging gratis, but works (or is supposed to work) in order to learn' (74).
71 twenty-two years old SB was 24 years old at the time of his emigration.

---

62 ship's side] ~~sea board~~ ^ship's side^ **62–3 the … and]** the ^farmer's^ profits & **63 upon;] ~:** **65 out. … farther]** out: men pushed ~~inland~~ farther **65–6 mountains, and]** mountains & **66–7 range, … loftier]** range, ~~which was [? ded]~~ ^between it and^ beanother ^which was^ loftier **68 seen … the]** seen ~~every where~~ ^~~from~~ out upon^ from the **68–9 range, however,]** range however **69 limits]** limit **country;]** ~: **69–71 was … old.]** was ^ here – at^ a small station ~~[?]~~at its very [?far–] – ~~to which~~ I arrived in the ~~spring of 186[?] month of 1867~~ ^[?or] of the of the last months of ~~1866, 1865~~ 1867. I was then just twenty two years old^ **72–3 my … business]** my ^daily^ business **73 mountain,]** mountain **74 flat … order]** the ~~plain~~ ^flat^ ~~every day one after another~~ in order **sheep,]** sheep **75 hand, nor]** hand or **76 mob, … see]** mob but ^to^ see **77 wrong; this]** wrong, which **matter, for]** matter as **78 eight hundred]** 800 **them; and,]** them; and, **ewes,]** ewes **79 quiet.]** quiet. ~~I had~~ **80 knew,]** knew **81 ewes,]** ewes **several …which]** several ^others^ which **82 mark … I]** mark ~~or other by which~~ ^whereby^ I tell][?know] ^tell^ **83 mob]** mob~~s~~ **enough, I]** enough ~~on the whole~~ I

75–119 sheep, not necessarily … cloud–and sometimes,: f. 10r.

---

68 This] The E2, E9 **80 many]** many, E2, E9

rest assured that all was well. It is surprising how soon the eye becomes accustomed to missing twenty sheep out of two or three hundred. I had a telescope and a dog, and would take bread and meat and tobacco with me. Starting with early dawn, it would be night before I could complete my round; for the mountain over which I had to go was very high. In winter it was covered with snow, and the sheep needed no watching from above. If I were to see sheep dung or tracks going down on to the other side of the mountain (where there was a valley with a stream—a mere cul de sac), I was to follow them, and look out for sheep; but I never saw any, the sheep always descending on to their own side, partly from habit, and partly because there was abundance of good sweet feed, which had been burnt in the early spring, just before I came, and was now deliciously green and rich, while that on the other side had never been burnt, and was rank and coarse.

It was a monotonous life, but it was very healthy; and one does not much mind anything when one is well. The country was the grandest that can be imagined. How often have I sat on the mountain side and watched the waving downs, with the two white specks of huts in the distance, and the little square of garden behind them; the paddock with a patch of bright green oats above the huts, and the yards and wool-sheds down on the flat below; all seen as through the wrong end of a telescope, so clear and brilliant was the air, or as upon a colossal model or map spread out beneath me. Beyond the downs was a plain, going down to a river of great size, on the farther side of which there were other high mountains, with the winter's snow still not quite melted; up the river, which ran winding in many streams over a bed some two miles broad, I looked upon the second great chain, and could see a narrow gorge where the river retired and was lost. I knew that

---

98–135 The country was … I must proceed This vignette is drawn largely from memory, evidence of how powerfully SB recalled Canterbury eight years after his departure; however, he did make textual records of the region: see Ch. 5, l. 5n.

107 river Inspired by the Rangitata River, which ran alongside SB's station.

---

84 all … well.] ~~nothing had gone wrong~~ ^all was well^ **surprising]** ~~wonderful~~ ^surprising^ **86–7 me. Starting]** me; [*n.p.*] ~~and~~ starting **87 dawn,]** dawn **88 round;]** ~, **was … high]** was ~~a~~ very high ~~one~~ **89 snow,]** snow **91 sac),]** sac) **92 them, and]** them & **sheep;]** ~, **93–4 side, … abundance]** side ~~of their~~ ~~own ascend: they did this partly being used to the place and partly~~ ~~because~~ ^~~because they~~ ~~were~~ partly from habit, and partly because^ there was ~~a great~~ abundance **feed,]** feed **94 had been]** ~~was~~ ^had been^ **95 spring,]** spring **and was]** and ~~which~~ was **and rich,]** & rich; **96 burnt,]** burnt was **rank]** was ~~very~~ rank **97 healthy;]** ~, **97–8 not … when]** not ^much^ mind anything very much when **99 imagined. … sat]** imagined. ^How often have I^ ~~I have~~ sat **99–100 watched … with]** ~~seen~~ ^watched^ the downs below with **100 distance,]** ~: **100–5 and the … me.]** *om.* **105 Beyond]** beyond **the … was]** these ^the downs was^ **plain,]** plain **105–6 size, … mountains,]** size, ~~and formed itself by the detritus~~ on the farther side ~~the river~~ ^of which there were other high^ ~~other great~~ mountains **107 melted;]** ~: **108 I … upon]** ~~came~~ ^I looked upon^ **108–9 chain … river]** ~~through~~ ^~~[?into]~~ and could see^ a narrow gorge ~~of which~~ ^ ~~into~~ where^ the **109 lost.]** ~:

there was a range still farther back; but except from one place near the very top of my own mountain, no part of it, was visible: from this point, however, I saw, whenever there were no clouds, a single snow-clad peak, many miles away, and I should think about as high as any mountain in the world. Never shall I forget the utter loneliness of the prospect—only the little far away homestead giving sign of human handiwork;—the vastness of mountain and plain, and river and sky; the marvellous atmospheric effects—sometimes black mountains against a white sky, and then again, after cold weather, white mountains against a black sky—sometimes seen through breaks and swirls of cloud—and sometimes, which was best of all, I went up my mountain in a fog, and then got above the mist; going higher and higher, I would look down upon a sea of whiteness, through which would be thrust innumerable mountain tops that looked like islands.

I am there now, as I write; I fancy that I can see the downs, the huts, the plain, and the river-bed—that torrent pathway of desolation, with its distant roar of waters. Oh, wonderful! wonderful! so lonely and so solemn, with the sad grey clouds above, and no sound save a lost lamb bleating upon the mountain side, as though its little heart were breaking. Then there comes some lean and withered old ewe, with deep gruff voice and unlovely aspect, trotting back from the seductive pasture; now she examines this gully, and now that, and now she stands listening with uplifted head, that she may hear the distant wailing and obey it. Aha! they see, and rush towards each other. Alas! they are both mistaken; the ewe is not the lamb's ewe, they are neither kin nor kind to one another, and part in coldness. Each must cry

---

110 range … back;] range ^still further^ ~~[?snow]~~ back **111 mountain,]** mountain **it,]** it **111–12 point, … saw,]** point however I saw **112 clouds,]** clouds **112–13 snow–clad … about]** sugarloaf peak – many ~~distant and~~ ^ ~~some thirty or forty~~ miles away, and I should think^ about **114 Never … the]** ~~I cannot describe scenery but~~ Never shall I forget ~~the [?utter]~~^ the **114–5 loneliness … homestead]** loneliness ^of the prospect^ – only the two specs of houses **115 handiwork;–]** handiwork **116 plain, … sky;]** plain – & river & sky: **117 sky, and]** sky &: **again,]** again **118 weather,]** weather **119 cloud–and]** cloud, & **sometimes,]** sometimes **all,]** all **120 fog,]** fog **got … going]** got above the – ^mist;^ going **121 higher, I]** higher. I **a sea]** the sea **122 innumerable … islands.]** innumerable ^ mountain tops that looked like islands^ ~~islands of the other ranges but enough of this~~ **123 I … now]** ~~But~~ I ~~see it~~ ^am there^ now, **123–4 the downs … and]** th ^the^ downs and the huts and the plain and **124 desolation,]** ~ – **125 Oh,]**Oh so **solemn,]** so ~~lo~~ solemn, **127 side,]** side **128 lean… withered]** ~~barebellied~~ ^lean & withered^ **with deep]** with a deep **aspect,]** aspect **129 pasture;]** ~: **130 head,]** head **131 Aha!]** Joy. ^Aha!^ **131–2 other. … are]** other: ~~Alas~~ ^~~but no;~~^ ~~they~~^Alas! They^ are **132–3 the ewe … Each]** they part in coldness ~~and disgust~~: the ewe is not th~~is~~ ^e^ lamb's ewe, nor ^is^ the lamb the ewe's;they

---

119–152 which was best … see for myself.: f. 11r. Between 'islands' (l. 122) and 'I am there' (l. 123), are several lines of cluttered text: '(~~no paragraph~~). ~~Nay – Enough perhaps for the reader but not for me. There are certain places~~ ^~~haunts~~^ ~~which haunt one; for life and so this with myself. Many~~ ~~years have gone by~~ [*over illeg.* ~~since I was~~ ~~there~~;] [*several words, two layers, illeg.*] [*under illeg.* of likely that I] [*two layers of writing in which few words are discernible*: ~~[?sk ? ?] in the [? ?]; but I dream [?] by night, [?th ?]~~ [?some] [*over illeg.* even in sleep I] ~~[?know] I can never [?]~~ ^~~fairly~~^ ~~it~~ [*one and half lines of two layers of illeg. writing*]'.

louder, and wander farther yet; may luck be with them both that they may find their own at nightfall. But this is mere dreaming, and I must proceed.

I could not help speculating upon what might lie farther up the river, and behind the second range. I had no money, but if I could only find workable country, I might stock it with borrowed capital, and consider myself a made man. True, the range looked so vast, that there seemed little chance of getting a sufficient road through it or over it; but no one had yet explored it, and it is wonderful how one finds that one can make a path into all sorts of places (and even get a road for pack horses), which from a distance appear inaccessible; the river was so great that it must drain an inner tract—at least I thought so; and though every one said it would be madness to attempt taking sheep farther inland, I knew that, only three years ago the same cry had been raised against the country which my master's flock was now overrunning. I could not keep these thoughts out of my head, as I would rest myself upon the mountain side; they haunted me as I went my daily rounds, and grew upon me from hour to hour, till I resolved that, after shearing, I would remain in doubt no longer, but saddle my horse, take as much provision with me as I could, and go and see for myself.

But over and above these thoughts came that of the great range itself. What was beyond that? Ah! who could say? There was no one in the whole world who had the smallest idea, save those who were themselves on the other side of it—if, indeed, there was any one at all. Could I hope to cross it? This would be the highest triumph that I could possibly wish for; but it was

---

133 louder,] louder **135–6 may luck … must proceed.]** but ~~the [? ?] will meet at nightfall]! ^may heaven help them both that they may find their own~~^ But this is mere dreaming, and I must proceed, ~~[?to b ? ess]~~. ^may luck be [*owr* 'with them' *over illeg.*] both that they may find their own – at^ nightfall! **137 I]** ~~of course~~ I **farther]** further **138 had no money, … but if]** had ~~some two or three thousand pounds~~ ^no money, but^ ~~pounds which is a good sum in a new country~~ ^~~place~~^ ~~and~~ if **find workable]** find ~~some~~ workable **139 might stock … and consider]** might ^stock it with borrowed capital, and^ consider **140 looked]** seemed **vast, … little]** vast that ^there seemed^ was little **141 it … no one]** it, but ~~then~~ no one **142 can … all]** can ~~go in~~ ^make ~~find~~ a path into^ all **142–3 (and … a]** (~~aye~~ and ~~get at any rate~~ ^even get^ a **143 horses), which … appear inaccessible;]** horses) which ^from a distance^ appear ~~at a distance~~ inaccessible; **144 so;]** ~, **145 be madness]** be ~~mere~~ madness **146 inland, I knew that,]** inland, yet I knew that **years … same]** years before the ^previously ago the^ same **147 master's flock was]** master's (~~for so I suppose I shd call him as I took money from him~~) sheep **148 I would rest … mountain side;]** As I would rest myself upon the mountain side I could not keep these thoughts out of my head: **149 went]** ~~did~~ ^went^ **rounds,]** rounds **150 that, after shearing,]** that after shearing **150–1 would remain in doubt no longer,]** would stand it ^remain in doubt^ no longer; **151 horse, take]** horse, and take **152–3 myself. But]** myself – but **155 idea,]** idea **156 if, indeed,]** if indeed **it?]** ~~that~~ ^it^ ?

153–166 But over and … not banish them.: f. 12^{r}. On f. 12^{v} SB wrote '5pp. and 22 lines'.

---

154 that?] it? **who]** Who E2, E9 **1576 possibly]** *om.* E2, E9

too much to think of yet. I would try the nearer range, and see how far I could go. Even if I did not find country, might I not find gold, or diamonds, or copper, or silver? I would sometimes lie flat down to drink out of a stream, and could see little yellow specks among the sand; were these gold? People said no; but then people always said there was no gold until it was found to be abundant: there was plenty of slate and granite, which I had always understood to accompany gold; and even though it was not found in paying quantities here, it might be abundant in the main ranges. These thoughts filled my head, and I could not banish them.

159 gold NZ saw successive goldrushes in the mid–19th cent. following the discovery of gold in Otago in 1861: on this subject see, e.g., Eldred–Grigg.

158 yet.] ~: **nearer]** first ^nearer^ **160 or copper,]** or even copper **would … to]** would lie ^sometimes lie^ flat down sometimes to **161 sand;]** ~: **162 no;]** ~: **163 granite,]** granite **165 abundant]** ~~plentiful~~ ^abundant^ **166 head,]** head

CHAPTER II.

DOWN IN THE WOOL-SHED.

AT last shearing came; and with the shearers there was an old native, whom they had nicknamed Chowbok—though, I believe, his real name was Kahabuka. He was a sort of chief of the natives, could speak a little English, and was a great favourite with the missionaries. He did not do any regular work with the shearers, but pretended to help in the yards, his real aim being to get the grog, which is always more freely circulated at shearing-time: he did not get much, for he was apt to be dangerous when

4–5 Chowbok … Kahabuka The origin of the name Chowbok is unclear. Kahabuka is an approximation: there is no 'b' in the Māori language. B&H claim that 'kahapuka' means cabbage-head in Māori (58). This translation is doubtful: 'puka' was a 19th cent. word for cabbage, and would modify 'kaha', usually translated as strength or power; *pukapuka* is a transliteration of book, which also sits ill with any meaning of kaha. SB's inspiration for the character was in part Black Andy, a fleet-footed aboriginal South Australian who delivered post in Canterbury. He lived at Mount Peel, the station abutting SB's own, and was notorious for getting 'gloriously drunk' according to a later *Press* report; upon his return to Australia sometime after 1865 he was reportedly hanged for murder ('New Zealand Scenery in "Erewhon"', *Press*, 30 November 1901, p. 6). Chowbok's ethnicity is unclear; as Robinson has noted, the narrator reveals 'condescending carelessness' about Chowbok's name and cultural background (Robinson 2017, 153).
6 missionaries A small band of Christian missionaries played an integral and complex role in NZ in the mid-19th cent., implicated in the annexation of NZ by the British in 1840 and in spreading the Christian message, agricultural techniques and literacy amongst Māori. By the time SB came to Canterbury, evangelism had already been carried out by Wesleyans and converts from the North Island, and a Māori mission, run by NZ-born clergyman James Stack (1835–1919), had just been established at Tuahiwi under Church of England auspices: see Murray 2019 (para. 3 of 7). While SB must have known of its existence, he is unlikely to have any significant involvement. His knowledge of missionary activity is probably indebted to his friendship with John Patteson: see Ch. 25, ls 114–20n. He must also have known of George Augustus Selwyn (1809–1878), a Johnian who had been made Bishop of New Zealand in 1841 and on his return to England in 1869 became Bishop of Lichfield (the position SB's own grandfather had occupied).
8 grog From their first presence in NZ in the 1830s, European visitors to NZ noted the detrimental effect of alcohol upon Māori and continued to circulate stereotypes of drunk Māori throughout the 19th cent.: see, e.g., Wevers, 202. On the actual, as opposed to perceived, situation, see Mancall, et al.
9–13 he was apt … as I could A description reminiscent of SB's depiction of Māori in FY where he

1–2 DOWN … WOOL-SHED.] *om.* **3 came;]** ~: **4 native, whom]** native ~~Chowbok~~ whom **4–5 Chowbok— … He was]** Chowbok, though I ^believe his real name was Kahabuka. ~~Neither the nickname however nor the real name~~^ ~~cannot tell why~~. ~~I can not mention the name of his tribe which would afford a clue to the country from which I started~~. He was **5 natives, could]** natives, and could **6 English, … He]** English. ^and was a great favourite with the missionaries.^ He **8 grog,]** grog

1–30 CHAPTER II. … none at all.: f. 13^{r}. Upside down on f. 13^{v} SB wrote: 'his manner changed at once; he became uneasy and began to'.

1 DOWN] *om.* E2, E9 **9 drunk,]** E2, ~; E9

drunk, and very little would make him so: still he did get it occasionally, and if one wanted to get anything out of him, it was the best bribe to offer him. I determined that I would question him, and get as much information from him as I could. I did so. As long as I kept to questions about the nearer ranges, he was easy to get on with—he had never been there, but there were traditions among his tribe, to the effect that there was no sheep-country, nothing, in fact, but stunted timber and a few river-bed flats. It was very difficult to reach; still there were passes: one of them up our own river, though not directly along the river-bed, the gorge of which was not practicable; he had never seen any one who had been there: was here not enough on this side? But when I came to the main range, his manner changed at once. He became uneasy, and began to prevaricate and shuffle. In a very few minutes I could see that of this too there existed traditions in his tribe; but no efforts or coaxing could get a word from him about them. At last I hinted about grog, and presently he feigned consent: I gave it him; but as soon as he had drunk it he began shamming intoxication, and then went to sleep, or pretended to do so, letting me kick him pretty hard, and never budging.

I was angry, for I had to go without my own grog, and had got nothing out of him; so the next day I determined that he should tell me before I gave him any, or get none at all.

---

wrote: 'There are few Maoris here; they inhabit the north island, and are only in small numbers, and degenerate in this, so may be passed over unnoticed. The only effectual policy in dealing with them is to show a bold front, and, at the same time, do them a good turn whenever you can be quite certain that your kindness will not be misunderstood as a symptom of fear' (OE 2, 144). SB's attitudes to Maori were not straightforward, as demonstrated by a letter to his aunt of 19 September 1861: 'What will you say if I marry a Maori? Unfortunately there are no nice ones in this island. They all smoke, and carry eels, and are not in any way the charming simple-minded innocent creatures which one might have hoped' (Silver, 102–3).

15 tribe The narrator's use of the word 'tribe' is typically unspecific, but in Māori society, the primary political unit is the *hapū*, a large kinship group; a number of *hapū* form a looser tribal federation or *iwi*.

---

10 drunk,] drunk **so:]** ~; **11 wanted … anything]** wanted ~~to get~~ ^~~to get~~^ anything **12 determined that I]** determined ^that^ I **12–13 much … could.]** much ^information from him^ as I could. ~~from him.~~ **14 with—]** ~: **there,]** ~; **15 tribe,]** ~ – **15–16 there was … stunted]** there ~~country was utterly bare, save~~ of ^was no sheep country, nothing it fact but^ stunted **16 flats. It]** flats: it **17 reach; still]** reach, ~~but~~ still **up our own]** up ^our^ own **river,]** river **19 practicable; he]** practicable; ~~but~~ he **20 range,]** range **21 uneasy,]** uneasy **21–2 shuffle. In]** shuffle. ~~his face assumed an air of the most intense solemnity: he seemed to think me [? pir ?] for even wishing to ask about them~~ ^it^. In **23 tribe;]** ~: **23–4 them. At]** them: at **25–6 intoxication … went]** intoxication ~~at [?then]~~ ^and then^ went **26 sleep,]** sleep **28 was angry,]** was ~~very~~ angry **own grog,]** own share of grog **29 him;]** ~, **30 any,]** any **30–1 get … Accordingly]** go without ~~This was more successful: after [?] [?] incessant badgering I got out of him that there was a tradition~~ Accordingly

---

12 determined … would] E2, resolved to E9 **14 there;]** ~, E2, E9 **15 tribe,]** tribe E2, E9 **26 hard,]** hard E2, E9 **28 grog,]** grog E2, E9

Accordingly, when night came, and the shearers had knocked off work and had their supper, I got my share of rum in a tin pannikin, and made a sign to Chowbok to follow me to the wool-shed, which he willingly did, slipping out after me, and no one taking any notice of either of us. When we got down to the wool-shed we lit a tallow candle, and having stuck it in an old bottle, we sat down upon the wool bales and began to smoke. A wool-shed is a roomy place, built somewhat on the same plan as a cathedral, with aisles on either side, full of pens for the sheep; a great nave, at the upper end of which the shearers work; and a further space for wool sorters and packers. It always refreshed me with a semblance of antiquity (precious in a new country), though I very well knew that the oldest wool-shed in the settlement was not more than seven years old, while this was only two. Chowbok pretended to expect his grog at once, though we both of us knew very well what the other was after, and that we were each playing against the other, the one for grog the other for information.

We had a hard fight: for more than two hours he had tried to put me off with lies, but had carried no conviction; during the whole time we had been morally wrestling with one another and had neither of us apparently gained

---

32 pannikin A small pan or cup.
40–1 antiquity … country A description reminiscent of SB's report in the *Eagle* of 'the almost oppressive feeling of newness' of the colony (OE 2, 156).
48 morally wrestling SB seems to suggest logical as much as ethical debate, drawing on a meaning of 'moral' particular to Cambridge University in the 19th cent.: Moral Sciences (in the sense of mores or social customs) were examined from 1848 as part of a newly instated Moral Sciences Tripos and included

---

31 Accordingly,] Accordingly **came,]** came **32 supper, … pannikin,]** supper I got my share of ~~grog~~ ^rum^ in a tin pannikin **33 did,]** did **35 wool-shed … having]** woolshed ~~I~~ ^we^ lit **candle … having]** candle & ^having^ stuck **36 bottle, we]** bottle, ~~and~~ we **37 place, … somewhat]** place built ^ if ~~I may say so without profanity~~^ ~~not~~ somewhat **cathedral,]** cathedral **38 side,]** side **sheep;]** ~ – **38–9 nave … which]** nave ~~on~~ ^at the upper end of^ which **39 work;]** work **space for]** space ~~to~~ for **40 packers. It]** Packers [T*wo lines of illegible writing, among which are multiple attempts at:* [a] *'Hail holy light, offspring of heaven first born'*] It **40–1 antiquity … though]** antiquity ^(precious in a new country)^ though **41 that the]** that ~~it was not~~ the **42 the … was]** the ~~country~~ ^settlement^ was **seven … old,]** ~~ten~~ ^seven^ years old **43 once, though]** once tho' **44 each playing]** each of [?] us playing **45 other, … one]** other, one **47 lies]** ~,

[a] SB writes lines from *Paradise Lost* by John Milton (1608–1674): 'Hail holy Light, ofspring of Heav'n first-born, / Or of th' Eternal Coeternal beam, / May I express thee unblam'd?' (3.1–3). Pupils at Shrewsbury School were required to write out lines from *Paradise Lost* as punishments for bad behaviour (Taylor, A.2.E). Butler may have written the lines in his MS when renewing ink in the nib of his pen.

31–61 Accordingly, when night … high shoulders dropped;: f. 14[r]. Between 'fight' and 'for' on this page are lines of text not successfully covered by pasted fragments: 'fight: ~~the details of which I need not report, suffice it that in the end his desire for grog was irresistible, and he had become fairly convinced that he would not get any without giving me something which shd satisfy me as being the best he had~~.'

---

31 came,] came E2, E9 **32 pannikin,]** pannikin E2, E9 **36 bottle,]** bottle E2, E9 **38 side,]** side E2, E9 **sheep;]** ~, E2, E9 **39 work;]** ~, E2, E9 **43 to expect]** E9, that he expected **45 grog,]** grog E2, E9 **47 lies,]** lies E2, E9 **48 another]** another, E2, E9

the least advantage; at length, however, I had become sure that he would give in ultimately, and that with a little further patience I should get his story out of him. As upon a cold day in winter, when one has churned (as I had often had to do), and churned in vain, and the butter makes no sign of coming, at last one tells by the sound that the cream has gone to sleep, and then upon a sudden the butter comes, so I had churned at Chowbok until I perceived that he had arrived, as it were, at the sleepy stage, and that with a continuance of steady, unexcited pressure the day was mine. On a sudden, without a word of warning, he rolled two bales of wool (his strength was very great) into the middle of the floor, and on the top of these he placed another crosswise; he snatched up an empty wool pack, threw it like a mantle over his shoulders, jumped upon the uppermost bale, and sat upon it. In a moment his whole form was changed. His high shoulders dropped; he set his feet close together, heel to heel, and toe to toe; he laid his arms and hands close alongside of his body, the palms following his thighs; he held his head high but quite straight, and his eyes stared right in front of him; but he frowned horribly, and assumed an expression of face that was positively fiendish. At the best of times Chowbok was very ugly, but he now exceeded all conceivable limits of the hideous. His mouth extended almost from ear

moral philosophy, political economy, modern history, law and jurisprudence and logic: see Palfrey.

52–3 butter … sleep To make butter by this churning method, cream was agitated until it thickened and changed colour, then separated into butter and buttermilk.

59 wool pack A bag into which wool is packed for carriage or sale.

67–9 mouth…scowl A description reminiscent of Māori *tiki*, stylised human figures carved in wood, typically representing ancestors: large eyes (sometimes inlaid with *paua* shell), glaring mouths, and out-thrust tongues form an aggressive warrior aesthetic. Similar imagery was produced throughout Polynesia, particularly what Kaeppler calls 'the mouth of disrespect' (97). SB's deleted description of an 'underjaw projecting' in the collation of MS variants below is somewhat reminiscent of Easter Island monolithic Ma'oi figures: see Ch. 5, l. 22n. SB was also recycling images from print culture and fine art, as racist depictions of Māori as ugly or grotesque in the period were not uncommon: see, e.g., Wevers, 197, and Bell, 19 and 143.

49 the … advantage;] the ~~last~~ ^least^ advantage: **length, however,]** length however **49 sure]** convinced **50 patience I]** patience the day was mine. I **51 winter,]** winter **(as]** (wh: **52 do),]** ~) **vain, and]** vain, ~~vain in~~ and **53 sleep,]** sleep **54 then upon]** then ~~at last~~ upon **55 had … and]** had ~~gone to sleep~~ ^arrived as it were at the sleepy^ and **56 steady, … the]** steady unexcited ~~resistance~~ ^pressure^ the **sudden,]** sudden **57 two bales]** a bale **58–9 floor, … snatched]** floor, ^and on the top of this he placed another crosswise; he^ [?snacthed] snatched **59 wool–pack, threw]** wool pack~~ed~~, ~~through~~ threw **60 shoulders, jumped]** shoulders, ~~and~~ jumped **the … In a]** the ~~bale~~ ^uppermost bale and sat upon it^. On a **61 dropped; he]** *see app.* **62 together,]** together **toe to toe; he]** toe~~s~~ ~~and~~ to toe~~s~~, and he **63 body, the]** body, ~~he held his head high~~ ^~~the palms~~^ the **following … he]** –lowing ~~the~~ ^his^ thighs. He **64 straight,]** straight **stared … him;]** stared ~~straight before~~ ^right in front of ^ him: **65 horribly,]** horribly **66 fiendish. At]** *see app.* **67–8 mouth … his]** mouth ~~[?]~~ to extended ~~from~~ ^almost from^ ear to ear – his teeth

61–90 he set his… civility towards myself.: f. 15r.

56 steady, unexcited] steady unexcited E2, steady quiet E9 **62 heel,]** E2, heel E9 **67–8 ear … his]** ear, grinning horribly and showing all teeth; his E2, E9

to ear, his teeth grinning horribly; his eyes glared, though they remained quite fixed, and his forehead was contracted with a most malevolent scowl.

I am afraid that my description will have conveyed only the ridiculous side of his appearance; but the ridiculous and the sublime are near, and the grotesque fiendishness of Chowbok's face approached this last, if it did not reach it. I tried to be amused, but I felt a sort of creeping at the roots of my hair and over my whole body, as I looked and wondered what he could be possibly intending to signify. He continued thus for about a minute, sitting bolt upright, as stiff as a stone, and making this fearful face. Then there came from his lips a low moaning like the wind rising and falling, by infinitely small gradations, till it became almost a shriek, from which it descended and died away; after that, he jumped down from the bale, and held up the extended fingers of both his hands, as one who should say "ten," though I did not then understand him.

For myself I was open-mouthed with astonishment. Chowbok rolled the bales rapidly into their place, and stood before me shuddering as in great fear; horror was written upon his face—this time quite involuntarily—as though the natural panic of one who had committed an awful crime against unknown and superhuman agencies. He nodded his head and gibbered, and pointed repeatedly to the mountains. He would not touch the grog, but, after a few seconds, he made a run through the wool-shed door into the moonlight; nor did he reappear till next day at dinner-time, when he turned up, looking very sheepish and abject in his civility towards myself.

Of his meaning I had no conception. How could I? All I could feel sure

---

grinning horribly ^~~with the underjaw projecting~~^: his **69 quite … forehead]** quite rigid, ^& his^ his forehead **scowl.]** ~~,~~. **70 will … the]** will ^^^~~only~~^^ have conveyed ^only^ the **71 appearance; but]** appearance; ~~but though what I have written~~ but **and the]** and ~~cho~~ the **72 last,]** last **73 to … amused,]** to ~~feel~~ ^be^ amused but ~~then came~~ ^I felt^ a sort **74 body,]** body **74–5 could … intending]** could ^be^ possibly ~~be~~ intending **75 minute,]** minute **76 stone, and]** stone & **77 rising … by]** rising ^& falling^ by **78 gradations,]** gradations **became … shriek,]** became ~~[?almost]~~ ^almost^ a shriek **79 away; … he]** away – ~~then~~ ^after that^ he **80 held … fingers]** held ~~out~~ ^up^ the ^extended^ fingers **as … should]** as ~~of~~ one who shd **81 understand him.]** understand ~~it~~ him. **83 bale]** bales **their]** its **before … shuddering]** before ^me^ shuddering **84 fear; horror]** fear, and exhausted with a violent strain: ~~th~~ horror **85 committed … awful]** < >mmitted ~~and~~ ^an^ awful **87 grog, but,]** grog but **88–9 wool–shed … nor]** wool shed door ^into the moonlight;^ nor **90 up,]** up **sheepish]** sheepish, **91 meaning I]** meaning ~~(if I~~) I **91–2 I? … was]** I? ~~but this action and manner were inexplicable~~; the only ~~thing of which~~ ^All^ I could feel sure ^of^ was

---

91–97 Of his meaning … well worth discovering.: f. 16r. On this page several fragments are superimposed on another, revealing just a square of visible text: ~~tains, at~~ the ~~mploring me~~ ~~ghost of an~~ ~~but I felt [? er]~~ ~~he had:~~ He carried himself but after a few to the flat to – his civility to – ~~save [m ? t]~~ nd whtever ~~than I should~~

74–5 be possibly] possibly be E2, E9 **77 wind … by]** wind, rising and falling by **78 gradations,]** gradations **79 bale,]** bale **88 seconds,]** seconds E2, E9

of was, that he *had* a meaning which was true and awful to himself. It was enough for me that I believed him to have given me the best he had, and all he had. This kindled my imagination more than if he had told me intelligible stories by the hour together. I knew not what the great snowy ranges might conceal, but I could no longer doubt that it would be something well worth discovering.

I kept aloof from Chowbok for the next few days, and showed no desire to question him further; when I spoke to him I called him Kahabuka, which gratified him greatly: he seemed to have become afraid of me, and acted as one who was in my power. Having, therefore, made up my mind, past all turning, that I would begin exploring as soon as shearing was over, I thought it would be a good thing to take Chowbok with me; so I told him that I meant going to the nearer ranges for a few days prospecting, and that he was to come too. I made him promises of nightly grog, and held out the chances of finding gold. I said nothing about the main range, for I knew it would frighten him. I would get him as far up our own river as I could, and trace it if possible to its source. I would then either go on by myself, if I felt my courage equal to the attempt, or return with Chowbok. So, as soon as ever shearing was over and the wool sent off, I asked leave of absence, and obtained it. Also, I bought an old pack-horse and pack-saddle, so that I might take plenty of provisions, and blankets, and a small tent. I was to ride and find fords over the river; Chowbok was to follow and lead the pack-horse, which would also carry him over the fords. My master let me have

---

111 pack-horse A horse used to carry goods, usually in side-packs. SB must have used them frequently

---

93 I … given] I ~~felt sure of his having~~ ^believed him to have^ given **94 had. This]** had: this **98–9 and showed … him]** and ~~made him feel that I had~~ ^showed^ no ~~intention of pumping~~ him ^desire to ~~pump~~ question^ him **99 I spoke]** I ~~did~~ [*uwr* speak] [*owr* spoke] **100 me, and acted]** me and ~~yet rather fond of me : in fact I had mastered him, had he~~ acted **101 Having, therefore,]** Having therefore **mind,]** mind **102 turning,]** turning **would … as]** would ~~[?start]~~ on an ^begin^ exploring ~~trip~~ as **103 be a … thing to]** be ^~~well~~^ ~~a good thing~~ ^a good thing^ ~~for me~~ to **me; … told]** me, so I ~~made myself extremely civil ^ and ^~~ told **104 days … and]** days ~~duck shooting~~, ^prospecting^ and **105 come … I]** come ^too^ ~~with me~~: ^I made him promises of nightly grog, and held out ^^the^^ chances of finding gold,^ I. **107 him. I]** him. ~~from coming with me at all~~. ^~~accompanying me~~^ I **far up … and]** far ~~as I could up our own river~~, ^up our own river as I could^ and **108 myself,]** myself **110 absence,]** absence **111 obtained]** attained **Also,]** Also **112 and a]** and ~~even~~ a **113 river;]** ~: **114–15 have … mutton,]** have plenty of tea ~~flour~~ ^ship's biscuits^ tobacco & salt mutton

---

98–119 I kept aloof … upon our journey.: f. 17r. SB deleted several lines of text at the top of this page: '~~what the great range of mountains might conceal, but I had no further shadow of doubt but they that they concealed some – thing new and strange – ^well worth discovering and ^ which might very possibly be the means of bringing me much more could I only penetrate [th ?].~~'.

---

92 *had*] E2, had E9 **93 had,]** E2, had E9 **101 Having ... that]** Having therefore, made up my mind, past all turning, that

tea and sugar, ship's biscuits, tobacco, and salt mutton, with two or three bottles of good brandy; for as the wool was now sent down, abundance of provisions would come up with the empty drays. **115**

With the very beginning of autumn all was ready, and we started upon our journey.

---

during his exploration of the Alps.
115 ship's biscuits Hard biscuits prepared for use on board ship.
115 salt mutton Mutton salted in brine and then hung to dry.
117 drays Australasian term for a two–wheeled cart.
118–19 With … journey For his 1901 edition SB altered the timing of the novel: see collation of print variants below. In E1 and E2 the narrator escapes Erewhon during a 'considerable drought' in Autumn; in E9 SB has him escape more plausibly in summer, and arrive a year earlier: soon after 22 December (summer solstice in the Southern Hemisphere). Other alterations to dates and seasons are made in E9 to bring events into alignment with the new chronology.

---

116 brandy;] ~, **116–17 down, … come]** down ~~there would be~~ abundance of provisions ^would^ come **autumn]** Autum

---

116 for as] E2, for, as E9 **118–19 With ... journey.]** Everything being now ready, all the hands on the station turned out to see us off, and we started on our journey, not very long after the summer solstice of 1870.

CHAPTER III.

UP THE RIVER.

THE first day we had an easy time, following up the great flats by the river side, which had already been twice burned, so that there was no dense undergrowth to check us, though the ground was often rough, and we had to go a good deal upon the river-bed. Towards nightfall we had made a matter of some five-and-twenty miles, and camped at the point where the river entered upon the gorge.

The weather was delightfully warm, considering that it was verging towards autumn, and that the valley in which we were encamped must have been at least two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The river-bed was here about a mile and a half broad, and entirely covered with shingle, over which the river ran in many winding channels, looking, when seen from above, like a tangled skein of ribbon, and glistening in the sun. We

---

3 THE first day The journey SB relates from here through to Ch. 5 is a condensed account, with somewhat fictionalised geography, of three separate expeditions he undertook between 29 December 1860 and February 1861. He travelled in search of new sheep country with John Holland Baker (1841–1926), a 19-year-old surveyor, who had just completed his cadetship in the profession. First, they rode from Mesopotamia up the southern branch of the Rangitata River but returned when the pass at the head proved impracticable. Next, they followed another branch of the Rangitata, but finding no available pass at the head rode up the Lawrence branch until they caught sight of a pass leading to the West Coast. On the third expedition they reached this last pass; though discovered by Butler and Baker, it was afterwards named Whitcombe Pass after the surveyor who crossed it. On Butler's feats as an early explorer, see Jones 1959, 117–29.

4 burned SB had first-hand experience of burning off land to establish pasture and gave advice to his *Eagle* readers on the process, beginning: 'A match is the first step in the subjugation of any large tract of new country' (OE 2, 154). SB was one of a whole generation of pastoralists who from the 1840s transformed NZ's environment through large scale burn-offs, see Peden.

---

2 UP THE RIVER] *om.* **3 time, following]** time, ~~of it~~ following **4 side,]** side **had already]** had been already **burned,]** burnt **that there]** that ~~the~~ there **5–6 us, … Towards]** us ^though ^^the^^ ground was often rough and we had to go a good deal upon the riverbed:^ Towards **6 nightfall]** night fall **7 made a]** made ~~perhaps~~ a **of some … miles,]** of ^some five and^ twenty ~~five~~ miles, **9 warm,]** warm **10 autumn,]** Autumn, **11 at least two]** at ~~the lowest computation some~~ ^least^ two **sea. The]** sea. [*'Hail holy light, offspring of heaven first born, or of th' eternal', scored out, is inscribed over some illegible text.*] The **11–12 river-bed … a]** riverbed was ^here about^ ~~at least~~ a **12 broad,]** broad **12–13 shingle, … which]** shingle ~~through~~ ^over^ which **13 channels, looking, when]** channels ~~and looked~~ ^looking^ when **14 ribbon, … glistening]** ribbon, ^and^ glistening **14–15 sun. … by]** sun; ~~it was evidently~~ ^we

---

1–30 CHAPTER III. … gold. The wide: f. 18r.

9–10 it … that] E2, *om.* E9 **12 broad,]** broad E2, E9 **shingle,]** shingle E2, E9 **14 above,]** above

knew that it was liable to very sudden and heavy freshets; but even had we not known it, we could have seen it by the snags of trees, which must have been carried long distances, and by the mass of vegetable and mineral debris which was banked against their lower side, showing that at times the whole river-bed must be covered with a roaring torrent, many feet in depth and of ungovernable fury. At present the river was low, there being but five or six streams, too deep and rapid for even a strong man to ford on foot, but to be crossed safely on horseback. On either side of it there were still a few acres of flat, which grew wider and wider down the river, till they became the large plains, on which we looked from my master's hut. Behind us rose the lowest spurs of the second range, leading abruptly to the range itself; and at a distance of half a mile began the gorge, where the river narrowed and became boisterous and terrible. The beauty of the scene cannot be conveyed in language. The one side of the valley was blue with the evening shadow, through which loomed forest and precipice, and hill side and mountain top; and the other was still brilliant with the sunset gold. The wide and wasteful river, with its ceaseless rushing—the beautiful water birds too, which abounded upon the islets, and were so tame that we could come up to them—the ineffable purity of the air—the solemn peacefulness of the untrodden region—could there be a more delightful and exhilarating combination?

---

15 freshets Floods or overflowing of a river caused by heavy rains or melted snow.
32 tame SB again draws on his textual record of Canterbury: in his *Eagle* articles he had described how 'the wild birds […] are much tamer [here] than they are in England' (OE 2, 158).

---

know that it was^ liable to very ^sudden &^ heavy freshets, ~~and~~ ^but even had^ we ~~could see~~ ^not known it we could have seen it ~~by~~^ by **17 carried long … distances, and by the]** carried ~~many miles~~, ^long distances^ and ^by^ the **18 side, showing that]** side, ^showing^ that **19 whole river-bed]** whole ~~channel of the~~ riverbed **19 torrent, many … depth and]** torrent ~~of~~ ^~~of~~^ many feet ~~in depth~~, ^~~deep~~, in depth^ and **20 Fury. At]** fury: at **low, there]** low; and there **21–2 foot, but … safely on]** foot without being carried away by the current, but yet safe enough ^to be crossed safely^ on **23 flat,]** flat **23–4 wider and wider … large plains]** wider till ^down the river till they^ they had become ^the^ large plains **25 range,]** range **leading abruptly]** leading pretty abruptly **26 gorge,]** gorge **narrowed]** ~, **27 and]** & **scene cannot … language. The]** scene eludes my power of description: ^cannot be conveyed in language^ The **28 valley … blue]** valley ^was^ blue **29 shadow,]** shadow **precipice,]** precipice **30 top;]** ~, **30 brilliant with]** brilliant (save towards the bottom) with **31 river,]** river **rushing—]** ~, **32 islets,]** islets **and were]** and which were **32–3 could come … to them—the]** could see their faces easily ^come close up to them^ (a thing which we can so rarely do with ^wild^ birds and which adds so much to our enjoyment of them when we can do it) the **33 air—]** ~, **34–5 more … combination]** combination more calculated to induce health of mind and body? I cannot think it.

31–60 and wasteful river, … of the other.: f. 19r.

---

18 debris] E2, débris E9 **19 torrent,]** torrent E2, E9 **depth,]** depth E2, E9 **24 plains,]** plains E2, E9 **29 and hill side]** E2, hillside E9 **31 river,]** river E2, E9 **water birds]** E2, water-birds E9 **32 islets,]** islets E2, E9

We set about making our camp, close to some large bush which came down from the mountains on to the flat, and tethered out our horses upon ground as free as we could find it from anything round which they might wind the rope, and get themselves tied up. We dared not let them run loose, lest they might stray down the river, home again. We then gathered wood and lit the fire. We filled a tin pannikin with water, and set it against the hot ashes to boil. When the water boiled we threw in two or three large pinches of tea, and let them brew.

We had caught half a dozen young ducks in the course of the day—an easy matter; for the old birds made such a fuss in attempting to decoy us away from them, pretending to be badly hurt, as they say the plover does, that we could always find them by going about in the opposite direction to the old bird, till we heard the young ones crying: then we ran them down, for they could not fly, though they were nearly full grown. Chowbok plucked them a little, and singed them a good deal. Then we cut them up and boiled them in another pannikin, and this completed our preparations.

When we had done supper it was quite dark. The silence and freshness of the night, the occasional sharp cry of the wood-hen, the ruddy glow of the fire, the subdued rushing of the river, the sombre forest, and the immediate foreground of our saddles, packs, and blankets, made a picture

---

36 bush Dense, sparely-inhabited native forest.

37–9 tethered … tied up Again, SB echoes OE 2: 'we turn our horses on to that; we kept one on the tether—tethered to a tussock of grass by a peculiar kind of New Zealand knot—and let the others loose; they will always keep together and are sure not to leave the one that is tethered far off—that is, if they know the horse. The nuisance of keeping a horse tethered is that he is pretty sure to tie himself up as it is called' (162).

53 wood-hen *Gallirallus australis*, also *weka*, a brown flightless rail with a shrill, far-carrying call.

36–7 large bush … mountains on] largish e bush at the point where the hills descended ^which came down from the mountain^ on **37 flat, and]** flat: we **37–8 out our horses … upon ground]** out ^our^ horses out upon some ground **38 could find it]** could get ^find^ it **39 up. We]** up; short: we **40 might]** should **river,]** river **again. We]** again: we **gathered wood]** gathered plenty of wood **41 the fire. We]** the fi[?g] fire: we **water,]** water **42 boil. When]** boil: when **43–4 tea … We]** tea, and in two or three minutes it was made. ^and let them a few brew^ We **44–5 day— … for]** day,. which was easily done ^– an easy matter –^ for **46 hurt,]** hurt **48 heard … we ran]** heard them & ^the young ones^ crying; then Chowbok ^we^ ran **49 fly,]** fly **nearly … Chowbok]** nearly as big as ^full grown^ the old bird itself ^parents^ themselves. Chowbok **50 a good deal.]** a great ^good^ deal **51 pannikin … this completed]** pannikin, which ^and this^ completed **51–2 preparations. When]** preparations. ~~for supper~~. When **52 done … it]** done ^supper^ it **53 the wood-hen, the]** the ~~night fowl~~; ^wood hen^ the **54 river,]** river **55–6 saddles, packs, … picture worthy]** saddle packs & blankets made a scene ^picture^ worthy

---

39 rope,] rope E2, E9 **40 river,]** river E2, E9 **41 water,]** water E2, E9 **43 tea,]** E2, tea E9 **45 matter;]** E2, ~, E9 **46 them,]** E2, ~— E9 **hurt,]** hurt E2, E9 **does,]** E2, ~— E9 **48 bird,]** bird E2, E9 **49 fly,]** fly E2, E9 **50 little,]** little E2, E9 **55 saddles, packs,]** saddles packs E2, E9

worthy of a Salvator Rosa, or Nicolas Poussin. I call it to mind and delight in it now, but I did not notice it at the time. We next to never know when we are well off: but this cuts two ways,—for if we did, we should perhaps know better when we are ill off also; and I have sometimes thought that there are as many ignorant of the one as of the other. He who wrote, "*O fortunatos nimium sua si bona nôrint agricolæ*," might have written quite as truly, "*O infortunatos nimium sua si mala nôrint*," and there are few of us who are not protected from the keenest pain by our inability to see what it is that we have done, what we are suffering, and what we truly are. This, however, is a digression.

We found as soft a piece of ground as we could—though it was all stony—and having collected grass and so disposed of ourselves that we had a little hollow for our hip-bones, we strapped our blankets around us, and went to sleep. Waking in the night I saw the stars overhead, and the moonlight bright upon the mountains. The river was ever rushing; I heard one of our horses neigh to its companion, and was assured that they were still at hand; I had

---

56 Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), an Italian Baroque painter, poet, and printmaker. His proto-Romantic landscapes were typically brooding and melancholic. In Ch. 41 of TWAF SB describes a Rosa painting metonymically as 'a veritable old master' (176).

56 Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), leading painter of the classical French Baroque style, who spent most of his working life in Rome, and was known for historical or literary events portrayed as grand landscapes. When SB had returned from NZ and was pursuing his ambition of becoming a painter, Rosa and Poussin were still regarded as masters of the 'Grand Style'.

60–1 *O ... agricolæ* SB alludes to Book 2, ls 458–9, of the *Georgics* by Virgil (70–19 BC). The original reads 'O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint, agricolas!' and means 'O happy husbandmen! too happy, should they come to know their blessings'. SB's alteration would read 'O unhappy husbandmen, should they come to know their misfortunes'. SB refers facetiously to his mistake in writing the nominative plural *agricolae* (husbandmen or farmers) rather than the accusative plural *agricolas* in his Preface to the Second Edition, 63. Ostensibly a guide to agriculture, *Georgics* was written between 37 and 29 BC, and combines

---

56 Poussin.] ~: **and delight in]** and [?r] ^delight^ in **57 time. We next]** time. ~~One~~ ^We^ next **know]** knows **57–8 when … know]** when one is ^we are^ well off: a thing however which ^but this^ cuts two ways: for ^if we did^ perhaps we should ^perhaps^ know **59 also;]** ~, **59–60 are as]** are ^almost^ as **60 one as]** one [? ?] as **He … wrote,]** The man who ^He who^ wrote **61 truly,]** truly **64 This, however,]** This however **66–7 could— … and]** could ^ though it was all stony,^ and **67 collected grass]** collected a little grass **68 hip-bones,]** hip bones **68–9 us, …. Waking]** us and ~~composed ourselves~~ ^went^ to ~~slumber~~. ^sleep^ Waking **69 moonlight]** moon light **70 was … rushing;]** was ~~still~~ ^ever^ rushing **71 and … I]** and ~~could tell that they were near at hand~~. ^~~got [?]~~ were still at hand.^ I

60–74 He who wrote, … the open air.: f. 20^{r}. On f. 20^{v} 'Why the X at the bottom of the page?' is inscribed in SB's hand.

---

56 Rosa, or Nicolas] E2, Rosa or a Nicolas E9 **60–1 O … agricolæ]** *italics* E2, E9 **61 *agricolæ*]** agricolas E2, E9 **62 *nôrint,"*]** ~"; E2, E9 **64–6 are … We]** are. Let us be grateful to the mirror for revealing to us our appearance only. We E2, E9 **68 us,]** us E2, E9 **69 overhead,]** E2, overhead E9

no care of mind or body, save that I had doubtless many difficulties to overcome. There came upon me a delicious sense of peace, a fulness of contentment which I do not believe can be felt by any but those who have spent days consecutively on horseback, or at any rate in the open air.

Next morning we found our last night's tea-leaves frozen at the bottom of the pannikins, though it was still only the beginning of autumn; we breakfasted as we had supped, and were on our way by six o'clock. In half an hour we had entered the gorge, and turning round a corner, we bade farewell to the last sight of my master's country.

The gorge was narrow and precipitous: the river was now only a few yards wide, and roared and thundered against rocks of many tons in weight: the sound was deafening, for there was a great volume of water. We were two hours in making less than a mile, and that with great danger; sometimes in the river, and sometimes on the rock. There was that damp black smell of rocks covered with slimy vegetation, as near some huge waterfall where spray is ever rising. The air was clammy and cold. I cannot conceive how our horses managed to keep their footing, especially the one with the pack, and I dreaded the having to return almost as much as going forward. I suppose this lasted three miles, but it was well midday when the gorge got a little wider, and a small stream came into it from a tributary valley. Further progress up the main river was impossible, for the cliffs descended like walls; so we went

---

agricultural instruction, political reflection, country lore and mythology. SB had studied *Georgics* at Shrewsbury: CT students at Cambridge University in the late 1850s were expected to be familiar with Virgil's works 'before commencing residence'; *Georgics*, in particular, had already to be 'known by heart' (Seeley 1863, 154).

76–7 last night's … bottom of the pannikins See Gen. Int., 30.

---

72 care of mind] care ~~upon my~~ ^of^ mind **I had]** I ~~we~~ had **many difficulties]** many ~~more~~ difficulties to overcome: dreaded ~~the~~ having ~~and that even our return home would be far from easy.~~ ^~~in fact~~^ ~~Still~~ there **73 fulness]** fullness **75 on horseback, … rate in]** on the saddle ^or at any rate^ ~~and~~ in **76 found … frozen]** found ^our last night's^ ~~the~~ tea < >aves ~~of the night before~~ frozen **77 pannikins,]** pannikin **autumn; we]** February; ~~I had no [? d] with me but I gathered that we must h[ ] mounted considerably since leaving my master's house, which must indeed have been the case for the rivers are reckoned to fall at least 30 feet in the mile: we breakfasted~~ ^we breakfasted^ as **78 were on our way by]** were en route by **o'clock. In]** ~~o'clock: in~~ **79 corner,]** corner **81–2 river … roared]** channel of the river ^~~stream~~ ^^~~river~~ ^^ was now^ ~~had~~ ~~nar[r ?]~~ ^~~[?]~~ only^ a few yards ^wide,^ and ~~the water~~ roared **82 thundered]** gnashed **83 deafening, … We]** deafening ^for there was a great volume of water;^ [?] we **84 mile,]** ~: **danger;]** ~: **85 river,]** river **rock.]** ~: **87 rising. There]** rising; the **and cold.]** and ~~intensely~~ cold **how our]** how ~~h[?]~~ our **88–9 dreaded the having]** dreaded ~~the~~ ^~~[?the]~~ the ^ having **89 much as going]** much ~~the~~ ^~~th~~^ going **this lasted]** this ~~sort of thing~~ lasted **90 wider,]** wider **92 main … walls; so]** main ~~stream~~ ^river^ was impossible, ^for^ the the cliffs descend[*uwr*. ing] [*owr*. ed] like wall,: so

---

75–104 Next morning we … fire till we: f. 21r.

---

72 overcome. There] overcome; there E2, E9 **76 still only]** E2, not nearly E9 **78 corner,]** corner E2, E9 **80 precipitous:]** E2, ~; E9 **81 weight:]** E2, ~; E9 **83 with … danger;]** E2, with danger, E9 **84 river,]** E2, river E9 **90 Further]** Farther E2, E9

up the side stream, Chowbok seeming to think that here must be the pass of which reports existed among his people. I have so much to tell that I must condense this part of my story. Suffice it that after infinite trouble owing to the rocks and tangled vegetation, that we got ourselves and our horses upon the saddle from which this small stream descended; by that time clouds had descended upon us, and it was raining heavily. Moreover, it was six o'clock and we were tired out, having made perhaps six miles in twelve hours.

On the saddle there was some coarse grass which was in full seed, and therefore very nourishing for the horses; also abundance of annise and sowthistle, of which they are extravagantly fond, so we turned them loose, and prepared to camp. Everything was soaking wet and we were half-perished with cold; indeed, we were very uncomfortable. There was brushwood about, but we could get no fire till we had shaved off the wet outside of some dead branches, and filled our pockets with the dry inside chips. Having done this we managed to start a fire, nor did we allow it to go out when we had once started it; we pitched the tent, and by nine o'clock were comparatively warm and dry. Next morning it was fine; we broke camp, and after advancing a short distance, we found that, by descending over ground less difficult than yesterday's, we should come again upon the river-bed, which had opened out above the gorge; but it was plain, at a side glance, that there was no available sheep country, nothing but a few flats

---

100 annise Incorrect spelling of anise, also called aniseed. *Pimpinella anisum* is a flowering plant native to the Levant, cultivated for its aromatic and carminative seeds.
101 sowthistle One or other of the species of *Sonchus*, common weeds characterised by their sharply-

---

92 up the … Chowbok] up ~~[?this]~~ ^the side stream^ Chowbok **92–3 that here … I]** that ~~this was~~ ^here must be^ the pass. ~~Which his people asserted to exist up our river,~~ ^of which reports existed among his people.^ ~~though not up the [?]~~ ^~~gorge~~^ ~~itself~~. I **93–4 must … this]** must ~~cut~~ ^condense^ this **94 story. Suffice]** story. ~~short~~. Suffice **that … after]** that ~~by nightfall~~ ^~~evening~~^ after **94–5 trouble … rocks]** rouble ~~through~~ ^owing to the^ rocks **95 vegetation,]** vegetation **that]** *om.* **got … upon]** got ~~our horses~~ ^ourselves and our horses^ upon **96 descended; by]** descended; ~~and that~~ by **97 Moreover,]** Moreover **o'clock]** ~, **98 were … having]** were ~~dog~~ tired ^out^ having **99 some … grass]** some ~~stunted~~ ^coarse^ grass **99–100 and … therefore]** and ~~which was~~ therefore **100 for]** to **horses;]** horses **101–2 annise … of]** annice ^and sowthistle^ of **103 cold; … we]** cold: ^indeed^ we **104 but … shaved]** but it would not burn, till we had ~~peeled~~ shaved **105 dead]** dried **and … filled]** and ~~[?]~~ ^~~[?]~~^ filled **106 chips. Having]** chips: having **106 it;]** ~: **by … o'clock]** by ~~ten~~ ^nine^ o'clock **108 dry. Next]** dry: next **108–9 fine; … by]** fine: ^ we broke camp and after advancing a short distance we found^ ~~we were right~~ ^that^ by **110 yesterday's, … upon]** yesterday's we shd come ^again^ upon **111 river-bed, which]** river ~~again~~ ^bed^ which **111–12 gorge; … there]** gorge: but ^it was plain at a glance that^ there **112 country,]** ~: **flats]** ~,

---

104–47 had shaved off … had left me.: f. 22r.

---

93 I … that] We now incurred less of actual danger but more fatigue, and it was only E2, E9 **94 trouble]** ~, E2, E9 **100 annise]** anise E2, E9 **101 sowthistle]** sow-thistle E2, E9 **loose,]** loose E2, E9 **103 indeed,]** indeed E2, E9 **105 branches,]** branches E2, E9 **107 tent,]** tent E2, E9 **109 distance,]** distance E2, E9 **111 plain,]** plain E2, E9 **112 glance,]** glance E2, E9

covered with scrub on either side the river, and mountains which were perfectly worthless. But we could see the main range. There was no mistake about this. The glaciers were tumbling down the mountain sides like cataracts, and seemed actually to descend upon the river-bed; there could be no serious difficulty in reaching them by following up the river, which was wide and open; but it seemed rather an objectless thing to do, for the main range looked hopeless, and my curiosity about the nature of the country above the gorge was now quite satisfied: there was no money in it whatever, unless there should be minerals, of which I saw no more signs than lower down.

However, I resolved that I would follow the river up, and not return until I was compelled to do so. I would go up every branch as far as I could, and wash well for gold. Chowbok liked seeing me do this, but it never came to anything, for we did not even find the colour. His dislike of the main range appeared to have worn off, and he made no objections to approaching it. I thought he believed that there was no danger of my trying to cross it, and he was not afraid of anything on this side; besides, we might find gold. But the fact was, that he had made up his mind what to do if he saw me getting too near it.

We passed three weeks in exploring, and never did I find time go more quickly. The weather was fine, though the nights got very cold. We followed every stream but one, and always found that it led us to a glacier which was plainly impassable; at any rate without a larger party and ropes.

---

toothed thistle-like leaves and milky juice. *Sonchus kirkii* is indigenous to NZ.

125 wash … gold According to this method of gold panning, alluvial gravel or sand was scooped into a pan, then gently agitated in water until the gold sank to the bottom of the pan.

113–14 river, … But] river, ~~on to which the mountains descended clothed with thick bush~~: ^and mountains ~~which —— descended to the~~ were ~~covered~~ perfectly worthless:^ but **115 glaciers … tumbling]** glaciers ~~seemed to be~~ ^were^ tumbling **115–16 like … actually]** like ~~waterfalls~~, ^cataracts^ and ^seemed^ actually **116 river bed:]** river-bed; **117 river,]** river **118 open;]** ~, **118 seemed … objectless]** seemed ~~a very~~ ^rather an^ objectless **119 range … and]** range ~~seemed hopeless~~, ^~~appeared~~ looked hopeless,^ and **120 the gorge … quite]** our gorge was ^now^ quite **121 should]** shd **123 However,]** However **up, and not]** up and ~~at any rate~~ not **125 seeing … but]** seeing ~~me wash for gold~~: ^me do this^ but **126 not … the]** ~~not find [even]~~ ^ever find^ the **127 off, … he]** off, ~~for~~ ^and^ he **128 it. I … that]** it: I thought he ~~had made up his mind~~ ^believed^ that **129 side;]** ~: **129–33 gold. … The]** gold, ^but the fact was that he had made up his mind wh< > do if he saw me getting too near ~~[?]~~ it:^ We passed a ~~fortnight~~ ^three weeks^ in exploring: ~~a fortnight concerning which~~ ^and never did I find ~~a fortnight~~ ^^time^^ go more quickly.^ ~~I could easily fill a volume~~: the **133 cold. We]** cold; we **134–5 found … impassable; at]** found it [?end] [?in] ^to rise from spring from^ a glacier which ^lead us to a glacier which^ was plainly inaccessible, ^impassable^ at **135–6 ropes. One]** ropes; and one

---

120 satisfied:] ~, E2, ~E9 **128 thought ... that]** E2, think he thought E9 **130 was,]** was E2, E9 **130 that]** E2, *om*. E9 **135 impassable;]** E2, ~, E9

One stream remained, which I should have followed up already, had not Chowbok said that he had risen early one morning, while I was yet asleep, and gone up for three or four miles, and seen that it was quite impossible to go farther. I had long ago discovered that he was a great liar, so I was bent on going up myself: in brief, I did so: it was not impossible, it was quite easy travelling; and, after five or six miles, I saw a saddle at the end of it, which, though covered deep in snow, was not glaciered, and which did verily appear to me to be part of the main range itself. No words of mine can convey any notion of my feelings. My blood felt all on fire with hope and elation; but, on looking round for Chowbok, who was behind me, I saw, to my surprise and anger, that he had turned back, and was going down the valley as hard as he could. He had left me.

---

136 One stream This is probably inspired by the geography of the Lawrence River, a tributary to the Rangitata, which SB and Baker climbed on their third expedition.

---

136 which … already] which [? ght] to ^I should^ have examined ^followed up^ already **137 had … one]** had got up early ^ done so risen early^ one morning,] morning asleep,] asleep **138 miles,]** miles seen] *om*. **138–9 it … discovered]** it was impossible. ^became quite impossible to go further.^ I had already ^long ago^ discovered **139 great … was]** great ^liar^ liar so I was **140 myself: … not]** myself: ^in brief I did so:^ it was not impossible: ^quite easy travelling^ was very possible and **miles,] miles** **141–2** t, which,] it which **142 snow,]** snow **which did]** which [?o?] did **143 to … part]** to ^be^ part **144 elation … who]** elation, I turned round to look for ^but on looking looked round for^ Chowbok he who **145–6 me, I … going]** me, and to my intense surprise I saw ^I saw to my surprise & anger^ that he was turning ^had turned^ back and ^was^ going **147 could. He]** could: {He had left m} ^He had left me.^

---

137 morning,] E2, morning E9 **138 and ... for]** E2, and after going up it for E9 **and]** E2, had E9 **quite]** E2, *om*. E9 **140 it ... not]** E2, so far from being **141 and,]** and E2, E9 **miles,]** miles E2, E9 **143 to me]** E2, *om*. E9 **144 of … feelings.]** can express the intensity of my delight E2, E9 **felt]** E2, E9 **145 but,]** but E2, E9 **145 saw,]** saw E2, E9 **146 anger,]** anger E2, E9

CHAPTER IV.

THE SADDLE.

I COOEYED to him, but he would not hear. I ran after him, but he had got too good a start. Then I sat down on a stone and thought the matter carefully over. It was plain that Chowbok had designedly attempted to keep me from going up this valley, yet he had shown no unwillingness to follow me anywhere else. What could this mean, unless that I was now upon the route by which alone the mysteries of the great ranges could be revealed? What then should I do? go back at the very moment when it had become plain that I was on the right scent? Hardly: yet to proceed alone would be a most difficult and dangerous undertaking. It would be bad enough to go back to my master's run, and pass through the rocky gorges, with no chance of help from another should I get into a difficulty; but to advance for any considerable distance without a companion would be next door to madness. Accidents which are slight when there is another at hand (as the spraining of an ankle, or the falling into some place whence escape would be easy by means of an outstretched hand and a bit of rope), may be fatal to one who is alone. The more I pondered the less I liked it; and yet, the less could I

---

3 COOEYED From Dharug, the language of the aboriginal Yuin–Kuric group, from *guuu-wi*, meaning 'come here'. A coo-ey is a loud call ending on a shrill rising inflection, used as a signal by aboriginal Australians and adopted by Australasian colonists. SB described the cooey first in OE 2: 'This corresponds to our English hoy! halloa! but is infinitely more puzzling […] Coo-ey means breakfast's ready—dinner's ready—I'm coming—bring the ferry-boat—mind your eye—come here—get out of the way there—where are you?—I'm here—In fact anything and everything' (159).

---

3 I … him,] I ~~shouted after~~ ^cooeyed to^ him, **would not]** would'~~nt~~ not **3–4 I … Then]** I ^tried to^ [ran>run by *overwr*. 'u' above 'a'] ~~a few yards~~ after him, but he ~~was the better runner of the two and had got a good start~~, ^had got too good a start^ ~~so I soon gave up that~~: then **5 over … plain]** over, ~~T[?e]~~ It ~~appeared~~ ^was^ plain **Chowbok … had]** Chowbok ~~must know of something about this valley, and that he~~ had **6–8 up … route]** *see app*. **9 it … become]** it ^had^ become **10 was … on]** was ~~not~~ on **10–11 to … and]** to ~~go on~~ ^proceed^ alone ~~was a most arduous~~; ^would be ~~a~~ a most difficult^ and **11–12 to … to]** to ~~even~~ go back ~~alone~~ to **12 run]** hut **gorges … no]** gorges ~~at~~ ^with^ no **13 another]** another, **to … for]** to ~~go on~~ ^advance^ for **16 ankle]** ancle **17 rope … fatal]** rope) ~~become often~~ ^may be^ fatal **18 alone. The]** alone: the **it; and]** it, and

---

1–19 CHAPTER IV. … could I make: f. 23^{r}. On f. 23^{v} 'S. Butler' is inscribed upside-down in SB's own hand. SB's original description of Chowbok as 'the better runner of the two' (see collation of MS variants above) again links Chowbok to Black Andy whose endurance as a runner contributed to his local fame: he was reportedly 'absolutely untiring on a journey' and would 'jog-trot all the way to Christchurch [from Ashburton] in one day' ('A Pioneer's Story', *Ashburton Guardian*, 23 May 1921, p. 6).

---

9 go] E2, Go E9 **10 Hardly:]** ~; E2, E9 **10–11 be ... It]** E2, be both difficult and dangerous. It E9 **17 rope),]** E2, rope) E9

make up my mind to return when I looked at the saddle at the head of the valley, and noted the comparative ease with which its smooth sweep of snow might be surmounted: I seemed to see my way almost from my present position to the very top. After much thought, I resolved that I would go forward until I should come to some place which was really dangerous; but that I would then return. I should thus, I hoped, at any rate reach the top of the saddle, and satisfy myself as to what might be on the other side.

I had no time to lose, for it was now between ten and eleven in the morning, and the days had begun to shorten. Fortunately I was well equipped, for on leaving the camp and the horses at the lower end of the valley, I had provided myself (according to my custom) with everything that I was likely to want for four or five days. Chowbok had carried half, but had dropped his whole swag,—I suppose, at the moment of his taking flight,—for I came upon it when I ran after him. I had, therefore, his provisions as well as my own. Accordingly, I took as many biscuits as I thought I could carry; and also some tobacco, tea, and a few matches. I rolled them neatly inside my blankets: outside these I rolled Chowbok's blankets, and strapped them very tightly,

---

32 swag The bundle of personal belongings carried by a traveller in the outback. In OE 2, SB described the swag he carried in his early travels in Canterbury, revealing how closely the narrator's experiences are drawn from his own: 'My swag generally is as follows: A mackintosh sheet, two blankets, one rough pea-jacket, saddlebags, and a tether rope round my horse's neck; if I meditate camping out beforehand, I take a pannikin for making tea, and a little axe for cutting fire-wood' (160).

---

20 valley and] valley, and **21–2 from … to]** from ~~the spot where I was~~ ^my present position^ to **23– 4 go … I]** go ~~on as far as the top of the sad~~ ^forward^ until I should come ~~upon~~ ^to^ some~~thing~~ ^place^ which ~~should~~ ^~~might~~^ ~~cut off my retreat~~, ^was really dangerous^ ~~and~~ ^but^ that ~~on reaching any such obstacle~~ I **24 return. I]** return: I **hoped, at]** hoped, ~~at~~ at **25 saddle,]** saddle **28 morning,]** morning **28–9 shorten … for]** shorten: fortunately I was ^well^ equipped, ~~for an expedition of four or five days~~ for **29–31 valley … Chowbok]** valley ~~we~~ ^I^ had provided ~~ourselves with~~ ^myself (according to to my custom) with^ every thing [*uwr* we] [*owr* I] were likely to want ^for four or five days,^ ~~not knowing whether we~~ ^~~whether I~~^ ~~might not find something to detain~~ [*uwr* us] [*owr* me]. Chowbok **31–2 carried … but]** carried ~~his share~~, ^~~half~~ half^ but **32 swag … suppose]** swag, [*uwr* a] [*owr* I] suppose **flight … I]** flight, ~~for~~ ^~~and~~ for^ I **33 had, therefore,]** had therefore **33–5 own … rolled]** own. ~~I~~ ~~therefore~~ ~~rolled~~ ^Accordingly I took^ ~~all that~~ ^as many biscuits as I thought^ I could carry, ~~in the way of biscuits~~ ~~and~~ ^and also some^ tobacco, ~~&~~tea, ^and^ a few matches, ~~also~~ ^~~and~~^ ~~my watch;~~ ~~and~~ ^I^ rolled 36 **outside these I]** outside them ~~again~~ I

19–36 up my mind … I rolled Chowbok's: f. 24r.
36–59 blankets, and strapped … an immeasurable extent: f. 25r.

22–3 resolved ... go] E2, resolved to go E9 **24 dangerous … return.]** dangerous, but that I would then return. E2, dangerous, but then to return. E9 **28 morning, … Fortunately]** morning and the days had begun to shorten. Fortunately E2, morning. Fortunately E9 **29 valley, I]** valley I E2, E9 **32 swag,—I]** E2, swag— **flight,—for]** flight—for E2, E9 **34 carry; and]** carry, and E2, E9 **35 rolled … blankets, and]** E2, rolled all these things (together with a flask nearly full of brandy, which I had kept in my pocket for fear lest Chowbok should get hold of it) inside my blankets, and E9

making the whole into a long roll of some seven feet in length, and ten inches in diameter. Then I tied the two ends together, and put the whole round my neck, and over one shoulder. This is the easiest way of carrying a heavy swag, for one can rest one's self by shifting the burden from one shoulder to the other. I strapped my pannikin and a small axe about my waist; and, having thus prepared, I began to ascend the valley, angry at having been misled by Chowbok, but fully resolved that I would not to return till I was compelled to do so.

I crossed and recrossed the stream several times without difficulty, for there were many good fords. At one o'clock I was at the foot of the saddle; for four hours I mounted, the last two on the snow, where the going was easier; by five I was within ten minutes of the top, in a state of excitement greater, I think, than I had ever known before. Ten minutes more, and the cold air from the other side came rushing upon me.

A glance. I was *not* on the main range.

Another glance. There was an awful river, muddy and horribly angry, roaring over an immense river-bed, thousands of feet below me.

It went round to the westward, and I could see no farther up the valley, save that there were enormous glaciers which must extend round its source, and from which it must spring.

Another glance, and then I remained motionless.

There was an easy pass in the mountains directly opposite to me, through

---

46 fords While in Canterbury, SB acquired the ability to spot fordable parts of a river, as revealed in FY, when he describes the Rakaia River as 'fordable in many places, though very rarely so when occupying a single channel' (121).

---

37 some … feet] some ~~six~~ ^seven^ feet **and … inches]** and ~~eight~~ ^ten^ inches **38 diameter. Then … and]** diameter; ~~for I had~~ ^having^ plenty of straps ~~[?&]~~ ^I^ strapped ~~everyth~~ the roll extremely tightly in several places. Then I ~~strapp~~ tied the two ends ~~of the~~ ~~roll~~ together and **39 neck … This]** neck ^and over one shoulder^ like a horse collar: this **40 swag,]** ~: **one's self]** oneself **41 to the… pannikin]** to [another>the other by *overwr*. 'the' above 'an']: I ~~had with me~~ ^strapped^ my **41–3 axe … Chowbok]** axe ~~[?]~~, ~~strapped round~~ ^about^ my waist,. ~~Ha~~ving thus prepared I began ~~trudging up~~ ^to ascend^ the valley; ~~much out of temper with~~ ^angry ~~ha~~ at having been misled by^ Chowbok **43 would]** wd **was compelled]** was ~~forced~~ compelled **43 but fully … would not]** E2, but determined not E9 **45 times … there]** times ~~which was not difficult~~ ^without difficulty^ ~~as~~ ^for^ there **46 fords. At]** fords: ~~and~~ at **saddle;]** ~: **47 snow where]** snow, where **48–9 top … Ten]** top in ^a^ state of excitement ~~bordering on frenzy~~. ~~bordering on frenzy~~. ^ greater, I think than I had ever known before^ Ten **50 rushing … me.]** rushing ~~on~~ ^upon^ me. **51 *not*]** not **52 river, muddy … angry,]** river [?~~muddly~~] ^muddy^ and horribly angry **53 river-bed,]** riverbed **54 westward,]** westward **farther]** further **valley,]** valley **55 source,]** source **58 me,]** me

---

37 length, and ten] length and ten E2, length and six E9 **39 neck, and]** neck and E2, E9 **41–2 waist … I began]** E2, waist, and thus equipped began E9 **55 round … and]** round the source of the river, and E2, E9

which I caught a glimpse of an immeasurable extent of blue and distant plains.

Easy? Yes, perfectly easy; grassed nearly to the summit, which was, as it were, an open path between two glaciers, from which an inconsiderable stream came tumbling down over rough but very possible hill-sides, till it got down to the level of the great river, and formed a flat where there was grass and good timber.

Almost before I could believe my eyes, a cloud had come up from the valley on the other side, and the plains were hidden. What wonderful luck was mine! Had I arrived five minutes later, the cloud would have been over the pass, and I should never have known of its existence. Now that the cloud was there, I began to doubt my memory, and to be uncertain whether it had been more than a blue line of distant vapour that had filled up the opening. I could only be certain of this much, namely, that the river in the valley below must be the one next to the northward of that which flowed past my master's station; of this there could be no doubt. Could I, however, imagine that my luck should have led me up a wrong river in search of a pass, and yet brought me to the spot where I could detect the one weak place in the fortifications of a more northern basin? This was too improbable. But even as I doubted there came a rent in the cloud opposite, and a second time I saw blue lines of heaving downs, growing gradually fainter, and retiring into a far space of plain. It was substantial; there had been no mistake

---

60–2 Easy … tumbling] Easy, yes. Perfectly easy: grassed [*uwr* ~~up~~] [*owr* nearly] to the ~~very~~ summit ^which was as it were an open path between two glaciers ~~&~~ from which^ ~~with an~~ an in considerable stream ^came^ tumbling **62 hill–sides,]** hill sides **62–3 till … down]** till ~~they~~ ~~cam~~ ^it got^ down **64 timber.]** timber. ~~I look at the pass more clearly and I see that which makes my blood run cold even at the moment that I write about it, and at the~~ [*another line of writing barely legible*] **65 Almost … up]** ~~I looked at the pass again but there are~~ ~~clouds~~ ~~coming~~ ^Almost before I could believe my eyes a cloud had come^ up **66 side,]** side **67 later,]** later **68 pass,]** pass **69 there,]** there **69–70 it … than]** it ~~was not my fancy, or if it were~~ ~~more~~ ^had been more^ than **70 distant … that]** distant ~~cloud~~ ^vapour^ that **70–1 opening … in]** opening ~~How impossible that I should have been led to ascend a~~ ~~mountain~~ ^^ ~~which shd be just~~ ~~opposite a pass though itself no pass at all~~! ^I could only be certain of this much, namely that the river^ ~~The~~ ~~river~~ ~~[?be]~~ ~~rushing~~ in **71 must be]** must ~~certainly~~ be **72 next … northward]** next ^the^ Northward **station;]** ~: **73 doubt. Could]** *see app*. **73–5 I … place]** I ^however^ imagine me ~~to the very spot where I could overlook this pass [?where] I aware of it, when I might~~ ^up a wrong river in search of a [?] as yet brought me [?] the ~~and become very~~ spot where I shd [de ?] it^ ~~have tra < > ed the one right~~ ~~place~~ ^the one weak^ ~~ups~~ place **76 basin … But]** basin? ~~That by going up~~ ~~the Range~~ ~~(my master's river)~~. I should discover a pass over the Range (the river to the [? th ?])? This ~~thing~~ was too ~~grossly~~ improbable. ~~It could not be so.~~ But **77 saw blue]** saw ^~~through the gap~~^ blue **77–8 downs … fainter,]** downs growing ^gradually^ fainter **78 into … space]** into ~~an immeasurable~~ ^a far ~~fa[?]~~^ space **79 substantial;]** ~: **no … soever]** no ~~vision~~ ^mistake^ soever.

59–77 of blue and … and a second: f. 26r.
77–86 time I saw … and encouraged me.: f. 27r. On f. 27v SB has written 'Why X?'

---

64 and … timber] E2, and a small bush of stunted timber. E9 **68 never]** E2, not E9

soever. I had hardly made myself completely sure of this ere the rent in the clouds joined up again, and I could see nothing more.

What, then, should I do? The night would be upon me shortly, and I was already chilled with standing still after the exertion of climbing. To stay where I was would be impossible; I must either go backwards or forwards. I found a rock which gave me shelter from the evening wind, and took a good pull at the brandy flask, which immediately warmed and encouraged me.

I asked myself, Could I descend upon the river-bed beneath me? It was impossible to say what precipices might prevent my doing so. If I were on the river-bed, dare I cross the river? I am an excellent swimmer; yet, once in that frightful rush of waters, I should be hurled whithersoever it willed, absolutely powerless. Moreover, there was my swag; I should perish of cold and hunger if I left it, but I should certainly be drowned if I attempted to carry it across the river. These were serious considerations, but the hope of finding an immense tract of available sheep country (which I was determined that I would monopolise as far as I possibly could) sufficed to outweigh them; and, in a few minutes, I felt resolved that, having made so important a discovery as a pass into a country which was probably as valuable as that on our own side of the ranges, I would follow it up as far as I possibly could, even though I should pay the penalty of failure with life itself. The more I thought, the more I was settled in my mind that I would either win for myself the chance of fame and

---

90 hurled withersoever This description of river submersion precisely recalls SB's own experience of crossing a river near his station, as conveyed to his *Eagle* readers: 'I was hardly in before my legs were knocked from under me and down I went helter, skelter, willy, nilly—of course quite unable to regain my lost footing. I lay on my back at once and did not resist the stream a bit, kicked out with my legs and made the bank I wanted before I had been carried down fifty yards,—to try to swim would have been absurd (OE 2, 154).

---

80 made … myself] made ~~What then should I do? The above had passed~~ myself **and I]** and ~~I looked in vain for more~~ I **81–2 more. … night]** more. ~~What then should I do?~~ ^~~What then should I do?~~^ ~~The above had passed through my mind with great rapidity and before I had been ten minutes on the summit I had got it pretty clearly made out in mind where I must be: but the question was what should I do next.~~ ^What then should I do? The night **82 shortly … I]** shortly; ~~and~~ ^and^ I **83 standing … the]** standing ^still ~~mountain~~^ ~~in the gap~~ after ~~mountain~~ the **84 impossible;]** ~: **86 flask,]** flask **and … me.]** and ~~cheered~~ ^encouraged^ me. **87 I … Could]** ^I asked myself,^ Could **river-bed]** riverbed **89 river-bed,]** riverbed, **swimmer;]** ~, **90 waters,]** waters **91 swag;]** ~, **93 considerations]** considerations **95 them; and,]** them, and **96 minutes,]** minutes **that,]** that **so important]** so ~~unlooked-for~~ important **97 country … was]** country ~~that~~ ^which^ was **should]** shd **99 itself. The]** itself: ~~I thought [?] further~~: the **thought,]** thought **101 fortune,]** fortune **up life]** up ~~my~~ life

---

87–103 I asked myself, … possible profits therefrom.: f. 28r.

---

80 soever] E2, whatsoever E9 **completely]** perfectly E2, E9 **this]** E2, this, E9 **81 again,]** E2, again E9 **89 swimmer;]** ~? E2, ~, E9 **98 up as … even]** up and ascertain its value, even E2, E9 **99–101 more I … and fortune,]** E2, more determined I became either to win fame and perhaps fortune, E9

fortune, by entering upon this unknown world, or consent to give up life in the attempt. In fact, I felt that life would be no longer valuable if I were to have seen so great a prize, and refused to grasp at the possible profits therefrom.

I had still an hour of good daylight during which I might begin my descent on to some possible camping ground, but there was not a moment to be lost. At first I got along rapidly, for I was on the snow, and sank into it enough to save me from falling, though I went forward straight down the mountain side, as fast as I could; but there was less snow on this side than on the other, and I had soon done with it, getting on to a coomb of dangerous and very stony ground, where a slip might have given me a disastrous fall. But I was careful with all my speed, and got safely to the bottom, where there were patches of coarse grass, and an attempt here and there at brushwood: what was below this I could not see. I advanced a few hundred yards farther, and found that I was on the brink of a frightful precipice, which no one in his senses would attempt descending. I bethought me, however, to try the creek which drained the coomb, and see whether it might not have worn itself a smoother way. In a few minutes I found myself at the upper end of a chasm in the rocks, something like Twll Dhu, only on a greatly larger scale; the creek had found its way into it, and had worn a deep channel through a material which appeared much softer than that upon the other side of the mountain. I believe it must have been a different geological formation, though I regret to say that I cannot tell what

109 coomb A deep hollow or valley. In the south of England, it refers to a hollow or valley on the flank of a hill.
113 brushwood Small growing trees and shrubs; thicket.
118–19 Twll Dhu Twll Du, meaning ‘black hole’, is the name given to the dark, black crack which splits the rock of Clogwyn y Geifr (Cliff of the Goat) between the mountains Y Garn and Glyder Fawr in the Glyderau range in Snowdonia, North Wales. The English name is Devil’s Kitchen, owing to the plume of steam often seen rising from the crack resembling a chimney, as if the Devil was cooking.

102 fact,] fact **103 prize,]** prize **therefrom … I]** therefrom, ~~and retain every half-penny of them for myself that I possibly could.~~ I **104 daylight]** ~: **106 along … for]** along ~~fast~~, ^rapidly^ for **106–7 snow … enough]** snow, ~~through which I~~ ^and^ sank ^into it^ enough **107 though]** tho’ **108 could;]** dared **was less]** was ~~much~~ less **109 coomb]** coom **110 ground … a]** ground, ~~on which~~ ^where^ a **111 fall … got]** fall; but I ~~was very careful with all my speed, and~~ ^was careful with all my speed^ got **113–14 see … that]** see ~~for it was hidden~~; ~~and it might for aught I knew be a horrible precipice~~. ~~I soon reached the edge, and saw a deep gully found as I had feared~~ ^I advanced a few hundred yards farther and found^ that **116 me … which]** me however to try ~~and find~~ the ~~streamlet~~ ^creek^ which **coomb]** coom **117 way. In]** way; ~~and~~ in **118 rocks,]** rocks **119 Dhu … had]** Dhu only on ^a^ greatly larger scale: the ~~stream~~ ^creek^ had **121 side … I]** side ^the mountain^; ~~in fact~~ I **122 formation,]** formation

104–136 I had still … overhung so that: f. 29r.

101 consent to] E2, *om.* E9 **105 possible camping ground,]** E2, suitable camping-ground, E9 **120 worn]** made E2, E9 **much]** E2, *om.* E9

it was, except that it seemed to resemble that light friable kind of porphyry of which St Michael's and other churches are built at Coventry.

I looked at this rift in great doubt, then I went a little way on either side of it, and found myself looking over the edge of horrible precipices on to the river, which roared some four or five thousand feet below me. I dared not think of getting down at all, unless I committed myself to the rift, of which I was hopeful, when I reflected that the rock was soft, and that the water might have worn its channel tolerably evenly through the whole extent. The darkness was increasing with every minute, but I should have twilight for another half hour, so I went into the chasm (though by no means without fear), and resolved to return and camp, and try some other path next day, should I come to any serious difficulty. In about five minutes I had completely lost my head; the sides of the rift became hundreds of feet in height, and overhung so that I could not see the sky. It was full of rocks, and I had many falls and bruises. I was wet through from falling into the water, of which there was no great volume, but it had such force that I could do nothing against it; once I had to leap down a not inconsiderable waterfall into a deep pool below, and my swag was so heavy that I was very nearly drowned. I had indeed a hair's-breadth escape; but, as luck would have it, Providence was on my side. Shortly afterwards I began to fancy that the rift was getting wider, and that there was more brushwood. Presently I found myself on an open grassy slope, and feeling my way a little farther along the

---

123 friable Capable of being easily crumbled or reduced to powder.
123 porphyry Igneous rock characterized by porphyritic texture, in which larger crystals are embedded in a fine–grained groundmass.
124 St Michael's A church in Coventry built largely in the late 14th cent.

---

123 was,] was **124 Michael's and]** Michael's ~~church~~ ~~[?]~~ and **125 doubt,]** ~: **126 it … horrible]** it; ~~here there was no hope~~. ^and found myself looking ~~down upon~~^ ~~I looked down~~ ^ over the edge of^ ~~the [?most]~~ horrible **127 river,]** river **some … thousand]** some ~~three~~ ~~or four~~ ^four or five^ thousand **128 down … all,]** down ~~th[?], [?] [? ded] of getting down~~ at all **129 I … when]** I ~~gathered~~ ~~hope~~ ^was hopeful^ when **soft,]** soft **131 increasing]** encreasing **132 another … hour,]** another ^half^ ~~of an~~ hour, **132–3 so … try]** *See app.* **133–4 other … should]** other ~~plan in the morning~~, ^path next day^ should **135 head;]** ~ : **136–7 sky … and]** sky: the rocks were huge, and **137 bruises. I]** bruises: I **138 water,]** water **force … that]** force ~~from~~ that **139 it;]** ~: **down]** from **140 below,]** below **141 I … but]** ~~In fact~~ ^~~Indeed~~^ I had ~~an exceedingly~~ ^indeed a very^ narrow escape, but **141 it,]** it **142 side. Shortly]** side; ~~I did however get out eventually~~ ~~and~~ shortly **144 open … grassy]** open ~~I found myself out on an open~~ grassy **farther]** further

---

136–69 I could not … as I could.: f. 30^{r}. On f. 30^{v} SB again queries 'Why X?'. In large letters, upside-down, are the words 'But as luck would have it'.

123–4 was … Coventry] E2, was. E9 **125 doubt,]** E2, doubt; E9 **129 hopeful,]** hopeful E2, E9 **135 sides]** E2, side E9

stream, I came upon a flat place with wood, where I could camp comfortably; which was well, for it was now quite dark.

My first care was for my matches; were they dry? The outside of my swag had got completely wet; but, on undoing the blankets, I found things warm and dry within. How thankful I was! I lit a fire, and was grateful for its warmth and company. I made myself some tea, and ate two of my biscuits: my brandy I did not touch, for I had little left, and I might want it when my courage failed me. All that I did, I did almost mechanically, for I could not realise my situation to myself, being alone, and knowing that return through the chasm which I had just descended would be almost impossible; and being cut off from all one's kind. I was still full of hope, and built golden castles for myself as soon as I was warmed with food and fire; but I do not believe that any man could long retain his reason in such solitude, unless he had the companionship of animals. One begins doubting one's own identity.

I remember deriving comfort even from the sight of my blankets, and the sound of my watch ticking,—things which seemed to link me to other people; but the screaming of the wood-hens frightened me, as also a chattering bird which I had never heard before, and which seemed to laugh at me; though I soon got used to it, and before long could fancy that it was many years since I had first heard it.

163–4 a chattering bird … laugh at me SB is probably referring to the laughing owl or *whekau*, *Sceloglaux albifacies*, an endemic bird with brown striped plumage, large white facial disks around the eyes and a shrieking cry, now extinct. SB mentioned it in FY: 'I have heard people talk, too, of a laughing jackass […] but no one has ever seen it' (138).

---

145 stream,] stream **wood,]** wood **145–7 comfortably; which … outside of my]** comfortably, ~~enough~~, ~~I was very lucky for it was now quite dark~~ ^which was well for it was now quite dark.^ My first thought was for my ~~tinder box, was it dry?~~ ^matches, were they dry? The outside of^ My **148 wet; but, on]** wet but ~~I had rolled~~ ^~~my tinder with~~ ~~[?my] [wa ?] and~~^ ~~all that I had in~~ ^~~several other things~~ ~~[?] as well~~^ ~~in the very middle~~ ^~~some other things in the middle~~^ ~~of my blankets and d~~ ~~which went round~~ ~~them several times, and~~ ^I^ ~~had strapped up the ends tightly, so~~ ^~~that~~^ on **blankets,]** blanket **148–9 things warm]** things ~~[b?]~~ warm **149 I … fire,]** I lig~~h~~t my fire **150 company. I]** company ^~~being drenched to the skin and exceedingly cold.~~^. I **tea,]** tea **151 touch,]** touch **152 did,]** did **154–5 return through … being cut;]** return ~~[?wa]~~ ^through the chasm which I had just descended would be almost^ impossible, being utterly uncertain about the future: it is a dreadful feeling that of being ~~alone and~~ cut **kind.]** ~: **157 fire;]** ~, **158 solitude,]** solitude **animals … begins]** animals: one ~~soon~~ begins **160 blankets,]** blankets **161 ticking,—]** ~; **162–3 the screaming … a chattering]** the ~~sudden cry~~ ^screaming^ of the ~~nightfowl~~ ^woodhens^ frightened me, ^[?] as also a^ ~~especially one~~ chattering **163 before,]** before **me;]** ~, **164–5 long could … many years]** long ~~seemed to have been hearing~~ ^~~I~~ could fancy that it was many^ years

---

150 tea,] E2, tea E9 **151 and I might]** and might E2, E9 **153 myself, … that]** E2, myself, beyond knowing that I was alone, and that E9 **154–5 be almost … being]** E2, be impossible. It is a dreadful feeling that of being E9 **161 ticking,—]** E2, ticking— E9 **165** it.] it!

I took off my clothes, and wrapped my inside blanket about me, till my things were dry. The night was very still, and I made a roaring fire; so I soon got warm, and at last could put my clothes on again. Then I strapped my blanket round me, and went to sleep as near the fire as I could.

I dreamed that there was an organ placed in my master's wool-shed: the wool-shed faded away, and the organ seemed to grow and grow amid a blaze of brilliant light, till it became like a golden city upon the side of a mountain, with rows upon rows of pipes set in cliffs and precipices, one above the other, and in mysterious caverns, like that of Fingal, within whose depths I could see the burnished pillars gleaming. In the front there was a flight of lofty terraces, at the top of which I could see a man with his head buried forward towards a key-board, and his body swaying from side to side amid the storm of huge arpeggioed harmonies that came crashing overhead and round. Then there was one who touched me on the shoulder, and said, "Do you not see? it is Handel;"—but I had hardly apprehended, and was trying to scale the terraces, and get near him, when I awoke, dazzled with the vividness and distinctness of the dream.

A piece of wood had burned through, and the ends had fallen into the ashes with a blaze: this, I supposed, had both given me my dream and robbed me of it. I was bitterly disappointed, and sitting up on my elbow, came back to reality and my strange surroundings as best I could.

168–9 I strapped … round me Again, SB was recycling description: he had in OE 2 instructed readers how to 'sleep out' and claimed 'I have slept very warm and comfortable thus' (166).

174 Fingal A sea cave formed entirely from hexagonally jointed basalt columns on the uninhabited island of Staffa, in the Inner Hebrides of Scotland. Fingal's Cave is known for its good natural acoustics.

178 arpeggioed From Italian *arpeggiare*, to play upon the harp, an *arpeggio* is a musical technique where notes in a chord are played or sung in sequence, one after the other, rather than simultaneously.

179 Handel SB held a life-long passion for German–British baroque composer George Frideric Handel (1685–1759). As soon as he gained financial independence upon the death of his father, SB embarked upon a musical collaboration with HFJ: together they wrote the words and music for *Narcissus: A Dramatic Cantata* (1888). Late in life, SB wrote: 'of all dead men Handel has had the largest place in my thoughts. In fact I should say he and his music have been the central fact in my life ever since I was old enough to know of the existence of either music or life. All day long – whether I am writing or painting or walking—but always—I have his music in my head, and if I lose sight of it and of him for an hour or two, as of course I sometimes do, this is as much as I do. I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that I have never been a day since I was 13 without having had Handel in my mind many times over' (Jones 1919, I, 78).

---

166 clothes … blanket] clothes and wrapped ~~the day~~ ^~~inside~~^ ~~part of~~ my ^inside^ blanket **167 dry. The]** dry: the **fire;]** ~: **168 again. Then]** again: then **169–70 could … I]** could: ~~and~~ ^~~but I~~^ ~~was soon awakened by the cold_ and [?a]~~ I **170–93 I dreamed … opposite mountains]** *See app*.

170–3 I dreamed that… the opposite mountains.: f. 31[r].

---

180 Handel;"—] E2, Handel";— E9

I was thoroughly aroused—moreover, I felt a foreshadowing as though my attention were arrested by something more than the dream, although no sense in particular was as yet appealed to. I held my breath and waited, and then I heard—was it fancy? Nay; I listened again and again, and I did hear a faint and extremely distant sound of music, like that of an Æolian harp, borne upon the wind, which was blowing fresh and chill from the opposite mountains.

The roots of my hair thrilled. I listened, but the wind had died; and, fancying that it must have been the wind itself,—no; on a sudden I remembered the noise which Chowbok had made in the wool-shed. Yes; it was *that* tedious little man named Roger Tilbury.

Thank Heaven, whatever it was, it was over now. I reasoned with myself, and recovered my firmness. I became convinced that I had only been dreaming more vividly than usual. Soon I began even to laugh, and think what a fool I was to be frightened at nothing; and reminded myself that, even if I were to come to a bad end, it would be no such dreadful matter after all. I said my prayers, a duty which I had too often neglected, and in a little time fell into a really refreshing sleep, which lasted till broad daylight, and restored me. I rose, and searching among the embers of my fire, I found a few live coals, and soon had a blaze again. I got breakfast, and was delighted to have the company of several small birds, which hopped about me and perched on my boots and hands. I felt comparatively happy, but I can assure the reader that I had had a far worse time of it than I have told him; and I strongly recommend him to remain in Europe if he can; or, at any rate, in some country which has been explored and settled, rather than go into places where others have not been before him. Exploring is delightful to

---

191–2 Æolian harp A stringed instrument producing musical sounds on exposure to a current of air, named after Aeolus, the ancient Greek god of the wind.

---

194 thrilled. I] thrilled: I **died;]** ~, **195 itself … on]** itself – ~~nay~~ ^no^ – on **196–7 Yes … *that.*]** Yes – it was that. **198 Heaven,]** heaven **was,]** was **myself,]** myself **199–200 firmness … soon]** firmness. ^I became convinced that I had ~~been~~ ^only^ ~~only~~ ^been^ dreaming more vividly that usual^ Soon **200 laugh,]** laugh **201 nothing … myself that,]** E2, nothing, reminding myself that E9 **202 end,]** end **203 prayers,]** ~; **neglected,]** ~: **205 me … I]** me. to my I **fire,]** fire **206 few … live]** few lif live **coals,]** coals E2, E9 **207 birds … hopped]** birds who ^which^ hopped **208 felt … but]** felt quite strong and heavy again, ^comparatively [?] happy^ but **209 him;]** him **210–12 can; … Exploring]** *see app.*

194–210 The roots of … if he can;: f. 32r.
212–Ch. 5, l. 22 Exploring is delightful … to the plains.: f. 33r. On f. 33v SB has written: '19. pp. 8 lines.'

---

192 wind,] E2, wind E9 **195 itself,—no;]** E2, itself—no; E9 **201 nothing … that,]** E2, nothing, reminding myself that E9 **202 end,]** E2, that E9 **206 coals,]** coals E2, E9

look forward to and back upon, but it is not comfortable at the time, unless it be of such an easy nature as not to deserve the name.

---

213 time,] time

CHAPTER V.

THE RIVER AND THE RANGE.

MY next business was to descend upon the river. I had lost sight of the pass which I had seen from the saddle, but had made such notes of it that I could not fail to find it. I was bruised and stiff, and my boots had begun to give, for I had been going on rough ground for more than three weeks; but, as the day wore on, and I found myself descending without serious difficulty, I became easier. In a couple of hours I got among pine forests where there was little undergrowth, and descended quickly till I reached the edge of another precipice, which gave me a great deal of trouble, though I eventually managed to avoid it. By about three or four o'clock I found myself on the river-bed.

From calculations which I made as to the height of the valley on the other side the saddle, I have since concluded that the saddle itself could not be less than nine thousand feet high; and I should think that the river-bed, on to which I now descended, was three thousand feet above the sea level.

---

5 notes While the narrator makes no mention of carrying pen and paper in E1, references to a pocket book are deleted in the MS (see collation of MS variants below). SB himself made maps and notes while in the Alps, partaking in the broader phenomenon that Ryan identifies as 'the textualisation of the landscape' by British colonial explorers and surveyors in foreign, newly colonised terrain (Ryan 1996, 123). Canterbury Museum holds sketches of his Mesopotamia station (Cant. MS 1954.47.1 and Cant. MS 1954.47.6) and the similarity between the fictional terrain described here and the actual geography of NZ suggests that he relied heavily upon such drawings and other (no longer extant) notes when writing Chs 1–5.

9 pine forests SB may be drawing on the landscape either of Northern Italy or Canterbury. Pines (conifers of the genus *Pinus*) are indigenous to the Mediterranean; however, they had been introduced into NZ at Mount Peel Station, which neighboured SB's own run, in 1859: see Berg 2019, 2.

---

1 THE … RANGE.] *om.* **3 river. I]** river, ~~which I had seen from above~~. I **4 I … from]** I ~~saw~~ ^had seen^ from **5 it that]** it ~~as my pocket book (the edges of which had alone got wet in the river~~ ^stream^) that **it. I]** it: ~~I was therefore in different about seeing more of it now, and thought only of getting down~~. I **stiff, and]** stiff ~~from yesterday~~, and **6 give, … I]** give, ~~as~~ ^for^ I **6–7 for … as]** for ^more than^ three weeks: ^but^ as **7 on … I]** on & I **8 became … I]** became ^easier^ ~~lighter hearted, and felt generally better. After two~~ ^In a couple of^ hours ~~from starting~~ I **9 undergrowth … quickly]** undergrowth and ~~I~~ ~~got on~~ ^descended^ quickly **10–11 another … I]** the last precipice which ~~it took me a long time to~~ ~~circumvent~~, ~~but which~~ ^gave me a great deal of trouble though^ I **avoid … or]** avoid ^it^ ; ~~and~~ by about ~~3~~ ^three^ or **14 saddle … concluded]** saddle, I have since concluded **15 than … thousand]** than ~~ten~~ ^nine^ thousand **high;]** ~, **16 descended,]** descended **three … feet]** 3000 ft **16–17 sea-level … not]** sea level: ~~it had~~ ^the water had^ a terrific current ^~~falling~~ with a fall of^ ~~certainly~~ not

---

14 saddle … concluded] saddle over which I had come, I concluded E9

The water had a terrific current, with a fall of not less than forty to fifty feet per mile. It was certainly the river next to the northward of that which flowed past my master's run, and would have to go through an utterly impassable gorge (as is commonly the case with the rivers of that country) before it came upon known parts. It was reckoned to be nearly two thousand feet above the sea level where it came out of the gorge on to the plains.

As soon as I got to the river side, I liked it even less than I thought I should. It was muddy, being near its parent glaciers. The stream was wide, rapid, and rough, and I could hear the smaller stones knocking against each other under the rage of the waters, as upon a sea shore. Fording was simply out of the question. I could not swim and carry my swag, and I dared not leave my swag behind me. My only chance was to make a small raft; and that would be difficult to make, and not at all safe when it was made,—not for one man in such a current.

---

25 smaller stones Another description reminiscent of SB's early experiences of river-fording in NZ. Losing his footing in one river, he described hearing 'the boulders thump, thump, thump beneath the roaring of the waters, and the colour of the stream […] bright ochre and as thick as pea-soup' (OE 2, 163–4).

28 raft Narratives in contemporary newspapers confirm that rafts were a common method of river crossing and closely echo SB's description. The perilousness of such methods is evident from the fact that three government employees exploring the Province of Canterbury in September 1863 drowned after constructing a raft made from 'nearby trees, binding them together with flax' ('Sad Fate of an Exploring Party in Canterbury Province', NC, 1 September 1863, p. 2). In his 1893 lecture 'The Humour of Homer', SB drew comparison between two epic poems, the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, by Homer (born c. 750 BC), suggesting that a 'very material point of difference between' the two 'lies in the fact that the Homer of the Iliad always knows what he is talking about, while the supposed Homer of the *Odyssey* often makes mistakes that betray an almost incredible ignorance of detail' ('Humour', 252). He cites as evidence the ignorance of nautical matters betrayed in *Odyssey* when Ulysses is required to build a raft: 'Ulysses has to make a raft; he makes it about as broad as they generally make a good big ship, but we do not seem to have been at the pains to measure a good big ship' ('Humour', 253). This raft example demonstrates SB's longstanding preference for technical realism in fiction.

---

17 forty … fifty] 40–50 **18 mile. It was … the]** mile; it was ~~probably~~ ^~~undoubte~~ certainly^ the **northward … that]** Northward [?] ^of^ that **19 flowed past … have to]** flowed ~~near~~ my master's run, ~~if so it had~~ ^and would have^ to **20–1 gorge (as is … country) before]** gorge ~~(as all the rivers of that country do) without ex{ }ption~~) ^~~me~~ (as is commonly the case with the rivers of that country) before **21 parts. It]** parts; ~~and~~ it **21–2 two thousand … sea-level]** 2000 ft above the sea level **22 where]** when **24 should. It]** should: it **24–5 was wide, … and I]** *see app.* **25 hear the … knocking against]** hear ~~them knocking~~ ^the smaller ~~stones~~ stones knocking^ against **26 rage]** rush **26–7 waters, as upon … question. I]** *see app.* **27 swag,]** ~: **28 me. My]** me: my **raft;]** ~: **29 make,]** make **29–30 made,—not]** made; ~~As it~~ not

---

23–51 As soon as … in my hand: f. 34^{r}. At the top of the page SB wrote '~~Chapter III~~'. On f. 34^{v} SB wrote '19. pp. 8 lines'.

---

19 utterly] E2, *om.* E9 **23 side,]** side E2, E9 **26 sea shore]** E2, seashore E9 26 **simply]** *om.* E9 **29 made,—]** E2, made— E9

As it was too late to do much that afternoon, I spent the rest of it in going up and down the river side, and seeing where I should find the most favourable crossing. Then I camped early, and had a quiet comfortable night, with no more music, for which I was thankful, as it had haunted me all day, although I perfectly well knew that it had been nothing but my own fancy, brought on by the reminiscence of what I had heard from Chowbok, and by the over-excitement of the preceding evening.

The next day I began gathering the dry bloom stalks of a kind of flag or iris-looking plant, which was abundant, and whose leaves, when torn into strips, were as strong as the strongest string. I brought them to the water side, and fell to making myself a kind of rough platform, which should suffice for myself and my swag, if I could only stick to it. The stalks were ten or twelve feet long, and very strong, but light and hollow. I made my raft entirely of them, binding bundles of them at right angles to each other, neatly and strongly, with strips from the leaves of the same plant, and tying other rods across. It took me all day till nearly four o'clock to make; but I had still enough daylight for cross, and proceeded to do so.

I had selected a place where the river got broad and comparatively still, some seventy or eighty yards above a furious rapid. At this spot I had built my raft. I now launched it, made my swag fast to the middle, and got on to it myself, keeping in my hand one of the longest blossom stalks, so that I might punt myself across as long as the water was shallow enough to let me do so. I got on pretty well for twenty or thirty yards from the shore, but

---

38–9 flag … plant *Libertia* is a genus of monocotyledenous plants in the family Iridaceae, native to South America, Australia, New Guinea, and New Zealand. *Libertia peregrinans,* known as the NZ Iris, has linear basal leaves and sprays of small white flowers.

---

31 afternoon,] afternoon **32 should]** shd **34 night,]** night **music, for]** music, ~~of~~ ^for^ which **thankful … it]** thankful, ~~for~~ ^as^ it **36 Chowbok,]** Chowbok **37 over-excitement]** over excitement **37–8 evening. … a kind]** *see app.* **39 iris-looking plant,]** iris looking plant **was abundant,]** were ~~very~~ abundant, **40 strips,]** strips **40–1 string. … myself]** string. I ~~did this at~~ ^brought them to^ the water's edge, and ~~by nightfall~~ ~~I had~~ ~~made~~ ^[?b] fell to making^ myself **41 platform,]** ~ – **42 swag,]** swag **42–3 it. … but]** it. the stalk. ~~of the bloom of this same flag leaved plant stood me in good stead for they were~~ ^ ~~near twenty feet~~ long ~~sometimes~~ and very strong ~~by~~ but **43–6 hollow … across. It]** *see app.* **46–7 nearly … proceeded]** nearly ~~[?]~~ ~~evening~~ ^four o'clock^ to make, but I had ~~still — daylight~~ ^~~plenty of~~^ ~~enough~~ ~~to cross~~, ^~~for crossing~~^ ~~wh~~: still enough daylight for crossing, ^to cross^ ~~which I [?then]~~ ^and^ ~~I~~ proceeded **47–8 do … where]** do ~~at once~~. ^so^ I ~~found a place~~ ^had selected a place^ where **48 got broad]** got ~~very~~ broad **48–9 comparatively … above]** comparatively ~~both~~ still ~~& shallow~~ some 70 or 80 ~~feet~~ ^yards^ above **49 rapid. t]** *see app.* **50–1 raft. … keeping]** *see app.* **yards]** yards, **shore, … even]** shore

---

51–83 one of the … desire to save: f. 35^{r}. At the top of f. 35^{v} SB wrote 'London 1870' and lower down '–1'.

---

34 night,] night **36 Chowbok,]** Chowbok E2, E9 **38 The next]** E2, Next E9 **40–1 water side]** E2, waterside E9 **42 swag,]** swag E2, E9 **44 to make;]** to finish the raft, **47 daylight … do so.]** daylight for crossing, and resolved on doing so at once. **48 got]** was E2, E9

even in this short space, I nearly upset my raft, by shifting too rapidly from one side to the other. The water then became much deeper, and I leaned over so far in order to get the bloom rod to the bottom, that I had to stay still, leaning on the rod for a few seconds. Then, when I lifted up the rod from the ground, the current was too much for me, and I found myself being carried down the rapid. Everything in a second flew past me, and I had no more control over my raft; neither can I remember anything at all save a flying over furious waters, which in the end upset me. But it all came right, for I found myself near the shore, not more than up to my knees in the water, and pulling my raft to land, fortunately upon the left bank of the river, which was the one I wanted. How I had got there I do not know, but I was there, and not more than a mile or so below the point from which I started. My swag was wet upon the outside, and I was myself dripping; but I had gained my point, and knew that my difficulties were for a time over. I then lit my fire and dried myself; also, I caught several ducks and young sea–gulls, which were abundant on the river-bed, so that I had a really good meal, of which I was in great want, having had an insufficient diet from the time that Chowbok left me.

---

61 But it … right A dismissal of danger reminiscent of OE 2, where SB describes for Cambridge readers the experience of crossing the Rangitata River: 'I was hardly in before my legs were knocked from under me and down I went helter, skelter, willy, nilly—of course quite unable to regain my lost footing […] the next stream I got over all right and was soon in the hut before the now blazing and comfortable fire (164). SB's apparent nonchalance about the dangers of exploration sit in odd relation to the fact that numerous explorers actually died in such exploits: Dr Andrew Sinclair, a botanist and friend of Julius von Haast (see Gen. Int., 27–8), drowned while crossing the Rangitata near Butler's station in March 1862. According to Raby, when Sinclair was buried at SB's station 'no prayer book could be found […] so Haast read the service from the Mass Book belonging to Butler's bullock driver' (78).

~~though~~ ^but^ even **54 space,]** space **raft]** ~, **55 other. The]** other; ~~but~~ the **55–6 deeper … in]** deeper and I ~~had to~~ ~~lean~~ ^lean over^ so far ~~over~~ in **56 bottom … I]** bottom ~~and~~ ^that^ I **57 a few seconds. … lifted]** a ~~minute or or two~~, ^few seconds^ ~~and~~ then when I ~~had decided on what I wd do and~~ lifted **58 ground,]** ground **59 rapid. Everything]** rapid; everything **60 raft; neither]** raft, neither **60–1 save a … But it]** save a ~~lightning~~ ~~flight~~ ^~~crouching down in the middle of the raft~~ and flying^ over furious waters; ~~and a sort of oblivion of all things~~, ^which in the end upset me^ but ~~in the end~~ it **62 myself near]** myself ~~in the water~~ near **shore,]** shore **62–3 my knees … and]** my ~~middle~~ ~~in water~~ ^knees in the water^ and **65 mile … below]** mile ~~and a half~~, ^or so^ below **66 started. My]** started, my **dripping;]** ~, **68 then lit my]** then ~~lighted~~ ^lit^ my **myself … I]** myself: also I **68–9 several … and]** several ^ducks ^~~more~~ ~~more~~ ~~ducks~~^ ~~ducks~~ and **69 sea-gulls, which]** seagulls which **70 meal,]** meal **want,]** want

---

54 space,] space E2, E9 **56 bottom,]** bottom E2, E9 **58 me,]** me E2, E9 **60 my]** the E2, E9 **60–1 anything at all … which]** anything except hurry, and noise, and waters, which E2, E9 **62 for]** and E2, E9 **the]** *om.* E2, E9 **64–5 wanted ... below]** wanted. When I had landed I found that I was about a mile, or perhaps a little less, below E2, E9 **66–8 dripping … also,]** dripping; also, I E2, E9 **69 had a really good]** E2, had not only a good E9 **71–2 me. I]** E2, me, but was also well provided for the morrow. I E9

I thought of Chowbok, and felt how useful he had been to me, and in how many ways I was the loser by his absence, having now to do all sorts of things for myself which he had hitherto done for me, and could do infinitely better than I could. Moreover, I had set my heart upon making him a real convert to the Christian religion, which he had already embraced outwardly, though I cannot think that it had taken any deep root in his impenetrably stupid nature. I used to catechise him by our camp fire, and explain to him the mysteries of the Trinity and of original sin, with which I was myself familiar, having been the grandson of an archdeacon by my mother's side, to say nothing of the fact that my father was a clergyman of the English Church. I was, therefore, sufficiently qualified for the task; and was the more inclined to it (over and above my real desire to save the unhappy creature from an eternity of torture), by recollecting the promise of St. James, that if any one converted a sinner (which Chowbok surely was) he should hide a multitude of sins. I reflected, therefore that the conversion of Chowbok might, in some degree, compensate for irregularities and shortcomings in my own previous life, the remembrance of which had been more than once unpleasant to me during my recent experiences.

Indeed, on one occasion I had even gone so far as to baptize him (as

80–1 grandson … Church SB's maternal grandfather, Philip John Worsley (1769–1811), was a Bristol sugar refiner. It was his paternal grandfather, Samuel Butler (1774–1839), an English classical scholar, master of Shrewsbury School and from 1836 Bishop of Lichfield, who had held the archdeaconry of Derby from 1822–1836. SB's father, Thomas Butler (1806–1876), had been Rector of Langar-Cum-Barstone, Nottinghamshire, from 1834.

84–5 promise of St. James An allusion to the Prayer of Faith in James 5:19–20: 'Brethren, if any of you do err from the truth, and one convert him; Let him know, that he which converteth the sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins'.

90 baptize The irony that SB directs at this particular Christian rite is indebted particularly to SB's own experiences as a curate's lay assistant in London in 1859. Shocked to discover that a large proportion

72 Chowbok … felt] Chowbok ^and^ ~~I~~ felt **me,]** me **74 which … could]** which ~~I~~ ^he^ had hitherto ~~got~~ ~~him to do~~ ^done^ for me, and ~~which he~~ could **75 than … Moreover,]** than ~~myself~~. ^I could^ Moreover **76 Christian religion,]** Xtian religion **77 outwardly … deep]** outwardly, ~~but~~ ^though^ ~~which~~ I ~~to~~ cannot think ^that it^ had taken any ~~real r~~ deep **78 and]** & **79 sin … which]** sin ^with^ which **80 familiar, having]** familiar ~~with~~ having **81 was]** is **82 was … qualified]** was therefore ~~well~~ ^sufficiently^ qualified **task;]** task **83 real … desire]** real ~~regret to think~~ desire **84 unhappy … from]** unhappy ~~Chowbok~~ ^creature^ from **torture … recollecting]** torture) by ~~the~~ recollecting **85 St. James,]** St James **86 therefore]** E2, ~, 86 **of … that]** of ~~of~~ ^~~of his own~~^ sins; ~~and~~ I reflected ^therefore^ that 87 **might,]** might **degree,]** degree 88 **life,]** life 89 **me … my]** me ~~in~~ ^during^ my **89–90 experiences. Indeed,]** *see app*. **baptize … having]** baptise him (~~to the best of my ability~~) ^(as well as I could)^ having

83–103 the unhappy creature … heart, a Christian: f. 36^{r}. Upside down and hallway down f. 36^{v} SB wrote 'Chap. IV.'.

77 any] E2, *om.* E9 **82 task;]** E2, ~, **83 it (over]** E2, it, over E9 **84 torture),]** E9, torture, E9

well as I could), having ascertained that he had certainly not been both christened and baptized, and gathering (from his telling me that he had received the name William from the missionary) that it was probably the first-mentioned rite to which he had been subjected. It appeared to me to be a most disgraceful piece of carelessness on the part of the missionary, that he should have omitted the second, and certainly more important ceremony, which I have always understood precedes christening both in the case of infants and of adult converts; and when I thought of the risks we were both incurring, I determined that there should be no further delay. Fortunately it was not yet twelve o'clock, so I baptized him at once from one of the pannikins (the only vessels I had) reverently, and, I trust, efficiently. I then set myself to work to instruct him in the deeper mysteries of our belief, and to make him, not only in name, but in heart, a Christian.

It is true that I might not have succeeded, for Chowbok was very hard to teach. Indeed, on the same night that I baptized him, he tried for the twentieth time to steal the brandy, which made me rather unhappy as to whether I could have baptized him rightly. He had a prayer-book—more than twenty years old—which had been given him by the missionaries, but the only thing in it which had taken any living hold upon him was the title of Adelaide, the Queen Dowager, which he would repeat whenever

of the boys in his evening classes were unbaptised, and that it was impossible to tell – based on character and conduct – which had been baptized and which had not, his faith in the efficacy of infant baptism was shaken: see HFJ 1919, I, 60–1.

110–13 Adelaide, the Queen Dowager … Mary Magdalene Adelaide of Saxe–Meiningen (1792–1849) was a queen consort of the United Kingdom and of Hanover as the wife of William IV of the United Kingdom (1765–1837). She became dowager upon the death of William IV in 1837, a year after Adelaide, the capital city of the Australian state of South Australia, was named after her at its founding. Changes in the prayers for the King or Queen and their families were made to the original 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Reprints in 1837, 1840 and 1842 included prayers for Adelaide the Queen Dowager, which accords

92 baptized, and … he had] baptised ~~although he had submitted either~~ and gathering ~~that~~ (~~as he had~~ ^(from his telling me that^ he had **93 missionary … it]** missionary) ^that^ it **93–4 the … rite]** the ~~earlier~~ ^first mentioned^ rite **94 first–mentioned]** E9, first mentioned E2 **94 It appeared]** It ~~certainly~~ appeared **94–5 subjected … have]** E2, subjected. I thought it great carelessness on the part of the missionary to have E9 **95 missionary,]** missionary **96 second,]** second **96–7 important ceremony,]** E2, important, ceremony E9 **98 converts; and when]** *see app.* **98–102 risks … efficiently.]** *see app.* **103 heart,]** E2, heart E9 **important ceremony,]** important ~~rite~~ ceremony **102–3 belief … him]** belief and ^to^ make him **103 only … name,]** only ~~by~~ ^in^ name **Christian]** Xtian **105 teach … night]** teach: indeed on the ~~very~~ ^same^ night **105 baptized him,]** baptised him **107 baptized]** baptised **had … prayer-book]** had ~~an~~ a prayer book **108 missionaries]** missionar~~y~~ies **110 Adelaide,]** Adelaide

104–113 It is true … separate her individuality: f. 37r.

105 night] day E2, E9 **110 Adelaide,]** E2, Adelaide E9

strongly moved or touched, and which did really seem to have some deep spiritual significance to him, though he could never completely separate her individuality from that of Mary Magdalene, whose name had also fascinated him, though in a less degree.

He was indeed stony ground, but by digging about him I might have at any rate deprived him of all faith in the religion of his tribe, which would have been half way towards making him a sincere Christian; and now all this was cut off from me, and I could neither be of further spiritual assistance to him nor he of bodily profit to myself: besides, any company was better than being quite alone.

I got very melancholy as these reflections crossed me, but when I had boiled the ducks and eaten them, I was much better. I had a little tea left, and about a pound of tobacco, which should last me for another fortnight, with moderate smoking. Also, I had also eight ship biscuits, and, most precious of all, about six ounces of brandy, which I proceeded to reduce to four, for the night was cold.

I rose with early dawn, and in an hour I was on my way, feeling strange, not to say weak, from the burden of solitude; but full of hope when I considered how many dangers I had overcome, and that this day should see me at the summit of the dividing range.

After a slow but steady climb of between three and four hours, during which I met with no serious hindrance I found myself upon a table land, and

---

with Chowbok's prayer-book being 'more than twenty years old'. Saint Mary Magdalene traveled with Jesus, according to the four canonical gospels, as one of his followers and was a witness to his crucifixion, burial, and resurrection.

128 solitude SB offers an early example of the motif of the man alone, which would become a prominent trope in NZ literature. E. H. McCormick describes the man alone as 'the solitary, rootless nonconformist, who in a variety of forms crops up persistently in New Zealand writing' (McCormick, 130).

132 table land An elevated region of comparatively level land; a plateau.

---

112 him,] him **113 individuality from]** *see app.* **114 him,]** him **114–15 degree. He]** degree: ~~Magdalene~~: he **115 him I]** him ~~& dunging him~~ I **116 tribe,]** tribe **117 Christian;]** ~, **118 could … be]** could ^neither^ ~~now~~ be **119 him]** ~, **besides,]** besides **120 better.]** ~: **122 left,]** left **123 tobacco,]** tobacco **fortnight,]** fortnight **124 Also, I had also eight ship]** Also I had ~~ten~~ ^eight^ ship's **and,]** and **125 all,]** all **brandy,]** brandy **126 four,]** ~: **126–8 cold. I rose … solitude; but full]** *see app.* **128 solitude;]** ~, E2, E9 **132 serious hindrance … I]** serious ~~difficulty~~ ^ hindrance,^ I **132–3 land, and … a glacier]** land ~~on to which there descended~~ ^and close to a ~~a~~^ glacier~~s~~

113–30 from that of … at the summit: f. 38^{r}.
130–46 of the dividing … to be impaired.: f. 39^{r}. On f. 39^{v} SB wrote '+9'.

---

112 him,] E9, him E2 **122 them,]** them E2, E9 **left,]** left E2, E9 **123 fortnight,]** fortnight E2, E9 **124 Also, I had eight]** I had also eight E2, E9 **125 proceeded to reduce]** presently reduced E2, E9

close to a glacier which I recognised as marking the summit of the pass. Above it towered a succession of rugged precipices, and snowy mountain sides. The solitude was greater than I could bear; the mountain upon my master's sheep-run was a crowded thoroughfare in comparison with this sombre sullen place. The air, moreover, was dark and heavy, which made the loneliness even more oppressive. There was an inky gloom over all that was not covered with snow and ice. Grass there was none.

Each moment I felt increasing upon me that dreadful doubt as to my own identity—as to the continuity of my past and present existence—which is the first sign of that distraction which comes on those who have lost themselves in the bush. I had fought against this feeling hitherto, and had conquered it; but the intense silence and the gloom of this rocky wilderness, were too much for me, and I felt that my power of collecting myself was beginning to be impaired.

I rested for a little while, and then advanced over very rough ground, until I reached the lower end of the glacier. Then I saw another glacier, descending from the eastern side into a small lake. I passed along the western side of the lake, where the ground was easier, and when I had got about half way, I expected that I should see the plains which I had already seen from the opposite mountains; but it was not to be so, for the clouds rolled up to the very summit of the pass, though they did not overlip it on to the side from which I had come. I therefore soon found myself

---

133 as marking] as ~~those which I had seen~~ ~~from the other opposite mountains~~ making **134 towered … rugged]** towered an ^ endless series of **135 solitude … bear;]** vastness of the solitude appalled me; **137 sombre sullen]** sombre ~~and~~ sullen **air, moreover,]** air moreover **138 the … even]** the ~~gloom~~ ^loneliness^ seem **oppressive … inky]** oppressive; ~~while the silence was intense~~. ~~In fact~~ there was an ~~almost~~ inky **139 ice. Grass]** ice ^~~while the silence was intense.~~^. Grass **none.]** ~; **142 of … distraction]** of ~~that~~ ^that^ distraction **143 bush.]** ~; **hitherto,]** hitherto **144 it; but the]** it ~~chiefly because~~ ~~I had had no lack either of food or drink, but also because~~ there ~~was no difficulty about~~ ~~finding~~ ~~my way back; I knew perfectly well what road to~~ ^~~try &~~^ ~~take on my return could only succeed in taking it~~: ^but^ the **silence … gloom]** silence ~~of this~~ and ^the^ gloom **144–5 wilderness, were]** wilderness was **145 me,]** me **147–8 rested … glacier,]** rested for a little while, and then rested myself for a little ~~space~~ ^while^ and then advanced ^over very rough ground until I reached^ ~~round the [?fort]~~ ~~of this~~ ~~western~~ glacier ^the lower end of the glacier.^ for I shd think half a mile. Then I saw ~~the~~ ^an^other glacier **149–50 lake … and]** lake ^where the ground was easier^ and **151 I expected]** *see app.* **which]** that **152 the … mountains;]** the ~~top of the~~ opposite mountains, **152–5 be so … vapour,]** be ^so,^ for ~~the~~ ~~clouds rolled up to the very~~ ^the clouds rolled up to the ~~from below~~ very^ summit ^~~was covered~~^ of the pass though there ~~had been none upon~~ ^did not overlip it on to^ the ~~other~~ side ^from which I had come; I therefore soon found myself enshrouded with a^ ~~and~~ ~~I soon was soon in a most~~ cold thin vapour

---

147–78 I rested for … sign of motion.: f. 40^{r}.

---

134 precipices,] E2, precipices E9 **144 silence … gloom]** silence and gloom E2, E9 **wilderness,]** wilderness E2, E9

enshrouded with a cold thin vapour, which prevented my seeing more than a very few yards in front of me. Then I came upon a large patch of old snow, in which I could distinctly trace the half-melted tracks of goats—and in one place, as it seemed to me, there had been a dog following them. Had I lighted upon a land of shepherds? The ground, where not covered with snow, was so poor and stony, and there was so little herbage, that I could see no sign of a path or regular sheep track. But I could not help feeling rather uneasy as I wondered what sort of a reception I might meet with if I were to come suddenly upon inhabitants. I was thinking of this, and proceeding cautiously through the mist, when I began to fancy that I saw some objects darker than the cloud looming in front of me. A few steps brought me nearer, and a shudder of unutterable horror ran through me, when I saw a circle of gigantic forms, many times higher than myself, upstanding grim and grey through the veil of cloud before me.

I believe I fainted—for how long I shall never know. I was deadly sick and cold when I came to myself. There were the figures, quite still and silent, seen vaguely through the thick gloom, but in human shape indisputably.

A sudden thought occurred to me, which would have doubtless struck me at once, had I not been prepossessed with forebodings at the time that I first saw the figures, and had not the cloud concealed them from me—I mean that they were not living beings, but statues. I determined that I would count fifty slowly, and was sure that the objects were not alive if during that time I could detect no sign of motion.

How thankful was I when I came to the end of my fifty, and there had been no movement!

I counted a second time—but again all was still.

I then advanced timidly forward, and in another moment I saw that my

---

156 me. … snow, in] me: ~~one thing rather dismayed me~~ – ~~there was~~ ~~a~~ ^then I came upon a large^ patch of ^old^ snow ~~unmelted~~ in **157 distinctly … half-melted]** distinctly ~~see~~ ^trace the^ half melted **158 place,]** place **me,]** me **them. Had]** them – had **159–60 ground … was]** ground ^(when not covered with snow)^ was **160 stony,]** stony **herbage,]** herbage **161 track. But]** track: but **163 this,]** this **164 mist,]** mist **165 saw … me.]** *see app.* **169 believe … for]** believe ~~that~~ I fainted. For **know. I]** know: I **170 There … figures,]** There ~~was~~ ^were^ the figures **171 silent, seen]** silent: seen **in human]** in ~~the~~ human **173 me,]** me **174 once,]** once **175 concealed … from]** concealed ~~it~~ from **176 that … not]** that ~~it was~~ ^they were^ not **177–8 and … detect]** and ~~be~~ ^was^ sure ~~that~~ ~~if I could~~ ^that the objects were not alive if during that time I could^ detect **178–9 motion. How]** motion ~~during that time~~ ~~[?] that the images were not alive~~ How **179 fifty,]** fifty **182 forward,]** forward **and … I]** and after a very short time I

179–212 How thankful was … conceive these statues,: f. 41r.

---

166 me,] me E2, E9 **169–70 I … There]** E2, I suppose I must have fainted, for I found myself some time afterwards sitting upon the ground, sick and deadly cold. There E9 **174 once,]** E2, once E9

surmises were correct. I had come upon a sort of Stonehenge of rude and barbaric figures, seated as Chowbok had sat when I questioned him in the wool-shed, and with the same superhumanly malevolent expression upon their faces. They had been all seated, but two had fallen. They were barbarous—neither Egyptian, nor Assyrian, nor Japanese—different from any of these, and yet akin to all. They were six or seven times larger than life, of great antiquity, worn and lichen grown. They were ten in number. There was snow upon their heads and wherever snow could lodge. Each statue had been built of four or five enormous blocks, but how these had been raised and put together, is known to those alone who raised them. Each was terrible after a different kind. One was raging furiously, as in pain and great despair; another was lean and cadaverous with famine; another cruel and idiotic, but with the silliest simper that can be conceived—this one had fallen, and looked exquisitely ludicrous in his fall—the mouths of all were more or less open, and as I looked at them from behind, I saw that their heads had been hollowed.

I was sick and shivering with cold. Solitude had unmanned me already, and I was utterly unfit to have come upon such an assembly of fiends in such a dreadful wilderness and without preparation. I am afraid I cried, and I would certainly have given everything I had in the world to have been back at my master's station; but that was not to be thought of: I felt sure that I could never get back alive.

Then came a gust of howling wind, accompanied with a moan from one

183 Stonehenge A prehistoric monument on Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire, England.
205 moan SB may have been inspired by the Colossi of Memnon, two statues 60 feet high, representing Pharaoh Amenhotep III (1386–1353 BCE), constructed as guardians for Amenhotep's Theban

183 Stonehenge] stonehenge **184–5 figures … with]** figures. ^seated as Chowbok had sat when I questioned him ^in^ the woolshed^ ~~Six or seven times larger than life~~ and with **186 faces. … were]** *see app.* **189 life, of]** life: of **and]** & **grown. They]** grown – they **189–90 number … had]** number. ^There was snow upon their heads and wherever snow could lodge. Each statue^ ~~They~~ had **191 enormous … but]** gigantic blocks, ~~for each statue~~ but **192 alone … raised]** those ^alone^ who **193 was … after]** was ~~hideous~~ ^terrible^ after **193–4 kind … another]** kind: one ~~fat and filthy~~, ^was raging furiously as in pain and great despair^ another **194 and]** & **194–5 cadaverous … with]** cadaverous, ^~~as~~ with famine^ another ^cruel &^ idiotic ^but^ with **196 fallen,]** fallen **fall—the]** fall: ~~but~~ the **197 open … as]** open and ~~they~~ as **behind,]** behind **198–9 hollowed. I]** hollowed. ~~I was~~ I **200 was utterly]** was ~~really~~ utterly **upon … an]** upon such ^such^ an **200–1 fiends … without]** fiends ^in such a dreadful solitude and^ without **201 cried,]** cried **202 everything I]** everything that I **203 station;]** ~ – **203–4 of: I … never]** of. I ~~could~~ ^felt sure that I could^ never **205 Then came … with a moan]** There was ^There came suddenly a gust of howling wind^ ~~a gust of wind~~, accompanied with a l~~ow~~ moan

183 surmises were] E2, surmise was E9 **190 heads]** E2, heads, E9 **201–2 I am … have]** I would have E2, E9 **203 of: I felt]** E2, of: my head was failing, and I E9

of the statues above me. I clasped my hands in fear. I felt like a rat caught in a trap, as though I would have turned and bitten at whatever thing was nearest me. The wildness of the wind increased, the moans grew shriller, coming from several statues, and swelling into a chorus. I almost immediately knew what it was, but the sound was so unearthly that this was but little consolation. The inhuman beings into whose hearts the Evil One had put it to conceive these statues, had made their heads into a sort of organ pipe, so that their mouths should catch the wind and sound with its blowing. It was horrible. However brave a man might be, he could never stand such a concert, from such lips, and in such a place. I heaped every invective upon them that my tongue could utter, as I rushed away from them into the mist, and even after I had lost sight of them, and turning my head round could see nothing but the storm wraiths driving behind me, I heard their ghostly chanting, and felt as though one of them would rush after me and grip me in his hand, and throttle me.

I may say here that, since my return to England, I heard a friend playing some chords upon the organ which put me very forcibly in mind of the Erewhonian statues (for Erewhon is the name of the country upon which I

---

necropolis, west of the modern city of Luxor. Beginning with the Greek historian Strabo (65 BC–23 CE), visitors to the site recorded the sound emitted by, or associated with, the statues: this sound was variously described as singing, the sound of a lyre, brass instruments, a broken harp and a lyre. Other sources of inspiration for the statues in *Erewhon* include the Mo‘ai on Easter Island, monolithic human figures carved by the Rapa Nui people between the years 1250 and 1500. Other sources of inspiration include ‘Ozymandias’, an 1818 sonnet by Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), which depicts the statue of pharaoh Ramesses II ravaged by time. The statues also connote the ruins of St Paul’s Cathedral as viewed by Macaulay’s New Zealander: see Gen. Int., 12.

223 Erewhon A near-backwards spelling of ‘nowhere’, the name of the novel and its central fan-

---

I … I] I ~~clasped~~ ^~~[?clasped]~~ clasped^ my hands ~~in fear~~. ^in fear ^~~agony~~^ I **206–7 rat … in]** rat c~~atched]~~ ^caught^ in **207–8 at … the]** at ~~the~~ ^whatever^ thing ^was^ nearest me: ~~in frantic effort to escape~~ ^the wildness of the wind ~~and the driving wraiths of cloud~~^ ~~grew~~ ^increased^ the **208–9 shriller, coming]** shriller ~~and~~ coming **209 statues … I]** statues: I **210 but the]** but ~~this was hardly any consolation~~ the **210–11 unearthly … The]** unearthly ^that this was but little consolation;^. The **One]** one **212 to … these]** to ~~make~~ ^conceive^ these **209 statues,]** statues **214 horrible … he]** horrible: ~~let a man be as~~ ^however^ brave ~~as~~ a man ~~can~~ ^might^ be, ~~yet~~ he **215 concert,]** concert **place … heaped]** place. ~~I never swear, but I could not help it now, and~~ ^I^ heaped **216 could … I]** could think of~~, then~~ ^as I^ I **217 mist … even]** mist, ~~but~~ ^and^ even **them,]** them **218–19 but … heard]** but ^~~the storm [? ?] driving~~^ ~~white~~ vapour ^ the storm wraiths driving^ behind me I ~~could~~ heard **219 ghostly chanting,]** ghastly chaunting **220 me]** ~, **grip]** grasp **221 may … that,]** may ~~add~~ ^say here^ that **221 England,]** England **friend playing]** friend ~~of mine~~ playing **223–4 statues … vividly to]** statues: they ~~whole came upon~~ ^rose most vivdly^ to

---

212–226 had made their … of all musicians:— f. 42r.

---

216 utter,] E2, utter E9 **218 storm wraiths]** E2, storm-wraiths E9 **me,]** E2, me E9 **220 hand,]** E2, hand E9

was now entering). They rose most vividly to my recollection the moment my friend began. They are as follows, and are by the greatest of all musicians:— **225**

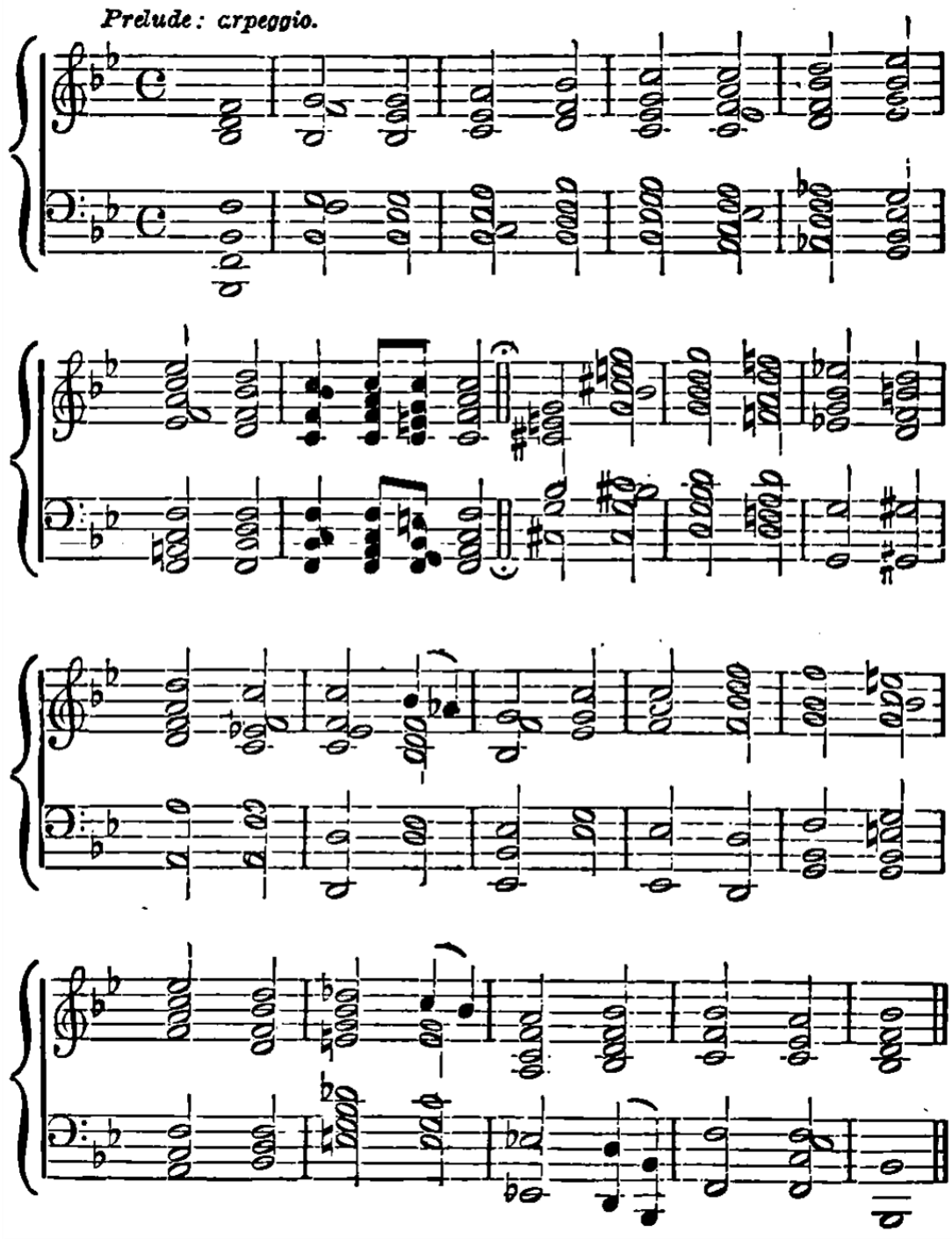
---

tasy land, pulls the novel into the tradition of utopian fiction as initiated by Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). More coined the word Utopia by fusing the Greek adverb *ou* — 'not' with the noun *topos* — 'place' and giving the compound formed of the two a Latin ending. The idea that the word means 'no place' or 'nowhere' is complicated by the fact that Hellenist readers who recognised the etymology of 'utopia' would recognise the pun on another Greek compound, *eutopia* — 'happy' or 'fortunate' place. On the utopic ideals underpinning of the Canterbury Colony, see Gen. Int., 24–5.

225 the greatest … musicians The following musical excerpt comes from the Prelude (first movement) in Handel's Suite in B-flat major, HMV 434, first published in *Suites de Pièces* (1773). SB omits the 'worked out' middle section, leaving the arpeggio sections that begin and end the Prelude. Here the harpsichordist would improvise a variety of figurations based on the harmonies in question; presumably SB deemed the artful spinning out of the harmonies mesmerising, however inventively they were performed.

---

225 began. They] began – they **follows,]** follows. ~~(Here shd be introduced the ten or dozen bars that begin and conclude ^the first of^ Handel's 'trois leçons' in the third and concluding set of 'suites de pièces pour le claveçin) (perhaps the music had better be a frontispiece to the volume, and be referred to here as to be found at the beginning of the book?)~~



Above score: f. 43r. At the top is written 'Note for the printer – if it will cost much to get this printed it may come out, but I would rather it was kept'.

CHAPTER VI.

INTO EREWHON.

AND d now I found myself on a narrow path which followed a small water course. I was too glad to have an easy track for my flight, to lay hold of the full significance of its existence. Thoughts, however, soon came crowding in upon me, that I must be in an inhabited country, but one which was yet unknown. What, then, was to be my fate at the hands of its inhabitants? Should I be taken and offered up as a burnt-offering to those hideous guardians of the pass? It might be so. I shuddered at the thought, yet the horrors of solitude had now fairly possessed me; and so dazed was I, and chilled, and woebegone, that I could lay hold of no idea firmly, amid the crowd of fancies that were wandering in upon my brain.

I hurried onward—down, down, down. More streams came in; then there was a bridge, a few pine logs thrown over the water; but they gave me comfort, for savages do not make bridges. Then I had a treat such as I can never convey on paper—a moment, perhaps, the most striking and unexpected in my whole life—the one I think that, with some three or four exceptions, I would most gladly have again, were I able to recall it. I got below the level of the clouds, into a burst of brilliant evening sunshine. I

13–14 streams … pine logs The geography here recalls northern Italy, particularly the alpine ranges of Piedmont and Lombardy, and Ticino, the Italian-speaking region of southern Switzerland. By 1872, SB had visited Italy numerous times and formed a great attachment for the country: he had contributed an article to the *Eagle*, entitled 'Our Tour', in 1859 describing a mid-term holiday he had taken to Italy. In AS, his guide to the geography and art of Piedmont and Ticino, SB later offered an encomium on his 'second country' (21): 'But who does not turn to Italy who has the chance of doing so? What, indeed, do

---

1 INTO EREWHON.] *om.* **3 narrow]** sort of **4 an … track]** easy ground **5–6 Thoughts … crowding]** Thoughts however ~~were~~ ^soon came^ crowding **6 me … must]** me that I ~~was~~ must **7 unknown. … was]** unknown: ~~and~~ what ^then^ was **8 inhabitants? Should]** inhabitants? ~~who could say~~? Should **up as]** up ~~to l~~ as **offering]** sacrifice **9–10 thought … the]** thought: yet ~~whom had I to thank for it~~ the **10 me;]** ~, **11 woebegone, … I]** *see app.* **13 onward—]** onward **down. More]** down: more **in;]** ~: 14 **bridge,]** ~: **water;]** ~, **15 comfort,]** comfort **16 moment, perhaps,]** moment perhaps **17 that,]** that **18 exceptions,]** exceptions **have again,]** have ~~over~~ again **recall … I]** recall ^it.^ ~~any portion of my past life~~. I **18–19 got below]** got ~~in to hills~~ below **19 clouds,]** clouds **19–20 burst … sunshine.]** burst ^of^ brilliant afternoon ^evening^ sunshine.

1–28 CHAPTER VI. … ravine. I saw: f. 44r.

---

5 Thoughts,] E2, The thought, E9 **5–6 soon ... me,]** soon came crowding in upon me E2, soon presented itself to me E9 **11 firmly,]** firmly E2, E9 **12 were]** kept E2, E9

was facing the north-west, and the sun was full upon me. Oh, how its light cheered me! But what I saw! It was such an expanse as was revealed to Moses when he stood upon the summit of Mount Pisgah, and beheld that promised land which it was not to be his to enter. The beautiful sunset sky was crimson and gold; blue, silver, and purple; exquisite and tranquillising; fading away therein were plains, on which I could see many a town and city, with buildings that had lofty steeples and rounded domes. Nearer, beneath me, lay ridge behind ridge, outline behind outline, sunlight behind shadow behind sunlight, gully and serrated ravine. I saw large pine forests, and the glitter of a noble river winding its way upon the plains; also, many villages and hamlets, some of them quite near at hand; and it was on these that I pondered most. I sank upon the ground at the foot of a large tree, and thought what I had best do; but I could not collect myself. I was quite tired out; and presently, feeling warmed by the sun, and quieted, I fell off into a profound sleep.

I was awoke by the sound of tinkling bells; and, looking up, I saw four or five goats feeding near me. As soon as I moved, the creatures turned

---

we not owe to that most lovely and loveable country?' (19).

22 Moses Old Testament Hebrew prophet who led the Israelites out of Egypt to the Promised Land and gave them divinely revealed laws.

22 Mount Pisgah A mountain ridge in Jordan northeast of the Dead Sea, the highest ridge of which is Mount Nebo, at 2631 feet. SB references the biblical account of God commanding Moses to climb Mount Nebo to view the Promised Land before his death in Deut. 34:1: 'And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the LORD shewed him all the land of Gilead, unto Dan'. In MS of E1 and E1, SB writes 'Mount Pisgah' whereas in E2 and E9 he writes 'Mount Sinai', which is incorrect, deliberately confusing his account in later editions with the story of Moses receiving the Ten Commandments in Exodus 19–20.

25–30 plains … at hand SB repeated such descriptions in AS, as when he depicts the large vista near Oropa: 'Near at hand were the most exquisite pastures close shaven after their second mowing, gay with autumnal crocuses, and shaded with stately chestnuts; beyond were rugged mountains, in a combe on one of which we saw Oropa itself now gradually nearing; behind and below, many villages with vineyards and terraces […] further on, Biella already distant, and beyond this […] over the plains of Lombardy from Turin to Milan, with the Apennines from Genoa to Bologna hemming the horizon (171).

35–44 tinkling … they could SB here deploys the tropes of pastoral literature, such as shepherds/esses

---

20 north-west,] Northwest **Oh,]** Oh **21–2 was … when]** was ~~as it were~~ ^such an expanse^ ~~infinite space~~ as ~~Moses saw~~ ^was revealed to Moses^ when **24 gold … fading]** gold, blue silver and purple; ^exquisite and tranquilising^ fading **25 plains,]** plains **26 city,]** city **26–7 domes … me]** domes: nearer beneath me **27 outline,]** outline **and]** & **29 glitter … river]** glitter of ^a^ noble river~~s~~ **plains; also,]** plain; ~~and~~ also **30 hamlets,]** hamlets **hand;]** ~, **31 tree,]** tree **32–3 thought … fell]** *see app.* **35 bells … looking]** bells, ~~and~~ ^and^ looking **36–7 me. … towards]** *see app.*

28–61 large pine forests, … and not only: f. 45^{r}. Upside down on f. 45^{v} is written 'Possibly they may'.

---

22 Pigsah,] Sinai, E2, E9 **26 Nearer,]** Nearer E2, E9 **27 me,]** E2, me E9 **29 also,]** also E2, E9 **31 tree,]** E2, tree E9 **35 bells; and,]** bells, and E2, E9

their heads towards me with an expression of infinite wonder. They did not run away, but stood stock still, and looked at me from every side, as I at them. Then came the sound of chattering and laughter, and there appeared two lovely girls, of about seventeen or eighteen years old, dressed each in a sort of linen gaberdine, with a girdle round the waist. They saw me. I sat quite still and looked at them, dazzled with their extreme beauty. For a moment they looked at me and at each other in great amazement; then they gave a little frightened cry, and ran off as hard as they could.

"So that's that," said I to myself, as I watched them scampering. I knew that I had better stay where I was, and meet my fate, whatever it was to be; neither, were there any better course, had I strength left to take it. I must come into contact with the inhabitants sooner or later, and it might as well be sooner. Better not to seem afraid of them, as I should do by running away, and being caught with a hue and cry to-morrow or next day. So I remained quite still, and waited. In about an hour I heard distant voices talking excitedly; and in a few minutes I saw the two girls bringing up a party of six or seven men, well armed with bows and arrows and pikes. There was nothing for it, so I remained sitting quite still, even after they had seen me, until they came close up. Then we all had a good look at one another.

Both the girls and the men were very dark in colour, but not more so than the South Italians or Spaniards. The men wore no trousers, but were dressed nearly the same as the Arabs whom I have seen in Algeria. They were of the most magnificent presence, being no less strong and handsome than the women were beautiful; and not only this, but their expression was

---

in bucolic settings: see Alpers. It is a mode he may have been familiar with through reading Virgil's *Eclogues* as part of his Classics syllabus at Cambridge.

54 pikes Long thrusting spears, used in European warfare from the Late Middle Ages until c. 1700.

---

37 wonder. They] *see app.* **38 away … looked]** away~~,~~ but ^stood stock still and^ looked **39 them; then]** them. Then **40 girls,]** girls **seventeen or eighteen]** 17 or 18 **old … in]** old dressed ^each^ in **41 gaberdine,]** gaberdine **me.]** ~: **42 them,]** them **beauty. For]** beauty: for **43 other … amazement;]** other ~~with utter~~ ^in great^ amazement: **44 cry,]** cry **45 That,"]** that;" **myself,]** myself **46 knew … I]** knew ^that^ I **was,]** was **fate,]** fate **47 be … I]** be. ^neither was there any better course had I strength left to take it.^ I **48 later,]** later **49 them,]** them **50 and]** & **still,]** still **52 excitedly … a]** excitedly, and ^in^ a **53 men,]** men **54 still,]** still **57 colour, but]** colour, ~~with~~ but **58–9 Spaniards. … as the]** *see app.* **59 Algeria. They]** Algeria: they **61 this,]** that,

---

61–94 this, but their … of hurting me.: f. 46^{r}. Upside down on f. 46^{v} is written 'many villages that seemed only a few miles off, and'.

---

44 cry,] E2, cry E9 **46 was,]** E2, E9 **47 be; … any]** be, and even if there were a E2, E9 **had I]** I had no E2, E9 **50 away,]** away E2, E9 **51 still,]** E2, still E9 **52 excitedly;]** E2, ~, E9

courteous and benign. I think they would have killed me at once if I had made the slightest show of violence; but they gave me no impression of their being likely to hurt me so long as I was quiet. I am not much given to liking anybody at first sight, but these people impressed me much more favourably than I should have thought possible; so that I could not fear them as I scanned their faces one after another. They were all powerful men. I might have been a match for any one of them singly, for I have been told that I have more to glory in the flesh than in any other respect, being over six feet and proportionately strong; but any two could have soon mastered me, even were I not so bereft of energy by my recent adventures. My colour seemed to surprise them most, for I have light hair, blue eyes, and a fresh complexion. They could not understand how these things could be; my clothes also seemed quite beyond them. Their eyes kept wandering all over me, and the more they looked, the less they seemed able to make me out.

At last I raised myself upon my feet, and leaning upon my stick, I spoke whatever came into my head to the man who seemed foremost among them. I spoke in English, though I was very sure that he would not understand. I said that I had no idea what country I was in; that I had stumbled upon it almost by accident, after a series of hairbreadth escapes; and that I trusted they would not allow any evil to overtake me, now that I was completely at their mercy. All this I said quietly and firmly, with hardly any change of expression. They could not understand me, but they looked

---

67–70 I might … strong SB greatly admired physical beauty in others. It was a key attraction of the 'fine handsome' Charles Payne Pauli, whom SB met in Canterbury (*Raby, 92*). (SB met Pauli while he was working for the *Press*; they returned together to England in 1864 and SB supported Pauli both financially and emotionally for the rest of Pauli's life.) By contrast, SB had a low opinion of his own appearance: in later life SB deemed his own looks to be 'plebeian' (*Raby*, 93). Cantabrian farmer Edward Chudleigh (1840–1920) described SB in his diary as 'a little man and nearly as dark as a Mowray [Māori]' when he met him in NZ in 1864 (Chudleigh, 68).

62–3 benign … violence;] benign. Had I made the slightest show of violence, I think that they would have killed me at once, but they ~~conveyed~~ ^gave me^ no impression of ^their^ being **65 sight, but]** sight (~~nor at any other sight for the matter of that~~) but **67 all … I]** ~~strong and~~ ^~~very~~^ powerful; ^men;^ I **68–9 singly … over]** singly ~~for I ar~~ ^for I have been told that I have more to glory in the flesh than in any other respect^ being over **69 feet,]** feet **70 strong;]** ~, **71 not … by]** not ~~somewhat pulled down~~ ^so bereft of energy^ by **adventures. My]** adventures; my **72 hair, blue]** hair, ~~and~~ blue **eyes,]** eyes **73 complexion. They]** complexion: they **73–4 be; … also,]** be: also **74 them: their]** them. Their **75 me;]** ~, **looked,]** looked **to … out.]** to ~~make head or tail of~~ ^understand me^. **76 feet,]** feet **stick,]** stick **77 head to]** head ~~first~~ to **78 that … would]** that ~~they~~ ^he^ would **79 understand … that]** understand. ~~It~~. I said ~~I spoke at once in English, and said~~ that **in;]** ~, **80 accident,]** accident **81 me,]** me **82 mercy. All]** mercy: all **firmly,]** firmly **83 expression. They]** expression: they

---

66 possible;] E2, ~, E9 **them,]** them E2, E9 **69 feet,]** feet E2, E9 **74 also,]** *om*. E2, E9 **75 me;]** ~, E2, E9 **looked,]** E2, looked E9 **81 me,]** me E2, E9

approvingly to one another, and seemed pleased (so I thought) that I showed no fear nor acknowledgment of inferiority—the fact being that I was exhausted beyond the sense of fear. Then one of them pointed to the mountain, in the direction of the statues, and made a grimace in imitation of one of them. I laughed and shuddered expressively, whereon they all burst out laughing too, and chattered hard to one another. I could make out nothing of what they said, but I think they thought it rather a good joke that I had come past the statues. Then one among them came forward and motioned me to follow, which I did gladly enough, for I dared not thwart them; moreover, I liked them well enough, and felt tolerably sure that they had no intention of hurting me.

In about a quarter of an hour we got to a small hamlet built on the side of a hill, with a narrow street and houses huddled up together. The roofs were large and overhanging. Some few windows were glazed, but not many. Altogether the village was exceedingly like one of those that one comes upon in descending the less known passes over the Alps on to Lombardy. I will pass over the excitement which my arrival caused. Suffice it that, though there was abundance of curiosity, there was no rudeness. I was taken to the principal house, which seemed to belong to the people who had captured me. There I was hospitably entertained, and a supper of milk and goat's flesh, with a kind of oatcake, was set before me, of which I ate

---

97 windows … glazed In none of his nonfiction writing about Italy does SB make reference to unglazed windows, but Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1869) describes the towns in the region as 'strikingly picturesque and beautiful' from a distance, but up close as tainted by 'poverty […] dirt and discomfort, windows without glass, a want of all that we consider convenient within doors, dilapidation and a general absence of completeness' (Murray 1869, 82).

104 oatcake Evocative less of the diet of northern Italians in the 19th cent. than of descriptions of unfamiliar food in satirical travel writing: SB was perhaps directly influenced by the scene in *Gulliver's Travels* in which Lemuel Gulliver adapts the Houyhnhnm diet, 'a mash of oats and milk' to his own palate to make oatcakes (217).

---

84 another, … that] *see app.* **85–6 inferiority … Then]** superiority ^the fact being that I was exhausted beyond the sense of fear.^: Then **87 mountain,]** mountain **88 them. I]** them: I **expressively,]** ~; **89 too,]** too **make … nothing]** make ^out^ nothing **90 said … I]** said; ^but^ I **91 and]** & **follow, which]** follow ~~them~~, which **92 them … moreover]** them, ~~and~~ moreover **93 felt … sure]** felt ~~pretty~~ ^tolerably^ sure **95 hill,]** hill **narrow … houses]** narrow ^~~unpaved~~^ street ~~unpaved~~ and ~~the~~ houses **96 together. The]** together ~~like those of of subalpine village~~. The **roofs]** rooves **97 large]** huge **overhanging. Some]** overhanging: some **glazed,]** glazed **98 many … was]** many, altogether ~~it~~ ^the village^ was **98–9 like … comes]** like ~~such~~ one of those ~~villages one~~ ^that one^ comes **101 that,]** that **curiosity,]** curiosity **102 house,]** house **people]** party **103 me. There]** me: there **entertained,]** entertained **104 flesh,]** flesh **oatcake,]** oatcake

---

95–122 In about a … a pleasant tone.: f. 47^{r}. On f. 47^{v} is written '26 pp. 35. lines'.

---

95 Hamlet] hamlet E2, E9 **101 it that,]** E2, it, that E9 **104 flesh,]** flesh E2, E9 **oatcake,]** oatcake E2, E9

heartily. But all the time I was eating, I could not help turning my eyes upon the two beautiful girls whom I had first seen, and who seemed to consider me as their lawful prize—which indeed I was, for I would have gone through fire and water for either of them.

Then came the inevitable surprise at seeing me smoke, which I will spare the reader; but I noticed that when they saw me strike a match, there was a hubbub of excitement which, it struck me, was not altogether unmixed with disapproval; why, I could not guess. Then the women retired, and I was left alone with the men, who tried to talk to me in every conceivable way; but we could come to no understanding, except that I was quite alone, and had come from a long way over the mountains. In the course of time they grew tired, and I, very sleepy. I made signs as though I would sleep on the floor in my blankets, but they gave me one of their bunks, with plenty of dried fern and grass, on to which I had no sooner laid myself than I fell fast asleep; nor did I awake till well into the following day, when I found myself in the hut with two men keeping guard over me, and an old woman cooking. When I woke the men seemed pleased, and spoke to me as though bidding me good morning in a pleasant tone.

I went out of doors to wash in a creek which ran a few yards from the house. My hosts were as engrossed with me as ever; they never took their eyes off me, following every action that I did, no matter how trifling, and each looking towards the other for his opinion at every touch and turn. They took great interest in my ablutions, for they seemed to have doubted whether I was in all respects human like themselves. They even laid hold of my arms and overhauled them, and expressed approval when they saw that they were strong

---

110 match Matches used for lighting pipes were an early 19th cent. invention: prior to this, the word 'match' referred generally to candlewicks or cords used in firing cannon and other firearms.
129 overhauled 19th cent. usage, meaning to examine thoroughly.

---

105 heartily. But] heartily: but **eating,]** eating **107 prize—]** ~, **was, for]** was (~~though hardly in the way [?th] thought of~~) for **111 reader … a hubbub]** *see app.* **111 which,]** which **me,]** me **112 disapproval; why,]** disapproval. Why **113 who]** who, **114 way … we]** way; but ~~it was no use~~, we **understanding … that]** understanding except ~~on the point~~ that **116 tired … sleepy.]** tired and I very sleepy – I **118 bunks,]** bunks **119 asleep … awake]** asleep, ~~and~~ ^nor^ did ^I^ ~~not~~ awake **well into]** late in **120 day,]** day **with two]** with ~~only~~ two **me,]** me **122 in … pleasant]** in ^a^ pleasant **123–4 I … My]** ~~Next morning~~ I performed my ablutions in a creek ~~of water~~ which ran a few yards from the hut. My **were … ever;]** were evidently as full of me as ever, **125 me, following]** me ~~for a second~~, following **did,]** did **127–8 was … all]** was ^in^ all **128–31 themselves … When]** *see app.*

123–34 I went out … they were by: f. 48r.

---

105 eating,] eating E2, E9 **110 that]** ~ E2, E9 **112 disapproval;]** E2, ~ E9 **116 I,]** E2, I E9 **118 bunks,]** bunks E2, E9 **120 me,]** E2, me E9

and muscular. They now examined my legs, and especially my feet. When they desisted they nodded approvingly to each other; and when I had combed and brushed my hair, and generally made myself as neat and well arranged as circumstances would allow, I could see that their respect for me increased greatly, and that they were by no means sure that they had treated me with sufficient deference—a matter on which I am not competent to decide. All I know is that they were very good to me, for which I thanked them heartily, as it might well have been otherwise.

For my own part, I certainly liked them and admired them, for their quiet self-possession and dignified ease impressed me pleasurably at once. Neither did their manner make me feel as though I were personally distasteful to them—only that I was a thing utterly new and unlooked for, which they could not comprehend. Their type was more that of the most robust Italians than any other; their manners also were eminently Italian, in their entire unconsciousness of self. Having travelled a good deal in Italy, I was struck with little gestures of the hand and shoulders, which constantly reminded me of that country. My feeling was that my wisest plan would be to go on as I had begun, and be simply myself for better or worse, such as I was, and take my chance accordingly. I thought of these things while they were waiting for me to have done washing, and on my way back. Then they gave me breakfast—hot bread and milk, and fried flesh of something between mutton and venison. Their ways of cooking and eating were European, though they had only a skewer for a fork, and

144–6 manners … gestures In AS, SB later described Italians' gestures while speaking as 'inimitable. To say nothing of the pretty little way in which they say "no," by moving the forefinger backwards and forwards once or twice, they have a hundred movements to save themselves the trouble of speaking, which say what they have to say better than any words can do. It is delightful to see an Italian move his hand in such way as to show you that you have got to go round a corner. Gesture is easier both to make and to understand than speech is' (78).

151 breakfast … knife This detail again echoes depictions of food and consumption in *Gulliver's Travels*, particularly the scene in which Gulliver is fed unfamiliar meat by the Lilliputians: 'I observed there was the flesh of several animals', he reports 'but could not distinguish them by the taste' (19).

131 other;] ~, **132 hair,]** hair **134 greatly … that]** greatly, ~~in fact~~ ^and^ that **135 sufficient … a]** sufficient ~~respect~~: ^deference^ a **136 decide. All]** decide, all **137 me,]** me **heartily … it]** heartily, ~~for~~ ^as^ it **139 part,]** part **self-possession]** self possession **140 impressed]** impressing **141 once. Neither]** once, neither **141–4 make me … other; their]** *see app.* **144 Italian,]** Italian **145 self. Having]** self; ~~and~~ having **146 Italy … struck]** Italy I was ~~quite~~ struck **146–8 shoulders, … simply]** *see app.* **149 worse,]** worse **was,]** was **150–1 were … Then]** *see app.* **151 milk,]** milk **152 venison. Their]** venison – their **153 European,]** European **fork,]** fork

134–70 no means sure … an Italian village.: f. 49r.

139 certainly] E2, *om.* E9 **149 accordingly. I]** E2, *new para* E9

a sort of butcher's knife to cut with. The more I looked at everything in the house, the more I was struck with its quasi-European character; and had the walls only been pasted over with extracts from the *Illustrated London News* and *Punch*, I could have almost fancied myself in a shepherd's hut upon my master's sheep-run. And yet everything was slightly different. It was much the same me with the birds and flowers on the other side, as compared with the English ones. When I had arrived there I was pleased at noticing that nearly all the plants and birds were very like common English ones: thus, there was a robin, and a lark, and a wren, and daisies, and dandelions; certainly not quite the same as the English, but still very like them—quite like enough to be called by the same name: so now, here, the ways of these two men, and the things they had in the house, were all very nearly the same as in Europe. It was not at all like going to China or Japan, where everything that one sees is strange. I was certainly at once struck with the exceedingly primitive character of their appliances; for they seemed to be some five or six hundred years behind Europe in their inventions; but this is the case in many an Italian village.

All the time that I was eating my breakfast I kept speculating as to what family of mankind they could possibly belong to; and shortly there came an idea into my head, which brought the blood into my cheeks with excitement as I thought of it. Was it possible that they might be the lost

---

156 *Illustrated London News* The world's first illustrated weekly news magazine, printed in London from 1842. Reporting on national and world events, it appeared weekly throughout the 19th cent.

157 *Punch* A British weekly magazine of written and pictorial humour and satire established in 1841, and most influential in the 1840s and 1850s. The reference to a satirical magazine is possibly another clue to the satirical nature of SB's descriptions.

159–64 birds … name This evocation of a strange land with uncannily similar birdlife is drawn directly from SB's own experiences in NZ and his writing for the *Eagle*, where he wrote: 'The next thing that strikes one after having found out that there are birds, is, that they are wonderfully similar to our own; most of our English birds are represented, the lark is nearly identical–the quail is the same–the hawk the same, the robin has its counterpart here in a bird with a slate coloured head and throat, and a canary coloured breast, to all intents and purposes it is a robin for all that' (OE 2, 82).

---

154 cut … The] eat with: the **155 house,]** hut **quasi-European]** quasi European **155–6 had … pasted]** were the walls to be only pasted **158 sheep-run.]** sheep run: **was … different.]** was ~~quite~~ ^slightly^ different. **159 on]** upon **side,]** side **160 there I]** there ~~some two years previously~~ I **160–1 pleased … all]** struck with noticing that ^nearly^ all **161–2 were … thus]** were ~~very~~ ^very^ like ^~~the~~^ common English ones ~~only with specific differences~~ thus **robin,]** robin **lark,]** lark **daisies,]** daisies **162 dandelions;]** ~, **163 them—]** ~, **164 name:]** ~, **now … the]** now here ~~all~~ the **165 men,]** men **the … were]** the ~~hut~~ ^house^ were **very nearly]** generically **166 in … It]** in ~~England~~ ^Europe;^ ~~only specifically different~~. It **166 Japan,]** Japan **168 appliances; for they]** appliances: they **169 but this]** but ~~then~~ this **172 to;]** ~: **173 head,]** head

---

171–204 All the time … certainly convert them.: f. 50r.

ten tribes of Israel, of whom I had heard both my grandfather and my father make mention as existing in an unknown country, and awaiting a final return to Palestine? Was it possible that *I* might have been designed by Providence as the instrument of their conversion? Oh, what a thought was this! I laid down my skewer, and gave them a hasty survey. There was nothing of a Jewish type about them: their noses were distinctly Grecian, and their lips, though full, were not Jewish.

How could I settle this question? I knew neither Greek nor Hebrew, and even if I should get to understand the language here spoken, I should be unable to detect the roots of either of these tongues. I had not been long enough among them to ascertain their habits, but they did not give me the impression of being a religious people. This too was natural: the ten tribes had been always lamentably irreligious. But could I not make them change? To restore the lost ten tribes of Israel to a knowledge of the only truth: here would be indeed an immortal crown of glory! My heart beat fast and furious as I entertained the thought. What a position would it not ensure me in the next world; or perhaps even in this! What folly it would be to throw such a chance away! I should rank next to the Apostles, if not as high as they—certainly above the minor prophets, and possibly above any Old Testament writer except Moses and Isaiah. For such a future as this I would sacrifice all that I have without a moment's hesitation, could I be reasonably assured of it. I had always cordially approved of missionary efforts, and had at times

---

175 ten tribes … Israel The ten of the original twelve Hebrew tribes of Israel, which took possession of Canaan, the Promised Land, after the death of Moses, and were said to have been deported from the Kingdom of Israel after its conquest by the Neo-Assyrian Empire in 721 BC. In the 19th cent. some settler clergy in NZ expressed the belief that Māori were descendants of the Lost Tribes on account of their Hebraic features, their capacity for trade and some of their spiritual customs. Missionary Samuel Marsden, for instance, proposed the Jewish origins for Māori, suggesting they had sprung from some dispersed Jews, supporting the then-popular belief that the 'less degraded' indigenous peoples of Polynesia – including Māori – had descended from Noah's preferred son Shem: see Howe, 38.

194 Isaiah Israelite prophet after whom the Book of Isaiah in the Old Testament is named.

---

175 Israel,] Israel **176 existing … and]** existing ~~somewhere~~, ^in an unknown country^ and **177 Palestine? Was]** Palestine? ~~And~~ Was **177 *I*]** I **178 Oh, what]** Oh! What **179 skewer,]** skewer **181 lips,]** lips **full, were not]** full ~~and~~ had nothing **181–2 Jewish. How]** *see app*. **182 Hebrew,]** Hebrew **183 should]** shd **spoken,]** spoken **184 of either … tongues. I]** the ~~languages~~. ^tongues^ I **186–7 people … But]** people; ~~but~~ this too was natural: ^the ten tribes had been always lamentably irreligious:^ But **187–8 them … To]** them ~~be~~ ^change^? To **188–9 truth: here … would]** truth, ^here^ would **189 glory!]** ~, **and]** & **190 entertained … thought.]** entertained ~~so~~ ^the^ ~~glo~~ ~~the [?p] precious~~ thought. **191 world;]** ~, **this?]** ~! **192 Apostles]** Apostles, **192 they—]** ~: **194 Moses … Isaiah]** Moses[?,] and [a]Elisha **195 be reasonably assured]** be ~~well~~ ^reasonably^ assured **196 efforts,]** efforts

[a] **Elisha** An Old Testament Israelite prophet.

contributed my mite towards their support and extension; but I had never hitherto felt drawn towards becoming a missionary myself; and indeed had always admired, and envied, and respected them, more than I had exactly liked them. But if these people were the lost ten tribes of Israel, the case would be widely different: the opening was too excellent to be lost, and I resolved that should I see indications which appeared to confirm my impression that I had indeed come upon the missing tribes, I would certainly convert them.

I may here mention that this discovery is the one to which I alluded in the opening pages of my story. Time strengthened the impression made upon me at first; and, though I remained in doubt for several months, I feel now no longer uncertain.

When I had done eating, my hosts approached, and pointed down the valley leading to their own country, as though wanting to show that I must go with them; at the same time they laid hold of my arms, and made as though they would take me, but used no violence. I laughed, and motioned my hand across my throat, pointing down the valley also, meaning that I was afraid lest I should be killed when I got there. But they divined me at once, and shook their heads with much decision, to show that I was in no danger. Their manner quite reassured me; and in half an hour or so I had packed up my swag, and was eager for the forward journey, feeling wonderfully strengthened and refreshed by good food and sleep, while my hope and curiosity were aroused to their very utmost by the extraordinary position in which I found myself.

But already my excitement had begun to cool; and I reflected that these people might not be the ten tribes after all; in which case I could not but

---

197 extension;] ~: **198 myself;]** ~, **199 them,]** them **200 the lost ten]** the ten **Israel,]** Israel **201 lost, and I]** lost; ~~and~~ I **202 see indications]** see ~~reason~~ indications **which appeared … confirm my]** which ~~shd~~ ~~appeared to confirm~~ed ^appeared to confirm^ appeared to confirm my **203 the missing]** the ~~ten~~ missing **203–4 would certainly]** would ~~endeavour to be equal to the occasion. (or "I would certainly convert them")~~ certainly **205 to which … alluded]** which I alluded to **206 Time … the]** Time ~~has~~ ~~confirmed~~ ^strengthened^ the **207 first; and,]** first, and **months,]** months **207–9 feel … When]** *see app.* **209 done … and]** done my hosts ^my breakfast my hosts^ had done they approached me and **210 to]** towards **country,]** country **211 them;]** ~, **time … of]** time taking ^laying hold^ each ^of^ one of **arms,]** arms **made]** making **212 used]** using **laughed,]** laughed **213 throat, pointing]** throat like and pointed **213 also,]** ~ – **214 there. But]** there, but **215 decision,]** decision **216 danger. Their … reassured]** *see app.* **me;]** ~, **217 swag,]** swag **218 and]** & **218–19 my hope … curiosity were]** my ^hope and^ curiosity ~~was~~ were **222 all;]** ~,

---

205–29 I may here … my downward journey.: f. 51^{r}. On 51^{v} SB wrote 'six chapters'.

---

213 valley … I] E2, valley as though I E9

regret that my hopes of making money, which had led me into so much trouble and danger, were almost annihilated by the fact that the country was full to overflowing, with a people who had probably already developed its more available resources. Moreover, how was I to get back? For there was something about my hosts which told me that they had got me, and meant to keep me, in spite of all their goodness. With these thoughts I started on my downward journey.

225

223 money, which] money wh: **224 danger,]** danger **224–5 was full]** was already full **225 overflowing,]** overflowing **probably developed]** probably already developed **226 resources. Moreover,]** resources to the utmost. Moreover

228–9 With ... journey.] *om.* E2, E9

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

WE followed an Alpine path for some four miles, now hundreds of feet above a brawling stream which descended from the glaciers, and now nearly alongside it. The morning was cold and somewhat foggy, for the autumn had made great strides latterly. Sometimes we went through forests of pine, or rather yew trees, though they looked like pine; and I remember that now and again we passed a little wayside shrine, wherein there would be a statue of great beauty, representing some figure, male or female, in the very heyday of youth, strength, and beauty, or of the most dignified maturity and old age, but with no pretence to anything of a devotional character. My hosts always bowed their heads as they passed one of these shrines, and it shocked me to see statues that had no apparent object,

---

8 wayside shrine Wayside shrines would become significant examples used by SB in support of his theory of art criticism as expounded in AS. By 1872, SB had become disenchanted with art academism and resisted the privileged position accorded in both technical training and historical scholarship to a limited set of 'exemplary' canonical works from the ancient Greco-Roman world and Central Italian Renaissance. He felt that three hundred years of excessive adulation of Michelangelo and Raphael, rigid methodology and slavish imitation had precluded originality; he urged 'truth of feeling, rather than skill based on conformity with academic rules' (Zdanksi, 242). He felt that wayside shrines found in northern Italy displayed 'the last rays […] of genuine art' told 'by one who knows what he wants to say, and says it in his mother-tongue, shortly, and without caring whether or not his words are in accordance with academic rules' (AS, 145).

9–15 beauty, … homage The Erewhonian reverence of beauty for beauty's sake recalls notions prevalent throughout ancient Greek writing and art that beauty was an objective ideal akin to truth or justice that could educate and improve people and inspire them to good moral order: see e.g., Konstan

---

1 CHAPTER VII.] Chap. ~~IV~~ VII. **2 FIRST IMPRESSIONS.]** *om.* **3 We … for]** ~~There was~~ ^We followed^ an path for] path ~~which we followed~~ for **miles,]** miles **4 a … from]** the brawling stream ~~descending~~ ^which descended^ from **4–5 glaciers, and]** glaciers, ~~on the plateau~~, and **5 foggy,]** foggy **6 autumn]** Autumn **7 through … or]** through ~~pine~~ forests ^of pine^ or **trees,]** trees **like]** like~~s~~ **pine;]** ~: **8 remember … we]** remember ^that now and again^ we **wayside shrine,]** way side shrine **9 there would … beauty,]** *see app.* **figure,]** figure **10 female,]** female **youth,]** youth **strength,]** strength **10–11 beauty, … but]** beauty ^~~[?ap]~~ or of the most dignified maturity and old age, ^ but **12 character. My]** character: my had no] had ~~no pretensions to~~ no apparent object save the <chronicling of some unusual individual ^excellence^> no **13 object,]** object

---

1–28 CHAPTER VII. … left, only rather: f. 52r. The following is inscribed at the top of f. 52v: '~~excellent to be lost I resolved that should I see ind- cations which shd appear to confirm my impression that I had indeed come upon the missing tribes, I would endeavour to be equal/to the occasion~~. ~~With these thoughts I started down the valley with one of my/hosts upon either side of me.~~'

11–12 age … My] E2, age. My E9

beyond the chronicling of some unusual individual excellence or beauty, receive so serious a homage. However, I showed no sign of wonder or disapproval; for I remembered that to be all things to all men was one of the injunctions of the Gentile Apostle, which, for the present, I should do well to heed. Shortly after passing one of these chapels, we came suddenly upon a village which started up out of the mist; and I was alarmed lest I should be made an object of curiosity or dislike. But it was not so. My guides spoke to many in passing, and those spoken to showed much amazement. My guides, however, were well known, and the natural politeness of the people prevented them from putting me to any inconvenience; but they could not help eyeing me, nor I them. I may as well say at once what my after-experience taught me—namely, that with all their faults, and extra-ordinary obliquity of mental vision upon many subjects, they are the very best-bred people that I ever fell in with. The village was just like an one we had left, only rather larger. The streets were narrow and unpaved, but very fairly clean. The vine grew outside many of the houses; and there were some with signboards, on which was painted a bottle and a glass, that made me feel much at home. Even on this ledge of human society there was a stunted growth of shoplets, which had taken root and vegetated somehow, though as in an air mercantile of the bleakest. It was here as hitherto: all things were generically the same as in Europe, the differences being of species only; and I was amused at seeing in a window some bottles with

(esp. 81). These ideas were articulated most famously in various works of Plato and Aristotle, which SB encountered as part of the Cambridge CT.

16–17 to be all things … Apostle A reference to the words of Saint Paul, the apostle who strove to bring the Gentiles into a righteous relationship with the God, in 1 Corinthians 9:22: 'To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all *men*, that I might by all means save some'.

14 beauty] ~, **15 homage. … showed]** *see app.* **16 disapproval;]** ~, **that … all]** that ~~being~~ ^to be^ all **17–18 Apostle … Shortly]** *see app.* **18 chapels]** ~, **19 village]** ~, **mist;]** mist **and … lest]** and ~~which~~ ^I was^ alarmed ~~me~~ lest **20 or dislike.]** or ~~eve~~ dislike. **not so.]** not ~~to~~ so. **21 passing, and]** passing, ~~who so~~ and **to … were]** t~~oo~~o showed ~~every~~ ^much^ ~~conceivable sign~~ of-amazement; ~~but~~ my guides ^however^ we **23 them … putting]** them ^from^ putting **23 inconvenience;]** ~: **24 me,]** ~: **once what]** once ~~that their good breeding~~ what **25 me … with]** me, namely that ~~throughout the country~~ with **faults,]** faults **26 subjects,]** subjects **27 an]** a **28 larger. The]** larger; the **unpaved … very]** unpaved but ~~they were~~ very **29 houses;]** ~, **30 signboards,]** signboards **31 this ledge]** is ~~barren~~ ledge **32 stunted growth]** stunted ~~growth~~ growth **32 shoplets, … though]** shoplets, ^which had taken root and vegetated somehow^ though **33 bleakest. … It]** *see app.* **here … hitherto:]** here ~~the same~~ as hitherto, **34 Europe,]** Europe **35 only;]** ~, **in … bottles]** in ~~the~~ ^a^ window~~s~~ ^some^ bottles

28–62 larger. The streets … and reverenced beauty;: f. 53r.

19 which … I] which for the present I E2, E9 **18 chapels,]** chapels E2, E9 **25 faults,]** faults E2, E9 **27 with. The]** E2, with. [*n.p.*] The E9 **30 signboards,]** E2, sign-boards, E9

barley-sugar, and sweetmeats for children, as at home; but the barley-sugar was in plates, not in twisted sticks, and was coloured blue. Glass was plentiful in the better houses. Lastly, I should say that the people were of a physical beauty which was simply amazing. I never saw anything in the least comparable to them. The women were vigorous, and had a most majestic gait, their heads being set upon their shoulders with a grace beyond all power of expression. Each feature was finished, eyelids, eyelashes, and ears being almost invariably perfect. Their colour was equal to that of the very finest Venetian or Bolognese paintings; of the clearest olive, and yet ruddy with a glow of perfect health. Their expression was divine; and, as they glanced at me timidly, but with parted lips, in great bewilderment, I forgot all thoughts of their conversion in feelings that were far more earthly. I was dazzled as I saw one after the other, of whom I could only feel that each was the loveliest I had ever seen. Even in middle age they were wondrous comely, and the old grey-haired women at their cottage doors had a dignity, not to say majesty, of their own. The men were as handsome as the women beautiful. I have always delighted in and reverenced beauty; but I felt simply abashed in the presence of such a splendid type—a

46 barley–sugar … sweetmeats The first recipe for barley–sugar, a confection traditionally made by boiling sugar in a decoction of barley, dates from 1638. Sweetmeats applies to any sweet food, from cakes to preserved fruits, a term in use before the 15th cent.

54 Venetian … paintings Another indication of SB's resistance to academic orthodoxy in the art world, apparent as early as 1872. His admiration of the paintings of the Venetian and Bolognese schools ran counter to contemporary art criticism, which revered the works to emerge from the Florentine or Roman tradition: see Zdanski, 224. From the late 15th cent. Venice supported a distinctive artistic environment, including the workshops of Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516) whom SB greatly admired.

46 home;] ~, **47 plates,]** plates **48 in the]** in ~~all~~ the **houses. Lastly,]** houses; lastly **50 vigorous,]** vigorous **being]** *om*. **51 with … grace]** with ^a^ grace **52 eyelashes,]** eyelashes **53–4 to … Venetian]** to ^that of the^ ~~the~~ very finest ~~of the~~ Venetian **54 paintings; of]** painters, ^~~sometimes~~^ of **54–5 and … ruddy]** and ~~again~~ ^yet^ ruddy **55 of … Their]** of ~~the most~~ perfect health. ~~and~~ their **divine; and,]** divine, and **56 timidly,]** timidly **lips,]** lips **58 other,]** other **59 seen. Even]** seen. No words can reach them, no art can touch them. ~~I can only say that~~ The [a]Venus of Milo is an insipid thing beside them. Even **60 and …grey-haired]** and ^the^ old grey haired **60–1 doors … own. The]** *see app*. **63–3 delighted … but I]** *see app*. **63–4 such … compound]** such ^a^ splendid type, ~~as that before me~~

[a]Venus de Milo One of the most famous works of ancient Greek sculpture, attributed to Alexandros of Antioch, and prized in the world of mainstream art academicism that SB so disliked.

63–92 but I felt … apartment with two: f. 53x[r] (the mistaken foliation is by SB's literary executor).

46 barley-sugar,] barley-sugar E2, barley-sugar E9 **48 houses. Lastly]** E2, houses. [*n. p.*] Lastly **54 very finest … of]** finest Italian paintings; being of **55 and,]** and E2, E9 **56 timidly,]** timidly E2, E9 **lips,]** lips E2, E9 **60 wondrous]** E2, still E9 **61 own. The]** E2, own. [*n. p.*] The

compound of all that is best in Egyptian, Greek, and Italian; but, perhaps, more like Giorgione at his ripest, than anything else. The children were infinite in number, and exceedingly merry; I need hardly say that they came in for their full share of the prevailing beauty. I expressed by signs my admiration and pleasure to my guides, and they were greatly pleased. I should add that all seemed to take a pride in their personal appearance, and that even the poorest (and none seemed rich) were well kempt and tidy. I could fill many pages with a description of their dress and the ornaments which they wore, and a hundred details which struck me with all the force of novelty; but I must not stay to do so, having many other matters to deal with.

When we had got past the village the fog rose, and revealed magnificent views of the snowy mountains and their nearer abutments, while in front I could now and again catch glimpses of the great plains which I had surveyed on the preceding evening. The country was highly cultivated, every ledge being planted with chestnuts, and walnuts, and vines, from which the grapes were now gathering. Goats were abundant; also a kind of small black cattle, in the marshes near the river, which was now fast widening, and running between larger flats, from which the hills receded more and more. I saw a few sheep, with rounded noses and enormous tails. Dogs were there in plenty, and very English; but I saw no cats, nor indeed are these creatures known, their place being supplied by a sort of small terrier.

In about four hours of walking from the time we started, and after passing two or three more villages, we came upon a considerable town, and my

---

65 Giorgione (1477/78–1510), Italian painter of the Venetian school, to whom only six surviving paintings are firmly attributed. Bellini helped to found the Venetian school — traditionally contrasted with Florentine painting — during the Italian High Renaissance. Giorgione trained in the workshop of Bellini.

– a compound **64–5 Egyptian, Greek, … than anything]** Ægyptian Greek and Italian: but perhaps more ~~of~~ ^like^ Giorgione at his ripest than of anything **66 merry;]** ~, **68 greatly]** plainly **71 fill … their]** fill ~~a volume~~ ^many pages^ with ~~describing~~ ^a description of^ their **72 they wore, and]** they ~~wear~~ ^wore^, and **which struck]** wh: struck **73–4 with. When]** *see app*. **74 past the village the]** past ~~it~~ ^the village^ the **revealed magnificent]** revealed the most magnificent **75 while in]** while ~~just~~ in **could now]** could ~~see~~ now and again ~~where the path rose~~, ^catch^ glimpses **76–7 had surveyed … The]** had ~~caught sight of~~ ^surveyed^ ~~when I first saw the pass~~ ^on the preceding evening^. The **77–9 cultivated … Goats]** cultivated ~~and~~ every ledge ~~was~~ ^being^ planted with chestnuts, & walnuts and ~~grapes, where~~ ^vines from which the^ grapes were now ~~at their ripest~~ ^gathering.^ Goats **79 cattle,]** cattle **80 river,]** river **80 widening, and]** widening, ~~and~~ rapidly, and **81 flats,]** flats **and]** & **sheep,]** sheep **83 English;]** ~, **83–4 these creatures known,]** these ~~any~~ ^creatures^ known, **85 In about]** ~~After~~ ^In^ about **started, and after passing]** started and ^after^ passing **86 villages, we]** villages ~~I~~ we

---

64 Greek, ... The] E2, Greek and Italian. The E9 **73–4 so, having … When]** so. [*n. p.*] When E2, E9 78 **78 and]** *om.* E2, E9 **vines,]** vines E2, apple-trees E9 **grapes]** E2, apples E9 **81 flats,]** flats E2, E9 **82 sheep,]** sheep E2, E9 **85 started,]** E9, started E2

guides made many attempts to make me understand something, but I gathered no inkling of their meaning, except that I need be under no apprehension of danger. I will spare the reader any description of the town, and would only bid him think of Domodossola or Faido. Suffice it that I found myself taken before the chief magistrate, and by his orders was placed in an apartment with two other people, who were the first I had seen looking anything but well and handsome. In fact, one of them was plainly very much out of health, and coughed violently from time to time in spite of manifest efforts to suppress it. The other looked pale and ill but he was marvellously self-contained, and it was impossible to say what was the matter with him. Both of them appeared astonished at seeing one who was evidently a stranger, but they were too ill to come up to me, and form conclusions concerning me. These two were first called out; and in about a quarter of an hour I was made to follow them, which I did in some fear, and with much curiosity.

The chief magistrate was a venerable-looking man, with white hair and beard, and a face of great sagacity. He looked me all over for about five minutes, letting his eyes wander from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, up and down, and down and up; neither did his mind seem in the least clearer when he had done looking than when he began. He at length asked me a single short question, which I supposed meant "Who are you?" I answered in English quite composedly, as though he would understand me,

90 Domodossola or Faido Domodossola is a city in the Verbano–Cusio–Ossola province of Piedmont, northern Italy. Faido is the capital of the Leventina district in Ticino in southern Switzerland. Faido was the starting point for SB's travels in AS, where he describes it as: 'a picturesque old place. It has several houses dated the middle of the sixteenth century; […] I have stayed there so often, and consider the whole family of its proprietor so much among the number of my friends, that I have no hesitation in cordially

87 made many attempts to] made ~~a great~~ many ~~expressions~~ ^attempts^ to **88 that I need be]** that ~~something was to happen to me, but that~~ I was to be **90 town,]** town **90–1 Domodossola or Faido. Suffice it that I]** Domodossola, or Faido, suffice it that ~~when I got [?there]~~ I **91 before]** to **magistrate, and by]** magistrate ~~of the town~~ and that by **orders was]** orders I was **92 two other]** two ~~others~~ other **93 fact,]** fact **95 it. The other looked]** it. ~~The~~ ~~other~~ ^The [?] other^ looked **ill]** ~, **96 self-contained,]** self contained **96–7 say what … him. Both]** say ~~more than that he looked much out of health~~. what was the matter with him. Both **98 to come up … me, and]** to ~~do~~ ~~much more than~~ ^come up to me^ and **99 out; and]** out ~~of the room in which I was~~, and **100–1 in some fear, … curiosity.]** in ~~much~~ ^some^ fear and ^with much^ curiosity. **102–3 man, with white]** man with ^~~a~~^ white **103 beard**,] beard **105 feet,]** feet **down, and]** down & **up;]** ~, **107 you?"]** you'? **108 composedly,]** naturally **me,]** me

92–121 other people, who … as it was: f. 54r.

91 and ... was] and that by his orders I was E2, E9 **103 beard,]** beard E2, E9 **108 composedly,]** composedly E2, E9

and endeavoured to be my very most natural self as well as I could. He appeared more and more puzzled, and then retired, returning with two others much like himself. Then they took me into an inner room, and the two fresh arrivals stripped me, while the chief looked on. They felt my pulse, they looked at my tongue, they listened at my chest, they felt all my muscles; and at the end of each operation they looked at the chief and nodded, and said something in a tone quite pleasant, as though I were all right. They even pulled down my eyelids, and looked, I suppose, to see if they were bloodshot; but it was not so. At length they gave up; and I think that all were satisfied of my being in the most perfect health, and very robust to boot. At last the old magistrate made me a speech of about five minutes long, which the other two appeared to think greatly to the point, but from which I gathered nothing. As soon as it was ended, they proceeded to overhaul my swag and the contents of my pockets. This gave me little uneasiness, for I had no money with me, nor anything which they were at all likely to want, or which I cared about losing. At least I fancied so, but I soon found my mistake.

They got on comfortably at first, though they were much puzzled with my tobacco-pipe, and insisted on seeing me use it. When I had shown them what I did with it, they were astonished, but not displeased, and seemed to like the smell. But by and by they came to my watch, which I had hidden away in the inmost pocket that I had, and which I had forgotten when they

---

recommending the house' (10). As Zdanski notes, these towns formed part of the standard tourist route as defined by 19th cent. guidebooks (231).

126 tobacco-pipe Tobacco pipes were introduced to England in the 1580s, along with the arrival of tobacco, however they did not become a common sight in society at large until the mid-17th cent. The Erewhonians' pleasure at beholding the tobacco pipe possibly reflects the fact that it dates from just after Erewhonian technological progress is supposed to have halted, but as a satirist SB did not attempt to carry the conceit of technological regression in Erewhon to all its logical outcomes.

128 watch See Gen. Int., 35.

---

109 and] & **110 retired,]** retired **111 room,]** room **111–12 two fresh arrivals]** two ^fresh^ arrivals **112 me,]** me **113 muscles;]** ~, **114 they]** the **nodded, and]** nodded & **115 pleasant, as]** pleasant, ~~and~~ as **116 eyelids,]** eyelids **looked,]** looked **suppose,]** suppose **bloodshot;]** blood shot, **117 so; and at]** so; ~~and~~ at **up;]** up **118 perfect … last]** *see app.* **119 old magistrate made]** old ~~chief~~ ^magistrate^ made **long,]** long **120 think greatly to]** think ~~exceedingly~~ ^greatly^ to **121 nothing. As]** *see app.* **ended,]** ended **122 pockets … little]** pockets; ~~a thing which~~ ^this^ gave me ~~very~~ little **uneasiness,]** uneasiness **123–4 or … cared]** or ~~which~~ ^which^ I ~~should~~ cared **124 so,]** so **125 on comfortably]** on ~~very~~ comfortably **126 pipe,]** pipe and tobacco, **126 it. When]** it; when **127 astonished,]** astonished **128 But … they]** But ~~on a sudden~~ ^bye & bye^ they **watch,]** watch **129 inmost]** remotest

---

121–43 ended, they proceeded … causes of all: f. 55^{r}.

---

123 want,] want E2, E9 **126 tobacco-pipe,]** tobacco-pipe E2, E9 **127 astonished,]** astonished E2, E9 **and … had]** and had E2, E9

began their search. They seemed concerned and uneasy the moment they got hold of it. They then made me open it and show the works; and when I had done so, they gave signs of very grave displeasure, though I could not conceive wherein it could have offended them.

I remember that, when they first found it, I had thought of Paley, and how he tells us that a savage, on seeing a watch, would at once conclude that it was designed. It was true that these people were not savages, but I none the less felt sure that this was the conclusion they would arrive at; and I was thinking what a wonderfully wise man Archbishop Paley must have been, when I was aroused by a look of horror and dismay upon the face of the magistrate, a look which conveyed to me the impression that he regarded my watch not as being designed, but rather as the designer of himself and of the universe; or as, at any rate, one of the great first causes of all things. Then it struck me that this view was quite as likely to be taken as the other, by a people who had no experience of European civilisation, and I was a little piqued with Paley for having led me so much astray; but I soon discovered that I had misinterpreted the expression on the magistrate's face, and that it was one not of fear, but hatred. He spoke to me solemnly and sternly for two or three minutes. Then, reflecting that this was of no use, he caused me to be conducted through several passages into a large room, which I afterwards found was the museum of the town, and wherein I beheld a sight which astonished me more than anything that I had yet seen.

---

138 Archbishop Paley See Gen. Int., 20–1.
150 museum … town The description of the museum that follows is reminiscent of a cabinet of curiosities, precursors to modern museums, which developed from the 17th cent. and consisted of rooms

---

130–2 search. … displeasure,] *see app.* **133 could … have]** could ~~possibly~~ have **134 that,]** that **first … it,]** first ~~got hold of~~ ^found^ it **Paley,]** Paley **135 savage,]** savage **watch,]** watch **136 designed … these]** designed: ^it was^ true ^that^ these **136–7 not … felt]** not ~~exactly~~ savages, but I ~~nevertheless~~ ^none the less^ felt **137–9 at; … look]** at, ~~and~~ ~~was~~ ^and ~~I~~ was^ thinking what a ~~wonderfully sagacious~~ ^wonderfully wise^ man Bishop Paley ~~was~~, ^must have been^ when I was aroused by ~~the~~ ^the ~~[?]~~^ look **139 and]** & **140 magistrate, … which]** magistrate, ~~a look~~ ^a look^ which **141 regarded … as]** regarded ~~it~~ ^my watch not as being designed but rather^ as **142 universe;]** ~, **as,]** as **rate,]** rate **143 all things.]** *see app.* **144 other,]** other **who … of]** who ~~were ignorant~~ ^had no experience^ of **145 and … was]** and was **having … but]** having ~~misled me~~ ^led me so much astray^ but **147 and … it]** and ^that^ it **hatred. He]** *see app.* **148 and … for]** and ~~with~~ ~~grave~~ ~~displeasure~~ ^sternly^ for **Then,]** Then **149 conducted through]** conducted ~~into~~ through **150 room,]** room **151 anything … I]** anything ~~which~~ ^that^ I

143–55 things. Then it … by broken machinery: f. 56r.

---

130 the moment] as soon as **131 when]** E9, as soon as E2 **132 so,]** so E2, E9 **though]** which disturbed me all the more because E2, E9 **134 that,]** E2, E9 **135 savage,]** savage E2, E9 **watch,]** watch E2, E9 **136 It … that]** E2, True, **141 being]** having been E2, E9 **142 or … rate,]** or as at any rate E2, E9 **143 things. Then]** E2, things. [*n. p.*] Then E9 **144 other,]** other E2, E9

It was filled with cases containing all manner of curiosities—such as skeletons, stuffed birds and animals, carvings in stone (whereof I saw several that were like those on the plateau, only smaller), but the greater part of the room was occupied by broken machinery of all descriptions. The larger specimens had a case to themselves, and tickets with writing on them in a character which I could not understand. There were fragments of steam engines, all broken and rusted—such as a cylinder and piston, a broken fly-wheel, and part of a crank, which was laid on the ground by their side. Again, there was a very old carriage whose wheels, in spite of rust and decay, I could see, had been designed originally for iron rails. Indeed, there were fragments of a great many of our own most advanced inventions; but they seemed all to be at least several hundred years old, and to be placed where they were, not for instruction, but curiosity. As I said before, all were marred and broken.

We passed many cases, and at last came to one in which there were several clocks; and among them two or three old watches. Then the magistrate took my watch and compared it. The design was different, but the thing was clearly the same. On this, he turned to me and made me a speech in a severe and injured tone of voice, pointing repeatedly to the watches in the case, and to my own; neither did he seem in the least appeased until I made signs to him that he had better take my watch, and put it with the others. This had some effect in calming him. I said in English

---

containing notable objects: see Impey et al. Haast in Canterbury was in the process of establishing what became the Canterbury Museum at the time of SB's residence. SB's own father, a keen botanist, sent specimens from his own collection for Haast's museum in 1863: see 'Philosophical Institute of Canterbury', LT, 6 June 1863, p. 4.

158–9 cylinder … crank A piston is a disc that fits closely within a cylinder used in an internal combustion engines or pumps. A fly-wheel is a heavy revolving wheel used to increase a machine's momentum, thereby provide greater stability or a reserve of available power. A crank is a part of an axle or shaft bent out at right angles, used for altering a machine's motion.

---

152 curiosities—] ~; **154 plateau … smaller),]** plateau ~~but~~ ^only^ smaller) **155 descriptions. The]** descriptions: the **156 specimens … had]** specimens ~~of which~~ had **themselves,]** themselves **157 understand. There]** understand: there 158 **rusted—]** ~, **piston, a]** piston, ~~and~~ a **158–9 fly-wheel,]** fly wheel, **160 side. … there]** side: again their **wheels,]** wheels **161 decay,]** decay **see,]** see **rails. Indeed, there]** rails: indeed their **162 of … our]** of ~~all~~ ~~almost all~~ ^a great many of^ our own **inventions,]** ~, **163 they … to]** they ~~all~~ seemed ^all^ to **164 curiosity. As]** curiosity: ~~and~~ as **166–7 there … two]** there ~~was a~~ ^were several^ collection of clocks, & we among them ~~were~~ two **167–71 watches. … neither]** *see app.* **172 him:]** ~,

---

155–91 of all descriptions … prisoners. The room: f. 57r.

---

154 plateau,] E2, saddle, E9 **158 rusted … cylinder]** rusted; among them I saw a cylinder E2, E9 **160 wheels,]** wheels E2, E9 **163 at least]** E2, *om.* E9 **167 clocks; ... them]** and E2, E9 **Then]** Here E2, E9 **168 took … it.]** stopped and opening the case began comparing my watch with the others. E2, E9 **169 this,]** this E2, E9 **172 watch,]** watch E2, E9

(trusting to tone and manner to convey my meaning) that I was exceedingly sorry if I had been found to have anything contraband in my possession; that I had had no intention of evading the ordinary tolls; and that I would gladly forfeit the watch if my doing so would atone for an unintentional violation of the law. He began presently to acquiesce, and spoke to me in a kinder manner. I think he saw that I had offended without knowledge; but I believe the real thing that pleased him was my not seeming to be afraid of him, although I was quite respectful; this, and my having light hair and complexion, on which he had remarked previously by signs, as every one else had done. I afterwards found that it was reckoned a very great distinction among them to have fair hair, this being a thing of the rarest possible occurrence, and greatly admired and envied in all who were possessed of it. However that might be, my watch was taken from me; but our peace was made, and I was conducted back to the room where I had been examined. The magistrate then made me another speech, whereon I was taken to a building hard by, which I soon discovered to be the common prison of the town, but in which apartment was assigned me separate from the other prisoners. The room contained a bed, table, and chairs, also a fireplace and a washing-stand. There was another door, which opened on to a balcony, with a flight of steps descending into a walled garden of some size. The man who conducted me into this room made signs to me that I might go down and walk in the garden whenever I pleased; and intimated, moreover, that I should shortly have something brought me to eat. I was allowed to retain my blankets, and the few things which I had wrapped inside them, but it was plain that I was to consider myself a prisoner—for how long a period I could not by any means determine. He then left me alone.

---

174 (trusting … convey] (trusting ~~that~~ ^to^ tone and manner ~~would~~ ^to^ convey **175 found]** supposed **possession;]** ~: **176 tolls;]** ~, **177 if … unintentional]** if ~~that~~ ^my doing so^ would atone for ~~an~~ ^an^ unintentional **178 began presently]** gradually seemed **acquiesce,]** acquiesce **179 knowledge;]** ~, **180 was … afraid]** was ~~that I did not seem~~ ^my not seeming to be^ afraid **181 this … my]** this, and ~~his great surprise at~~ my **182 signs,]** signs **186–7 be, … our]** be ^my watch was taken from me but^ our **187 back … the]** back ~~by the same way into~~ ^to^ the **188 speech … I]** speech ~~and~~ ^whereon^ I **189 soon discovered]** found presently **191 bed, table, and chairs,]** bed and a few chairs, **192 fireplace]** fire place **washing-stand. There]** washing stand: and there **door,]** door **193 balcony,]** balcony **193–4 into ... The]** in to a tolerably good walled garden ^of some size^; the **194 this]** that **195 pleased; … moreover,]** pleased and intimated moreover **196 something … I]** something ^brought me^ to eat brought in a short time ^shortly^. I **197 blankets,]** blankets **198 them, but]** them, ^with the exception of my forfeited watch.^ but

---

191–Ch. 8, l. 26 contained a bed, … be the right: f. 58r.

---

176 tolls;] ~, E2, E9 **178 acquiesce,]** relent, E2, E9 **180 real]** chief E2, E9 **pleased … was]** brought him round was E2, E9 **183 done. I]** done. [*n. p.*] I E2, E9 **184 distinction ... them]** merit E2, E9 **195 pleased;]** ~, E2, E9 **195–6 intimated, moreover,]** intimated that E2, E9

CHAPTER VIII.

IN PRISON.

AND now for the first time my courage completely failed me. It is enough to say that I was penniless, and a prisoner in a foreign country, where I had no friend, nor any knowledge of the customs or language of the people. I sank upon the bed, and thought what I had better do. And yet, engrossed as I was with my extremely difficult and doubtful position, I could not help feeling great curiosity as to the people among whom I had fallen. What was the meaning of that room full of old machinery which I had just seen, and of the displeasure with which the magistrate had regarded my watch? The people had very little machinery now. I had been struck with this over and over again, though I had not been more than four-and-twenty hours in the country. They were about as far advanced as Europeans of the twelfth or thirteenth century; certainly not more so. And yet they must have had at one time the fullest knowledge of our own most recent inventions. How could it have happened that, having been once so far in advance, they were now as much behind us? It was evident that it was not from ignorance. They knew my watch as a watch when they saw it; and the care with which the broken machines were preserved and ticketed, proved that they had not lost the recollection of their former civilisation. The more I thought the

---

2 IN PRISON The major plot points in this chapter are indebted to chs 2 and 1 of *Gulliver's Travels*, esp. imprisonment and the task of learning a new language.

---

1 CHAPTER VIII.] Chapter VIII **2 IN PRISON.]** *om.* **3–4 me. … that]** me. I will spare the reader any recital of the thoughts that crowed upon me, ^it is enough to say^ suffice it that **4–5 in … nor]** in an utterly unknown ^a foreign^ country where I had no friend nor **6–8 bed, … curiosity]** bed and burying my face in my {hands} [*uwr.* ? ? in communion with the][*owr.* hail hail holy hail holy light offspring of] gave full vent to the bitterness of my feelings. ^thought what I had better do.^ And yet ^And yet^ engrossed as I was with a sense of the my own extremely difficult and doubtful position in which I was placed I could not help feeling the greatest curiosity **9 fallen. what]** fallen. and ^an^ intense desire to know more about them. What **11 my watch?]** my own watch? **12–15 again, … certainly]** again even in the twenty four hours that I had already spent with them. ^though I had not been more than four & twenty hours in the country^ They were about as advanced as Europeans of the twelfth century or thirteenth century: certainly **15 they … have]** they seemed to have **16–18 inventions. … It was]** inventions: how had their progress been arrested? and owing to what circumstances was it that having got ^been once^ so far in advance of us at one time they were now as much behind us ^us^? It was **18 not … ignorance.]** not ^from^ ignorance **20 ticketed,]** ticketed **21 their … thought]** their more advanced former civilisation. The more I thought

---

6–7 people … And] people. I was at the mercy of men with whom I had little in common. And E2, E9 **8 feeling … as to]** feeling deeply interested in E2, E9 **17 that,]** that E2, E9 **advance,]** advance E2, E9

less I could understand it; but at last I concluded that they must have worked out their mines of coal and iron, till either none were left, or so few, that the use of these metals was restricted to the very highest nobility. This was the only solution I could think of; and, though I afterwards found how entirely mistaken it was, I felt quite sure then that it must be the right one.

I had hardly arrived at this opinion for above four or five minutes, when the door opened, and a most beautiful young woman made her appearance with a tray, and a very appetising smell of dinner. I gazed upon her with admiration as she laid a cloth, and set a savoury-looking dish upon the table. As I beheld her I felt as though my position was already much ameliorated, for the very sight of her carried great comfort. She was not more than twenty, rather above the middle height, active and strong, but yet most delicately featured; her lips were full and sweet; her eyes were of a deep hazel, and fringed with the most delicious eyelashes; her hair was neatly braided from off her forehead; her complexion was simply exquisite; her figure as robust as was consistent with the most perfect female beauty, yet not more so; her hands and feet might have served as models to a sculptor. Having set the stew upon the table, she retired with a glance of pity, whereon (remembering pity's kinsman) I decided that she should pity me a little more. She returned with a bottle and a glass, and found me sitting on the bed with my hands over my face, looking the very picture of

---

40 pity's kinsman From the proverb 'pity is akin to love' which is in turn from Viola's exchange with Olivia in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, 3.1.121–22: 'I pity you. / That's a degree to love.'

---

22 it; … concluded] it, ~~until~~ ^but^ ~~I~~^ at last ^I^ ~~I~~ concluded **23–5 iron, … was]** iron till either none ~~was~~ ^were^ left ~~of either~~, or so few that ~~their~~ ^the^ use ^of these metals^ was~~,~~ restricted only the very highest nobility ~~of the land~~. This was **25 of; … though]** of ^and^ though **26–8 was, … young]** was. I felt quite sure ^then^ that it must ^be^ [*uwr* one][*owr* the] right one. ~~Almighty being who has promised never to desert those who call upon him in the name of his son: our saviour.~~ I had hardly ~~been engaged in prayer~~ ^arrived at this opinion^ for above four or five minutes when the door opened and a most beautiful young **29 tray,]** tray **29–30 with admiration]** with ~~profound~~ admiration **30–1 savoury-looking … As]** savoury looking dish upon the table. ~~She was not slow to return my glances though she did so with the most delightful modesty.~~ ^shyness^ As **31–2 my … for]** my ~~prayers had been already half answered~~, ^[?] position was already much ameliorated^ for **32–3 comfort. … middle]** comfort: she was not more than twenty, of about the middle **34–7 featured; … consistent]** featured. her … sweet, her eyes were ^of^ a deep hazel & fringed with the most delicious eyelashes. Her hair … forehead, her complexion was simply exquisite: ~~and~~ her figure as robust as ~~is~~ ^was^ consistent **38–9 yet … Having]** yet no robuster: her hands were beautiful and her feet ~~not less s~~ were fully equal to them. Having **39 table,]** table **40–1 (remembering .. me]** (remembering ^pity's kinsman)^ ~~at once that pity~~ ^~~had a [?] very charming kinsman~~^ ^~~that pity was one of the only member of the family, but that these [?was a certain]~~^ ~~was akin to love I decided that she might~~ ^~~should~~^ ^I decided that she should^ pity me

---

27–46 I had hardly … which was excellent.: f. 59^{r}. 'London' is appears vertically at the top right of f. 59^{v}.

---

28 a most beautiful young] E2, a young E9 **30 cloth,]** cloth E2, E9 **35 the most delicious]** E2, long and springing E9

abject misery; and, like all pictures, rather untruthful. As I watched her, through my fingers, out of the room again, I felt sure that she was exceedingly sorry for me. Her back being turned, I set to work and ate my dinner, which was excellent.

She returned in about an hour to take away; and there came with her a man who had a great bunch of keys at his waist, and whose manner convinced me that he was the jailor. I afterwards found that he was father to the beautiful creature who had brought me my dinner. I am not a great hypocrite, and do what I would, I could not look so very miserable. I had already recovered from my dejection, and felt in a most genial humour, both with my jailor and his daughter. I thanked them for their attention towards me; and, though they could not understand, they looked at one another, and laughed and chattered till the old man said something or other which, I suppose, was a joke; for the girl laughed merrily and ran away, leaving her father to take away the dinner things. Then I had another visitor, who was not so prepossessing, and who seemed to have a great idea of himself and a small one of me. He brought a book with him, and pens and paper—all very English; and yet, neither paper, nor printing, nor binding, nor pen, nor ink, were quite the same as ours.

He gave me to understand that he was to teach me the language, and that we were to begin at once. This delighted me, both because I should be more comfortable when I could understand and make myself understood, and because I supposed that the authorities would hardly teach

---

43–5 misery, … turned, I] misery, and like all pictures rather untruthful. As I peeped through my fingers, and watched her out of the room again, I fancied that I could detect a tear quivering on her downcast eyelids. Her back being turned I **46–7 dinner, … returned]** dinner which was excellent~~, with a bottle of good red wine which man~~ ^put me in [?an] ~~of me~~ ^~~ex~~^ ~~in no~~ ^~~high~~^ ~~time. the stew upon the table, she retired with a glance of pity, which resolved me in a moment as to the rôle which I~~ [*word obscured by ink blot*] ~~to adopt. She returned with a bottle and~~ she returned **47 away; … with]** away; & ~~but Alas! she wasn't alone~~ there ~~was~~ ^came^ with **49 jailor.]** jailer, **50 brought … my]** brought ^me^ my **51–5 hypocrite, … chattered]** *see app.* **56–7 which, … take]** which I suppose was roguish for the girl laughed ~~and more~~ merrily ran away, leaving ~~the old man~~ ^her father^ to take **57 visitor,]** visitor **58 a great]** a ~~very~~ great **59 small]** a ~~very~~ small **59 him,]** him **60–1 English; … ink,]** English, and yet neither paper nor printing nor binding, nor pen nor ink **61–2 ours. He]** ours: just as different as their lark and robin are ~~[?]~~ ^from^ our own and no more so. He **62 language,]** language **63–4 once. … more]** once: ~~a thing which~~ ^this^ delighted me both because I should be ~~a great deal~~ more **65–6 hardly … any]** hardly ~~have me taught~~ ^teach me^ the language, if they ~~meant~~ ^intended^ any

---

47–65 She returned in … the authorities would: f. 60^{r}. '8 pp. 8 lines' is written in the middle of f. 60^{v}.
65–92 hardly teach me … would save me.: f. 61^{r}. The following lines are visible through cut and paste pages at the bottom of f. 61^{v}: 'I had so frequently observed hitherto held good even in the matter of language which was hardly more different from the Italian than the Italian from the English – if so much so'.

---

43 misery;] ~, E2, E9 **50–1 great … and]** E2, a much greater hypocrite than other people, and E9 **52 humour,]** humour E2, E9 **55 another,]** another E2, E9 **56 which,]** which E2, E9 **suppose,]** suppose E2, E9

me the language if they intended any cruel usage towards me afterwards. We began at once, and I learnt the names of everything in the room, and also the numerals and personal pronouns. I found, to my sorrow, that the resemblance to European things, which I had so frequently observed hitherto, did not hold good in the matter of language; for I could detect no analogy whatever between this and any tongue of which I have the slightest knowledge,—a thing which made me think it possible that I might be learning Hebrew.

I must detail no longer; from this time my days were spent with a monotony which would have been tedious but for the society of Yram, the jailor's daughter, who had taken a great fancy for me, and treated me with the utmost kindness. The man came every day to teach me the language, but my real dictionary and grammar were Yram; and I consulted them to such purpose, that I made the most extraordinary progress, being able at the end of a month to understand a great deal of the conversation which I overheard between Yram and her father. My teacher professed himself well satisfied, and said he should make a favourable report of me to the authorities. I then questioned him as to what would probably be done with me. He told me that my arrival had caused great excitement throughout the

75 Yram i.e. Mary backwards. The choice of name can perhaps be traced to Mary Brittan (1845–1940), the daughter of a Canterbury land speculator and small holder, whom SB met in Christchurch and to whom he was rumoured to have proposed, unsuccessfully, in 1864. Mary married SB's friend William Rolleston (1831–1903), graduate of the Cambridge CT and Cantabrian pastoralist and politician, in 1865 (see Robinson 2010, para. 6 of 10). In naming his characters, SB appears to follow Swift's practice of combining suggestive wordplay, anagrams and linguistic reversals with invented words without obvious meaning (see also Ch. 13, l. 13n). Like many of Swift's characters, SB's Erewhonians are two-dimensional: SB would later allude to the 'people named' in *Erewhon*, adding 'for I cannot call them characters' (*Butleriana*, 9). Yram is a cipher for the Angel in the House ideal of Victorian womanhood, according to which women were imagined as paragons of domesticity, personifying 'virtue, moral superiority and maternal sentiment' (Abrams, 44).

67 afterwards. … and] afterwards. ~~So~~ [*uwr* w][*owr* W]e ~~set to~~ ^began^ at once and **68–9 found, … that]** found to my sorrow that **70 language:]** ~, **71–5 whatever … but]** whatever ^between this and^ ~~to~~ any tongue ^of which^ ~~that~~ I have the slightest knowledge ~~of~~ ^–^ a thing which made me think it all the more possible that I might be now learning Hebrew. ~~And now my life~~ I must detail no longer; suffice it that my days were spent ~~one after another~~ with ~~much~~ ^a^ monotony – which would have been ~~intolerable~~ ^tedious^ but **76–7 who … man]** who ~~was as~~ ^~~exceedingly~~^ ~~kind~~ ~~to me~~ ~~as~~ ~~was possible to~~ ^~~any one could be~~^ ~~conceive~~ ~~and who~~ ~~had~~ ~~evidently~~ ^had^ taken a ~~prodigious fancy to me~~ ^great fancy for me and treated me with great kindness.^ The man **78 Yram;]** Yram, **79 purpose,]** purpose **79–82 progress, … understand]** progress, ~~even~~ ^being able^ at the end of a month ~~being able~~ to understand **81–2 between … satisfied,]** between ~~my~~ Yram and her father: my teacher professed himself ~~much~~ ^well^ satisfied, **83 questioned him as]** question ~~the jailer~~ ^him^ as **84–5 me. … country,]** me: he ~~said~~ ^told me^ that my arrival had caused ~~the most intense~~ ^great^ excitement., throughout the country **84–5 me. … country,]** me: he ~~said~~ ^told me^ that my arrival had caused ~~the most intense~~ ^great^ excitement., through-

70 language,] language E2, E9 **68 found,]** found E2, E9 **sorrow,]** sorrow E2, E9 **76 me,]** me E2, E9 **78 grammar]** E9, grammer E2 **79 purpose,]** purpose E2, E9

country, and that I was to be detained a close prisoner until the receipt of advices from the Government. My having had a watch, he said, was the only damaging feature in the case. And then, in answer to my asking why this should be so, he gave me a long story of which, with my then imperfect knowledge of the language, I could make nothing whatever, except that it was a very heinous offence, almost as bad (at least, so I thought I understood him) as having typhus fever. But he said he thought my light hair would save me.

I was allowed to walk in the garden; there was a high wall, so that I managed to play a sort of hand fives, which prevented my feeling the bad effects of my confinement, though it was stupid work playing alone. In the course of time people from the town and neighbourhood began to pester the jailor to be allowed to see me, and on receiving handsome fees he let them do so. The people were good to me; almost too good, for they were inclined to make a lion of me, which I hated—at least the women were; only they had to beware of Yram, who was a young lady of a jealous temperament,

---

86 advices A plan of action. *Obsolete*.
92 light hair Although the Erewhonians themselves are modelled on dark-haired, olive-complexioned Northern Italians, they share a Renaissance ideal of feminine beauty which included fair skin and golden hair: See Cropper. This ideal was exemplified in the poetry of Petrarch (or Francesco Petrarca) (1304–1374), who described his beloved, Laura, in the following terms: 'the golden tresses loosened on her neck / against whose color no milk could compare, / and cheeks that are adorned with a sweet fire' (127.77–79).
83 typhus An acute infectious disease characterised by a high fever and rash, and transmitted by lice.
94 hand fives Game played largely in British public schools in which ball is struck by the hand against the front wall of an enclosed three or four-sided court.

---

out the country **85–6 prisoner … My]** prisoner ~~{ til} advice could be received~~ ^until the receipt of advices^ from the government as ~~to what was to be done with me.~~ My **87 case. … then,]** case: and then **88 so,]** so **88–9 which, … language, I]** which ~~(~~with … language~~)~~ I **90 least,]** least **92–3 save me. … I was]** save me. ~~shd be done with me.~~ I was **93–4 garden; … managed]** garden ~~which was sufficient for excise~~ ^where also^ ~~and~~ there was a high wall ~~against~~ ^so that^ ~~which~~ I managed **94 fives, … prevented]** fives which ~~kept me warm in the now wintry weather and~~ prevented **95–6 confinement, … course]** confinement ^~~al~~though it was stupid work playing alone;^ in the course **96 town and]** town & **97 jailer]** gaoler **97–8 me, … good,]** me, and ~~he~~ ~~allowed them~~ ^on receiving handsome^ fees he let them do so: ~~in fact~~ ~~I afterwards learnt that he made a great deal of~~ ^~~much~~^ ~~money out of my imprisonment and would have never allowed it to end if he could have helped it.~~ The people were good to me; ~~in fact they were~~ almost too good; **99 to make … me]** to ~~li~~ make a lion of me **were; only]** were, only **100 Yram, …was]** Yram ~~for she~~ ^who^ was **100–1 temperament, … felt]** temperament and kept a ~~very~~ sharp eye both upon me and my lady visitors, ~~[?] though~~

93–100 I was allowed … beware of Yram: f. 62^{r}. In the middle of f. 62^{v} the following lines are visible between cut and pasted fragments: 'hardly have me taught the language if they meant any cruel usage towards me afterwards. So we set to at once, and I learnt the names of everything in my room, and also the numerals, and the personal pronouns finding to my surprise that the same resemblance to European ~~languages~~ ^things which^ w'.
100–31 who was a … times, only she: f. 63^{r}.

---

88 which,] which E2, E9 **then]** *om*. E2, E9 **89 language,]** language E2, E9 **93 wall,]** wall E2, E9

and kept a sharp eye both on me and on my lady visitors. However, I felt so kindly towards her, and she had treated me so well, and I was so entirely dependent upon her for almost all that made my life a blessing and a comfort to me, that I took good care not to vex her, and we remained excellent friends. The men were far less inquisitive, and would not, I believe, have come near me of their own accord; but the women made them come as escorts. I was delighted with their handsome mien, and pleasant genial manners.

My food was plain, but always varied and wholesome, and the good red wine was admirable. I had found a sort of wort in the garden, which I sweated in heaps, and then dried, obtaining thus a substitute for tobacco; so that, what with Yram, the language, visitors, fives in the garden, smoking, and bed, my time slipped by more rapidly and pleasantly than might have been expected. I also made myself a small flute; and being a tolerable player, amused myself at times with playing snatches from operas, and airs such as "Oh where and oh where," and "Home, sweet home." This was of great advantage to me, for the people of the country were ignorant of the diatonic scale, and could hardly believe their ears on hearing some of our most common melodies. Often, too, they would make me sing; and I could at any time make Yram's eyes swim with tears by singing "Lascia ch'io Pianga," "Verdi, Prati," "Oh Placido il mare," or "Se non ho l'idol mio;" or as much of them as I could remember.

---

110 wort A plant used as a source of food or for medicinal purposes.

116 Oh where … sweet home 'The Bluebells of Scotland', which begins 'Oh where and oh where does your highland laddie dwell?', is a Scottish ballad composed in 1801 by Dorothea Jordan (1761–1816). 'Home, Sweet Home' is a song adapted from the 1823 Opera *Clari, or the Maid of Milan* by John Howard Payne (1791–1852): Payne provided the lyrics and Henry Bishop (1787–1856) composed the melody.

118 diatonic scale A scale which proceeds by the notes proper to that key without chromatic alteration.

120–1 Lascia ch'io … l'idol mio Four operatic arias by Handel: 'Lascia ch'io Pianga' is from *Rinaldo* (1711), 'Verdi, Prati' from *Alcina* (1735), 'Oh Placido il Mare' from *Siroe* (1728), and 'Se non ho l'idol mio'

~~her~~ ~~manner was always sweet and engaging~~ ^~~but~~^ ~~I could see that any extra civility on my part to any of the divinely beautiful being who came to see me made her beside herself with anger.~~ ~~However~~ ^However^ I felt

116 where," … This] where" and "Home sweet home", This **117 me,]** me **119 Often, … and I]** Often too they would make me sing (~~though~~ and I **120–3 singing … because]** singing Lascia ch'io Pianga, or Verdi Prati, oh Placido il mare, or se non ho l'idol mio, or as much of them as I could remember. [*over illeg.* Hail holy light offspring of heaven firstborn or] I had one or two ~~sharp~~ ~~quarrels~~ ^discussions^ with them because

119 Often, … and I] Often too they would make me sing (~~though~~ and I **120–3 singing … because]** singing

---

102 and … I was] E2, and was E9 **111 heaps,]** heaps E2, E9 **112 that,]** that E2, E9 **116 "Oh]** E2, O E9 **118 scale,]** scale E2, E9 **120–1 "Lascia ... Pianga,"]** E2, [a]"Wilkins and his Dinah," E9 **121 "Verdi, Prati,"]** E2, [b]"Billy Taylor," E9 **"Oh Placido … mio;"]** E2, [c] "The Ratcatcher's Daughter," E9

[a–c] **"Wilkins and … "Billy Taylor," … Daughter,"** Broadside ballads popular in the 19th cent.

I had one or two discussions with them, because I never would sing on Sunday (of which I kept count in my pocket-book), except chants and hymn tunes, of which I regret to say that I had forgotten the words, so that I could only sing the tune. They appeared to have little or no religious feeling, and to have never so much as heard of the divine institution of the Sabbath; so they ascribed my unwillingness to profane it to a fit of sulkiness, to which they observed me liable on one day in seven. But they were very tolerant, and one of them said to me quite kindly, that she knew how impossible it was to help being sulky at times, only she thought I ought to see some one if it became more serious—a remark which I then failed to understand, though I pretended to take it quite as a matter of course.

Once only, did Yram treat me in a way that was unkind and unreasonable,—at least, so I thought it at the time. It happened thus. I had been playing fives in the garden and got much heated. Although the weather was cold and frosty, I had played without my coat and waistcoat, and took a sharp chill on resting myself too long in the open air without protection. The next day I had a severe cold, and felt really poorly. Being little used even to the lightest ailments, and thinking that it would be rather nice to be petted and cossetted by Yram, I certainly did not make myself out to be any better than I was; in fact, I am afraid I even made the worst of

---

from *Berenice* (1737). B&H note that SB considered 'Verdi, Prati' to be one of Handel's most beautiful pieces; it was originally to be the title of AS (91).

Lascia ch'io Pianga, or Verdi Prati, oh Placido il mare, or se non ho l'idol mio, or as much of them as I could remember. [*over illeg*. Hail holy light offspring of heaven firstborn or] I had one or two ~~sharp quarrels~~ ^discussions^ with them because **124–5 Sunday … regret]** Sunday ^(of which I kept count in my pocketbook)^ except chants & hymn names ^of^ which I regret **125 words, so that]** words ~~and had no prayer book with me,~~ so that **126 feeling,]** feeling **127 Sabbath;]** ~, **128 sulkiness, to which]** sulkiness ^to^ which **129 seven. … tolerant,]** seven – ~~However~~ ^but^ they were very tolerant **130 kindly,]** kindly **131 times,]** times **131–2 some one if]** some ^one^ if **132–3 which … though]** which I at the time failed ~~completely~~ to understand though **133–4 course. … Yram]** course. once and once only did ~~my gaoler and~~ Yram **134–6 was … fives]** was really both unkind and unreasonable, at least ~~it appeared to me~~ ^so I thought it^ at the time ~~to be so though I afterwards got to understand their~~ ^~~her~~^ ~~reasons.~~ It happened ~~in~~ thus. ~~wise.~~ I had been playing ~~at~~ fives **136 heated. Although]** heated; although **137 frosty,]** frosty **139 protection. The next]** protection ~~from the wind which was~~ ^~~very~~^ ~~cutting~~: the next **139–40 Being … lightest]** Being ~~very~~ little used to even ^to^ the lightest **141 petted and]** petted & **142 was; in fact]** was, in fact

---

131–61 thought I ought … struck me dumb: f. 64r.

---

123 them,] them E2, E9 **125 tunes,]** ~; E2, E9 **which]** these E2, E9 **127 Sabbath;]** ~, E2, E9 **127 unwillingness … profane]** observance of it E2, E9 **128 to]** *om*. E2, E9 **129 observed … in seven.]** remarked as coming over me upon every seventh day. E2, E9 **130 kindly,]** kindly E2, E9 **132 remark**] piece of advice E2, E9 **134 only,]** only E2, E9 **135 least,]** least E2, E9 **136–7 the weather … frosty, I]** E2, the day was cold, for autumn was now advancing, and Cold Harbour (as the name of the town in which my prison was should be translated) stood fully 3000 feet above the sea, I E9 **139 cold,]** cold E2, E9 **142 am afraid … made]** remember that I made E2, E9

things, and took it into my head to consider myself upon the sick-list. When Yram brought me my breakfast, I complained somewhat dolefully of my indisposition, expecting the sympathy and humouring which I should have received from my mother and sisters at home. Not a bit of it. She fired up in an instant, and asked me what I meant by it, and how I dared to presume to mention such a thing, especially when I considered in what place I was. She had the best mind to tell her father, only that she was afraid the consequences would be so very serious for me. Her manner was so injured and decided, and her anger so evidently unfeigned, that I forgot my cold upon the spot, begging her by all means to tell her father if she wished to do so, and telling her that I had no idea of being shielded by her from anything whatever; presently mollifying, after having said as many biting things as I could, I asked her what it was that I had done amiss, and promised amendment as soon as ever I became aware of it. She saw that I was really ignorant, and had had no intention of being rude to her; whereon it came out that illness of any sort was considered in Erewhon to be highly criminal and immoral; and that I was liable, even for catching cold, to be had up before the magistrate, and imprisoned for a considerable period—an announcement which struck me dumb with astonishment.

I followed up the conversation as well as my imperfect knowledge of the language would allow, and caught a glimmering of her position with regard to ill-health; but I did not even then fully comprehend it, nor had I as yet any idea of the other extraordinary perversions of thought which existed among them, but with which I was soon to become familiar. I propose, therefore, to make no mention of what passed between us on this occasion, save that we were reconciled, and that she brought me surreptitiously a hot glass of spirits and water before I went to bed, also a

---

143 things,] things **145 indisposition,]** indisposition **should]** shd **146 sisters]** sister **147 what I meant]** what [*uwr* the goodness][*owr* hail holy light] I meant **148 thing,]** thing **place]** house **151 that I forgot]** that I [f ?] up in a moment [?and] forgot **152 spot, begging]** spot – begging **154 whatever; … said]** whatever; ~~at the same time~~ ^presently^ mollifying ~~as soon as I had~~ ^after having^ said **156 promised]** promis[*uwr* ing][*owr* ed] **157 her;]** ~, **158–60 considered … magistrate,]** considered among them to be highly criminal and immoral, and that I was liable even for a heavy cold to be had up before the magistrate **160–1 period—an]** period, an **162 conversation as]** conversation with her as **163–4 glimmering … fully]** glimmering ~~outline of the~~ ^of her^ position with regard to ill health, but I did not at the time fully **167 propose, therefore,]** propose therefore **168 occasion,]** occasion **168–9 me … hot]** me ^surreptitiously^ a hot **169 bed, also … that next]** bed also [?an] huge pile of blankets, and that the next

---

161–93 with astonishment. I … unconsciousness of self,: f. 65r.

---

144 breakfast,] E2, E9 **160 magistrate,]** magistrates E2, E9 **166 them,]** E2, the Erewhonians, E9 **169–70 bed … pile]** E2, bed, as also a pile E9

huge pile of extra blankets, and that next morning there were no traces of my cold left. I never remember to have lost a cold so rapidly.

This little affair explained much which had been heretofore an enigma. It seemed that the two men who were examined before the magistrates on the day of my arrival in the country, had been given in charge on account of ill health, and were both condemned to a heavy term of imprisonment, with hard labour; in fact, they were now expiating their offence in this very prison, and their exercise ground was a yard separated by my fives wall from the garden in which I walked. This accounted for the sounds of coughing and groaning which I had often noticed as coming from the other side of the wall: it was high, and I had not dared to climb it, for fear the jailor should see me, and think that I was trying to escape; but I had often wondered what sort of people they could be on the other side, and had resolved on asking the jailor; but I seldom saw him, and Yram and I generally found other things to talk about.

Another month flew by, during which I made such progress in the language, that I could understand all that was said to me, and even express myself with tolerable fluency. My instructor professed to be astonished with the progress I had made, which I was careful to attribute to the pains he had taken with me, and to his admirable method of explaining my difficulties; so we became excellent friends.

My visitors became more and more frequent. Among them there were some, both men and women, who delighted me entirely by their simplicity, unconsciousness of self, kindly genial manners, and last, but not least, by

---

193–5 simplicity … pure and simple These lines prefigure SB's comments about Italian manners

---

172 much which] much ~~to me~~ which **174 country, … on]** country ~~were being brought before th~~ ^had been given in charge ~~for sentence~~^ on **175–6 imprisonment … they]** imprisonment with hard labour; and in fact ~~that~~ they **177 by … wall]** by ~~a high~~ ^my fives^ wall **178–9 sounds of coughing]** incessant coughing **179 often … coming]** often ~~heard~~ ^noticed as^ coming **180–1 wall: … but]** wall; ~~and which I had quietly wondered at. The wall was~~ ^it was^ high, and I had not dared to ~~even try and~~ climb it, for fear ~~they~~ ^the gaoler^ should see me and think ^that^ I was trying to ~~esp~~ escape: but **182–6 side, … language,]** side ~~th wall,~~ and ~~had~~ resolved on asking the gaoler, but ~~I~~ ^I^ seldom saw him, ^~~while~~^ ~~&~~ ^and^ Yram and I generally found ~~something else~~ ^other things^ to talk about. Another month flew by during which I made such progress with the language **188–90 made, … so we]** made while I myself attributed ^it^ entirely to the care he taken with me, and ^to^ his admirable methods of explaining my difficulties: so we **191–2 My visitors … women,]** *see app.* **193–5 manners, … while]** manners and last but not least by their exquisite beauty: then came

---

193–Ch.9, l. 13 kindly genial manners … proposed for me,: f. 66r.

170–1 there … left] E2, I was quite well E9 **172 been … enigma.]** hitherto puzzled me. E2, E9 **175 heavy]** long E2, E9 **imprisonment,]** E2, imprisonment E9 **180 it,]** it E2, E9 **181 me,]** me E2, E9 **186 language,]** language E2, E9 **even]** *om.* E2, E9 **188 made, which I]** made; I E2, E9 **attribute to]** attribute it to E2, E9 **189 me,]** me E2, E9 **190 difficulties;]** ~, E2, E9

their exquisite beauty; there came others less well-bred, but still comely and agreeable people, while some were snobs pure and simple.

At the end of the third month, the jailor and my instructor came together to visit me, and told me that communications had been received from the Government to the effect that if I had behaved well and seemed generally reasonable, and if there could be no suspicion at all about my bodily health and vigour, and if my hair was really light, and my eyes blue and complexion fresh, I was to be sent up at once to the metropolis in order that the king and queen might see me and converse with me; but that, when I arrived there, I should be set at liberty, and a suitable allowance would be made me. My teacher also told me that one of the leading merchants had sent me an invitation to repair to his house, and to consider myself his guest for as long a time as I chose. "He is a delightful man," continued the interpreter, "but has suffered terribly from" (here there came a long word that I could not quite catch, only it was much longer than kleptomania), "and has but lately recovered from embezzling a large sum of money under singularly distressing circumstances; but he has quite got over it, and the straighteners say that he has made a really wonderful recovery: you are sure to like him."

---

that SB made in AS, where he claims that 'the general standard of good breeding [in Italy] is distinctly higher' than in Britain: 'I do not mean to say that there are no rude or unmannerly Italians, but that there are fewer in proportion than they are in any other nation with which I have acquaintance' (103). SB understood good breeding according to the evolutionary principles he had laid down in LH: the Italians had learned how to live and behave well over many generations; their inherited memory of this habit enabled them to perform it in the present without conscious effort: their good manners were therefore due to the fact that 'the Italians have had a civilisation for now some three or four thousand years, whereas all other nations are, comparatively speaking, new countries, with a something even yet of colonial roughness pervading them' (AS, 103). See also Ch. 23, E9 additions **v**.

213 kleptomania A compulsion to theft, typically without regard to need or profit, and claimed by some medico-legal theorists in the mid-19th cent. to be a form of insanity: see Ch. 11, 63–6n.

---

others less well bred but still comely and tolerable enough, while **196 third … my]** second month the gaoler and my **197–8 and … effect]** and ~~informed~~ ^told^ me that communications had been received from the government ~~concerning me~~ to the effect **199–201 health … order]** health & vigour, ^and if my hair was really light and my eyes blues and complexion fresh, I was to be sent up at once^ ~~I was to be sent up~~ to the metropolis ~~of the country~~ in order **202–4 me; … also]** me, but that when I arrived there I should be set at liberty and ^that^ a suitable allowance ~~should~~ ^would^ be made me; ~~in compassion for my defenceless position in a land of strangers~~ My ~~interpreter~~ ^teacher^ also **204–5 merchants … consider]** merchants ~~in the metropolis~~ had sent ^me an^ ~~an express~~ invitation to ~~me that I should~~ repair to his house and ^to^ consider **206–9 chose. … embezzling]** chose – "he is a delightful man" continued the interpreter "but has suffered terribly from – (here there came a ~~terribly~~ long word that I could not quite catch only it ~~was much longer and was even nicer in sound~~ ^~~sounded s like ([?Aiman ? pelle] [?Ainamolpeth])~~^ ~~than kleptomania~~) ^was much longer than kleptomania) and has only just recovered from^ ~~and~~ embezzling **209–10 singularly … but]** singularly ~~distressing~~ ^~~[?ferocious]~~ distressing^ circumstances – but **211 recovery: you]** recovery – you

---

196 month,] month E2, E9 **197 me,]** me E2, E9 **202 king and queen]** E2, King and Queen E9 **that,]** that E2, E9 **203 and a suitable]** and that a suitable E2, E9 **205 house,]** house E2, E9

CHAPTER IX.

TO THE METROPOLIS.

WITH the above words the good man left the room—while I was myself bewildered at hearing such extraordinary language from the lips of one who seemed a reputable member of society. "Embezzle a large sum of money under singularly distressing circumstances!" I exclaimed to myself, "and ask me to go and stay with him! I shall do nothing of the sort—compromise myself at the very outset in the eyes of all decent people, and give the death-blow to my chances of either converting them, if they are the lost tribes of Israel, or making money out of them if they are not! No. I will do anything rather than that." And when my teacher returned I told him that I did not at all like the sound of what had been proposed for me, and that I would have nothing to do with it. For by my education and the example of my own parents, and I trust also in some degree from inborn instinct, I have a very genuine dislike for all unhandsome dealing in money matters, though none can have a greater regard for money than I have, if it be got fairly.

The interpreter appeared much surprised by my answer, and told me that I was very foolish if I persisted in my refusal.

"Mr. Nosnibor," he continued, "is a man of at least 500,000 horse power" (for their way of reckoning and classifying men is by the number

---

2 TO THE METROPOLIS Again, SB in this chapter echoes elements of the plot and lexicon of *Gulliver's Travels*. Soon after his arrival in Lilliput, Gulliver is taken, drugged by sleep potion, in a carriage to the capital city to meet the Emperor at court and Swift refers to this capital as the 'metropolis' (22).
14–15 education … instinct Following his LH theory, SB would argue that education, habit and instinct are all key to the process of heredity, in the sense that the skills we acquire during our lifetime are passed down to future generations where they manifest as innate behaviours: see Ch. 23, E9 additions **v**.
20–2 horse power … foot pounds Both common units of power: one foot-pound is equal to the work

---

1 CHAPTER IX.] Chapter ~~V~~ IX. **2 TO THE METROPOLIS.]** *om.* **6–7 circumstances!" … "and]** circumstances" – I exclaimed to myself – "and **10 them,]** them **10–11 Israel … No.]** Israel or making money ~~among~~ ^out of^ them if they are not: No. **11 that." And]** that" and **12 returned … that]** returned ~~shortly afterwards~~ I told him ~~plainly~~ that **13 me,]** me **14 For by]** For ~~certainly~~ by **17 have,]** have **18 answer,]** answer **19–23 refusal. … their]** refusal. ~~"He~~ ~~"is a~~ ^M^r^ Nosnibor" he continued "is a^ man of at least 50, 000 horse power" ~~he continued,~~ (for ~~this is~~ their **21 men]** men~~,~~

13–44 and that I … that she petitioned: f. 67^r^.

3–4 room— … at] room before I had time to express my astonishment at E2, E9 **5 seemed a]** seemed to be a E2, E9 **10 them,]** them E2, E9 **12 my … returned]** I next saw my teacher E2, E9 **16 dealing]**

of foot pounds which they have money enough to raise, or more roughly by their horse power), "and keeps a capital table; besides, his two daughters are among the most beautiful women in Erewhon."

When I heard all this, I confess that I was much shaken, and inquired whether he was favourably considered in the best society.

"Certainly," was the answer; "no man in the country stands higher."

He then went on to say that one would have thought from my answer that my proposed host had had jaundice or pleurisy, and that I was in fear of infection.

"I am not much afraid of infection," said I, rather grimly, "but I have some regard for my character; and if I know a man to be an embezzler of other people's money, be sure of it, I will give him as wide a berth as I can. If he were ill or poor"—

"Ill or poor!" interrupted the interpreter, with a face of great alarm. "So that's your notion of propriety! You would consort with the basest criminals, and yet deem simple embezzlement a bar to friendly intercourse. I cannot understand you."

"But I am poor myself," cried I.

"You *were*," said he; "and you were liable to be severely punished for it,—indeed, at the council which was held concerning you, this fact was very nearly consigning you to what I should myself consider a well-deserved chastisement" (for he was getting angry, and so was I); "but the queen was so inquisitive, and wanted so much to see you, that she petitioned the king, and made him give you his pardon, and assign you a pension in consideration

---

done by one pound of force acting through a distance of one foot, and one horsepower equals the power necessary to lift a total mass of 33,000 pounds one foot in one minute.

29 jaundice A morbid condition caused by obstruction of the bile and characterised by yellowness of the skin and the whites of the eyes.

29 pleurisy Inflammation of the membrane surrounding the lung, resulting in sharp chest pain when breathing or coughing.

45 pension A regular payment made to a person of rank or a royal favourite to enable him or her to live to an expected standard.

---

22 raise,] raise~~)~~ **23 power) … table;]** power) and keeps a capital table: **24 Erewhon."]** ~~[?Pantatenalla] [?genitonia]. Erewhon.~~ ^Erewhon.^ **25 heard … that]** heard this I confess that **inquired]** enquired **26 considered in the]** considered ~~among~~ ^in^ the **27 answer; "no]** answer. "No **higher."]** higher, **29 pleurisy,]** pleurisy **31 I, rather]** I rather **32 my character;]** my ~~own~~ character, **35 If … interpreter,]** If he were ill or poor – "Ill or poor," interrupted the interpreter **36 that's your]** that's ~~is~~ your **38–40 [understand … he; "and]** understand you". "But I'm poor myself" cried I. "You were" – said he, and **40–1 for … indeed,]** for it – indeed **42–5 well-deserved … assign]** well deserved ~~puni~~ chastisement – (for

---

44–63 the King, and … begun my journey!: f. 68r.

E2, dealings E9 **28 answer]** manner E2, E9 **29 pleurisy, and]** pleurisy or E2 E9 **34 poor"—]** poor—" E2, E9 **44 king,]** king E2, King E9

of your ignorance of the law and your excellent physique. It is lucky for you that he has not heard what you have been saying now, or he would be sure to cancel it."

As I heard these words my heart sank within me. I felt the extreme difficulty of my position, and how unwise it would be for me to run counter to prevailing prejudices, however revolting they might be to me. I remained silent for several minutes; then, having got myself under control, I said that I fancied I had made a mistake, and that I should be happy to accept the embezzler's invitation,—on which my instructor brightened, and said I was a sensible fellow. But I felt very uncomfortable. When he had left the room, I mused over the conversation which had just taken place between us, but I could make nothing out of it, except that it argued an even greater perversity of mental vision than I had been yet prepared for. And this made me wretched; for I cannot bear having much to do with people who think differently from myself. All sorts of wandering thoughts kept coming into my head. I thought of my master's hut, and my seat upon the mountain side, where I had first conceived the insane idea of exploring. What years and years seemed to have passed since I had begun my journey!

I thought of my adventures in the gorge, and on the journey hither, and of Chowbok. I wondered what Chowbok told them about me when he got back,—he had done well in going back, Chowbok had. He was not handsome—nay, he was hideous; and it would have gone hardly with him. Twilight drew on, and rain pattered against the windows. Never yet in my life

---

he was getting ~~very~~ angry and so was I) but the queen was so ~~very~~ inquisitive & wanted so much to see you that she came round round the king, and made him give you ^his^ ~~an express~~ pardon ~~for this very offence,~~ and assign **46 It is lucky]** It's lucky **47–8 or he … it."]** or ~~I am very sure~~ he ~~would cancel it.~~ he would be sure to cancel it. **49 me.]** ~; **50–1 counter … however]** counter to ~~the~~ ^prevailing^ prejudices ~~of the country~~ however **52 minutes; then,]** minutes; ~~and~~ then **control,]** control **54 invitation,—on]** invitation: on **54–5 brightened, … room,]** brightened and said ^~~[?]~~^ I was a sensible fellow: but I felt very uncomfortable: when he had left the room **57 it, …argued]** it except that it ~~was~~ argued **59 wretched;]** ~, **61 hut,]** hut **61–2 side, where]** side, when **62 exploring. What]** exploring: what **63–4 journey! I]** journey! ~~[?not] at last.~~ I **64 gorge,]** gorge **64–5 hither, … wondered]** hither, of Chowbok – ~~(~~I wondered **66 back,—he]** back~~)~~ – he **back, Chowbok]** back Chowbok **66–7 handsome … hideous;]** handsome – nay he was hideous – **68 on,]** on **windows. Never]** windows. ~~I felt profoundly wretched~~ ^~~miserable~~^ ~~and yet when I attempted to pray my attention wandered everywhere save to the throne of grace.~~ Never **68–9 so … except]** so ~~profoundly~~ ^unhappy^ ~~wretched~~ except

---

64–8 I thought of … against the windows.: f. 69r.
68–79 Never yet in … was much better.: f. 70r.

---

46 ignorance … physique.] meritorious complexion. E2, E9 **50–1 unwise … I]** wicked I should be in running counter to established usage. I E2, E9 **52 minutes … I]** minutes, and then said that I E2, E9 **54 brightened,]** brightened E2, E9

had I felt so unhappy, except during three days of sea-sickness at the beginning of my voyage from England. I sat musing and in great melancholy, until Yram made her appearance with light and supper. She too, poor girl, was miserable; for she had heard that I was to leave them. She had made up her mind that I was to remain always in the town, even after my imprisonment was over; and I fancy, had resolved to marry me, though I had never so much as hinted at her doing so. So, what with the distressingly strange conversation with my teacher, my own friendless condition, and Yram's melancholy, I felt more unhappy than I can describe, and remained so till I got to bed, and sleep sealed my eyelids.

On awaking next morning I was much better. It was settled that I was to make my start in a conveyance which was to be in waiting for me at about eleven o'clock; and the anticipation of change put me in good spirits, which even the tearful face of Yram could hardly altogether derange. I kissed her again and again, assured her that we should meet hereafter, and that in the meanwhile I should be ever mindful of her kindness. I gave her two of the buttons off my coat and a lock of my hair as a keepsake, taking a goodly curl from her own beautiful head in return: and so, having said good-bye a hundred times, till I was fairly overcome with her great sweetness and her sorrow, I tore myself away from her, and got down-stairs to the calèche which was in waiting. How thankful I was when it was all over, and I was driven away and out of sight. Would that I could have felt that it was out of

69 sea-sickness On his boat voyage to NZ, SB witnessed the 'the horrible sea sickness of most of the passengers' but claimed not to have suffered himself (OE 1, 103).
88 calèche A light carriage with low wheels and a removable folding hood or top.

69 sea-sickness] sea sickness **70–1 England … until]** England. [*uwr* England [*several words indecipherable*] and I thought of her and [?] quite [? ?]][*owr* ~~Hail hail holy light haily holy light offspring of heaven firstborn or of [?] the eternal coeternal beam [?]~~ ^~~And so~~ I sat musing and in great melancholy^ . until **71–2 light … miserable;]** light & super. She too ^poor girl^ was miserable, **72 them. She]** them; she **73 town,]** town **74–5 over; … So, what]** over, and I fancy had ~~mad~~ resolved to marry me at which I [?saw] that I had never so much as hinted. So what **76–7 with my … describe,]** with ~~th~~ my teacher, my own friendless condition and Yram's melancholy I ~~really~~ felt more unhappy than I can ~~possibly~~ describe **78 bed,]** bed **79 On]** on **better. It]** better: ~~my own~~ ^~~belief~~^ ~~[?positi]~~ ~~However.~~ It **80 start in]** start ~~next~~ ^~~that~~^ ~~morning~~ in **81 o'clock;]** o'clock, **81 in good]** in ~~very~~ good **83 meet … and]** meet ~~again~~ ^hereafter^ and **84 kindness. I]** kindess – I **85 coat and]** coat & **keepsake, … goodly]** keepsake, ~~and took~~ ^taking^ a goodly **86–7 head … overcome]** head ~~which I have still by me;~~ ^in return:^ and so, having said good bye again and again till I was ~~fairly~~ ^fairly^ overcome **88 down-stairs]** down stairs **89–90 it was … Would that]** it was ~~fairly~~ ^ all^ over and I was driven ^away and^ out of sight – would that

79–111 It was settled … a reception, and: f. 71r.

74 fancy,] fancy E2, E9 **me,]** me E2, E9 **75 So,]** So E2, E9 **88 her,]** her E2, E9

sight. Would that I could have felt that it was out of mind also! Pray heaven that it is so now, and that she is married happily among her own people, and has forgotten me!

And now began a long and tedious journey, with which I should hardly trouble the reader if I could. He is safe, however, for the simple reason that I was blindfolded during the greater part of the time. A bandage was put upon my eyes every morning, and was only removed at night when I reached the inn at which we were to pass the night. We travelled slowly, although the roads were good. We drove but one horse, which took us our day's journey from morning till evening, about six hours, exclusive of two hours' rest in the middle of the day. I do not suppose we made above thirty or thirty-five miles on an average. Each day we had a fresh horse. As I have said already, I could see nothing of the country. I can only say that it was level, and that several times we had to cross large rivers in ferry-boats. The inns were clean and comfortable. In one or two of the larger towns they were quite sumptuous, and the food was good and well-cooked. The same wonderful health and grace and beauty prevailed everywhere.

I found myself an object of great interest; so much so, that the driver told me he had to keep our route secret, and at times go to places that were not directly on our road, in order to avoid the press that would otherwise have awaited us. Every evening I had a reception, and grew heartily tired of having to say the same things over and over again in answer to the same questions, but it was impossible to be angry with guests whose manners were so delightful. They never once asked after my health, or even whether I was fatigued with my journey; but their first question was almost invariably an inquiry after my temper, the *naïveté* of which astonished me

---

91 also! Pray] also, – pray **92–3 own … me!]** own ~~kindsfolk,~~ ^people^ and has forgotten me. **94 journey,]** journey **95 could. … for]** could; ~~but cannot do so~~ ^he is safe however^ for **96 time. A bandage]** time. ~~The~~ ^A^ bandage **97 and … only]** and ^was^ only **98–9 the inn … horse,]** the apartment that was assigned for my repose. We travelled slowly although the roads ~~seemed~~ ^were^ ~~pretty~~ good: we ~~had~~ ^drove^ but one horse **100 evening … hours']** evening about six hours exclusive of two hours **101–2 thirty-five]** thirty five **102 average. Each]** average: each **103 already,]** already **104–5 level, … larger]** level, ~~with scarcely any ascents or descents and certainly no considerable hills~~ ^and that several times we had to cross ~~very~~ large rivers in ferry boats.^ : the inns were clean and comfortable – ~~nay~~ in one or two ^of the^ larger **106 well-cooked.]** well cooked. **108 myself … much so,]** myself the object of intense interest, so much so **109 secret,]** secret **110 road,]** road **111 us. … grew]** us: but each night I had a ~~regular~~ reception & grew **113 questions,]** ~: **113–14 angry … delightful.]** angry with them, for their manners were delightful. **114 health,]** health **115–16 journey; … inquiry]** journey, but ^their first question was^ almost invariably ~~the first question that was addressed me was~~ an enquiry

---

111–31 grew heartily tired … smooth enough generally.: f. 72^{r}.

---

94 journey,] journey E2, E9 **103 can only say]** only know E2, E9 **109 times go]** times to go E2, E9

till I became used to it. One day, being tired and cold, and weary of saying the same thing over and over again, I turned a little brusquely on my questioner, and said that I was exceedingly cross, and that, in fact, I could hardly feel in a worse humour with myself and every one else than at that moment. To my surprise, I was met with the kindest expressions of condolence, and heard it buzzed about the room that I was in an ill temper; whereon people began to give me nice things to smell and to eat, which really did seem to have some temper-mending quality about them, for I soon felt pleased, and was at once congratulated upon being better. The next morning two or three people sent their servants to the hotel with sweetmeats, and inquiries whether I had quite recovered from my ill humour. On receiving the good things, I felt in half a mind to be ill-tempered every evening; but I disliked the condolences and the inquiries, and found it most comfortable to keep my natural temper, which is smooth enough generally.

Among those who came to visit me were some who had received a liberal education at the Colleges of Unreason, and taken the highest degrees in hypothetics, which are their principal study. These gentlemen had now settled down to various employments in the country, as

133 liberal education A liberal education has denoted different educational ideals at different times and places, but always carried the sense of social distinction evident in its classical origins as the elite form of education befitting a free man (from Lat. *līber*). Traditionally associated with broad knowledge and transferable powers of reason, it was costly and prepared men for no particular employment, but carried soft benefits as a hallmark of gentlemanliness: see Rothblatt 1976.

134 hypothetics SB's original spelling in the MS of E1 was 'hypotheticks', possibly an emulation of Swift's spellings in words like mathematicks or mechanicks (Swift 2005, 15, 21).

135–7 various employments … religion A somewhat representative list of the sorts of professions

118 turned … on] turned ~~somewhat sharply~~ ^a little brusquely^ on **119 cross, … could]** cross and that in fact I could **120 every one]** everyone **121 moment. … with]** moment: to my surprise I was met ~~not with an angry answer but~~ with **122 and heard]** and ^I^ heard **122–3 temper; … nice]** temper, ~~and~~ ^whereon^ people ~~at once gave me~~ ^began to give me^ ~~all sorts of~~ nice **123 eat,]** eat **124 temper-mending]** temper mending **125 felt … was]** felt ~~all over smiles~~ ^pleased^ and was **125–6 upon … next]** upon ~~my~~ being better: ~~even~~ the next **126–7 hotel… inquiries]** hotel with ^sweet meets and^ enquiries **128 humour. … good]** humour; ~~at first on having received~~ ^on receiving^ the good **128–9 ill-tempered … evening;]** ill tempered every evening, **129 inquiries,]** enquiries, **130 temper,]** temper **131–2 generally. Among]** generally. ~~I may as well say here that I had already discovered the secret of the museum full of old machine, and the reason for the apparent retrogression in all arts sciences and inventions: for~~ [*uwr* a][*owr* A]mong **132–3 a liberal]** a ~~very~~ liveral **133 Unreason,]** Unreason **134 hypothetics, … gentlemen]** hypothetics ~~(~~wh: is their principal study;~~)~~ these gentlemen

132–66 Among those who … before the statues.: f. 73r. At the top of this page SB deleted several lines: *see app*.

119 questioner,] questioner E2, E9 **125 pleased,]** E9, pleased E2 **128 things,]** things E2, E9

straighteners, managers and cashiers of the musical banks, priests of religion, or what not; and carrying their education with them, they diffused a leaven of culture throughout the country. I naturally questioned them about many of the things which had puzzled me since my arrival. I inquired what was the object and meaning of the statues which I had seen upon the plateau of the pass. I was told that they dated from an exceedingly remote period, and that there were several other such groups in the country, but none so remarkable as the one which I had seen. They had a religious origin, having been designed to propitiate the gods of deformity and disease. In former times it had been the custom to make expeditions over the ranges, and capture the ugliest of Chowbok's ancestors whom they could find, in order to sacrifice them in the presence of these deities, and thus avert ugliness and disease from the Erewhonians themselves. It had been whispered (but my informant assured me untruly) that at a remote period they had even offered up some of their own people who were ugly or out of health, in order to make examples of them. These detestable customs, however, had been long discontinued; neither was there any present observance of the statues, save a yearly procession round them, which was still continued, but without

that mid-19th cent. Cambridge graduates undertook. Alienists, satirised here as straighteners, were not typically products solely of a liberal education: most, including Henry Maudsley and Lyttleton Forbes Winslow (see Ch. 11, E9 additions **b** and Ch. 11, l. 2n) had medical degrees followed by practical experience in asylums. However, the list does reflect the fact that a high proportion of Cambridge graduates took up clerical careers: see Gen. Int, 15.

136 straighteners See Ch. 10, l. 25n.

138 leaven of culture Across the 19th cent. several notable social critics, who shared a concern about the role of culture in British national life, supported the idea of an intellectual class or clerisy. This intellectual group would value learning in all branches of knowledge and embody the best of the country's cultural heritage; crucially, it would act as a leaven to the national standard of intellectual life. The proposal was first advanced by Coleridge in *On the Constitution of the Church and State* (1830), and was taken up by several public figures in the course of the century, including Thomas Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, John Stuart Mill, in the context of what they perceived as a trend toward social and cultural disintegration: see Knights.

137–8 country, … diffused] country as straighteners ~~cashiers of~~ ^managers and cashiers of^ the musical banks, priests of religion or what not but ~~continued to~~ carried their education with them and diffused **139 inquired]** enquired **141 period,]** period **142 several other]** several ~~such~~ other **143–4 origin, … former]** origin being designed in order to propitiate the gods of deformity ~~dep~~ and disease: in former **145–6 custom … find,]** custom to ~~catch~~ ~~the ugliest~~ make expeditions over the ranges and capture the ugliest of ~~the~~ ~~natives~~ Chowbok's ancestors ~~that~~ ^whom^ they could find, **147 deities, … avert]** deities[*uwr* :][*owr* ,] ^and thus^ ~~and~~ avert **148 themselves. …whispered]** themselves: it had been ~~even~~ whispered **149–52 offered … neither]** offered up ~~anyone~~ ~~who~~ ~~was~~ ^some of their own people who were out of health^ ugly or ~~deformed~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~ in order to make ~~an~~ examples of them: ~~all this however~~ ^these detetestable customs however^ had been long discontinued neither **152 statues,]** statues **153–5 which … done]** which was ^still^ continued ~~from~~

136 musical banks,] E2, Musical Banks E9 **137 them,]** them E2, E9 **141 an exceedingly]** a very E2, E9 **149 at a remote period]** centuries ago E2, E9 **151 them. These]** E2, them; these

sacrifices, and rather from habit than from any superstitious feeling. I had the curiosity to inquire what would be done to any of Chowbok's tribe if they crossed over into Erewhon. I was told that nobody knew, inasmuch as such a thing had not happened for centuries. They would be too ugly to be allowed to go at large, but not so much so as to be criminally liable. Their offence in having come would be a moral one; but they would be beyond the straightener's art. Possibly they would be consigned to the Hospital for Incurable Bores, and made to work at being bored for so many hours a day; in fact, that they would be kept as professional bores. When I heard this, it occurred to me that some rumours of its substance might perhaps have become current among Chowbok's people; for the agony of his fear had been too great to have been inspired by the mere dread of being burnt alive before the statues.

I also questioned them about the museum of old machines, and the cause of the apparent retrogression in all arts, sciences, and inventions. I learnt that about four hundred years previously, the state of mechanical knowledge was far beyond our own, and was advancing with prodigious rapidity, until one of the most learned professors of hypothetics wrote an extraordinary book (from which I propose to give extracts later on), proving that the machines were ultimately destined to supplant the race of man, and to become instinct with a vitality as different from and superior to that of animals, as animal to vegetable life. So convincing was his reasoning, or

---

~~habit,~~ but without ~~any superstitions reverences~~ sacrifices, and rather from habit than with any ~~deep~~ superstitious feeling. ~~I could now understand Chowbok's aversion~~ ^awe of^ ~~to the main range; and [?his] of the statues. He was doubtless under the impression that all strangers would even now be sacrificed, and feared to bring about a~~ ^an^ ~~possible incursion of Erewhonians which might [? di?] the destruction of himself and his tribe. I enquired out of curiosity what would be~~ I enquired from curiosity what would be done **156–7 Erewhon. … centuries. They]** Erewhon – I was told that nobody knew inasmuch as ~~there was~~ such ~~an~~ ^a^ ~~instinctive antipathy between the races~~ thing had not happened for centuries : they **158 large, … Their]** large,. but not ~~sufficiently~~ so ^much so as^ to be ~~considered s~~ criminally liable: their **159–60 one; … Possibly]** one, but ~~no straightener would be able to [?much] for them~~: ^they would be beyond the straightener's art^ possibly **160–1 Hospital … Bores,]** hospital for incurable bores **161–2 bored … when I]** bored ^for^ so many hours a day. When I **163–4 rumours … current]** rumours of ~~this~~ its substance ^might perhaps have^ ~~had~~ become current **165 mere dread]** mere ~~fear~~ dread **167 machines,]** machines **168 arts, sciences,]** arts sciences **169 previously,]** previously **170 beyond our own,]** beyond even our own **170–1 rapidity, … wrote]** rapidity until ~~some~~ ^one^ of the ^most learned^ professors ^of hypotheticks^ wrote **172 extracts … proving]** extracts ~~shortly,~~ ^later on^) ~~and~~ proving **173 ultimately destined]** destined ultimately **174–5 superior … So]** superior to that ^of^ animals, ~~and~~ as ~~the~~ animal to ~~the~~

167–93 I also questioned … of the Machines.: f. 74r.

---

157 centuries] ages E2, E9 **161–2 day; in … in fact,]** E2, day by the Erewhonian inhabitants of the hospital, who are extremely impatient of one another's boredom, but would soon die if they had no one whom they might bore—in fact, E9 **174 from]** E2, ~, E9 **superior to]** E2, superior to, E9

reasoning (or unreasoning) to this effect, that he carried the country with him; and they made a clean sweep of all machinery that had not been in use for more than two hundred and seventy-one years (which period was arrived at after a series of compromises), and strictly forbade all further improvements and inventions under pain of being considered in the eye of the law to be labouring under typhus fever, which, in their eyes, is one of the worst of all crimes.

This is the only case in which they have confounded mental and physical diseases, and they do it even here as by an avowed legal fiction. I became uneasy when I remembered about my watch; but they comforted me with the assurance that transgression in this matter was now so unheard of, that the law could afford to be lenient towards an utter stranger, especially towards one who had such a good character (they meant physique), and such beautiful light hair. Moreover the watch was a real curiosity, and would be a welcome addition to the metropolitan collection; so they did not think that I need let it trouble me seriously.

I will write, however, more fully upon this subject when I deal with the Colleges of Unreason, and the Book of the Machines.

In about a month from the time of our starting I was told that our journey was nearly over. The bandage was now dispensed with, it being considered impossible that I should ever be able to find my way back without being captured. Then we rolled merrily along through the streets of a handsome

---

vegetable ^life^. So **175–6 effect, that he … with him;]** effect that he carried the whole country with him, **176–9 machinery that had … and strictly]** machinery that had not been in use for more than 271 years (~~which period was arrived at after a series of compromises~~) ^~~[?] they did not feel pretty sure that they would keep well in hand~~ (which period was arrived at after a series of compromises)^ and strictly **180 and inventions]** or inventions **181–3 which, … is the only]** which ~~is~~ ^in their eyes is^ one of the~~ir most heinous~~ ^~~known~~^ ~~offences. This matter of new inventions is~~ ^~~machinery~~ This is^ the only **184 even here as]** even ~~there~~ ^here^ as **184–6 fiction. I became … that]** fiction. ~~I am afraid I shall be in a~~ I became ~~very~~ uneasy when I ~~heard all of this and~~ remembered about my watch, but they gave me comfort assuring me that **186 so unheard of, that]** so ~~exceedingly rare~~ ^unheard of^ that **187 utter]** complete **188–90 character (they … would be]** character ^(they meant physique)^ and such beautiful light hair: moreover this watch was a real curiosity, ~~which~~ ^and^ would be **190 collection;]** ~, **191 I need let]** I ~~ought to~~ ^need^ let **192 write, however,]** write however **193 Unreason, and … of the Machines.]** Unreason and the book of ^the^ machines. **194 month from … starting I]** month ^from the time of our starting^ I **195 over. The … with it, being]** over; ~~&~~ the bandage was ^now^ ~~taken off my eyes~~ ^dispensed with^ it being **197 captured. Then we rolled]** captured ~~as I must have lost count of it entirely.~~ Then we rolled

---

194–229 In about a … bowed deeply and: f. 75^{r}. On f. 75^{v} appear the words '17. pp. 18'.

---

176 reasoning … unreasoning) to] reasoning, or unreasoning, to E2, E9 **183 which ... is]** which they regard as E2, E9 **191 that]** E2, *om.* E9 **195–6 with, it … considered impossible]** with, for it seemed impossible E2, E9

town, and got on to a long, broad, and level road, with poplar trees on either side. The road was raised slightly above the surrounding country, and had formerly been a railway; the fields on either side were in the highest conceivable cultivation, and were now bursting into life under the advancing spring. The weather had got warmer more rapidly than could be quite accounted for by the progress of the season; so I felt sure that we must have been making towards the sun, and were some degrees nearer the equator than when we started; for the spring was earlier, and the vegetation more southern than even that of France. Yet there seemed no lack of vigour among the people; on the contrary, they were a very hardy race, and capable of great endurance. For the hundredth time I thought that, take them all round, I had never seen their equals; no, not in Italy itself, nor among our own choicest, for quiet self-contained good-breeding and easy courtesy. The flowers by the wayside were lovely, especially those of the narcissus, of which for the last fortnight I had had bundles and bundles offered me; but I was told that there would be other flowers still lovelier later on. The birds were plentiful and much as in Europe, but not tame as they had been on the other side the ranges. They were shot at with the cross-bow and with arrows, gunpowder being unknown, or at any rate not in use.

---

198 poplar trees Genus *Populus*, narrowly erect trees with ovate leaves, native to the Northern Hemisphere and common in Italy.

200–6 the fields … of France SB describes the climate and topography characteristic of a journey south from the mountainous northern regions that SB loved — Piedmont, Lombardy and the Aosta Valley — into the Po Basin or even northern Tuscany.

---

198 town, … road,] town and got on to a ~~very~~ long ~~&~~ broad and level road **199 side. The]** side: the **199–201 country, … cultivation]** country ^and had formerly been a railway; the fields on either side were^ ~~which was~~ in the highest conceivable cultivation **202 weather … got]** weather ~~seemed to have~~ ^had^ got **203 season; … sure]** season, so I felt ~~pretty~~ sure **204 sun, … degrees]** sun and ~~that we~~ were ~~several~~ ^some^ degrees **205 started;]** ~, **earlier,]** earlier **206 southern … there]** southern ^than^ even that of France; ~~in spite of which~~ ^yet^ there **207–10 people; … breeding]** people, but on the contrary they were a robust race ^and^ capable of great endurance: for the hundredth time I ~~wd~~ ~~say~~ ^thought^ that take them all round I ~~never found~~ ^had never seen^ their equal no not in Italy itself, nor ~~at~~ ^among^ our choicest; for quiet self contained god breeding **211–12 especially … which]** especially the narcissuses ~~which were abundant and~~ of which **212–13 me; … there]** me but I was told there **213–14 on … They]** on ~~of~~ the other side the ranges: they **215–17 cross-bow … We]** cross bow, – and with arrows, gunpowder being unknown ^or at any rate not in use^ ~~Now~~ – We

---

201–2 and were … advancing spring.] E2, but the harvest and also the vintage had been already gathered. E9 **202 warmer]** E2, cooler E9 **203 so … sure]** E2, so I rather thought that E9 **204 towards]** E2, away from E9 **nearer]** E2, farther from E9 **205–6 started; for ... seemed no]** E2, started. Even here the vegetation showed that the climate was a hot one, yet there was no **209–14 equals; no … The birds]** E2, equals in respect of physique, and they looked as good-natured as they were robust. The flowers were for the most part over, but their absence was in some measure compensated for by a profusion of delicious fruit, closely resembling the figs, peaches, and pears of Italy and France. I saw no wild animals, but birds E9

We were now nearing the metropolis and I could see great towers and fortifications, and lofty buildings that looked like palaces. I began to be nervous as to my reception; but I had got on very well so far, and resolved to continue upon the same plan as hitherto—namely, to behave just as though I were in England until I saw that I was making a blunder, and then to say nothing till I could gather how the land lay. We drew nearer and nearer. The news of my approach had got abroad, and there was a great crowd collected on either side the road, who greeted me with marks of most respectful curiosity, keeping me bowing constantly in acknowledgement from side to side. When we were about a mile off, we were met by the mayor and several councillors, among whom was a venerable old man, who was introduced to me by the mayor (for so I suppose I should call him) as the gentleman who had invited me to his house. I bowed deeply and told him how grateful I felt to him, and how gladly I would accept his hospitality. He forbade me to say more, and pointing to his carriage, which was close at hand, he motioned me to a seat therein. I again bowed profoundly to the mayor and councillors, and drove off with my entertainer, whose name was Senoj Nosnibor. After about half a mile the carriage turned off the main road, and we drove under the walls of the town till we reached a palazzo on a slight eminence, and just on the outskirts of

234 Senoj Jones backwards.
236 palazzo A palatial mansion, esp. in Italy. Mr Nosnibor's house is modelled on a type of *palazzo* that began to be built in Italy from the 14th cent. Situated just within or outside a city's walls, such villas were intended as a rural refuge for owners who were employed in civic activity. They were often surrounded by formal, terraced gardens, which deliberately emulated those of ancient Rome and sometimes contained Roman ruins, including sculpture. Such villas were typically located on hillsides near

218–19 began … reception;] began to ~~get very~~ ^be^ nervous as to my reception, **219–21 far, … until]** far and resolved to^ continue~~d~~ upon the same plan as hitherto, namely to be my most natural self for better or worse until **221–2 then … till]** then to bide quiet till **223 nearer. The news]** nearer. ~~The However. We drew near the city:~~ the news **abroad,]** abroad **224 crowd collected]** crowd gathered **225–6 curiosity, …When]** curiosity: keeping me bowing ~~from one side to the other in acknowledgement~~: ^constantly in acknowledgement from side to side^ when **226–8 off, … (for]** off we were met by the ~~chief magistrate of the town~~ ^Mayor^ and several councillors among whom was ~~a very~~ venerable old man who was introduced to be me by the Mayor (for **230 how … how]** how ~~deeply obliged I ought to feel~~ ^grateful I felt to him^ and how **231–2 hospitality. … motioned]** hospitality. ~~The old man~~ ^He^ stopped my saying more, ^and pointing^ ~~but pointed~~ to his carried which was close at hand, ~~and~~ ^he^ motioned **233 mayor and councillors,]** Mayor and councillors **233–4 entertainer,]** entertainer **224 Nosnibor … the]** Nosnibor: ^after about half a mile^ the **235 road, … under]** road ~~almost at this very spot,~~ and we drove ~~for a couple of miles~~ under **236 reached … eminence,]** reached a ~~magnificent~~ palazzo on ~~the outs~~ a slight eminence

229–43 told him how … most exquisite workmanship.: f. 76r. At the end of the folio is some deleted text: '~~than anything I can possibly describe the secret of their success seeming to me to lie in the fact that~~'.

226 side. When] E2, side. [*n.p.*] When E9 **227 mayor]** E2, Mayor, E9 **227 councillors,]** E2, Councillors, E9 **228 mayor]** E2, Mayor E9 **233 mayor and councillors]** E2, Mayor and Councillors E9

the city. This was Senoj Nosnibor's house, and nothing can be imagined finer. It was situated near the magnificent and venerable ruins of the old railway station, which formed an imposing feature from the gardens of the house. The grounds, some ten or a dozen acres in extent, were laid out in terraced gardens, one above the other, with flights of broad steps ascending and descending the declivity of the garden. On these steps there were statues of most exquisite workmanship. Besides the statues there were vases filled with beautiful bulbous flowers that were now coming into blossom; and on either side the staircases there were rows of huge old cypresses and cedars, with grassy alleys beneath them. Then came choice vineyards and orchards of fruit-trees which were unknown to me, and which were not yet in leaf. The house was approached by a court-yard, and round it was a corridor on to which rooms opened, as at Pompeii. In the middle of the court there was a bath and a fountain. Having passed the court we came to the main body of the house, which was two stories in height. The rooms were large and lofty; perhaps at first they looked rather bare of

natural springs, owing to the need for flowing water to supply the villa, maintain the gardens and power fountains.

246 cypress and cedars, *Cupressus sempervirens* and trees of the genus *cedrus*, both coniferous evergreens native to the Mediterranean and ubiquitous in Italy.

248–9 court-yard, … Pompeii SB may have had in mind the Villa of Diomedes, excavated at Pompeii from 1771–74. At the entrance to this villa was a large peristyle which featured a central pond and fountain. Mr Nosnibor's colonnaded courtyard reflects the legacy of ancient Roman architecture on those villas described above at l. 236n.

237–40 city. … ten] city: this was Senoj Nosnibor's house, and a ~~[? ?]~~ ~~finer one can hardly be imagined.~~ ~~It was situated in grounds~~ ^nothing can be imagined finer. It was situated near the magnificent and venerable ruins of the old railway station, which formed an imposing feature from ~~the~~ the gardens of the house: the grounds ~~were~~^ some ten **240 extent, were]** extent~~, which~~ were **241 gardens, … ascending]** gardens one after the other with flights of broad steps ~~and~~ ascending **242–3 garden. … Besides the]** garden: there were statues on these steps of most exquisite workmanship ~~than anything I can possibly describe the secret of their success seeming to me to lie in the fact that and warmed me towards it: {I was showed}~~ [*some text* missing] ~~–liath of Michael Angelo~~ ^~~both in the same [c ? t]~~^ ~~but they are different though doubtless far finer.~~ Beside the **245 blossom;]** blossom, **245–6 staircases … cedars,]** staircases were ^avenues of^ huge old cypresses and cedars **247 fruit-trees]** fruit trees **me,]** me **248 leaf. The]** leaf: the **248–50 court-yard, ... middle]** courtyard round which was a corridor on to which ~~the~~ rooms opened ~~as in a Pompeian house~~: ^as at Pompeii^ in the middle **250–2 fountain. … perhaps]** fountain, ~~Through~~ ^Having passed^ the court ^we^ came ^to^ the main body of the house which was two stories in height: the rooms were large and lofty: perhaps

243–58 Beside the statues … before and since.: f. 77^{r}. At the top of the folio are three lines of deleted text: 'and warmed me towards it: {I was showed}-liath of Michael Angelo ^both in the same [c ? t]^ but they are different though doubtless far finer. Beside'.

237 Senoj.] Senoj E2, E9 244 **beautiful … flowers]** E2, various shrubs E9 **244–5 now coming into blossom]** E2, new to me E9 **245 staircases]** E2, flights of steps E9 **huge]** E2, *om*. E9 **246 beneath]** E2, between E9 **248 which were …house was]** E2, in full bearing. [*n.p.*] The house itself was E9

furniture, but this was an advantage later on, when the weather became hot. I missed also the sight of a grand piano or some similar instrument, there being no means of producing music in any of the rooms save the chief saloon, where there were half a dozen large brass gongs, which the ladies used occasionally to beat about at random. It was not pleasant to hear them, but I have heard quite as unpleasant music both before and since.

Mr Nosnibor took me through several spacious rooms till we reached a boudoir where were his wife and daughters, of whom I had heard from the interpreter. Mrs Nosnibor was about forty years old, and still handsome, but she had grown very stout: her daughters were in the prime of youth and exquisitely beautiful. I gave the preference almost at once to the younger, whose name was Arowhena; for the elder sister was haughty while the younger had a very winning manner. Mrs Nosnibor received me with the perfection of courtesy, so that I must have indeed been shy and nervous if

---

256 saloon Alternative spelling of salon. Elegantly furnished reception room in a great house; also a drawing room.

264 Arowhena SB's inspiration for this name was Arowhenua, a Ngāi Tahu settlement in South Canterbury, which lies just south of the Pākehā town at Temuka. The very small Māori population living in South Canterbury in the mid-19th cent was located principally at Arowhenua and Waimate (a settlement nearer the coast, 28 miles south of Timaru); these were the only two indigenous reserves set aside after the South Canterbury purchase from Ngāi Tahu in 1848. Daniels has summarised other speculations on the derivation of the name: these conjectures link the name to Arowhena, a settlement which SB never visited near the Waikato in the NI, the heroine Rowena in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819) and a farfetched anagrammatic rendering of a–n–e–w–h–o–r–e (129).

---

253 this was … later on,] this ~~made them look cool~~ ^was an advantage^ later on **253–4 hot. I]** hot: ~~besides their extreme aversion to machinery all kinds has made furniture a rarer & costlier luxury than with us.~~ I **254 similar instrument]** equivalent instrument **255 music in]** music – in **256 saloon,]** saloon **gongs,]** gongs **257–9 random. It … Mr Nosnibor]** random. ~~It was not pleasant to hear them but it~~ ^It was not ~~[–?]~~ pleasant to hear them, but I have –^ ~~was pleasanter than a great deal of the piano-forte playing which one~~ ^heard quite as unpleasant music both before and since.^ ~~hears from young ladies in England, and I could wish that in some houses the piano was sold and the gongs set up instead, of which however there seems at present small likelihood.~~ Mr Nosnibor **260 daughters, of whom]** daughters whom **261 interpreter. Mrs Nosnibor was]** interpreter. ~~The wife~~ ^M^rs^ Nosnibor^ was **262–4 stout: her … haughty while]** stout; the daughters were in the prime of youth and ~~nothing can be imagined more~~ ^exquisitely^ beautiful: I gave the preference ~~of~~ ^almost at once^ to the younger whose name was Arowhena, for the ~~other~~ ^elder sister^ was ~~more~~ haughty ~~in her manner~~, while **265 manner. … received]** manner: ~~all~~ ^M^rs^ Nosnibor received **266 courtesy,]** courtesy

---

259–88 Mr Nosnibor took … a little faster.: f. 78^r^. At the top of the page are lines of deleted text: '~~hears from young ladies in England, and I could wish~~ ~~that in some houses the piano was sold and the gongs set~~ ~~up instead, of which however there seems at present small~~ ~~likelihood~~'. On f. 78^v^ SB wrote '20 pp. 28 lines. = 31 pp of 30 lines to the page – not counting spaces for chapters'.

---

253 but this … became hot.] E2, but in hot climates people generally keep their rooms more bare than they do in colder ones. E9 **256 chief saloon]** larger drawing–room E2, E9 **256 brass]** E2, bronze E9 **264 haughty]** ~, E2, E9

I had not at once felt welcome. Scarcely was the ceremony of my introduction well completed before a servant announced that dinner was ready in the next room. I was exceedingly hungry and the dinner was beyond all praise. Can the reader wonder that I began to consider myself in excellent quarters? "That man embezzle money?" thought I to myself; "impossible."

But I noticed that my host was uneasy during the whole meal, and towards the end of it there came a tall lean man with a black beard, to whom Mr Nosnibor and the whole family paid great attention: he was the family straightener. With this gentleman Mr Nosnibor retired into another room, from which there presently proceeded a sound of weeping and wailing. I could hardly believe my ears, but in a few minutes I got to know for a certainty that they came from Mr Nosnibor himself.

"Poor papa," said Arowhena, as she helped herself composedly to the salt, "how terribly he has suffered."

"Yes," answered her mother; "but I think he is quite out of danger now."

Then they went on to explain to me the circumstances of the case, and the treatment which the straightener had prescribed and how successful he had been—all which I will reserve for another chapter, and put rather in the form of a general summary of the opinions current upon these subjects than in the exact form in which the facts were delivered to me. I also propose to give certain other Erewhonian views of things in general, which I shall never arrive at if I do not hurry on a little faster.

267–8 welcome. … before] welcome: ~~shortly~~ ^scarcely^ had the ceremony of my introduction been well complete, before **270 praise. Can]** praise. ~~as also the wine.~~ Can **271–3 myself; … tall]** myself - "Impossible." But after dinner there made his appearance a tall **273–4 beard, … Mr]** beard to whom M^r^ **274–7 attention: … know]** attention. He was the family straightener: with this gentleman Mr Nosnibor retired into another room – from which thence presently proceded a sound of ~~sundry howls:~~ ^weeping and wailing:^ I could hardly believe my ears, but ~~I afterwards~~ ~~came~~ ^in a few minutes got^ to know **279–81 papa," … Then]** papa" said Arowhena ^as she helped herself ~~to the salt~~ composedly to the salt,^ "how terribly he has suffered." "Yes" answered her mother, "but I think he is quite safe now." Then **282 case,]** case **285–7 general … general, which]** general resumé of the ~~current~~ opinions ^current^ upon the subject ~~and~~ than in the exact form in which ~~it was~~ ^the facts were^ delivered to me. I ~~will~~ also propose to ~~write with it their~~ ~~views on~~ ^give certain other Erewhonian views of^ things in general ~~as I discerned them to exist during my stay in the country and~~ which **288 not … faster.]** not begin to hurry on a little faster

---

269 hungry] E2, ~, E9 **273 and towards … of it]** E2, and that he ate nothing but a little bread and milk; towards the end of dinner **283 prescribed]** ~, **286 form]** E2, words E9 **286–87 me. … faster]** me; the reader, however, is earnestly requested to believe that both in this next chapter and in those that follow it I have endeavoured to adhere most conscientiously to the strictest accuracy, and that I have never willingly misrepresented, though it is possible that I may have sometimes failed to understand all the bearings of an opinion or custom. E2, me; the ... misrepresented, though I may have sometimes failed to understand all the bearings of an opinion or custom. E9

CHAPTER X.

CURRENT OPINIONS.

THIS is what I gathered. That in that country if a man falls into ill health, or catches any disorder, or fails bodily in any way before he is seventy years old, he is tried before a jury of his countrymen, and if convicted is held up to public scorn and sentenced more or less severely as the case may be. There are subdivisions of illnesses into crimes and misdemeanours as with offences amongst ourselves—a man being punished very heavily for serious illness, while failure of eyes or hearing in one over sixty-five who has had good health hitherto is dealt with by fine only, or imprisonment in default of payment. But if a man forges a cheque, or sets his house on fire,

---

2 CURRENT OPINIONS The format of Ch. 10 is an epistemological joke. Its summary of current opinion parodies the dialectical method of reasoning that Aristotle employs in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (NE), a logical process that takes *endoxa* (ἔνδοξα), or common opinion, as the starting point for ethical enquiry. Aristotle proposed to begin new fields of enquiry by laying out the *phainomena*, or what appears to be the case, then amassing *endoxa* on the topic: he assumed that what common people think probably contains truth, but may give rise to apparent contradiction. The philosopher's task is to resolve the puzzles that accumulated *endoxa* present. The word *endoxa* signified for Aristotle something more stable and limited than mere *doxa* (δοξα), or belief: *endoxa* are opinions that have gained reliability by being widely endorsed, or if not widely, then at least by wise or notable people (See Kraut, 77–80). The wording of the chapter title may be indebted to the 1847 Drummond Chase translation of NE, the version recommended for CT students by the 1860s (Seeley 1863, 181). Chase translates *endoxa* as opinions 'most generally current, or thought to have some reason in them' (at 1.1.4).

3 gathered In the sense of inferring information or collecting (*endoxa*).

3–7 if a man … case may be This first *endoxon* is an allusion to *Elements of Social Science; on, Physical, Sexual, and Natural Religion* (1860), by physician George Drysdale (1824–1904), first published anonymously as *Physical, Sexual, and Natural Religion* (1855). Drysdale's core argument was that 'the laws of health' were 'as little reverenced as understood' (1) in mid-Victorian Britain, entailing a variety of undesirable consequences: women were subject to crippling models of excessive modesty, the medical profession was neglected, society stigmatised pre-marital sexual relationships and everywhere healthy sexual impulses were repressed. Drysdale proposed contraception as a remedy for 'the three primary social evils: poverty, prostitution, and celibacy' (3) and carried this recommendation to radical conclusions: contraception would permit early marriage, necessitating new divorce legislation; publicly avowed relationships would be preferable, with contracts to protect children and a change of partners permitted when relationships failed. SB probably discovered *Elements* around the time of his emigration to NZ and discovered it through Dudgeon (see l. 148n below). His own, lightly annotated copy is now in the SJC archives.

7–11 subdivisions of illnesses … default of payment Aristotle's ethical enquiry in NE forms the

---

1 CHAPTER X.] Chapter ~~VI~~ X **2 CURRENT OPINIONS]** "Current Opinions" **3 This]** [*Torn page corner*]is **scorn]** ~, 7 **be. There … subdivisions]** be: there ~~being~~ ^are^ subdivisions **7–8 misdemeanours … amongst]** mis de< >urs as with ~~moral diseases~~ ^offences^ amongst **8–9 for serious]** for ~~more~~ serious **9 hearing in … sixty-five]** hearing ~~in a man~~ ^in one^ over sixty five **10 only,]** only

---

1–32 CHAPTER X. … course of treatment.: f. 79^{v}.

or robs with violence from the person, or does any other such things as are criminal in our own country, he is either taken to a hospital, and most carefully tended at the public expense, or if he is in good circumstances, he lets it be known to all his friends that he is indisposed, just as we do when we are ill, and they come and visit him with great solicitude, and inquire with interest how it all came about, what symptoms first showed themselves, and so forth,—questions which he will answer with perfect unreserve; for bad conduct, though considered no less deplorable than illness with ourselves, and as unquestionably indicating something seriously wrong with the individual who misbehaves, is nevertheless held to be the result of either pre-natal or post-natal misfortune. I should add that under certain circumstances poverty is considered criminal.

---

broad philosophical backdrop to SB's engagement with a contemporary text in this chapter. Loosely relevant to SB's classifications of illness-related crime is Aristotle's discussion of individual ethics in relation to the legal systems of the *polis* in Book 10. SB's interest in the normative social function of friendship (at ls 35–45 below) could be read in terms of Aristotle's discussion of *philia*, roughly translated as friendship, in Books 8 and 9. Henceforth, only specific references to NE are elucidated.

12–14 robs with violence … public expense Drysdale claimed that prostitutes should be regarded as 'unfortunates' (21) rather than criminals, deserving care rather than opprobrium. They contravened fewer physical laws than those in respectable but sedentary employment, but since society stigmatised healthy sexual expression in the form of 'unmarried intercourse' (270), prostitutes suffered as martyrs to the sexual passions of men, through venereal disease, unwanted pregnancies and social degradation.

19–22 bad conduct … misfortune For Drysdale, good physical health was too often 'thought of as a blessing bestowed by providence, or inherited from our parents, with the attainment of which the individual's self has comparatively little to do […] While the infringement of a moral law involves the deepest guilt, and is considered worthy of infinite punishment, to break a physical one, and thereby incur disease, is not deemed an offence at all, but only a misfortune' (1).

23 poverty … criminal Drysdale adopted a Malthusian analysis of the cause of poverty: in times of economic abundance population growth eventually outpaces agricultural production and the lower classes suffer. No moral culpability could, in Drysdale's view, therefore be ascribed to the poor: 'The disproportion between the numbers and the food is the only real cause of social poverty. Individual cases of poverty may be produced by individual misconduct, such as drunkenness, ignorance, laziness, or disease; but these […] must be wholly thrown out of the question in considering the permanent cause […] Drunkenness and ignorance moreover, are far more frequently the *effect* than the *cause* of poverty' (340–1). Drysdale's was but one voice in a broader debate about the causes and remedies of poverty in Victorian Britain: see, e.g., Ch, 22, ls 62–5.

---

12 violence … are] violence ^from the person^ or does any ~~of the~~ other ^such^ things ~~which~~ ^as^ are **13 country,]** country **hospital,]** hospital **14 expense, … he]** expence, or ^if^ he **15 he is … just]** he has a severe ^crime ^~~mortal malady~~^ ~~crim~~ just **16 inquire]** enquire **17 it … came]** it ^all^ came **18 themselves,]** themselves **forth,— … answer]** forth, all of which questions he answers **19–28 unreserve; for … They are treated]** *see app.*

---

13 hospital,] hospital E2, E9 **15 indisposed]** suffering from a severe fit of immorality E2, E9 **22–3 I should … considered criminal.]** E2, *om., see below* E9

postnatal misfortune.

The strange part of the story, however, is that though they ascribe moral defects to the effect of misfortune either in character or surroundings, they will not listen to the plea of misfortune in cases that in England meet

Accordingly, there exists a class of men trained in soul-craft, whom they call straighteners, as nearly as I can translate a word which literally means **25**

---

25 straighteners SB lifted the word 'straightener', and its literal meaning, from NE, 2.4.6: 'ὅπερ οἱ τὰ *διεστραμμένα* τῶν ξύλων ὀρθοῦντες ποιοῦσιν' *lit.* 'in the same way as those straightening warped

---

with sympathy and commiseration only. Ill luck of any kind, or even ill treatment at the hands of others, is considered an offence against society, inasmuch as it makes people uncomfortable to hear of it. Loss of fortune, therefore, or loss of some dear friend on whom another was much dependent, is punished hardly less severely than physical delinquency.

Foreign, indeed, as such ideas are to our own, traces of somewhat similar opinions can be found even in nineteenth–century England. If a person has an abscess, the medical man will say that it contains [a]"peccant" matter, and people say that they have a "bad" arm or finger, or that they are very "bad" all over, when they only mean "diseased." Among foreign nations Erewhonian opinions may be still more clearly noted. The [b]Mahommedans, for example, to this day, send their female prisoners to hospitals, and the [c]New Zealand Maories visit any misfortune with forcible entry into the house of the offender, and the breaking up and burning of all his goods. [d]The Italians, again, use the same word for "disgrace" and "misfortune." [e]I once heard an Italian lady speak of a young friend whom she described as endowed with every virtue under heaven, "ma," she exclaimed, "povero disgraziato, ha ammazzato suo zio." ("Poor unfortunate fellow, he has murdered his uncle.")

On mentioning this, which I heard when taken to Italy as a boy by my father, the person to whom I told it showed no surprise. He said that he had been driven for two or three years in a certain city by a [f]young Sicilian cabdriver of prepossessing manners and appearance, but then lost sight of him. On asking what had become of him, he was told that he was in prison for having shot at his father with intent to kill him—happily without serious result. Some years later my informant again found himself warmly accosted by the prepossessing young cabdriver. "Ah, caro signore," he exclaimed, "sono cinque anni che non lo vedo—tre anni di militare, e due anni di disgrazia," &c. ("My dear sir, it is five years since I saw you—three years of military service, and two of misfortune")—during which last the poor fellow had been in prison. Of moral sense he showed not so much as a trace. He and his father were now on excellent terms, and were likely to remain so unless either of them should again have the misfortune mortally to offend the other.

In the following chapter I will give a few examples of the way in which what we should call misfortune, hardship, or disease are dealt with by the Erewhonians, but for the moment will return to their treatment of cases that with us are criminal. As I have already said, these, though not judicially punishable, are recognised as requiring correction.

Accordingly, there exists

[a] **peccant** Now archaic, *meaning u*nhealthy, diseased, usually used in the context of sin.

[b] **Mahommedans … hospitals** Now depreciatory. 19th cent. spelling of Mohammedan, follower of Islam. SB's allusion remains unclear.

[c] **New Zealand Maories … goods** A somewhat inaccurate representation of *muru*, an effective form of social control which involved taking an offending party's goods as retribution for offences committed. The practice was controlled by strict protocol: it only occurred among groups of people who were linked by family genealogy, and the method of conducting *muru* was determined by the prestige of the victim, the degree of the offence committed and the intent of the offending party. The purpose was to restore the transgressor back to their original position in society. SB formed the misguided notion that *muru* was carried out for 'any misfortune' since it could sometimes be instituted for unintentional offences.

[d] **The Italians, … misfortune** The noun *disgrazia* usually connotes misfortune or bad luck; disgrace is a rarer sense. SB's translation of 'disgraziato' as 'unfortunate fellow' is a good one: 'disgraced fellow' would be the less usual translation, but evidently SB deemed the two meanings as equally significant.

[e] **I once … his uncle.** SB first heard this turn of speech as a young boy from a Signora Capocci, when he holidayed with his parents in Naples during the winter of 1843. In AS he again observed that North Italians refer to an accident or misfortune as a disgrace to the victim, 'thus confirming the soundness of a philosophy which I put forward in an earlier work" (i.e. in *Erewhon*) (40–41).

[f] **young Sicilian … the other** A reference to Butler's meeting with a young Sicilian coachman during a visit, in the spring of 1896, to Trapani, Sicily, in the company of HFJ (Jones 1919, I, 26).

"one who bendeth back the crooked." These men practise much as medical men in England, and receive a quasi-surreptitious fee on every visit. They are treated with the same unreserve and obeyed just as readily as our own doctors—that is to say, on the whole sufficiently—because people know that it is their interest to get well as soon as they can, and that they will not be scouted as they would be if their bodies were out of order, even though they may have to undergo a very painful course of treatment.

When I say that they will not be scouted, I do not mean that an Erewhonian offender will suffer no manner of social inconvenience. Friends will fall away from him because of his being less pleasant company, just as we ourselves are disinclined to make companions of those who are either poor or poorly, having a right to choose (and being right in choosing) that company which most pleases us, and in avoiding that which we dislike. No one with any sense of self-respect will place himself on an equality in the matter of affection with those who are less lucky than himself in birth, health, money, good looks, capacity, or anything else. Indeed, that dislike and even disgust should be felt by the fortunate for the

---

bits of timber'. 'Straightener' thus derives from ὀρθοῦντες, present active participle of ὀρθοῦντες, to set straight. Aristotle employs this analogy to elucidate his famous 'doctrine of the mean' (introduced in Book 2), the argument that virtue can be thought of as something impaired by deficiency or excess, or as a mean state between two opposites. Aristotle offers practical rules determining the 'mean' state in any given situation: one of these is to notice what errors we are prone to and direct our behaviour away from them. We will then 'make a middle course' (NE, 2.4.5) just as men do when straightening warped bits of wood.

26–9 medical men … sufficiently According to Drysdale, the shame society attached to bodily disorders, especially to sexual complaints, overpowered the faith it placed in doctors and precluded candid discussion: thus, Drysdale argued, 'feelings of mystery, shame, or disgust' regarding the human body have too long 'baffled the efforts of the physician' (8).

31 scouted Rejected or dismissed scornfully.

32 painful … treatment In his elucidation of the 'doctrine of the mean', Aristotle thus argued that the exercise of virtue was connected to the experience of pleasure and pain, as pleasure may cause us to do base actions and pain may prevent us from doing noble actions: 'pain is the medium of punishment; for punishment is a sort of medicine, and it is the nature of medicine to work by means of opposites' (NE, 2.3.3–7).

28–9 our … that] our ~~medical~~ ~~men~~ –^doctors^ that **29 say,]** say **31 would]** wd **32 they … have]** they ~~will~~ ~~certainly~~ ^may^ have **treatment.]** treatment. {~~Hence they conceal~~} **33–4 that an … offender will]** that ~~they~~ ^an Erewhonian offender^ will **36 ourselves are]** ourselves ~~in England~~ are **37 poor]** ~, **poorly,]** poorly.; **38–9 which we … will]** does not. No ~~right-minded man~~ ^one with any sense of self respect^ will **40–2 who are … and even]** who ~~have been~~ ^are ~~even~~^ ~~in~~ ~~in any respect~~ less ~~fortunate~~ lucky than himself~~,~~ ^~~as~~^ ~~either~~ in birth health money good looks ^capacity ~~[?]~~ or anything else; ~~Indeed~~ ^indeed^; ~~That~~ ^that^ dislike and ~~di~~ even **42 should]** shd **37–9 poorly, having … dislike. No]** E2, poorly. No

---

33–58 When I say… wicked, while they: f. 80r.

---

26 bendeth] E2, bends E9 **28 unreserve and … readily as]** E2, unreserve, and obeyed as readily, as E9 **34 offender]** E2, *om.* E9 **no manner … inconvenience. Friends]** E2, no social inconvenience in consequence, we will say, of having committed fraud. Friends E9

unfortunate, or at any rate for those who have been discovered to have met with any of the more serious and less familiar misfortunes, is not only natural, but desirable for any society, whether of man or brute. The fact therefore that the Erewhonians attach none of that guilt to crime which they do to physical ailments, does not prevent the more selfish among them from neglecting a friend who has robbed a bank, for instance till he has fully recovered; but it does prevent them from even thinking of treating criminals with that contemptuous tone which would seem to say, "I, if I were you, should be a better man than you are," a tone which is held quite reasonable in regard to physical ailment. Hence, though they conceal ill health by every cunning and hypocrisy and artifice which they can devise, they are quite open about the most flagrant mental diseases, should they happen to exist, which to do the people justice is not often. Indeed, there are some who are, so to speak, spiritual valetudinarians, and who make themselves exceedingly ridiculous by their nervous supposition that they are wicked, while they are very tolerable people all the time. This however is exceptional; and on the whole they use much the same reserve or unreserve about the state of their moral welfare as we do about our health.

Hence it had come that all the ordinary greetings among ourselves, such as, How do you do? and the like, were considered signs of gross ill-breeding; nor did the politer classes tolerate even such a common complimentary remark as telling a man that he was looking well. They salute each other

---

43 unfortunate,] unfortunate **43–5 discovered to … The fact**] discovered ~~to be so have been in any way ill fated~~ ^to have met with any of the more serious and less familiar misfortunes^ is **45 desirable … The]** desirable ^for any society ~~of human beings~~ whether of man or brute.^~~,~~ the **47 ailments,]** ailments **not … the]** not ~~preclude~~ ^prevent^ the **48–9 from … fully]** from ^~~unkindly~~^ neglecting a friend who ^(for instance)^ has robbed a bank, until he is fully **49–50 recovered; … which]** recovered; ~~such conduct is considered unkind, though~~ ~~it is not uncommon all ist does is to prevent~~ ^ but it does prevent them from even thinking of treating criminals with that ~~de haut en bas tone~~ contemptuous tone^ which **50–1 "I … be a]** *see app.* **51 you … a]** you ~~were~~" ^are^ a **52 Hence, … ill]** Hence ^though^ they conceal ~~[all]~~ ^all^ ill **53–4 they can … the most]** *see app.* **54 diseases,]** diseases **55 exist,]** exist **do]** ~~s~~do **Indeed]** ~, **56 valetudinarians,]** ~, **58 are wicked,]** are ~~very~~ wicked **tolerable people]** tolerable ~~average sort of~~ people **59 exceptional;]** exceptional **61–4 Hence it … They salute]** Hence it ~~car~~ ~~came~~ ^had come (~~as I discovered in the course of my journ~~ey)

58–78 are very tolerable ... of no importance.: f. 81r. The Fr. phrase 'de haut en bas', in the collation of MS variants above means lit. from height to lowness, or condescendingly.

45–6 brute. … therefore that] brute; [a]what progress either of body or soul had been otherwise possible? The fact therefore that E2, brute. [*n.p.*] The fact, therefore, that E9 **61 Hence it … that all]** E2, Hence all E9 **62 were]** E2, are E9 **63 did]** E2, do E9 **64 was]** E2, is E9

[a]what progress … possible? In his own copy of E2, now held in the archives of SJC, SB underlined the question 'what progress … possible?' and wrote next to it in the margin 'meant quite seriously' (BII ERE 1872.3)

with, “I hope you are good this morning;” or “I hope you have recovered from the snappishness from which you were suffering when I last saw you;” and if the person saluted has not been good, or is still snappish, he says so at once and is condoled with accordingly. Nay, the straighteners have gone so far as to give names from the hypothetical language (as taught at the Colleges of Unreason), to all known forms of mental indisposition, and to classify them according to a system of their own, which, though I could not understand it, seemed to work well in practice, for they are always able to tell a man what is the matter with him as soon as they have heard his story, and their familiarity with the long names assures him that they thoroughly understand his case.

Of genius they take no account, regarding it much in the same way as

---

69–75 names from the hypothetical … his case SB’s mistrust of professional authority was grounded in his suspicion that specialists guarded and wielded their knowledge hypocritically: professional ownership over certain bodies of knowledge, and the professional claim to objectivity, in fact concealed a rapacious self-interest. This distrust became a defining element of SB’s self-conception in later decades, esp. in his disagreement with CD, but also in relation to the art establishment and Church of England: see, e.g. Gillott 2012, 22–31.

76–8 Of genius … importance Drysdale upheld a contrasting view about the contemporary status of high mental and physical attainments: ‘The spiritualist has ever been esteemed above the materialist; the thinker above the doer […] the mental above the manual pursuits’ (3). See the beginning of the E9 additions to Ch. 20, where SB, having deleted these lines, develops the same ideas in greater detail, and corresponding notes **a** and **b**.

---

65 with, “I] with “I **morning;”]** morning” **66 you;”]** you,” **67–8 says … and]** says ^at once^ and **68 Nay,]** ~ – **69 hypothetical]** hypothetical **69–70 taught … Unreason),]** taught in the colleges of unreason) **71 own,]** own **72 work well]** work ~~exceeding~~ly well **76 genius … much]** genius ^~~or great talent~~^ they take no account, ~~any more than they do of great moral~~ regarding ^it^ much **76–8 as more … meet with]** as ~~being~~ more or less ~~a~~ pleasant ~~thing~~ to meet with,

---

68 Nay,] E2, Indeed, E9 **72 practice,]** E2, ~; E9 **76–8 Of genius … no importance.]** E2, *om., see below* E9

understand his case.

The reader will have no difficulty in believing that the laws regarding ill health were frequently evaded by the help of recognised fictions, which every one understood, but which it would be considered gross ill-breeding to even seem to understand. Thus, a day or two after my arrival at the Nosnibors’, one of the many ladies who called on me made excuses for her husband’s only sending his card, on the ground that when going through the public market-place that morning he had stolen a pair of socks. I had already been warned that I should never show surprise, so I merely expressed my sympathy, and said that though I had only been in the capital so short a time, I had already had a very narrow escape from stealing a clothes-brush, and that though I had resisted temptation so far, I was sadly afraid that if I saw any object of special interest that was neither too hot nor too heavy, I should have to put myself in the straightener’s hands.

Mrs. Nosnibor, who had been keeping an ear on all that I had been saying, praised me when the lady had gone. Nothing, she said, could have been more polite according to Erewhonian etiquette. She then explained that to have stolen a pair of socks, or "to have the socks" (in more colloquial language), was a recognised way of saying that the person in question was slightly indisposed.

In spite of all

we do good looks in men—that is to say as more or less pleasant to meet with but of no importance.

In spite of all this they have a keen sense of the enjoyment consequent upon what they call being "well." They admire mental health and love it in other people, and take all the pains they can (consistently with their other duties) to secure it for themselves. They have an extreme dislike to marrying into what they consider unhealthy families. They send for the straightener at once whenever they have been guilty of anything seriously flagitious—often even if they think that they are on the point of committing it; and though his remedies are sometimes exceedingly painful, involving close confinement for weeks, and in some cases the most cruel physical tortures, I never heard of a reasonable Erewhonian refusing to do what his straightener told him, any more than of a reasonable Englishman refusing to undergo even the most frightful operation, if his doctors told him it was necessary.

We in England never shrink from telling our doctor what is the matter with us merely through the fear that he will hurt us. We let him do his worst upon us, and stand it without a murmur, because we are not scouted for being ill, and because we know that the doctor is doing his best to cure us, and that he can judge of our case better than we can; but we should conceal all illness if we were treated as the Erewhonians are when they have anything the matter with them; we should do the same as with moral and intellectual diseases, —we should feign health with the most consummate art, till we were found out, and should hate a single flogging given in the way of mere punishment more than the amputation of a limb, if it were

84 flagitious Addicted to atrocious crimes; deeply criminal.

79 In spite … keen] *see app.* **80 "well." … health and]** "well": they admire ^mental health^ ~~health~~, and **81 pains they]** pains that they **82–3 themselves. … They]** themselves: ^they have an extreme dislike of marrying into what they consider unhealthy families;^ they **84 whenever]** as soon as **flagitious–often]** flagitious,– ~~and~~ often **85 committing it;]** ~, **86 involving close confinement]** involving ~~the closest~~ ^close^ confinement **87 cruel … I]** cruel ~~amputations~~ ^physical tortures,^ I **89 of a … refusing]** of ~~any~~ ^a^ reasonable ~~partatenallia genortonian~~ ^Erewhonian^ refusing **89–91 to undergo … necessary. We]** to do what his straightener told him, any more than ~~I did~~ of a reasonable Englishman refusing to undergo even the most frightful operation if his doctors told him that it was ~~a necessity~~ ^necessary^ ~~of the [?] that he should do so~~. We **92 us. We let]** us: ^we^ let **92–3 his … and stand]** his ~~utmost~~ ^~~worst~~ worst^ upon us~~, we~~ ^and^ stand **93 murmur,]** murmur **95 he can … can; but]** he ~~knows whatever [?] requires a great deal better than we do~~: ^can judge of our case better than we can:^ but **95–6 should … when]** should hide it away instantly if we were scouted as the ~~Partatenella genortonians are~~ ^~~Ydgrunians~~ Erewhonians are^ when **97 them;]** ~, **97 do the … as with]** do as we do with **98 diseases,]** ~,– **should … with]** should conceal them with **99 and should]** and ~~we~~ should **100–2 more than … difficulty, and]** more than the operation for [?stone] itself ~~(and without chloroform)~~ ^~~(even~~^ ~~when~~ ^~~if~~ if^ ~~when~~ it were kindly & courteously performed with a view

79–106 In spite of … straightener recommends it.: f. 82r.

87 weeks] E2, ~, E9

kindly and courteously performed from a view to help us out of our difficulty, and with the full consciousness on the part of the doctor that it was only by an accident of constitution that he was not in the like plight himself. So the Erewhonians take a flogging once a week, and a diet of bread and water for two or three months together, whenever their straightener recommends it.

I do not suppose that even my host, on having swindled a confiding widow out of the whole of her property, was put to more actual suffering than a man will readily undergo at the hands of an English doctor. And yet he must have had a very bad time of it. The sounds I heard were sufficient to show that his pain was exquisite, but he never shrank from undergoing it. He was quite sure that it did him good; and I think he was right. I cannot believe that that man will ever embezzle money again. He may—but it will be a long time before he does so.

During my confinement in prison, and on my journey, I had already discovered a great deal of the above; but it still seemed surpassingly strange, and I was in constant fear of committing some piece of rudeness from my inability to look at things from the same stand-point as my neighbours; but after a few weeks' stay with the Nosnibors I got to understand things better, especially on having heard all about my host's illness, of which he told me fully and repeatedly.

It seemed that he had been on the Stock Exchange of the city for many years and had amassed enormous wealth, without exceeding the limits of what was generally considered justifiable or at any rate permissible dealing;

---

to help us out of our difficulty, and **103 he was]** he is **104 the Erewhonians take]** the [a]~~Partatenella genortonians~~ ^~~Ydgrunians~~ Erewhonians^ take **104 week,]** week **105 months together,]** months ~~bet~~ together **105–6 straightener recommends it.]** straightener seriously orders it, ~~but on the other hand they are visited by their friends & condoled~~ **107 host,]** host **111 shrank]** shrunk **112 it. He]** it: he **good;]** ~: **112–13 right … that]** right. I cannot ~~think~~ ^believe^ that **114–15 time … During]** *see app.* **115 journey, I]** journey ~~do thence~~ I **116 above but it]** above {~~Now~~ all ~~this had~~} ~~begun to dawn upon me for some time past though~~ ^but^ it **surpassingly]** exceedingly **118–19 from the … weeks' stay]** from ^the same ~~point of view~~ ^standpoint^ as my neighbours; but^ ~~their point of view, but~~ ^~~however~~^ after a few ~~days~~ ^weeks^ stay **120 things … all]** them better – especially ~~after hearing~~ ^on having heard^ all **121 illness, of which]** illness which **122 Stock Exchange]** stock exchange **123 and … wealth,]** and ^had^ amassed ~~considerable~~ ^enormous^ wealth, **124–5 considered … occasions he]** considered legitimate deal-

[a] SB's original name for Erewhon was 'Pantatenallagenoitonia'. The puzzle behind this name was solved by H&B: it is a compound of three Greek words (*panta* + *alla* + *genoito*), for which they give the translation 'everything would become different'. The name also hides 'Itonia', a town in Thessaly whose inhabitants worshipped Athena, goddess of wisdom (Breuer and Howard, 105).

107–14 I do not … he does so.: f. 83[r].
115–26 During my confinement … by fraudulent representations,: f. 84[r].

---

101 view] wish E2, E9 **117 rudeness]** E2, ~, E9 **119 Nosnibors]** E2, ~, E9 **125 justifiable]** E2, ~, E9 **rate]** E2, ~, E9

but that at length on several occasions he had become aware of a desire to make money by fraudulent representations, and had actually dealt with two or three sums in a way which had made him rather uncomfortable. He had unfortunately made light of it and pooh-poohed the ailment, until circumstances eventually presented themselves which enabled him to cheat upon a very considerable scale;—he told me what they were, and they were about as bad as anything could be, but I need not detail them;—he seized the opportunity, and became aware when it was too late that he must be seriously out of order. He had neglected himself too long.

He drove home at once, broke the news to his wife and daughters as gently as he could, and sent off for one of the most celebrated straighteners of the kingdom to a consultation with the family practitioner, for the case was plainly serious. On the arrival of the straightener he told his story, and expressed his fear that his morals must be permanently impaired.

The eminent man reassured him with a few cheering words, and then proceeded to make a more careful diagnosis of the case. He enquired concerning Mr. Nosnibor's parents—had their moral health been good? He was answered that there had not been anything seriously amiss with them, but that his maternal grandfather, whom he was supposed to resemble somewhat in person, had been a consummate scoundrel and had ended his days in a hospital,—while a brother of his father's, after having led a most flagitious life for many years, had been at last cured by a philosopher of a new school, which as far as I could understand it bore much the same relation to the old as homoeopathy to allopathy. The straightener shook his head at this, and laughingly replied that the cure must have been due to nature. After a few more questions he wrote a prescription and departed.

148 homeopathy … allopathy Homeopathy is a system of alternative medicine, founded by Hahnemann of Leipzig about 1796, which operates on the principle of 'like cures like': diseases are treated

-ing or at any rate permissible, ^dealing;^ but that ^at least ^^(at length)^^^ on several occasions ~~lately~~ ^~~lately~~^ he **126 representations, … with two]** representations and ^had^ actually dealt with two **127–31 had made … he seized]** *see app.* **134–5 He drove … for one]** *see app.* **136–7 a consultation … his story]** the assistance of the family practitioner, ^for^ the case ~~being~~ ~~evidently~~ ^was plainly^ serious. ~~He~~ ^On the arrival of the straightener he^ told his story **138 his morals]** his ~~moral~~ constitution **138–9 impaired … words,]** impaired. The eminent ~~straightener~~ ~~however~~ ^man^ reassured him in a few ^encouraging^ words, **142 not been]** never been **143 grandfather,]** grandfather **145 hospital,—]** ~, **146 last cured by]** last ~~[a ? d]~~ cured by **149 this,]** this **149–50 that the … after a]** that it must have been nature, while after a **150 and departed.]** and ~~received a quasi surreptitious coin in the palm of his hand.~~ departed.

126–58 and had actually … patient would have: f. 85r.

125 that] E2, *om.* E9 **132 aware]** E2, ~, E9 **late]** E2, ~, E9 **140–1 enquired … Nosbibor's]** E2, inquired concerning Mr. Nosnibor's **147 school, which]** school which, **understand it]** ~, **148 straightener]** Doctor

I saw the prescription. It ordered a fine to the State of double the money embezzled; no food but bread and milk for six months, and a severe flogging once a month for twelve. He had received his eleventh flogging on the day of my arrival. I saw him later on the same afternoon, and he was still twinged; but there had been no escape from following out the straightener's prescription, for the so-called sanitary laws of Erewhon are very rigorous, and unless the straightener was satisfied that his orders had been obeyed, the patient would have been taken to a hospital (as the poor are), and would have been much worse off—such at least is the law, but it is never necessary to enforce it.

On a subsequent occasion I was present at an interview between Mr Nosnibor and the family straightener, who was considered competent to watch the completion of the cure. I was struck with the delicacy with which he avoided even the remotest semblance of inquiry after the physical well-being of his patient, though there was a certain yellowness about my host's eyes which argued a bilious habit of body. To have taken notice of this would have been a gross breach of professional etiquette. I am told that a straightener sometimes thinks it right to glance at the possibility of some

by small doses of drugs which would produce, in a healthy person, symptoms closely resembling those of the disease treated. SB became a lifelong homeopath after befriending Scottish homeopath Robert Ellis Dudgeon in 1859. His homeopathic medicine case is now housed at SJC. Allopathy, in the terminology of homoeopathists, is orthodox medicine, aimed at creating a condition contrary to the one being treated.

153 flogging Reminiscent of the whipping penance prescribed by the widow for the eponymous Hudibras in Canto 3 of the satiric poem by Samuel Butler (1613–1680): see also Ch. 21, ls 81– 2n. On SB's self-fashioning as the literary beneficiary of the earlier Butler, see Gillott 2012, 13.

151 State] state **152 embezzled;]** ~, x **bread … months,]** bread & milk for ~~the~~ six~~th~~ months **154 afternoon,]** afternoon **155 twinged;]** ~: **156 Erewhon]** the country **158 obeyed,]** obeyed **would]** wd **159 are),]** are) **161 was present at]** was actually present when **161–2 between Mr Nosnibor]** between ^Mr^ Nosnibor **162 straightener,]** straightener **164 inquiry]** enquiry **166 argued]** augured **167 etiquette. I]** etiquette ~~—as much as asking questions about a patient's moral~~ ^~~mental state~~^ ~~among our own doctors, though~~ I **168 sometimes]** *om.* **right to]** right sometimes to

158–86 been taken to … inquire how he: f. 86r.

153 twelve. He] E2, *see below* E9

month for twelve.

I was surprised to see that no part of the fine was to be paid to the poor woman whose money had been embezzled, but on inquiry I learned that she would have been prosecuted in the Misplaced Confidence Court, if she had not escaped its clutches by dying shortly after she had discovered her loss. As for Mr. Nosnibor, he had received

159 off—such] off. Such E2, E9 **167 I am told that]** E2, I was told, however, that E9

physical disorder if he finds it important in order to assist him in his diagnosis; but the answers which he gets are generally untrue or evasive, and he forms his own conclusions upon the matter as well as he can. Sensible men have been known to say that the straightener should in strict confidence be told of every physical ailment that is likely to bear upon the case; but people are naturally shy of doing this, for they do not like lowering themselves in the opinion of the straightener, and his ignorance of medical science is supreme. I heard of one lady however who had the hardihood to confess that a furious outbreak of ill-humour and extravagant fancies for which she was seeking advice was possibly the result of indisposition. "You should resist that," said the straightener, in a kind, but grave voice; "we can do nothing for the bodies of our patients; such matters are beyond our province, and I desire that I may hear no further particulars." The lady burst into tears, promised faithfully that she would never be unwell again, and kept her word.

To return to Mr. Nosnibor. As the afternoon wore on many carriages drove up with callers to inquire how he had stood his flogging. It had been very severe, but the kind inquiries upon every side gave him great comfort, and he assured me that he felt almost tempted to do wrong again by the solicitude with which his friends had treated him during his recovery: in this I need hardly say that he was not serious.

During the remainder of my stay in the country Mr Nosnibor was constantly attentive to his business, and largely increased his already great possessions; but I never heard a whisper to the effect of his having been

---

173–5 Sensible men … the case Conversely, Drysdale argued that what he called 'subjective' complaints were generally given insufficient attention in the diagnosis of physical ailments: 'the mental state of the patient […] forms no less integral a part of the disease' (20).

---

170 he finds it] he ~~thinks~~ ^finds^ it **171 diagnosis;]** ~, **173 should]** shd **174 that … bear]** that ~~can possibly~~ ^~~is likely to~~^ bear **175 case;]** ~, **this,]** this **177 medical]** physical **178 ill-humour]** ill humour **179–80 of indisposition]** of a deranged stomach, **180 that,"]** that" **straightener,]** straightener **kind,]** kind **181 voice;]** ~. **patients;]** ~, **183 particulars."]** particulars" **tears, promised]** tears, ~~and~~ promised **184 again, … To]** again_and kept her word. Her stomach had disliked crab she ~~gave it a crab a day till~~ ^resolved ~~that there~~ from that hour^ that it should learn to like it, and gave it a crab a day till it did. To **185 return … how he]** return however to ^Mr^ Nosnibor. On ^many^ carriages drove up ~~by [?dozens]~~ with callers to enquire how ~~fear~~ ~~dear~~ ^he^ ~~Mr~~ **187 inquiries]** enquiries **189 recovery: in]** recovery: _ ~~but~~ in **191 country Mr Nosnibor]** country ^Mr^ Nosnibor **192 business,]** business **193 possessions;]** ~,

---

186–Ch.11, l. 10 had stood his … to keep to: f. 87r.

---

177 lady however] E2, lady, indeed, E9 **183 tears, promised]** tears, and promised **184–5 again … return to]** again, and kept her word. To return however to E2, again. But to return to E9 **187 comfort,]** pleasure, E2, E9

indisposed a second time, or made money by other than the most strictly honourable means. I did hear afterwards in confidence that there had been reason to believe that his health had been much affected during the straightener's treatment, but his friends did not choose to be over curious upon the subject, and on his return to his affairs it was by common consent passed over as hardly criminal in one who was otherwise so much afflicted. For they regard bodily ailments as the more venial in proportion as they have been produced by causes independent of the constitution. Thus if a person ruin his health by excessive indulgence at the table, or by drinking, they count it to be almost a part of the mental disease which brought it about, and so it goes for little; but they have no mercy on such illnesses as fevers or catarrhs or lung diseases, which to us appear to be beyond the control of the individual. They are only more lenient towards the diseases of the young—such as measles, which they think to be like sowing one's wild oats—and look over them as pardonable indiscretions if they have not been too serious, and if they are atoned for by complete subsequent recovery.

204 catarrhs The excessive build-up of mucus in the nose or throat.

194 time, … money] time. or ^~~having~~ made^ ~~making~~ money **195 did]** did **in confidence]** in ~~the strictest~~ confidence, **199 as hardly]** as ~~having been~~ hardly **200 as the more]** as ^the^ more **203–4 about,]** about and so it goes ~~almost~~ for ~~nothing~~, ^little^ but ^~~no~~^ ~~all~~ ~~such things~~ ^they have no mercy on such illnesses^ as fevers **204 catarrhs]** ~, **205 diseases,]** diseases **appear … beyond]** appear ^to be^ beyond **206 individual. They]** individual,. ~~on these they have no mercy~~. They **207 they think]** they ~~call~~ think **207 oats—]** ~, **208 them … indiscretions]** them ^as pardonable indiscretions^ if **too serious,]** too ~~indis~~ serious,

196 been much … during] been not a little affected by E2, E9 **197 over curious]** E2, over-curious E9 **202 table,]** E2, table E9 **204 little;]** ~, E2, E9 **209 recovery.]** E2, *see below* E9

recovery.

It is hardly necessary to say that the [a]office of straightener is one which requires long and special training. It stands to reason that he who would cure a moral ailment must be practically acquainted with it in all its bearings. The student for the profession of straightener is required to set apart certain seasons for the practice of each vice in turn, as a religious duty. These seasons are called "fasts," and are continued by the student until he finds that he really can subdue all the more usual vices in his own person, and hence can advise his patients from the results of his own experience.

Those who intend to be specialists, rather than general practitioners, devote themselves more particularly to the branch in which their practice will mainly lie. Some students have been obliged to continue their exercises during their whole lives, and some devoted men have actually died as martyrs to the drink, or gluttony, or whatever branch of vice they may have chosen for their especial study. The greater number, however, take no harm by the excursions into the various departments of vice which it is incumbent upon them to study.

For the Erewhonians hold that unalloyed virtue is not a thing to be immoderately indulged in. I was shown more

[a] **office … experience** B&H draw a connection between this training and the study of spiritual pathology in WF, which Ernest Pontifex's friend Pryer recommends as part of their education for Anglican clergy: 'we must familiarise ourselves with the minutest and most repulsive details of all kinds of sin, so that we may recognise it in all its stages' (238).

than one case in which the [b]real or supposed virtues of parents were visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation. The straighteners say that the most that can be truly said for virtue is that there is a considerable balance in its favour, and that it is on the whole a good deal better to be on its side than against it; but they urge that there is much pseudo-virtue going about, which is apt to let people in very badly before they find it out. Those men, they say, are best who are not remarkable either for vice or virtue. I told them about [c]Hogarth's idle and industrious apprentices, but they did not seem to think that the industrious apprentice was a very nice person.

[b] **real or … generation** An allusion to one of the Ten Commandments in Exod. 20:5: 'Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me'. In consolidating his own, rather idiosyncratic, ideas on evolution, SB adopted a Lamarckian notion of inherited habit: see Ch. 23, E9 additions **v**.

[c] **Hogarth's … apprentices** William Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* (1747), 12 plot-linked engravings, depicts the careers of two London apprentices: Francis Goodchild's rise up the social and political ladder through diligent application and Tom Idle's descent through indolence and depravity to crime and execution. SB's interest in Hogarth was partly due to his series of engravings illustrating Samuel Butler's 'Hudibras'. In *Note-Books*, SB again cited *Industry and Idleness* when pondering the merits of moderation in questions of morality, comparing the apprentices to Scylla and Charybdis (legendary Greek sea monsters who idiomatically suggest the danger of running into one evil in seeking to avoid its opposite): 'The idle apprentice is certainly Scylla, but is not the virtuous apprentice just as much Charybdis? […] Is not the right thing somewhere between the two?' (332–3).

CHAPTER XI.

AN EREWHONIAN TRIAL.

BUT I shall perhaps best convey to the reader an idea of the entire perversion of thought which exists among this extraordinary people,

---

1 CHAPTER XI In his 'Preface to the Second Edition' SB explains that this chapter was reworked from an article written for a London magazine before 1865. The original article has yet to be located. Even if SB imported ideas from an earlier article, heavy revisions in the MS of E1 suggest that he did not carry across its wording verbatim, but expended significant effort in recrafting the text for *Erewhon*.

2 AN EREWHONIAN TRIAL The trial in this chapter is inspired by the highly publicised murder trial of George Victor Townley in 1863 and its controversial aftermath. Having been jilted by his former fiancée, Townley stabbed her to death at a rendezvous on 21 August 1863. As he readily admitted to the crime, the only possible defence at trial was insanity. An expert in the field of mental pathology, Dr Forbes Winslow, gave evidence that Townley suffered a hereditary form of insanity, but Townley was found guilty and judge Baron Martin sentenced him to death. Thereafter, the question of whether Townley was mad or bad devolved into a farcical to-and-fro. Baron Martin, wavering about Townley's state of mind, requested an intervention by the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, who directed that Townley be examined by a Lunacy Commission. The Commission concluded that Townley was not of sound mind, but still criminally responsible. Grey then ordered that Townley be sent to Bethlem Hospital, where he was deemed sane, but his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. Having been transferred back to Pentonville prison in January 1864, Townley committed suicide in February 1865. On the circumstances and impact of the trial, see also W. Jones. Ironically, the coroner deemed Townley's suicide evidence of his insanity. SB later took the name of the accused for the urbane character of Towneley in TWAF.

---

3 CHAPTER XI. … best] **Chapter XI "An Erewhonian Trial"** But I shall ^perhaps^ best **4 thought]** reason **4–5 people, by]** people ~~of~~ by

---

2 AN … TRIAL. BUT] E2, *see below* E9

SOME EREWHONIAN TRIALS.

In Erewhon as in other countries there are some [a]courts of justice that deal with special subjects. Misfortune generally, as I have above explained, is considered more or less criminal, but it admits of classification, and a court is assigned to each of the main heads under which it can be supposed to fall. Not very long after I had reached the capital I strolled into the Personal Bereavement Court, and was much both interested and pained by listening to the trial of a man who was accused of having just lost a wife to whom he had been tenderly attached, and who had left him with three little children, of whom the eldest was only three years old.

The defence which the prisoner's counsel endeavoured to establish was, that the prisoner had never really loved his wife; but it broke down completely, for the public prosecutor called witness after witness who deposed to the fact that the couple had been devoted to one another, and the prisoner repeatedly wept as incidents were put in evidence that reminded him of the irreparable nature of the loss he had sustained. The jury returned a verdict of guilty after very little deliberation, but recommended the prisoner to mercy on the ground that he had but recently insured his wife's life for a considerable sum, and might be deemed lucky inasmuch as he had received the money without demur from the insurance company, though he had only paid two premiums.

I have just said that the jury found the prisoner guilty. When the judge passed sentence, I was struck with the way in which the prisoner's counsel was rebuked for having referred to a work in which the guilt of such misfortunes

[a]courts … special subjects i.e. countries other than Britain, where there were few special courts of limited jurisdiction in the 19th cent.

by describing the public trial of a man who was accused of pulmonary consumption—an offence which was punished with death until quite recently. It did not occur till I had been some months in the country, and I am deviating from chronological order in giving it here; but I had perhaps better do so in order that I may exhaust this subject before proceeding to others. Moreover I should never come to an end were I to keep to a strictly

6–7 which was … It did] which ^was punished with death until^ ~~until~~ ~~very~~ recently. ~~was~~ ~~reckoned to be capital~~. **7 country,]** country **8 here;]** ~, **9 exhaust this]** exhaust ~~their ways of thinking upon~~ this **10–13 others. … The prisoner]** others ~~of the[?] [?again?is]~~. Moreover were I to keep to a strict narrative form and retell the infinite absurdities with which I came in daily contact I should never have done. ~~Chapter XI~~ The prisoner

10–45 a strictly narrative … been found guilty: f. 88r.

misfortunes as the prisoner's was extenuated to a degree that roused the indignation of the court.

"We shall have," said the judge, "these [a]crude and subversionary books from time to time until it is recognised as an axiom of morality that [b]luck is the only fit object of human veneration. How far a man has any right to be more lucky and hence more venerable than his neighbours, is a point that always has been, and always will be, settled proximately by a kind of higgling and haggling of the market, and ultimately by brute force; but however this may be, it stands to reason that no man should be allowed to be unlucky to more than a very moderate extent."

Then, turning to the prisoner, the judge continued:—"You have suffered a great loss. Nature attaches a severe penalty to such offences, and human law must emphasise the decrees of nature. But for the recommendation of the jury I should have given you six months' hard labour. I will, however, commute your sentence to one of three months, with the option of a fine of twenty-five per cent. of the money you have received from the insurance company."

The prisoner thanked the judge, and said that as he had no one to look after his children if he was sent to prison, he would embrace the option mercifully permitted him by his lordship, and pay the sum he had named. He was then removed from the dock.

The next case was that of a [c]youth barely arrived at [d]man's estate, who was charged with having been swindled out of large property during his minority by his guardian, who was also one of his nearest relations. His father had been long dead, and it was for this reason that his offence came on for trial in the Personal Bereavement Court. The lad, who was undefended, pleaded that he was young, inexperienced, greatly in awe of his guardian, and without independent professional advice. "Young man," said the judge sternly, "do not talk nonsense. People have no right to be young, inexperienced, greatly in awe of their guardians, and without independent professional advice. If by such indiscretions they outrage the moral sense of their friends, they must expect to suffer accordingly." He then ordered the prisoner to apologise to his guardian, and to receive twelve strokes with a cat-of-nine-tails.

[b] **crude ... books** In my opinion, SB alludes to the works of Henry Maudsley (1835–1918), a pioneering alienist (see 'physicians' below, l. 90). A medical doctor by training, Maudsley brought his interest in mental pathology to bear on the criminal law. Over several works, including *The Physiology and Pathology of Mind* (1867), *Body and Mind* (1870) and *Mental Responsibility in Health and Disease* (1874), Maudsley drew upon Lamarckian ideas to propose that mental pathologies, including those associated with criminal behaviour, were the product of human evolution. He also wrote *Insanity and Crime: A Medico-legal Commentary on the Case of George Victor Townley* (1864) which critiqued Forbes Winslow's diagnosis and the operation of the law around cases involving insanity.

[c] **luck ... veneration** In his own writings on evolution, SB would come to favour what he called Lamarckian cunning and criticise the significance Darwin placed on luck (i.e. the role of random mutation) in his theory of evolution by natural selection: see Ch. 18, ls 80–9.

[d] **youth** On concern about juvenile crime in Victorian England, see Shore.

[e] **man's estate** manhood. A reference to Feste's song in *Twelfth Night*: 'But when I came to man's estate / With hey, ho, the wind and the rain' (5.1.383–384).

narrative form, and detail the infinite absurdities with which I came daily in contact.

The prisoner was placed in the dock, and the jury were sworn much as in Europe; almost all our own modes of procedure were reproduced, even to the requiring the prisoner to plead guilty or not guilty. He pleaded not guilty and the case proceeded. The evidence for the prosecution was very strong; but I must do the court the justice to observe that the trial was absolutely impartial. Counsel for the prisoner was allowed to urge everything that could be said in his defence: the line taken was that the prisoner was simulating consumption in order to defraud an insurance company, from which he was about to buy an annuity, and that he hoped thus to obtain it on more advantageous terms. If this could have been shown to be the case he would have escaped a criminal prosecution, and been sent to a hospital as for a moral ailment. The view however was one which could not be reasonably sustained, in spite of all the ingenuity and eloquence of one of the most celebrated advocates of the country. The case was only too clear, for the prisoner was almost at the point of death, and it was astonishing that he had not been tried and convicted long previously. His coughing was incessant during the whole trial, and it was all that the two surgeons in charge of him could do to keep him on his legs until it was over.

15 not guilty Townley's plea at trial.

17–18 trial … impartial The decision to commute Townley's sentence in 1864 was widely condemned in the press as biased. Townley family wealth had funded the campaign for clemency and press reports decried the fact that justice was apparently for sale (see e.g. 'The Fate of Townley', NJ, 5 February 1864, p. 1). In SB's first *Press* article 'Darwin on the Origin of Species' one of the interlocutors admires Darwin's style of 'judicial calmness' (p. 2). In later years, however, Butler made repeated use of the metaphor of the court of law, both as a plot device and structural narrative technique, to expose self-interest (esp. within the scientific establishment) masquerading as impartial reasoning (see Gillott 2012, 25–31).

19–22 the line taken ... advantageous terms The defence's argument was that Townley was 'morally insane', an accepted diagnosis in the 19th cent. to denote abnormal emotions or behaviours in someone not otherwise deprived of the use of reason. While this diagnosis was to prove insufficient to meet the strict criteria for the defence of insanity, the idea that Winslow's diagnosis might acquit someone as manifestly culpable as Townley met with public outrage (see e.g. 'Townley's Case', LM, 4 January 1864, p. 1). W. Jones argues that this public backlash was a significant factor in the move of alienist enquiry away from the detection of such psychological disorders as 'moral insanity' towards biological formulations of criminality (271–75). See also ls 63–6n).

24 hospital … ailment On the rise of 'moral treatment' in the 19th cent. see Ch. 12, ls 99–108.

13 dock,] dock **14 Europe; … modes]** Europe – ~~nay~~ almost all ~~the~~ ^our own^ modes **reproduced,]** reproduced **16–25 The evidence … sustained,]** *see app.* **27–8 prisoner was … astonishing that]** prisoner was evidently at death's door, and it was only wonderful that

11 came daily] E2, daily came E9 **16 guilty]** E2, ~, E9 **24 view however]** E2, view, however, E9 **30 surgeons]** jailors E2, E9

The summing up of the judge was admirable. He dwelt upon every point that could be construed in favour of the prisoner, but as he proceeded it became clear that the evidence was too convincing to admit of doubt, and there was but one opinion in the court as to the impending verdict when the jury retired from the box. They were absent for about ten minutes, and on their return the foreman pronounced the prisoner guilty. There was a faint murmur of applause but it was instantly repressed. The judge then proceeded to pronounce sentence in words which I can never forget, and which I copied out into a note-book next day from the report that was published in the leading newspaper. I must condense it somewhat, and nothing which I could say would give more than a faint idea of the solemn, not to say majestic, severity with which it was delivered. The sentence was as follows:—

"Prisoner at the bar, you have been accused of the great crime of labouring under pulmonary consumption, and after an impartial trial before a jury of your countrymen, you have been found guilty. Against the justice of the verdict I can say nothing: the evidence against you was conclusive; and it only remains for me to pass such a sentence upon you, as shall satisfy the ends of the law. That sentence must be a very severe one. It pains me much to see one who is yet so young, and whose prospects in life were otherwise so excellent, brought to this distressing condition by a constitution which I can only regard as radically vicious; but yours is no case for compassion: this is not your first offence: you have led a career of crime, and

31 The summing up … admirable HFJ claimed that SB took the judge's words in *Erewhon* 'almost verbatim from a contemporary newspaper report of a trial' (HFJ 1919, I, 56) but SB clearly refashioned Baron Martin's words for his own purposes, e.g., SB's judge abstains to comment on the justice of the verdict reached after an 'impartial trial', but Baron Martin's sentencing was obviously partisan: 'George Victor Townley, after everything that could possibly be urged in defence of your crime has been urged with an ability never excelled, the jury have found you guilty of murder; and I am bound to say that in that verdict I entirely concur' ('The Trial of George Victor Townley, for Wilful Murder', DM, 16 December 1863, p. 2).
49 so young Townley was only 25 years old at the time of his offence.
52 career of crime Townley had no previous convictions and was described in the press as 'a well-educated, accomplished man ... His habits of life were extremely gentle and refined' ('The Trial', DM, 2).

32 could be] could ~~possibly~~ be **33 doubt,]** doubt **34 as to … when the]** as to ~~what~~ the ^impending verdict^ ~~verdict would be~~ when the **35 ten minutes,]** [*uwr* two][*owr* ten] minutes **37 applause]** ~, **38 forget,]** forget **40 newspaper]** Newspaper **somewhat, and … as follows:—]** somewhat **and nothing which I could say would give more than a faint idea of the ~~majesty or solemnity, not say majesty~~ – with which it was delivered;** ~~but~~ the substance was as follows. **45 countrymen,]** countrymen **guilty.]** guilty." **45–8 Against the … That sentence]** *see app*. **48 one. It]** one: it **49–50 were … so]** were ^otherwise^ "so **51–2 radically … is not]** radically vicious^, ^but yours is no case for ~~mercy: this~~ compassion: this^ ~~This~~ is not

47–55 for me to pass … You were convicted: f. 89r.

37 applause] E2, ~, **46 conclusive;]** ~, E2, E9

have only profited by the leniency shown you upon past occasions, to offend yet more seriously against the laws and institutions of your country. You were convicted of aggravated bronchitis last year: and I find that though you are now only twenty-three years old, you have been imprisoned on no less than fourteen occasions for illnesses of a more or less hateful character; in fact, it is not too much to say that you have spent the greater part of your life in a jail. It is all very well for you to say that you came of unhealthy parents, and had a severe accident in your childhood which permanently undermined your constitution; excuses such as these are the ordinary refuge of the criminal; but they cannot for one moment be listened to by the ear of justice. I am not here to enter upon curious metaphysical questions as to the origin of this or that—questions to which there would be no end were their introduction once tolerated, and which would result in throwing the only guilt on the tissues of the primordial cell, or on the elementary gases. There is no question of how you came to be wicked, but only this—namely, are you wicked or not? This has been decided in the affirmative, neither can I hesitate for a single moment to say that it has been decided justly. You are a bad and dangerous person, and stand branded in the eyes of your fellow-countrymen with one of the most heinous known offences.

"It is not my business to justify the law: the law may in some cases have

---

59 unhealthy parents Townley's defence argued that he was born with a 'hereditary tendency to insanity', as several members of his extended family had been committed to asylums or killed themselves, suffering the same 'dreadful disease' which was passed from parent to child ('The Trial', DM, 2).

63–6 metaphysical ... elementary gases By the time the Townley case came to trial, alienists like Maudsley were beginning to develop biological theories of criminal behaviour, influenced by contemporary debates on human evolution. Maudsley, for instance, had advanced a Lamarckian argument that criminality was genetically predetermined, a product of degenerate characteristics exacerbated through one's environment and handed down between generations, e.g., alcoholism he considered a frequent trigger of inherited degeneracy: drunkenness in one generation would lead to genetic need for drink in the second and idiocy in the third (Maudsley 1874, 66–82). Between the publication of E1 and E2, the influence of social Darwinism guided such biological theorising towards the classification of whole groups of incorrigible offenders: the transmission of degenerate characteristics was theorised to have resulted in criminal types — the vagrant, the habitual inebriate, the juvenile delinquent — collectively forming the so-called criminal classes.

---

56 old,] old **57–8 less hateful … in fact,]** less serious character: in fact **59 goal.]** ~. **parents,]** parents **61–3 constitution; excuses … I am not]** *see app.* **64 which there]** which ~~they~~ there **65 would result in]** would ~~end~~ ^result^ in **65–6 guilt on … elementary gases.]** guilt upon the ~~shoulders~~ of the ~~elementary~~ ~~gases~~ **primordial cell or ~~at any rate of the original mollusc~~. ^upon the elementary gases.^** **67–8 be wicked, … This] be** ~~dangerous~~, ^wicked^ but only this – namely <u>are</u> you ~~dangerous~~ ~~or no~~ ^wicked or no?^ ?" **68 affirmative,]** ~ – **71–2 heinous … "It is]** heinous ^known^ offences. ~~It is unnecessary for me to say that~~ [*uwr* i][*owr* I]t is **72 have its inevitable]** have its ~~ha~~ inevitable

---

55–76 of aggravated bronchitis … inflict it now.: f. 90^{r}.

---

59 jail. It is] E2, jail. [*n.p.*] "It is E9

its inevitable hardships, and I may feel regret at times that I have not the option of passing a less severe sentence than I am compelled to do. But yours is no such case; on the contrary, had not the capital punishment for consumption been abolished, I should certainly inflict it now.

"It is intolerable that an example of such terrible enormity should be allowed to go at large unpunished. Your presence in the society of respectable people would lead the less able-bodied to think more lightly of all forms of illness; neither can it be permitted that you should have the chance of corrupting unborn beings who might hereafter pester you. The unborn must not be allowed to come near you: and this not so much for their protection (for they are our natural enemies), as for our own; for since they will not be utterly gainsaid, it must be seen to that they shall be quartered upon those who are least likely to corrupt them.

"But independently of this consideration, and independently of the physical guilt which attaches itself to a crime so great as yours, there is yet another reason why we should be unable to show you mercy, even if we were inclined to do so. I refer to the existence of a class of men who lie hidden among us, and who are called physicians. Were the severity of the law or the

---

75 capital punishment Townley's initial sentence at trial. Pressure from abolitionists and widespread distaste for the barbarism of public hangings had led to the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, 1864–1866. The commission had rejected outright abolition, but recommended the ending of public executions. The number of capital offences, prolific at the beginning of the cent. under England's 'Bloody Code', had been gradually reduced so that, by the time of the Commission, it existed in peacetime effectively only for murder.

77 intolerable … forms of illness An echo of Baron Martin's words: 'if the defence that was set up on your behalf for the commission of this act were allowed to avail, it seems to me that it might be attended with most dangerous consequences to society. If it were to enter the minds of young men that because a young woman was guilty towards them of unfaithfulness by breaking an engagement into which she had entered, they were thereby justified in any way in taking her life, the consequences would really be dreadful' ('The Trial', DM, 3).

81 unborn See Ch. 18, l. 2n.

90 physicians Alienists, the 19th cent. term for psychiatrists (fr. French aliéné, meaning 'insane') battled widespread suspicion in their efforts to forge a positive professional identity. Early practitioners had largely been constrained to stigmatised work in asylums as 'mad doctors', but from the 1840s many turned to the law courts as a distinguished public forum for establishing their professional authority. The Townley trial was particularly injurious to the public image of the profession. The findings of Dr Forbes Winslow provoked immediate suspicion from the press (see e.g., 'The Trial', DM, 3–4) and when Townley's sentence was commuted, Winslow's intervention was seen to support a miscarriage of justice and the authority wielded by these self-styled 'experts' was vociferously attacked (see e.g., 'The Trial', LM, 6).

---

73 feel … times] feel ~~my position compels me in carrying~~ ~~not the~~ ~~compelled~~ ^regret^ at times **75 case; on]** case. On **77 "It is]** It is **such terrible]** such a terrible **78 allowed to go]** allowed to ~~at~~ go **78–9 unpunished. … more]** unpunished ~~affording an example which can~~ ^Your mere presence in the society of respectable people^ could not fail to make ^men^ ~~people~~ think much more **81 corrupting unborn]** corrupting ^the^ unborn **who might]** who ~~may~~ ^might^ **82–91 near … slightly,]** *see app.*

77–105 "It is intolerable … is made manifest: f. 91r.

current feeling of the country to be relaxed never so slightly, these abandoned persons, who are now compelled to practise secretly and who can be consulted only at the greatest risk, would become frequent visitors in every household; their organisation and their intimate acquaintance with all family secrets would give them a power, both social and political, which nothing could resist. The head of the household would become subordinate to the family doctor, who would interfere between man and wife, between master and servant, until the doctors should be the only depositaries of power in the nation, and have all that we hold precious at their mercy. A time of universal dephysicalisation would ensue; medicine-vendors of all kinds would abound in our streets and advertise in all our news-papers. There is one remedy for this, and one only. It is that which the laws of this country have long received and acted upon, and consists in the sternest repression of all diseases whatsoever, as soon as their existence is made manifest to the eye of the law. Would that that eye were far more piercing than it is.

"But I will enlarge no further upon things that are themselves so obvious. You may say that it is not your fault. The answer is ready enough at hand, and it amounts to this—that if you had been born of healthy and well-to-do parents, and been well taken care of when you were a child, you would never have offended against the laws of your country, nor found yourself in your present disgraceful position. If you tell me that you had no hand in your parentage and education, and that it is therefore unjust to lay these things to your charge, I answer that whether your being in a consumption is your fault or no, it is a fault in you, and it is my duty to see that against such faults as this the commonwealth shall be protected. You

---

102–5 There is ... the law Baron Martin's sentencing emphasised the stringency of the law regarding the defence of insanity in the period, which could only be met according to narrow criteria: see Jones 2017, 272–73.

91–2 these abandoned persons, who] ^these [*uwr* worked][*owr* would] abandoned persons who^ **93 consulted only at]** consulted at **risk,]** risk **94 household; their organisation]** household: ~~and~~ their ~~power of combination~~ ^organisation^ **95 power, both … political,]** power both social & political **97 doctors]** doctor **man and wife,]** man & wife **98 master and servant]** master & servant **99 and have all]** and ~~having~~ ^and have^ all **99–100 mercy. … medicine-vendors]** mercy: [*uwr* the][*owr* A time] ^a^ of universal dephysicalisation would ensue; ~~and~~ medicine vendors **101 advertise in]** advertise ~~their detestable compounds~~ in **102 this,]** this **103 upon, and consists] upon:** ~~it~~ ~~and~~ it consists **104 as their]** as ever their **104 made]** found **107 "But]** But **108 answer is]** answer ~~to that~~ is **109 hand,]** ~ – **110 well-to-do]** well to do **111 nor]** or **112 present]** now **position]** situation **113 education,] education** **114–116 whether … such faults]** whether ~~they be your faults (as you may be pleased to call it) or no they are faults~~ ^your being in a consumption is your fault or no it is a ~~fault~~^ in <u>you</u>, and it is my duty to see that against such ~~faults~~ ^~~criminal~~ faults^ **116–18 You … be unfortunate.]** ^You ^may^ say that it is your misfortune to have been criminal I answer that it is your crime to have been unfortunate.^

105–39 to the eye … law and order.: f. 92^{r}.

may say that it is your misfortune to be criminal; I answer that it is your crime to be unfortunate.

"I do not hesitate therefore to sentence you to imprisonment, with hard labour, for the rest of your miserable existence. During that period I would earnestly entreat you to repent of the wrongs you have done already, and to entirely reform the constitution of your whole body. I entertain but little hope that you will pay attention to my advice; you are already far too abandoned. Did it rest with myself, I should add nothing in mitigation of the sentence which I have passed, but it is the merciful provision of the law that even the most hardened criminal shall be allowed some one of the three official remedies, which is to be prescribed at the time of his conviction. I shall therefore order that you receive two tablespoonfuls of castor oil daily, until the pleasure of the court be further known."

When the sentence was concluded, the prisoner acknowledged in a few scarcely audible words that he was justly punished, and that he had had a fair trial. He was then removed to the prison from which he was never to return. There was a second attempt at applause when the judge had finished speaking, but as before it was at once repressed; and though the feeling of

---

119–20 imprisonment, … labour i.e. the commuted sentence eventually given to Townley. On the increasing use of penal servitude with hard labour as a criminal sentence in the 19th cent., see Tomlinson.
121 repent cf. Baron Martin in his sentencing: 'All I have to say upon this matter is to bid you take advantage of the opportunities which I am sure will be offered to you of endeavouring to make your peace with God during the short time you have to live' ('The Trial', DM, 3).
130–37 When the sentence … prisoners' van A description loosely influenced by press reports of the emotive conclusion of the Townley trial (see e.g. 'The Trial', DM, 4).

---

119 "I do … sentence] I ~~shall~~ therefore sentence **119–20 imprisonment, with hard labour,]** imprisonment with hard labour **121 entreat]** ~~urge~~ ^entreat^ **121–22 already, … entertain]** already ^and ^to^ entirely reform the constitution of your whole body;^ ~~though~~ I entertain **123 advice; you]** advice. You **124 myself,]** myself **124–5 nothing … sentence]** nothing further to the sentence **125 passed,]** passed already – **127 remedies,]** remedies **12 is to]** are to **at … conviction.]** for him at the time of sentence **128–9 receive … known."]** receive a ~~dose~~ ^two tablespoons^ of caster oil daily ~~and may the Lord have mercy upon your soul.~~ "until the pleasure of the court be further known." **130 concluded,]** concluded **131 words]** sentences **punished,]** punished **132 then removed]** then ~~at once~~ removed **134 repressed;]** repressed

---

117–18 be unfortunate. "I do] E2, *see below* E9

be unfortunate.
"Lastly, I should point out that even though the jury had acquitted you—a supposition that I cannot seriously entertain—I should have felt it my duty to inflict a sentence hardly less severe than that which I must pass at present; for the more you had been found guiltless of the crime imputed to you, the more you would have been found guilty of one hardly less heinous—I mean the crime of having been maligned unjustly.
"I do

130 concluded,] E2, concluded E9

the court was strongly against the prisoner, there was no show of any violence against him, if one may except a little hooting from the bystanders when he was being removed in the prisoners' van. Indeed, nothing struck me more during my whole sojourn in the country, than the general respect for law and order. **135**

---

139 law and order SB planned to, but never did, develop the themes of this chapter in his sequel to *Erewhon*, writing in his *Note-Books*: 'Let a criminal make a speech to a judge much as the judge's speech to the criminal in *Erewhon'* (*Note-Books*, 295). In a letter to Eliza Savage (19 February 1884) he said he would add new material to *Erewhon*, including 'the trial of a middle-aged man for not having lost his father at a suitable age' (Keynes and Hill, 321).

---

135 was strongly] was ~~very~~ strongly **prisoner,]** prisoner **135–6 no show … if]** no ~~attempt to illtreat him~~ ^show of any violence against him^ if **137 prisoners']** prisoner's **Indeed,]** Indeed **138 country,]** country **general]** universal **139 order.]** order which pervaded all classes.

CHAPTER XII.
MALCONTENTS.

I CONFESS that I felt rather unhappy when I got home, and thought more closely over the trial that I had just witnessed. For the time I was carried away by the opinion of those among whom I was. They had no misgivings about what they were doing. There did not seem to be a person in the whole court who had the smallest doubt but that all was exactly as it should be. This universal unsuspecting confidence was imparted by sympathy to myself, in spite of all my training in opinions so widely different. So it is with most of us: that which we observe to be taken as a matter of course by those around us, we take as a matter of course ourselves. And after all, it is our duty to do this, save upon grave occasion.

But when I was alone, and began to think the trial over, it certainly did strike me as betraying a strange and untenable position. Had the judge said

---

2 MALCONTENTS A discontented person, unwilling to acquiesce in the established ideas of an institution, society. SB later described himself as joining the 'small band of malcontents' who resisted Darwinist theory in the later 19th cent. (UM, 3).

5–12 I was carried away … grave occasion SB could have expected his readers to be familiar with prominent opinions starkly at odds with the narrator's view, e.g., the defence of individual freedom of thought and expression against the tyranny of the majority in *On Liberty* (1859), a treatise by utilitarian philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), or the writings of economist and essayist Walter Bagehot (1826–1877), who in his 1856 essay 'The Character of Sir Robert Peel' and in *Physics and Politics* (1872) tended to regard public opinion as a stagnating if 'reassuringly bovine' force (Thompson, 20). As part of his attack on utilitarian philosophy in *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England* (1852), Whewell criticised Bentham's pleasure-pain calculus as reliant for its operation on 'Public Opinion', a 'loose and insecure' basis for any system of morality (Whewell 1852, 257): see below, ls 97–102 n. On the prominence of the language of public opinion in the philosophical and political discourse of the second half of the 19th cent., see Thompson. On contemporary readers' response to this paragraph, see Ed. Int, 49.

---

2 MALCONTENTS.] "Malcontents" **3 home,]** home **7 doubt … that]** doubt ^but^ that **8 be. This … confidence]** be: this universal ^unsuspecting^ confidence **9 myself,]** myself **10 different. … is with]** different. ~~They saw nothing odd,~~ ^~~strange~~^ ~~and therefore~~ I saw n~~othing odd~~ ^~~strange~~^ ~~myself~~. ~~There is~~ ^~~was~~^ ~~a gentleman at Antwerp who paints with his toes having been born without hands or arms. I saw~~ ^~~Some years previously I had seen~~^ ~~him painting in the gallery but I~~ ^~~had not~~^ ~~never noticed that he was using his feet instead of his hands~~: ~~he was himself so accustomed to it that he was not conscious of singularity. He was not conscious — and I~~ ^~~therefore~~^ ~~remained unconscious myself until the~~ ^~~observing powers were awakened by~~^ ~~my attention was called to it by another copyist~~. ~~It is so~~ ^So it is^ with **10 us:]** ~, **11 us,]** us **11–13 ourselves. … when I]** ourselves ^no matter how ~~[? t]~~ and absurd it is^ *And after all, it is our duty to do ~~so~~, ^this^ save upon grave occasion.*. But when I **13 alone,]** alone **13–14 think … betraying a]** think ~~it~~ ^the trial^ over~~,~~ it certainly ~~did~~ ^~~begin to~~ did strike^ ~~strike~~ me as ^betraying^ a **14–15 judge said that]** judge ~~told the prisoner~~ ^said^ that

---

1–35 Chapter XII … right-minded person: f. 93r.

that he acknowledged the probable truth, namely, that the prisoner was born of unhealthy parents, or had been starved in infancy, or had met with some accidents which had developed consumption; and had he then gone on to say that though he knew all this, and bitterly regretted that the protection of society obliged him to inflict additional pain on one who had suffered so much already, yet that there was no help for it, I could have understood the position, however mistaken I might have thought it. The judge was fully persuaded that the infliction of pain upon the weak and sickly was the only means of preventing weakness and sickliness from spreading, and that ten times the suffering now inflicted upon the accused was eventually warded off from others by the present apparent severity. I could therefore perfectly understand his inflicting whatever pain he might consider necessary in order to prevent so bad an example from spreading further and lowering the Erewhonian standard; but it seemed almost childish to tell the prisoner that he could have been in good health, if he had been more fortunate in his constitution, and been exposed to less hardships when he was a child.

I write with great diffidence, but it seems to me that there is no unfairness in punishing people for their misfortunes, or rewarding them for their sheer good luck: it is the normal condition of human life that this should be done, and no right-minded person will complain at being

---

32–6 no unfairness … common treatment Although SB appears to have written these lines without reference to theorists other than CD, many of his contemporaries were also thinking of society in Darwinian terms by 1872. Across Europe and North America, various thinkers applied Darwinian laws of natural selection to sociology, economics and politics from the late 1860s. Many, now described as social Darwinist, earnestly championed the view that the strongest in society 'crowd out the weak' (Paul 2009, 219). Moral philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) (see below, ls 105–26) championed this view in his *Social Statistics* (1851) where he argued that the ousting of the weak by the strong was beneficial to the human race overall: 'The poverty of the incapable, the distresses that come upon the imprudent, the starvation of the idle, and those shoulderings aside of the weak by the strong, which leave so many "in shallows and in miseries," are the decrees of a large, far-seeing benevolence' (323).

---

15 truth, namely,] truth namely **the prisoner was]** the ~~man~~ ^prisoner^ was **17 consumption; and had]** consumption, and ~~that~~ had **18 he knew all this,]** he ~~acknowledged~~ ^knew^ all this **20 already, … I]** already, ~~but~~ ^yet^ that ~~he was still obliged to inflict it~~ ^there was no help for it^_ I **21–2 however mistaken … fully persuaded]** however ~~much~~ ^mistaken^ I ~~d~~ might think it. ~~Were~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]he judge ^was^ honestly persuaded **23 weakness and sickliness]** sickliness and weakness **24–7 spreading, … but it seemed]** *see app.* **29 health,]** heath **30 constitution,]** constitution **31–5 was a child. … right-minded person]** *see app.*

35–67 will complain at … that I did: f. 94^{r}.

---

31 child] E2, boy E9 **35 at]** E2, of E9

subjected to the common treatment. If a man to whom time is a matter involving the utmost loss comes from the West Indies in a ship with yellow fever, even in England we imprison him in quarantine on his arrival, no matter how much money he may lose. He must take his chance as other people do; but surely it would be desperate unkindness to add contumely to our self-protection. **40**

We kill a serpent if we go in danger by it, simply for being in such and

---

37 West Indies The Islands of the Caribbean, where in the 19th cent. Britain had numerous colonies.
37–8 yellow fever A severe infectious disease occurring mainly in tropical and subtropical regions, characterised by fever, jaundice and haemorrhaging.

37–8 involving the utmost … we imprison] involving the ^utmost^ loss ~~of a whole~~ ~~fortune~~ ^~~million sterling~~^ comes from the West Indies in a ship ~~on which the yellow~~ ^~~bound~~^ ~~fever shows itself when the voyage is half over~~, ^with yellow fever even in England^ we imprison **38–9 arrival, no … lose. He]** arrival, let him lose his fortune or no. He **39 chance]** chances **40 do;]** ~: **unkindness to add]** unkindness ~~to tell him that he had not been unfortunate, and~~ ^been criminal^ to add **41–1 self-protection. We]** self protection. We **42 by it,]** by it **simply for being]** simply because of its being

---

36–42 If a man … We kill] *see below* E2 and E9

There is no alternative open to us. [a]It is idle to say that men are not responsible for their misfortunes. What is responsibility? Surely to be responsible means to be liable to have to give an answer should it be demanded, and all things which live are responsible for their lives and actions should society see fit to question them through the mouth of its authorised agent. E2, E9

What is the offence of a lamb that we should rear it, and tend it, and lull it into security, for the express purpose of killing it? Its offence is the misfortune of being something which society wants to eat, and which cannot defend itself. This is ample. [b]Who shall limit the right of society except society itself? And what consideration for the individual is tolerable unless society be the gainer thereby? [c]Wherefore should a man be so richly rewarded for having been son to a millionaire, were it not clearly provable that the common welfare is thus better furthered? We cannot seriously detract from a man's merit in having been the son of a rich father without imperilling our own tenure of things which we do not wish to jeopardise; if this were otherwise we should not let him keep his money for a single hour; we would have it ourselves at once. For

[a] **It is idle … authorised agent** SB presumably felt this addition would explicate this satire by linking it more explicitly to the developments described at below at ls 104–13 n. In NE Aristotle considers the conditions under which people can be deemed responsible for their actions, as part of his argument in Book 3 th at moral virtue must be a conscious choice: see Chs 1–5.
[b] **Who shall limit … the gainer thereby** An allusion to the social contract, the theory of moral and political philosophy that members of a society agree to sacrifice some individual freedoms for social benefits and the state or sovereign's protection. SB possibly alludes to a specific formulation of the theory: that of Genevan philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who in *The Social Contract; Or, Principles of Political Right* (1762) defined the sovereign as the general will of the people as a whole.
[c] **Wherefore … ourselves at once** It is unclear whether SB was alluding here to Rousseau or Locke (see, Ch. 19, l. 53–5n): both considered private property within their formulations of the social contract. Rousseau, in his *Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men* (1755), posited that a just social contract should serve to mitigate natural differences rather than legitimise them. Locke, in contrast, suggested in his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) that inequality is a legitimate outcome of the divine right all humans have to improve their condition.

such a place; but we never say that the serpent has only itself to blame for not having been a harmless creature.

Its crime is that of being the thing which it is: but this is a capital offence, and we are right in killing it out of the way, unless we think it more dangerous to do so than to let it escape; nevertheless we pity the creature, even though we kill it.

But in the case of him whose trial I have described above, it was impossible that any one in the court should not have known that it was but by an accident of birth and circumstances that he was not himself also in a consumption; and yet none thought that it disgraced them to hear the judge give vent to the most cruel truisms about him. The judge himself was a kind and thoughtful person. He was a man of magnificent and benign presence. He was evidently of an iron constitution, and his face wore an expression of the maturest wisdom and experience; yet for all this, old and learned as he was, he could not see things which one would have thought

---

43 place;] ~, **43 never say … has only]** never ~~give~~ ^say that^ the serpent ~~to understand that it~~ has only **44–5 creature. Its]** creature. Its **45 crime is that]** crime is simply that **46 offence, … right]** offence, for which we are ~~quite~~ right **47–9 escape; nevertheless … But]** escape: ~~Any right minded man will~~ ^we^ pity the serpent even though ~~he~~ ^we^ kill it. But in the case of ~~the trial~~ ~~which~~ ^him whose trial^ I have **49–51 above, it was … but by]** above, there was a man of like nature with those who tried him, any one of whom must have known that it was ~~only~~ ^but^ by **52 consumption;]** ~, **52–3 judge … himself was]** judge ^give^ vent the cruellest truisms ~~it~~ ~~[? s]~~ about him. ~~And~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T] judge ^himself^ was **55–6 constitution, … yet]** constitution, and ~~I never saw a~~ ^his^ face ~~which was~~ ~~more expressive of grave~~ ^wore an expression

---

[d] property is robbery, but then, we are all robbers or would-be robbers together, and have found it essential to organise our thieving, as we have found it necessary to organise our lust and our revenge. Property, marriage, the law; as the bed to the river, so rule and convention to the instinct; and woe to him who tampers with the banks while the flood is flowing. E9 *only*

But to return. Even in England a man on board a ship with yellow fever is held responsible for his mischance, no matter what his being kept in quarantine may cost him. He may catch the fever and die; we cannot help it; he must take his chance as other people do; but surely it would be desperate unkindness to add contumely to our self-protection, unless, indeed, we believe that contumely is one of our best means of self-protection. Again, take the case of maniacs. We say that they are irresponsible for their actions, but we take good care, or ought to take good care, that they shall answer to us for their insanity, and we imprison them in what we call an asylum (that modern sanctuary!) if we do not like their answers. This is a strange kind of irresponsibility. What we ought to say is that we can afford to be satisfied with a less satisfactory answer from a lunatic than from one who is not mad, because lunacy is less infectious than crime. E2, E9

47 dangerous] E2, danger E9

[d] **property is robbery** 'Property is theft' was a slogan coined by French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) in his 1840 treatise *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? Recherche sur le Principe du Droit et du Gouvernement* (*What is Property? Inquiry into the Principle of Right and Government*). While Rousseau based his theory of the social contact on popular sovereignty, Proudhon considered the social contract 'an agreement of man with man' (Proudhon 1972, 112), i.e., not between individuals and the general will, but between individuals who each maintain complete sovereignty but refrain from coercing each other.

would have been apparent even to a child. He could not emancipate himself from, nay, it did not even occur to him to feel, the bondage of the ideas in which he had been born and bred. So was it also with the jury and bystanders; and—most wonderful of all—so was it even with the prisoner. Throughout he seemed fully impressed with the notion that he was being dealt with justly: he saw nothing wanton in his being told by the judge that he was to be punished, not so much as a necessary protection to society (although this was not entirely lost sight of), as because he had not been better born and bred than he was. But this led me to hope that he suffered less than he would have done if he had seen the matter in the same light that I did.

I may here mention that only a few years before my arrival in the country, the treatment of all convicted invalids had been much more barbarous than now; for no physical remedy was provided, and prisoners were put to the severest labour in all sorts of weather, so that most of them soon succumbed to the extreme hardships which they suffered; this was supposed to be beneficial in some ways, inasmuch as it put the country to less expense for the maintenance of its criminal class; but the growth of luxury had induced a

---

69–72 the treatment … they suffered An allusion to the system of punishments that existed in England in the 18th and early 19th cent., now known as the Bloody Code. Under this system, severe sentences — often the death penalty — were given for misdemeanours considered trivial by modern standards. **74 criminal class** By the middle of the 19th cent. the concept of a criminal class had become common; it connoted an incorrigible social group at the bottom of society. Figures like Thompson and Maudsley lent an evolutionary slant to the notion, e.g., Maudsley in *Body and Mind* agreed with Thompson's view that 'there is among criminals a distinct and incurable criminal class, marked by peculiar low physical

---

68–9 himself, … feel, the] himself – nay – it had never ^even^ occurred to him even to feel the **60–1 born … all—so]** born & bred. bred: So was it with the jury and bystanders, and most wonderful of all, so **61–3 prisoner. … justly: he]** prisoner. ~~himself~~. No one seemed more fully impressed with the notion that he was been treated quite justly: ~~and~~ he **63–5 was to be … as because]** was being punished not ^so much^ as a necessary protection to society ^(although this was not entirely lost sight of) ~~as for a having committed a crime which~~^ as because **65 born and bred]** born & bred **66 he was. … led me]** he was. This last was ^~~turned~~^ the only reflection which gave me comfort, for it led me **67 had seen]** saw **68 country,]** country **69 had been]** was ~~to~~ **69–70 than … prisoners]** than it is now: for there was ~~only~~ ~~[?]~~ no ~~way~~ physical remedy provided, ~~at all~~, ^and^ ~~and the~~ prisoners **71 weather,]** weather **most ... soon]** ~~the great majority of them [?was]~~ ^most of them soon^ **72 hardships … suffered;]** hardships ~~that they had to undergo;~~ ^~~that~~ which they suffered:^ **73 ways,]** ways **put]** ~~put~~ put **74 the]** the ~~[?largest]~~ maintenance **74–80 growth … age]** ~~[?~~growing] ^growth of^ luxury ~~of the age~~ had induced ~~a laxation of~~

68–85 I may here … in recommittals: f. 95r. At the top of this page SB wrote '~~Chapter VII~~. ~~[?] There was no attempt~~ ^~~[?]~~^ ~~to illtreat him~~'.

---

60 bred. So] E2, [*n.p.*] E9 **61 it … with]** it with E2, was it also E9 **67–8 did. I] did.** And, after all, [e]justice is relative. [*n.p.*] I E2, E9 **70 now;]** ~, E2, E9

e justice is relative A reference to the Utilitarian idea that justice is grounded in utility, and can be ascertained, in any given situation, as the calculation that yields the greatest happiness for the greatest number.

relaxation of the old severity, and a sensitive age would no longer tolerate what appeared to be an excess of rigour, even towards the most guilty; moreover, it was found that juries were less willing to convict, and justice was often cheated because there was no alternative between virtually condemning a man to death and letting him go free; it was also held that the country paid in recommittals for its over-severity; for those who had been imprisoned even for trifling ailments were often permanently disabled by their imprisonment; and when a man had been once convicted, it was probable that he would never afterwards be long off the hands of the country.

These evils had long been apparent and recognized; yet people were too indolent, and too indifferent to suffering not their own, to bestir themselves about putting an end to them, until at last a benevolent reformer devoted his whole life to effecting the necessary changes. He divided all illnesses

---

and mental characteristics; that crime is hereditary in the family of criminals belonging to this class; and that this hereditary crime is a disorder of the mind, having close relations of nature and descent to epilepsy, dipsomania, insanity, and other forms of degeneracy' (Maudsley 1870, 67).

77–9 juries … go free Under the Bloody Code, juries had often been unwilling to find the accused guilty where the punishment was execution and judges had also exercised their extensive discretionary powers to 'mitigate or nullify' the law (Evans, 28).

84 benevolent reformer A caricature of Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), philosopher and jurist, who devoted his life to social and legal reform based on the principles of Utilitarianism. One of Bentham's many schemes for the improvement of society concerned the criminal law. Bentham advocated a rationalisation of the whole English legal system according to utilitarian theory: this would involve the complex task of reclassifying of criminal offences solely according to the principle of their utility, with an appropriate proportion between crimes and punishments. Bentham also applied his theories of punishment to his concept of the panopticon, a private, self-sustaining prison not requiring financial assistance from the public. According to Bentham, the penal system which best maximised the greatest good for the greatest number was one in which prisoners were deprived of their liberty, thus shielding society from any future harm they might cause, but were also protected from cruel treatment: they should be kept clean and healthy and their labour made productive, including the development of skills that might be useful to them and to society when released.

~~public morality and the a degenerate age~~ ^relaxation of the old severity; a highly sensitive age ~~a more~~^ **75 rigour,]** severity **towards]** to **76–7 guilty; … found]** ~~[?]~~ ^guilty:^ ~~indeed:~~ ^moreover^ it was found ^~~[?]~~^ **78 cheated because]** ~~flagrantly~~ ^cheated^ ~~cheated~~ ~~through~~ ~~the feeling that~~ ^because^ **between virtually]** between ~~ind~~ virtually **79 free; it]** free: ~~it~~ it **79–80 held … over-severity;]** held to cost the country more in recommittals **had been]** were **81 even … ailments]** for even ~~trifling~~ comparatively trifling ailments **by]** ~~from the effects of~~ ^by^ **82 imprisonment;]** imprisonment **when]** after **convicted,]** convicted **83 probable]** ~~most likely~~ ^probable^ **never … be]** never ^afterwards^ be **83–4 country. … people]** country, ~~afterwards~~. These evils were ~~long~~ apparent ~~and~~ ^and generally recognised,^ yet ~~[p ?]~~ people **85 suffering]** ~~[?say]~~ suffering **bestir]** bother **87 changes. He]** ~~reforms~~ changes: he

---

80–95 for its over-severity … end of the: f. 96^{r}.

---

83 never] E2, seldom E9 **84 long]** E2, *om*. E9

into three classes—those affecting the head, the trunk, and the lower limbs—
and obtained an enactment that all diseases of the head, whether internal or
external, should be treated with laudanum, those of the body with castor-oil, **90**
and those of the lower limbs with an embrocation of strong sulphuric acid
and water. It may be said that the classification was not sufficiently careful,
and that the remedies were ill chosen; but it is a hard thing to initiate any
reform, and it was necessary to familiarise the public mind with the principle,
by inserting the thin end of the wedge first: it is not therefore to be wondered **95**
at that among so practical a people there should still be some room for
improvement. The mass of the nation are well pleased with existing
arrangements, and believe that their treatment of criminals leaves little or
nothing to be desired; but there is an energetic minority who hold what are
considered to be extreme opinions, and who are not at all disposed to rest **100**
contented until the principle lately admitted has been carried further.

I was at some pains to discover the opinions of these men, and their rea-

---

92–7 It may … for improvement Bentham's utilitarianism understood moral value wholly in terms of real-world action and consequence. After Bentham's death, criticisms were increasingly levelled at his ideas from across the philosophical and political spectrum, many rejecting as crude his attempt to reduce all human motivation to a pleasure-pain calculus, e.g. Thomas Carlyle (see Ch. 22, ls 62–5n) famously disparaged Bentham's utilitarianism as 'pig philosophy' (Carlyle 1896, V, 65). Bentham's ideas found little favour at Cambridge University in the 1850s: in his *Lectures* Whewell assailed Bentham's views, which were starkly at odds with his own intuitionist philosophy: see Whewell 1852, 188–265.

99–108 an energetic minority… for being rotten The *Erewhonian* malcontents are modelled in part on advocates of the penal reform initiatives described below at ls 105–26n. However, none of these initiatives were motivated by hereditary theories of crime. The malcontents' belief in 'antecedent causes' is reminiscent rather of the determinist theories of crime and mental disorder proposed by prison doctors, such as James Bruce Thomson (1810–1873), and self-styled alienists, such as Maudsley (see Ch. 11, E9 additions **b**). Yet proponents of determinist theories were not led by their ideas to favour gentler or restorative treatments. Maudsley spurned the idea that the mentally disordered would benefit from recuperative efforts: they were for him merely 'by-products of evolution' (Homberger, para. 4 of 5). Possibly SB was also inspired by the small group of reformers who, from the early decades of the 19th cent., advocated moral treatment for mental disorders, i.e., treatment based on psychosocial care and moral discipline, underpinned by religious or moral concerns and the work of physicians. Prominent amongst these reformers were William Tuke (1732–1822), a Quaker philanthropist who helped to found The Retreat asylum in York, and John Conolly (1794–1866), physician and asylum reformer, who produced several works championing moral treatment, most notably *The Treatment of the Insane without Mechanical Restraints* (1856).

100–21 opinions … little of that The malcontents' views loosely reflect a range of penal reform ini-

---

88 classes—those] ~~[?head]~~ classes. Those **88–9 limbs—and]** limbs, and **89 head, … external,]** head (whether internal or external) **90 laudanum]** ~~;~~ **91 with]** ~~by~~ with **92–3 was … remedies]** is not sufficiently complete and the remedies **93 chosen;]** ~, **93–4 but … necessary]** but we all know how hard it is to ~~institute any~~ ^initiate a^ reform ~~at all.~~ ~~)~~ . it was necessary **101 principle lately]** principle which has been lately **carried further]** carried ~~much~~ further **102 some pains]** great pains **men,]** men

---

95–110 wedge first: it … fellow-citizens; but: f. 97r.

---

92 water. It] E2, [*n.p.*] E9 **95 not … to]** E2, not, therefore, to

sons for entertaining them. They are held in great odium by the generality of the public, and are considered as subverters of all morality whatever, inasmuch as they assert illness to be the inevitable result of certain antecedent causes which were beyond the control of the individual, and that therefore a man is only guilty for being in a consumption, in the same way as fruit is guilty for being rotten; it is true, the fruit must be thrown on one side as being unfit for man's use; and the man in a consumption must, in like manner, be put in prison for the protection of his fellow-citizens; but these radicals would not punish him further than by loss of liberty and a strict surveillance. So long as he was prevented from injuring society, they would allow him to make himself useful by supplying what ever of society's wants he could supply. If he succeeded in thus earning money, they would have him made as comfortable in prison as possible, and would in no way interfere with his liberty more than was necessary to prevent him from escaping or from becoming more severely indisposed within the prison walls; but they would deduct from his earnings the expenses of his board, lodging, surveillance, and half those of his conviction. If he was too ill to do anything for his support in prison, they would allow him nothing but bread and water, and very little of that. They say that society is foolish in refusing to allow itself to be benefited by a man merely because he has done it harm hither-to, and that objection to the labour of the diseased classes is only protection in another form. It is an attempt to raise the natural price of a commodity by

tiatives of the mid-19th cent. that argued in favour of rehabilitation through self-maintenance and against the purely punitive use of labour as was typical in the period: see Wiener, 46–158. One example was the mark system developed in the 1840s by Norfolk Island Governor Alexander Maconochie (1787–1860): instead of serving fixed sentences, prisoners were held on Norfolk Island until they had earned a number of marks through good conduct, study and hard, often skilled, work. Given that SB's interests overlapped with Spencer's, a more direct source of inspiration may have been 'Prison Ethics', an essay by Spencer published in *The British Quarterly Review* in 1860. Here Spencer suggested a plan for the treatment of criminals that married 'abstract ethics' with utilitarian 'expediency' (158): drawing implicitly on social contract theory, Spencer argued that society had the right to restrain those who had done it harm, and to demand compensation (e.g., the return of stolen property), but no right to impose further gratuitous pain. Crucially, prisoners should be allowed to earn a living while in prison, 'to work much or little, and to take the consequent plenitude or hunger' (180).

108 them. They] them; they **104 as subverters]** ~~subversive~~ ^as subvertors^ **105 assert]** ~~[?hold]~~ assert **106–41 and that therefore … These people say]** *see app.*

110–41 these radicals would … against a general: f. 98^{r}. The text on f. 99^{r} and half of f. 100^{r} differs significantly from E1: *see app.*

104 whatever … to be] E2, whatever. The malcontents, on the other hand, assert that illness is E9 **106 causes … were]** causes, which, in the great majority of cases, were **107 consumption,]** E2, consumption E9 **as fruit]** E2, as rotten fruit E9 **108 being … true,]** E2, having gone rotten. True, E9 **108–9 as unfit]** E2, as being unfit E9 **109 use;]** E2, ~, E9 **must, ... be]** E2, must be E9

saying that such and such persons, who are able and willing to produce it, shall not do so, whereby every one has to pay more for it. Besides, so long as a man has not been actually killed he is our fellow-creature, though perhaps a very unpleasant one. It is in a great degree the doing of others that he is what he is, or in other words, the society which now condemns him is partly answerable concerning him. They say that there is no fear of any increase of disease under these circumstances; for the loss of liberty, the surveillance, the considerable and compulsory deduction from the prisoner's earnings, the very sparing use of stimulants (of which they would allow but little to any, and none to those who did not earn them), the enforced celibacy, and above all, the loss of reputation among friends, are in their opinion as ample safe guards to society against a general neglect of health as those now resorted to. A man therefore (so they say) should carry his profession or trade into prison with him if possible; if not, he must earn his living by the nearest thing to it that he can; but if he be a gentleman born and bred to no profession, he must pick oakum, or write art criticisms for a newspaper.

These people say further, that the greater part of the illness which exists in their country is brought about by the insane manner in which it is treated.

They believe that illness is in many cases just as curable as the moral diseases which they see daily cured around them, but that a great reform is impossible till men learn to take a juster view of what physical obliquity proceeds from. Men will hide their illnesses as long as they are scouted on its becoming known that they are ill; it is the scouting, not the physic, which produces the concealment; and if a man felt that the news of his being in

---

128–30 It is in a great … concerning him Spencer did not address the cause of crime, but on contemporary perceptions of crime as a product of social conditions, see Wiener, 28–33.
137–40 A man therefore … a newspaper Although this is a comic distortion of Spencer's argument, Spencer did accept that a prisoner's labour would be commensurate with their skills; 'it may be,' he concluded, 'that entire self-maintenance would entail on the wholly-unskilled criminal, a punishment too grievous to be borne' (171).
143–4 moral diseases The 19th cent. term for mental disorders.

---

141 say … greater] say ^further^ that far the greater **145 country is]** country, are **manner … treated.]** manner ~~illness~~ in which illness is treated. **143 that illness]** that physical illness **as the moral**] as ^the^ moral **144–5 but that … obliquity]** but ~~that~~ ^that^ it is impossible to effect this until men learn to take a juster view of ~~the nature of~~ ^what^ physical obliquity **146–7 scouted … known]** scouted the moment it is known **147 ill;]** ~: **scouting, … physic,]** scouting … physic **148–9 concealment; … deplorable fact,]** concealment: & if a man ^felt^ that the fact of his being in ill health would be received by his neighbours ~~in the same manner as though he had only~~ a deplorable fact,

---

146–59 on its becoming … somebody else's wife.: f. 101r.

---

137 man therefore] E2, man, therefore, E9

ill-health would be received by his neighbours as a deplorable fact, but one as much the result of necessary antecedent causes as though he had broken into a jeweller's shop and stolen a valuable diamond necklace—as a fact which might just as easily have happened to themselves, only that they had the luck to be better born or reared; and if they also felt that they would not be made more uncomfortable in the prison than the protection of society against infection and the proper treatment of their own disease actually demanded, men would give themselves up to the police as readily on perceiving that they had taken small-pox, as they go now to the straightener when they feel that they are on the point of forging a will, or running away with somebody else's wife.

But the main argument on which they rely is that of economy: for they know that they will sooner gain their end by appealing to men's pockets, in which they have generally something of their own, than to their heads, which contain for the most part little but borrowed or stolen property; and after all, they believe it to be the readiest test and the one which has most to show for itself. If a course of conduct can be shown to cost a country less, and this by no dishonourable saving and with no indirectly increased expenditure in other ways, they hold that it requires a good deal to upset the arguments in favour of its being introduced, and whether rightly or wrongly I cannot pretend to say, they think that the more medicinal and

---

160 the main argument … economy This is possibly inspired by Spencer's passing observation that society would suffer less financial burden were prisoners to support themselves: if the prisoner cannot work, 'whence must come his food and clothing? Directly from the public stores, and indirectly from the pockets of all tax-payers. And what is the property thus abstracted from tax-payers? It is the equivalent of so much benefit earned by labour' (169–70).

---

151 necklace—as] necklace, as **152 happened to themselves, only]** happened to ~~one man as anoth~~ themselves only **153 reared; and]** reared; ~~we should~~ and **155 infection,]** infection **156–9 demanded … wife.]** demanded ~~we should have~~ ^~~the~~ men would^ give themselves up to the ~~police~~ ^~~[? on]~~ police^ as readily on ~~their~~ perceiving that they had taken small pox as they ~~do now~~ ^go to the straightener^ when they ~~have~~ feel that they are on the point of forging a will or running away with ~~another man's~~ ^somebody else's^ wife. **160–4 economy: for … after all,]** economy; ~~both because~~ ^for^ they know that they will ^sooner^ gain their end ~~sooner~~ by appealing to men's pockets in which ~~there is~~ ^they have^ generally something ^of their own^ than to their heads ~~in~~ which ~~there is often very little, and because they know that after all a nation~~ contain[?s] for the most part little but borrowed ~~property~~ or stolen property and ~~because~~ after all **164 test]** ~, **165 itself. … shown]** itself: if ~~[?]~~ a ~~thing~~ ^course of conduct^ can be shown **166 less, and … indirectly]** less and that ~~with~~ by no dishonourable economy, ~~and by no~~ and with no indirectly **167 ways,]** ways **168–9 its being … rightly or wrongly]** being ~~in~~ introduced, and, whether rightly or wrongly,

---

160–76 But the main … to the country.: f. 102r.

---

171 after all,] also, E2, E9 **175 introduced,]** adopted, E2, E9

humane treatment of the diseased of which they are the advocates would in the long run be much cheaper to the country. **170**

I have perhaps dwelt too long upon opinions which can have no possible bearing upon our own, but I have not said the tenth part of what these would-be reformers urged upon me. I feel, however, that I have sufficiently trespassed upon the attention of the reader. **175**

---

170 advocates would] advocates, ~~I mean the treatment of them not without putting them to pain, but putting them to pain in a more rational manner and with the ever present feeling that had [?any] [?the] noblest and wisest in the kingdom been born and circumstanced a diseased constitution and untoward accidents might have been the lot of any man~~ would **172 upon**] [*uwr* on][*owr* up]on **174 feel, however,]** feel however **175–6 reader. … disease.]** reader. ~~and will proceed with opinions current among the generality of the people.~~ They do not regard death with the same abhorrence as disease.

172–202 I have perhaps … although it bears: f. 103r.

171–2 country. I] country: but I did not gather that these reformers were opposed to meeting some of the more violent forms of illness with the cat of nine tails, or with death; for they saw no so effectual way of checking them; they would therefore both flog and hang, but they would do so pitifully. [*n.p.*] I E2, E9

CHAPTER XIII:
THE VIEWS OF THE EREWHONIANS CONCERNING DEATH

The Erewhonians regard death with less abhorrence than disease. If it is an offence at all, it is one beyond the reach of the law, which is therefore silent on the subject; but they insist that [f]the greater number of those who are commonly said to die, have never yet been born—not, at least, into that unseen world which is alone worthy of consideration. As regards this unseen world I understand them to say that some miscarry in respect to it before they have even reached the seen, and some after, while few are ever truly born into it at all—the greater part of all the men and women over the whole country miscarrying before they reach it. And they say that this does not matter so much as we think it does.

[g]As for what we call death, they argue that too much has been made of it. [h]The mere knowledge that we shall

[f] **the greater number … reach it** In his later writings, SB set much store by posthumous life. His ideas on inherited memory led him to argue that we continue to live after death, not only through our offspring in an evolutionary sense, but also while our reputation endures in the minds of the living ('he who is not forgotten is not dead' (*Note-Books*, 362) and in our intellectual or creative productions, which he deemed an extension of ourselves. So, for 'the Handels and Bellinis and Shakespeares', he concluded, the life lived 'beyond the grave is the truest life' (*Note-Books*, 5).

[g] **As for … made of it** The concept of inherited memory that SB developed in LH led him to question the common assumption that birth and death circumscribe a person's existence. Personal identity is not, he claimed, limited to material existence, but spans back the evolutionary generations to the 'primordial cell' (61), and since all living beings comprise a myriad of cells in constant state of degeneration and renewal, there will be greater continuity between the man and his corpse than between the infant and 'the octogenarian into whom he has developed' (78). Such reasoning prompted is his suggestion that '[t]here is no such thing as death— […] as commonly conceived hitherto' (*Note-Books*, 360).

[h] **The mere knowledge … than hurt** SB expressed this same view in his *Note-Books*: 'No one thinks he will escape death, so there is no disappointment and, as long as we know neither the when nor the how, the mere fact that we shall one day have to go does not much affect us; […] The serious trouble begins when death becomes definite in time and shape' (360).

The Erewhonians regard death with less abhorrence than disease. If it be an offence at all, it is one beyond the reach of the law, which is therefore silent on the subject. They bury their dead in quick-lime, and the ashes are presently scattered over any piece of cultivated ground which the deceased may himself have chosen. No one is permitted to refuse this hospitality to **180** the dead: people therefore generally choose some garden or orchard which they may have known and been fond of when they were young. They would fain avoid the loathsomeness and corruption of the grave, and enter into

178 quick-lime Calcium oxide was believed to accelerate the decomposition of corpses.

177 at all,] at all **178–9 dead … over]** dead in ~~quick lime~~ ~~and~~ ^~~a corrosive substance~~ quick lime and^ the ashes are scattered ^presently^ ~~in a few weeks~~ ^~~twelve moneth's~~^ ~~time~~ over **182 young. … would]** young~~;~~ ^~~They~~^ ~~their feeling is that~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]hey would **183 grave,]** grave

one day die does not make us very unhappy; no one thinks that he or she will escape, so that none are disappointed. We do not care greatly even though we know that we have not long to live; the only thing that would seriously affect us would be the knowing—or rather thinking that we know—the precise moment at which the blow will fall. Happily no one can ever certainly know this, though many try to make themselves miserable by endeavouring to find it out. It seems as though there were some power somewhere which mercifully stays us from putting that sting into the tail of death, which we would put there if we could, and which ensures that though death must always be a bugbear, it shall never under any conceivable circumstances be more than a bugbear.

For even though a man is condemned to die in a week's time and is shut up in a prison from which it is certain that he cannot escape, he will always hope that a reprieve may come before the week is over. Besides, the prison may catch fire, and he may be suffocated not with a rope, but with common ordinary smoke; or he may be struck dead by lightning while exercising in the prison yards. When the morning is come on which the poor wretch is to be hanged, he may choke at his breakfast, or die from failure of the heart's action before the drop has fallen; and even though it has fallen, he cannot be quite certain that he is going to die, for he cannot know this till his death has actually taken place, and it will be too late then for him to discover that he was going to die at the appointed hour after all. The Erewhonians, therefore, hold that death, like life, is an affair of being more frightened than hurt.

They burn their dead, and the ashes are presently scattered over any piece of ground which the deceased may himself have chosen. No one is permitted to refuse this hospitality to the dead: people, therefore, generally choose some garden or orchard which they may have known and been fond of when they were young. The superstitious hold that those whose ashes are scattered over any land become its jealous guardians from that time forward; and the living like to think that they shall become identified with this or that locality where they have once been happy.

They do not put up monuments, nor write epitaphs, for their dead, though in former ages their practice was much as ours, but they have a custom which comes to much the same thing, for the instinct of preserving the name alive after the death of the body seems to be common to all mankind. They have statues of themselves made while they are still alive (those, that is, who can afford it), and write inscriptions under them, which are often quite as untruthful as are our own epitaphs—only in another way. For they do not hesitate to describe themselves as victims to ill temper, jealousy, covetousness, and the like, but almost always lay claim to personal beauty, whether they have it or not, and, often, to the possession of a large sum in the funded debt of the country. If a person is ugly he does not sit as a model for his own statue, although it bears his name. He gets the handsomest of his friends to sit for him, and one of the ways of paying a compliment to another is to ask him to sit for such a statue. Women generally sit for their own statues, from a natural disinclination to admit the superior beauty of a friend, but they expect to be idealised. I understood that the multitude of these statues was beginning to be felt as an encumbrance in almost every family, and that the custom would probably before long fall into desuetude.

new forms of life and beauty as soon as possible. The superstitious hold that those whose ashes are scattered over any land become its jealous **185** guardians from that time forward; and the living like to think that they shall

---

185 jealous guardians SB was probably inspired by the tutelary gods of ancient Greece and Rome: city-states worshipped one or more patron gods, but deities were also associated with towns, neighbourhoods and localities of a smaller scale.

---

184 possible. The] possible: ^~~hence they desire that their bodies may be reduced to ashes quickly~~^ the **191 those whose]** they whose **185–6 become … forward;]** become ^its^ jealous ~~gu~~ guardians; ~~of its welfare~~ from that time forward,

---

Indeed, this has already come about to the satisfaction of every one, as regards the statues of public men—not more than three of which can be found in the whole capital. I expressed my surprise at this, and was told that some [h]five hundred years before my visit, the city had been so overrun with these pests, that there was no getting about, people were worried beyond endurance by having their attention called at every touch and turn to something, which, when they had attended to it, they found not to concern them. Most of these statues were mere attempts to do for some man or woman what an animal-stuffer does more successfully for a dog, or bird, or pike. They were generally foisted on the public by [i]some côterie that was trying to exalt itself in exalting some one else, and not unfrequently they had no other inception than desire on the part of some member of the côterie to find a job for a young sculptor to whom his daughter was engaged. Statues so begotten could never be anything but deformities, and this is the way in which they are sure to be begotten, as soon as the art of making them at all has become widely practised.

I know not why, but all the noblest arts hold in perfection but for a very little moment. They soon reach a height from which they begin to decline, and when they have begun to decline it is a pity that they cannot be knocked on the head; for an art is like a living organism—better dead than dying. There is no way of making an aged art young again; it must be born anew and grow up from infancy as a new thing, [j]working out its own salvation from effort to effort in all fear and trembling.

The Erewhonians five hundred years ago understood nothing of all this—I doubt whether they even do so now. They wanted to get the nearest thing they could to a stuffed man whose stuffing should not grow mouldy.

[h] **five hundred … be destroyed** In AS, SB had expressed the view that the production of good art depends upon the continual destruction and regeneration of artistic movements; only in this way can artists hope to maintain an untutored and original eye. The academies had for too long been obstacles to originality: art could only be salvaged through ‘a complete standing aloof from the academic system’ (156). SB advocated instead ‘sketching clubs’ in which novices learnt through first-hand observation and love of their craft, rather than slavish imitation. In time, even these would need to be dismantled: ‘such a society as I have proposed would not remain incorrupt long. […] The members would try to imitate professional men in spite of their rules, or, if they escaped this and after a while got to paint well, they would become dogmatic, and a rebellion against their authority would be as necessary ere long’ (157).

[i] **some côterie … deformities** Since, for SB, a work of art was an extension of the artist, artistic motive was central. He contended in AS that false motives, including unoriginal adherence to the conventions of an academic coterie, would engender second-rate art: ‘The modern Italian painters […] paint as badly as we do, or even worse, and their motives are as poor as is their painting. At an exhibition of modern Italian pictures, I generally feel that there is hardly a picture on the walls but is a sham—that is to say, painted not from love of this particular subject and an irresistible desire to paint it, but from a wish to paint an academy picture, and win money or applause’ (121).

[j] **working out … fear and trembling** An allusion to the exhortation of Philippians 2:11: ‘Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.’

become identified with this or that locality where they have once been happy. I dared not tell them our own system, for when I even began to hint at it they turned away from me in deep displeasure. Epitaphs are not only unknown to them, but utterly repugnant to all their tastes and feelings. **190** There is no law against them, for people would no more set them up than they would try to fly; but they have another institution which comes to much the same thing, for the instinct of preserving the name alive after the death of the body seems to exist here as elsewhere. They have statues of themselves made while they are still alive (those, that is, who can afford it), **195**

---

194 statues SB may have had in mind ancient Greek grave statues (*kouroi* and *koroi*), or funerary monuments (*stelai*) bearing relief sculpture and epitaphs, both of which, at certain periods, incorporated idealised representations of the deceased. However, Victorian Britain saw a surge of (often mass-produced) commemorative statuary that combined elegiac tributes to the deceased's Christian virtues, as well as neo-classical statuary of a quality that SB no doubt disdained.

---

187 with this] with ~~that~~ this **188 happy. … for when]** happy: our own system I dared not tell them, for when **190 but … feelings.]** but are ~~utterly~~ abhorrent to all their tastes & feelings. **191–2 would … fly; but]** wd no more set them up than we shd eat grass, but **192–4 institution which … elsewhere.]** institution which is much the same thing for the instinct of preserving one's name alive after one's body is dead seems to ~~be the same~~ ^exist^ here as ~~in all other parts of the world.~~ ^elsewhere.^ **195 made … alive** made ^while they are still alive^ (those

---

They should have had some such an establishment as our [k]Madame Tussaud's, where the figures wear real clothes, and are painted up to nature. Such an institution might have been made self-supporting, for people might have been made to pay before going in. As it was, they had let their poor cold grimy colourless heroes and heroines loaf about in squares and in corners of streets in all weathers, without any attempt at artistic sanitation—for there was no provision for burying their dead works of art out of their sight—no drainage, so to speak, whereby statues that had been sufficiently assimilated, so as to form part of the residuary impression of the country, might be carried away out of the system. Hence they put them up with a light heart on the cackling of their côteries, and they and their children had to live, often enough, with some wordy windbag whose cowardice had cost the country untold loss in blood and money.

At last the evil reached such a pitch that the people rose, and with indiscriminate fury destroyed good and bad alike. Most of what was destroyed was bad, but some few works were good, and the sculptors of to-day wring their hands over some of the fragments that have been preserved in museums up and down the country. For a couple hundred years or so, not a statue was made from one end of the kingdom to the other, but the instinct for having stuffed men and women was so strong, that people at length again began to try to make them. Not knowing how to make them, and having no academics to mislead them, the earliest sculptors of this period thought things out for themselves, and again produced works that were full of interest, so that in three or four generations they reached a perfection hardly if at all inferior to that of several hundred years earlier.

On this the same evils recurred. Sculptors obtained high prices—the art became a trade—schools arose which professed to sell the holy spirit of art for money; pupils flocked from far and near to buy it, in the hopes of selling it later on, and were struck purblind as a punishment for the sin of those who sent them. Before long a second iconoclastic fury would infallibly have followed, but for the prescience of a statesman who succeeded in passing an Act to the effect that no statue of any public man or woman should be allowed to remain unbroken for more than fifty years, unless at the end of that time a jury of twenty-four men taken at random from the street pronounced in favour of its being allowed a second fifty years of life. Every fifty years this reconsideration

[k] **Madame Tussaud's** A museum of wax sculptures founded in London in 1835 by French artist Marie Tussaud (1761–1851).

and write inscriptions under them, which are often quite as untruthful as are our own epitaphs—only in another way. For they do not hesitate to describe themselves as victims to ill temper, jealousy, covetousness, and the like, but almost always lay claim to personal beauty, whether they have it or not. In fact, if a person is ugly he does not sit as a model for his own statue, although it bears his name. He gets the handsomest of his friends to sit for him, and one of the ways of paying a compliment to another is to ask him to sit for such a statue. The result is delightful. Health and beauty and strength are being thus continually chronicled; and the people think, rightly or wrongly, that this keeps up the standard of all these good things, making those feel ashamed of themselves who do not possess them.

One other custom they have in connection with death, which I can hardly pass over. When any one dies, the friends of the family write no letters of

---

197 only in] only ~~they~~ in **do not]** don't **198 as victims]** as ~~martyrs~~ victims **ill temper, … and the like,]** ill temper jealousy covetousness and the like **199 beauty,]** beauty **or not.]** or no. **200 In fact, … model]** In fact if a person is ugly he dared not sit ~~for~~ as model **statue,]** statue **203 for such a statue.]** for ~~one.~~ ^such a statue.^ **204 chronicled;]** ~, **204–5 think, … wrongly,]** think rightly or wrongly **207 One]** one **death,]** death **208–10 dies, … boxes]** dies the friends ~~never~~ ^~~send~~^ ~~either send~~ ^of the family ~~send~~

201–23 his name. He … is keenly felt.: f. 104r.

---

was to be repeated, and unless there was a majority of eighteen in favour of the retention of the statue, it was to be destroyed.

Perhaps a simpler plan would have been to forbid the erection of a statue to any public man or woman till he or she had been dead at least one hundred years, and even then to insist on reconsideration of the claims of the deceased and the merit of the statue every fifty years—but the working of the Act brought about results that on the whole were satisfactory. For in the first place, many public statues that would have been voted under the old system, were not ordered, when it was known that they would be almost certainly broken up after fifty years, and in the second, public sculptors knowing their work to be so ephemeral, [l]scamped it to an extent that made it offensive even to the most uncultured eye. Hence before long subscribers took to paying the sculptor for the statue of their dead statesmen, on condition that he did not make it. The tribute of respect was thus paid to the deceased, the public sculptors were not [m]mulcted, and the rest of the public suffered no inconvenience.

I was told, however, that an abuse of this custom is growing up, inasmuch as the competition for the commission not to make a statue is so keen, that sculptors have been known to return a considerable part of the purchase money to the subscribers, by an arrangement made with them beforehand. Such transactions, however, are always clandestine. A small inscription is let into the pavement, where the public statue would have stood, which informs the reader that such a statue has been ordered for the person, whoever he or she may be, but that as yet the sculptor has not been able to complete it. There has been no Act to repress statues that are intended for private consumption, but as I have said, the custom is falling into desuetude.

Returning to Erewhonian customs in connection with death, there is one which I can hardly pass over. When any one dies, the friends of the family write no letters of condolence, neither do they attend the scattering, nor wear mourning, but they send little boxes filled with artificial tears, and with the name of the sender painted neatly upon the outside of the lid. The tears vary in number from two to fifteen or sixteen, according to degree of intimacy or relationship; and people sometimes find it a nice point of etiquette to know the exact number which they ought

[l] **scamped** Done negligently or hurriedly.
[m] **mulcted** Swindled, deprived of payment.

condolence, neither do they attend the scattering, nor wear mourning, but they send little boxes filled with artificial tears, and with the name of the sender painted neatly upon the outside of the lid. The tears vary in number from two to fifteen or sixteen, according to degree of intimacy or relationship; and people sometimes find it a nice point of etiquette to know the exact number which they ought to send. Strange as it may appear, this attention is highly valued, and its omission by those from whom it might be expected is keenly felt. These tears were formerly stuck with adhesive plaster to the cheeks of the bereaved, and were worn in public for a few months after the death of a relative; they were then banished to the hat or bonnet, and are now no longer worn.

210 little boxes … artificial tears Possible inspiration for this image were the small phials, or lachrymatories, found in later Greek and Roman tombs, now believed to have held perfume but commonly supposed in the 19th cent. to have been bottles for preserving mourners' tears. SB may also have had in mind the glass tears sometimes attached to sculptural representations of the sorrowful Virgin Mary.

~~no~~ write no^ letters of condolence, ~~or~~ neither do they attend the funeral or wear mourning[*uwr* :][*owr* ,] but they ~~send have~~ ^send^ pretty little boxes **211 upon … lid.]** upon the ^outside of the^ lid. **212–14 according to … send.]** according to ~~the~~ degree of intimacy or relationship, and ~~it is~~ ^people^ sometimes ^find it^ a ~~very~~ nice point of etiquette to know ~~exactly.~~ the exact number which ~~one~~ ^they^ ought to send. **216–19 These tears … worn.]** *om.*

to send. Strange as it may appear, this attention is highly valued, and its omission by those from whom it might be expected is keenly felt. These tears were formerly stuck with adhesive plaster to the cheeks of the bereaved, and were worn in public for a few months after the death of a relative; they were then banished to the hat or bonnet, and are now no longer worn. E9 *only*

The following two paragraphs from the end of Ch. 12 of E2 and Ch. 13 of E9:

The birth of a child is looked upon as a painful subject on which it is kinder not to touch: the illness of the mother is carefully concealed until the necessity for signing the birth–formula (of which hereafter) renders further secrecy impossible, and for some months before the event the family live in retirement, seeing very little company. When the offence is over and done with, it is condoned by the common want of logic; for this merciful provision of nature, this buffer against collisions, this friction which upsets our calculations but without which existence would be intolerable, this crowning glory of human invention whereby we can be blind and see at one and the same moment, this blessed inconsistency, exists here as elsewhere; and though the strictest writers on morality have maintained that it is wicked for a woman to have children at all, inasmuch as it is wrong to be out of health that good may come, yet the necessity of the case has caused a general feeling in favour of passing over such events in silence, and of assuming their non-existence except in such flagrant cases as force themselves on the public notice. Against these the condemnation of society is inexorable, and if it is believed that the illness has been dangerous and protracted, it is almost impossible for a woman to recover her former position in society.

The above conventions struck me as arbitrary and cruel, but they put a stop to many fancied ailments; for the situation, so far from being considered interesting, is looked upon as savouring more or less distinctly of a very reprehensible condition of things, and the ladies take care to conceal it as long as they can even from their own husbands, in anticipation of a severe scolding as soon as the misdemeanour is discovered. Also the baby is kept out of sight, except on the day of signing the birth–formula, until it can walk and talk. Should the child unhappily die, a coroner's inquest is inevitable, but in order to avoid disgracing a family which may have been hitherto respected, it is almost invariably found that the child was over seventy-five years old, and died from the decay of nature. E2, E9

CHAPTER XIII.

MAHAINA.

I CONTINUED my sojourn with the Nosnibors. In a few days Mr. Nosnibor had recovered from his flogging, and was looking forward with glee to the fact that the next would be the last. I did not think that there seemed any occasion even for this; but he said it was better to be on the safe side, and he would make up the dozen. He now went to his business as usual; and I understood that he was never more prosperous, in spite of his heavy fine. He was unable to give me much of his time during the day; for he was one of those valuable men who are paid, not by the year, month, week, or day, but by the minute. His wife and daughters, however, made much of me, and introduced me to their friends who came in shoals to call upon me.

One of these persons was a lady called Mahaina. Zulora (the elder of my host's daughters) ran up to her and embraced her as soon as she entered the room, at the same time inquiring tenderly after her "poor dipsomania."

---

1 CHAPTER XIII Phenomena addressed by SB in this chapter became the focus of Michel Foucault's famous sociological analysis of the way changing power relations underpinned historical developments in the Western penal system in *Discipline and Punishment* (1975). Particularly relevant to the narrator's discussion of public whipping (l. 117) and private seclusion (119) is Foucault's analysis of the emergence of the modern prison system to replace earlier models of punishment as public spectacle (*Discipline*, Parts 1 and 2). Foucault's theories of the self-disciplining 'docile body' (*Discipline*, Part 3), and of the operations of 'capillary' power (*Power/Knowledge*, 39), are germane to Butler's portrait of Mahaina generally.

2 MAHAINA Possibly from Mi. māhina, meaning moon. My thanks to Professor Peter Whiteford for his suggestion that 'Mahaina' may also be connected to Mi. mahina, meaning weak. Significantly, this name bears some similarity to 'mania', and thus to 'dipsomania' below.

13 Zulora SB originally named this character Zelora, but changed it when he discovered that the heroine of *The Coming Race* by Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803–1873) was called Zee (*Butleriana*, 9). Zelora was possibly a play on the ancient Greek ζῆλος, meaning zealous rivalry. The name Zulora still bears negative associations through its resemblance to ζῦγόν, meaning yoke.

15 dipsomania The term coined in the 19th cent. for a medical condition involving an uncontrollable,

---

1 Chapter XIII] Chapter {V~~III~~}. XIII **2 MAHAINA.]** "Mahaina" **3 Nosnibors. In]** Nosnibors; and I cannot say enough of the kindness with which they treated me. In **4 flogging, and was looking forward]** flogging and looked forward **6 this;]** ~, **7 now went]** went now **7 usual;]** usual **8 prosperous,]** prosperous **9–13 of his … me. One]** of ~~the~~ ^his^ heavy fine. ~~which he had paid~~ ~~to the state~~. **He was … those ~~who are~~ ^valuable men who are^ paid … week … minute: his … daughters however … me and introduced** ~~His wife and daughter made much of me and introduced~~ me to ~~all~~ their friends, me. ~~and see the wonderful foreigner,~~ ~~and hear his singing~~. One

---

1–27 Chapter XIII … * * * full conviction.": f. 105r. At the bottom righthand corner of this page SB wrote '(with preceding)', apparently reminding himself of the order of his MS fragments.

---

12 friends] ~, E2, E9

Mahaina answered that it was just as bad as ever; she was a perfect martyr to it, and her excellent health was the only thing which consoled her under her affliction.

Then the other ladies joined in with condolences and the never-failing suggestions which they had ready for every mental malady. They recommended their own straightener and disparaged Mahaina's. Mrs Nosnibor had a favourite nostrum, but I could catch little of its nature. I heard the words "full confidence that the desire to drink will cease when the formula has been repeated * * * this confidence is everything * * * far from undervaluing a thorough determination never to touch spirits again * * * fail too often * * * formula a certain cure (with great emphasis) * * * prescribed form * * * full conviction." The conversation became then more audible, and was carried on at considerable length. I should perplex myself and the reader by endeavouring to follow the ingenious perversity of all they said; enough, that in the course of time they came to an end, and Mahaina took her leave receiving affectionate embraces from all the ladies. I had remained in the background after the first ceremony of introduction, for I did not like the looks of Mahaina and the conversation displeased me. When

often paroxysmal, craving for alcohol. Following their determinist models of criminality and insanity, alienists from the 1860s strove to medicalise certain manifestations of habitual drunkenness, contending that dipsomaniacs were different from voluntary drunkards because their impulsive need for drink was hereditary, related to insanity and requiring medical treatment. For Maudsley, 'drunkenness in parents, especially that form of drunkenness known as dipsomania, which breaks out from time to time in uncontrollable paroxysms, is a cause of idiocy, suicide or insanity in their offspring. It would seem to be truly a nervous disease' (Maudsley 1874, 23). Mahaina's feigned illness was therefore like Townley's alleged insanity, a disorder robbing the sufferer of rational self-government, and the cause of particular legal and public controversy at a time when the penal policy was premised on the reasoning subject and aimed, more than ever, to inculcate self-control (see esp. Wiener, 52–91).

22 nostrum Quack remedy, esp. one prepared by the person recommending it.

16–17 martyr to it, … excellent] martyr to it, ~~and could not get rid of it: she~~ ~~the straightener seemed perfectly powerless to do her no good at all~~, ~~must drink~~ and her excellent **17–18 under her … Then]** under ~~the~~ ^the^ affliction: ~~of having so little control over her passion for intoxicating drinks~~. Then **21–5 Mahaina's. … thorough]** Mahaina's. ~~The old lady~~ ^Mrs Nosnibor^ had a ~~favourite remedy of her own~~ ^~~nostrum at once~~ favourite nostrum^ but I could catch ~~but~~ little of ~~the~~ its nature. I ~~caught~~ ^heard^ the words "empty stomach," * . * "full confidence … cease ^ *_ *_ * :^ ~~after~~ the formula … this confidence <u>everything</u> … undervaluing * _ * . * _ thorough **27–8 The conversation … I]** Th[*uwr* is][*overwr* e] conversation ^became then more audible and was^ ~~was~~ carried on at considerable length; ~~and~~ I **29–30 perversity … that in]** perversity ~~which infected all~~ ^of all^ they said; ^suffice that^ ~~but~~ in **30 time they came]** time ~~it~~ ^they^ came **31 leave … affectionate]** leave, receiving ~~most~~ affectionate **31–3 I had … not like]** I had ~~myself~~ ~~of course~~ remained

27–65 The conversation … some charitable commonplace,: f. 106r. At the top of the page SB wrote '~~uttered in the prescribed form, and with the full conviction.~~'

27 conversation … then] conversation then became E2, E9 **30 they]** E2, the visit E9 **33 Mahaina]** E2, ~, E9

she left the room I had some consolation in the remarks called forth by her departure.

At first they fell to praising her very demurely. She was all this that and the other, till I disliked her more and more at every word and inquired how it was that the straighteners had not been able to cure her as they had cured Mr Nosnibor.

There was a shade of significance on Mrs Nosnibor's face as I said this, which seemed to imply that she did not consider Mahaina's case to be quite one for a straightener. It flashed across me that perhaps the poor woman did not drink at all. I knew that I ought not to have inquired, but I could not help it, and asked point blank whether she did or not.

"We can none of us judge of the condition of other people," said Mrs Nosnibor in a gravely charitable tone and with a look towards Zulora.

"Oh, mamma," answered Zulora, pretending to be half angry but rejoiced at being able to say out what she was already longing to insinuate; "I don't believe a word of it. It's all indigestion. I remember staying in the house with her for a whole month last summer, and I am sure she never once touched a drop of wine or spirits. The fact is, Mahaina is a very weakly girl, and she pretends to get tipsy in order to win a forbearance from her friends to which she is not the least entitled. She is not strong enough for her calisthenic exercises and she knows she would be made to do them unless her inability was referred to moral causes."

Here the younger sister, who was ever sweet and kind, remarked that she thought Mahaina did tipple occasionally. "I also think," she added, "that she sometimes takes poppy juice."

---

41 Mahaina's case On 19th cent. concerns about the criminal impulse in 'respectable people', see Wiener, 38–45, 244–256.
54 calisthenic exercises Light, rhythmic exercises intended esp. for women or girls.
58 poppy juice Opium. Hence, SB's comic reference to an Italianate 'Mr Poponondi' in the collation below, ls 57–8.

---

in the background ^after the first … did not^ ~~and had not~~ like **34 Mahaina, … When]** Mahaina, and the conversation ~~displeased me~~. displeased me: when **37 other,]** other[*uwr* ;][*owr* ,] **more … inquired]** more ^and more^ at every word, and enquired **40 this, which]** this, ^~~and~~^ which **41 seemed ... that]** seemed to say to me that **43 inquired,]** asked this question, **44–5 not. "We can]** no. ~~Mrs Nosnibor looked up at Zulora and said gravely~~ ^~~in a gravely charitable tone~~^ "[*uwr* w][*owr* W]e can **46 tone]** ~, **look … towards]** look ~~of significance~~ towards **47 "Oh,]** "Oh **rejoiced]** rejoice[*uwr* ing][*owr* ed] **48 she was … "I don't]** she ^had been^ ~~was evidently~~ longing to have said before. "I don't **49 indigestion.]** ~: **50 summer,]** summer **never touched]** never ^once^ touched **51 spirits. … Mahaina]** spirits the whole time: the fact is Mahaina **52 get tipsy … in]** get ~~drunk~~ ^tipsy^ in **53–4 callisthenic exercises,]** calisthenic exercises **56 sister,]** sister **56–7 was ever … Mahaina]** was of ~~a~~ ^ever^ sweet~~er~~ and ~~charitable~~ ^kind^ remarked that she ~~was sure~~ ^thought^ Mahaina **57–8 "I also … that she]** "I am sure ^" she said "that^ she was ~~in liquor~~ ^~~not sober~~ not sober^ at Mr Poponondi's party." "Well ^then^ perhaps she does do it ~~occasionally~~,

---

37 word] E2, ~, E9 **53 not … entitled]** E2, not entitled E9 **54 exercises]** E2, ~, E9

"Well then perhaps she does drink sometimes," said Zulora; "but she would make us all think that she does it much oftener in order to hide her weakness."

And so they went on for half an hour and more, bandying about the question as to how far their late visitor's intemperance was real or alleged. Every now and then they would join in some charitable commonplace, and would pretend to be all of one mind that Mahaina was a person whose bodily health would be excellent if it were not for her unfortunate inability to refrain from excessive drinking; but as soon as this appeared to be fairly settled they began to be uncomfortable until they had undone their work and left some serious imputation upon her constitution. At last, seeing that the debate had assumed the character of a cyclone or circular storm, going round and round and round and round till one could never say where it began nor where it ended, I made some apology for an abrupt departure and retired to my own room.

Here at least I was alone, but I was very unhappy. I had fallen upon a set of people who, in spite of their high civilisation and many excellences, had been so warped by the mistaken views presented to them during childhood from generation to generation, that it was impossible to see how they could ever clear themselves. Was there nothing which I could say to make them feel that the constitution of a person's body was a thing over which he or she had had at any rate no initial control whatever, while the mind was a perfectly different thing, and capable of being created anew and directed according to the pleasure of its possessor? Could I never bring them to see that while

---

73–103 Here at least … had been concealed At issue, once again, are questions of personal responsibility raised by the application of evolutionary theories to the criminal law and the emergent field of psychiatry: see Ch. 12, ls 99–108.

---

^some times" said the other^ "but ~~I am sure~~ that she **61 weakness."]** ~. **62 more,]** more **63 visitor's]** visitors **64 alleged. Every]** alleged: every **would join]** would ~~all~~ join **65 commonplace, … would]** commonplaces and ~~they~~ would **one mind]** a mind **65–6 was a person]** was ~~really~~ a person **66 be excellent]** be ~~really~~ excellent **67 drinking;]** ~, **68 they … to]** they ~~seeme~~d ^began^ to **69–70 work … that the]** work, and ~~at~~ left some ~~more~~ serious imputation ~~on~~ upon her constitution[uwr :][owr .] ~~till~~ [*uwr* a][*owr* A]t last seeing ^that^ the **73–4 Here … excellences, had]** Here at least I was alone ~~though a prey to the most melancho~~ly ~~reflections~~ ^but I was very ~~uncomfortable~~ unhappy^. I had fallen upon a nation^ which in spite of a highly refined civilisation and ^many^ excellencies, ~~of head and heart which cd leave nothing to be desired~~ had **75 by the mistaken … to them]** by mistaken views engrained into them **76 to generation,]** generation **77 say to make]** say ~~or do~~ to make **78–9 he … had]** he ^or she^ had **79 whatever, while]** whatever,~~?~~ while **79–80 was a … different]** was ~~[al?]~~ an entirely different **being created … directed]** being ~~controlled~~ ^created anew^ & direct[*uwr* ion][*owr* ed] **81 possessor? … character were]** possessor? ~~So that of a~~ ^Could I never^ bring it before them that while habits of mind and ~~thought~~ ^character^ were

---

65–93 and would pretend … case she might: f. 107^{r}.

---

64 alleged] E2, no E9

habits of mind and character were entirely independent of initial mental force and early education, the body was so much a creature of parentage and circumstances, that no punishment for ill-health should be ever tolerated save as a protection from contagion, and that even where punishment was inevitable it should be attended with compassion? Surely, if the unfortunate Mahaina were to feel that she could avow her bodily weakness without fear of being despised for her misfortunes, and if there were medical men to whom she could fairly state her case, she would not hesitate about doing so through the fear of taking nasty medicine. It was possible that her malady was incurable (for I had heard enough to convince me that her dipsomania was only a pretence and that she was temperate in all her habits); in that case she might perhaps be justly subject to annoyances or even to restraint; but who could say whether she was curable or not, until she was able to make a clean breast of her symptoms instead of concealing them? In their eagerness to stamp out disease, these people overshot their mark; for men had become so clever at dissembling—they painted their faces with such consummate skill—they repaired the decay of time and the effects of mischance with such profound dissimulation—that it was really impossible to say whether any one was well or ill till after an intimate acquaintance of months or years. Even then the shrewdest were constantly mistaken in their judgements, and marriages were often contracted with most deplorable results, owing to the

93–5 but who … concealing them Many of the writers who influenced SB's crime-health analogy deprecated the social stigma attached to their subject matter. Drysdale's motive in publishing *Elements* was in part to dispel 'the ideas of mystery and shame' associated with physical and sexual health 'which must be completely overcome throughout society' (77). Maudsley too lamented 'the social prejudices' attaching to mental disorder, which he believed were an obstacle to its diagnosis and treatment (Maudsley 1867, 422).
102 marriages … deplorable results Hereditary theories of criminality and insanity had prompted concerns about marriage and procreation amongst the criminal and 'weaker' members of society: hence, Maudsley in *Responsibility* advised 'abstention from marriage or […] prudent intermarriage' in cases con-

82 force] ~~,~~ **83 and circumstances,]** & circumstances **ill-health should]** ill health shd **85 contagion, … attended]** contagion to others, and that even in these necessary cases it shd be always attended **86 Surely,]** Surely **88 and if]** and, if **90 was possible]** is very possible **91–2 dipsomania … that she]** dipsomania was entirely affected and ~~thus~~ ^that^ she **92 habits);]** habits) **93 might perhaps]** might be perhaps **restraint; but]** restraint ~~of liberty in order to keep up the physical constitution of the race, and prevent ill heath from becom[?] regarded lightly~~, but **94 or not,]** or not **95 symptoms]** ~, **them? In]** them? ~~These peop~~le [uwr i][owr I]n **96 disease, … they]** disease ^had^ had over shot their mark: for people ~~became so~~ cunning in concealing it, they **98 skill—]** ~, **the ~~defects~~ ^decay^ of]** the decay of **99 dissimulation—]** ~, **100 acquaintance]** acquaintance~~,~~ **or years. Even]** or ~~even~~ years: ~~and~~ even **101–2 were constantly … results,]** were ~~constantly~~ ^often^ contracted with ~~very~~ ^most^ deplorable results

93–116 perhaps be justly … of them otherwise.: f. 108r. At the bottom of this folio, SB wrote: '~~and I could also understand their punishing incurables with seclusion & in some cases with death; but I never could and never can sympathise with the tone which they adopt towards these unfortunate persons & the feelings with which they one & all regard them.~~' SB reworked this into the final ls 118–121 of the chapter.

88 misfortunes] E2, infirmities E9

art with which infirmity had been concealed.

It appeared to me that the first step towards the cure of disease should be the announcement of the fact to a person's near relations and friends. If anyone had a headache, he ought to be permitted within reasonable limits to say so at once, and to retire to his own bedroom and take a pill, without every one's looking grave and tears being shed and all the rest of it. As it was, even upon hearing it whispered that somebody else was subject to headaches, a whole company must look as though they had never had a headache in their lives. It is true they were not very prevalent, for the people were the healthiest and most comely imaginable, owing to the severity with which ill health was treated; still, even the best were liable to be out of sorts sometimes, and there were few families that had not a medicine-chest in a cupboard somewhere. I could understand that it should be necessary to attach painful remedies to diseases, inasmuch as there would be no getting rid of them otherwise. The public whipping of those who had the small-pox seemed not only intelligible but natural. I could even understand their punishing incurables with seclusion, and in extreme cases with death; but the tone of manner which they adopted towards these unfortunate persons, and the feelings with which they one and all regarded them, were quite beyond my comprehension.

---

cerning an 'hereditary predisposition' to insanity (Maudsley 1874, 238). Pioneering psychiatrists John Bucknill (1817–1897) and Daniel Tuke (1827–1895), in their *Manual of Psychological Medicine* (1858), had reached a similar conclusion: 'no medical man having regard to the health of the community, or even that of the family, will possibly feel himself justified in recommending the marriage of any person of either sex in whom the insane diathesis is well marked. The marriage of threatened lunatics is a veritable Pandora's Box of physical and moral evil' (226).

117 public whipping Whipping as a public spectacle was abolished in the early decades of the 19th cent. as part of a broader move in penal policy away from barbaric spectacles and towards rational, private punishment.

119 seclusion The separate system, which guided prison management and architecture throughout the middle decades of the 19th cent., was based on the principle of solitary confinement. Solitary self-reflection, abetted by Christian teaching, was thought to best promote character reformation.

103–5 concealed. … be the] concealed. ^It appeared to me that the^ ~~The~~ first step towards the cure of ~~the~~ disease should be ~~the removal of social stigma from~~ ^~~to encourage~~ ~~to encourage~~^ the **105–7 If …, and]** If a person had a headache he or she should be allowed within reasonable limits to d~~eclare the fact~~ ^say so at once;^ and **107 his]** their **108 grave … shed]** grave ~~at them~~ ^and tears^ being shed, **was, even]** was ~~a whole company had to pretend~~ even **109 headaches,]** headaches **111 true … were]** true headaches ^they^ were **111–12 healthiest and]** healthiest ~~[?com]~~ and **113 to be … and]** to ~~them~~ ^to be out of sorts^ sometimes, & **114 a medicine-chest in]** a castor oil bottle in **115 it should … necessary]** it ~~was~~ ^should be^ necessary **116 diseases,]** diseases **116–7 would be … The public]** *see app.* **small-pox … not]** small pox seemed to me not **118 but … understand]** *see app.* **119 seclusion,]** seclusion **death;]** ~, **120 persons,]** persons **121 them, … quite]** them ~~are~~ ^were^ quite

---

117–Ch. 14, l. 2 The public whipping … THE MUSICAL BANKS: f. 109^{r}.

118–121 I could … my comprehension] E2, *om.* E9

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MUSICAL BANKS.

ON my return to the drawing-room, I found that the Mahaina current had expended itself. The ladies were just putting away their work and preparing to go out. I asked them where they were going. They answered with a certain air of reserve that they were going to the bank to get some money.

Now I had already collected that the mercantile affairs of the Erewhonians were conducted on a totally different system from our own: I had however gathered little hitherto, except that they had two distinct commercial systems, of which the one appealed more strongly to the imagination than anything to which we are accustomed in Europe, inasmuch as the banks that were conducted upon this system were decorated in the most profuse fashion, and all mercantile transactions were accompanied with music, so that they were called musical banks, though the music was hideous to a European ear.

As for the system itself I never understood it, neither can I do so now:

---

2 MUSICAL BANKS The Musical Banks are a satiric portrait of the Church of England and exploit the scriptural conception of laying up treasures in heaven in Luke 12:34: 'For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also'. According to HFJ, SB had doubts about letting the chapter stand as is as the satire had seemed to him 'so much too obvious' (Jones 1919, II, 93); with his E9 additions, however, he made its import even more explicit.

4 work Needlework.

8 mercantile As context for his satire of 19th cent. religious attitudes, SB evokes the mercantile culture of the Italian Renaissance, particularly in city-states such as Florence, Venice and Genoa, which from the 13th cent. saw the expansion and growing sophistication of the banking system and the emergence of renowned banking families (see Franceschi, 130). Although SB's preference was in later life for northern Italian culture, he had visited these cities, and presumably absorbed their history, as a child with his family during a holiday of 1865, and in a five-month tour of Italy in 1869: See Jones 1919, I, 117, 130.

---

1 CHAPTER XIV.] Chap. XIV **2 THE MUSICAL BANKS]** "The musical banks" **3 On]** on **drawing-room,]** drawing room **that the Mahaina]** that ^the^ Mahaina **5 to go out.]** to ~~[?]~~ ^go^ out **6 answered with a]** answered ~~[bet]~~ ^with^ a **8–9 that … Erewhonians]** that ^the^ mercantile affairs ~~are~~ of the Erewhonians **9 system … I had]** system ~~to~~ ^from^ our own: ~~all however that~~ I had **10 hitherto;]** ~~,~~ **11 appealed … to]** appealed greatly more to **12–16 anything … European ear.]** anything ^to^ which we are accustomed ~~to~~ in Europe. **inasmuch as ~~all~~ the banks which were conducted … so that they were called musical ~~[?banker]~~ banks~~, I can only say~~ though the music was hideous to an European ear. [*The side insertion continues to 'I had long wanted to'*] **17–18 As for … code**] ~~S~~ I never could quite understand it, neither can I do so now; ~~The whole subject which I am now about to write of is one which I never mastered~~ : the[*uwr* ir][*owr* y] have a code

---

3–16 On my return … to a European ear.: f. 109r.
17–34 As for the … day, and keeping: bottom half of f. 110r.

9–10 own: I … however] E2, own; I had, however, E9 **15 musical banks,]** E2, Musical Banks E9

they have a code in connection with it, which I have not the slightest doubt that they themselves understand, but no foreigner can hope to do so. One rule runs into and against another as in a most complicated grammar, or as in Chinese pronunciation, wherein I am told that the slightest change in accentuation or tone of voice alters the meaning of a whole sentence. Whatever is incoherent in my description must be referred to the fact of my never having attained to a full comprehension of the subject.

So far however as I could collect anything certain, they appeared to have two entirely distinct currencies, each under the control of its own banks and mercantile codes. The one of them (the one with the musical banks) was supposed to be the system, and to give out the currency in which all monetary transactions should be carried on: as far as I could see, all who wished to be considered respectable, did keep a certain amount of currency at these banks: on the other hand if there is one thing of which I am more sure than another it is that the amount so kept was but a very small part of their possessions. I think they took the money, put it into the bank, and then drew it out again, repeating the process day by day, and keeping a certain amount of currency for this purpose and no other, while they paid the ex-

---

18 code A satiric reference to the teachings of the Bible.
20 grammar A book about grammar of the type SB used throughout his primary and secondary school education in Classics. SB's headmaster at Shrewsbury, Benjamin Kennedy (1804–1889), wrote several influential Latin grammars.
6 currencies SB exploits the multivalence of the word 'currency' to evoke the value and relevance of the Anglican Church to Victorian society: see also l. 176n.

---

19 they themselves … but] they ~~thoroughly~~ ^/ themselves^ understand, ~~themselves~~, but **22–3 alters]** changes **sentence. Whatever]** sentence: ~~and~~ whatever **23–4 fact … subject]** fact ~~that I never got~~ to ~~the bottom~~ ^of my never having attained a full comprehension^ of the subject. ~~or fairly mastered it~~ **So … as]** So far ^however^ as **25 anything]** any thing **26 control … banks]** control of ^their own^ banks **27–8 codes. … in which]** codes. ~~of th~~ The one of these ^(the one with the musical banks)^ was supposed to be ~~par excellence~~ the system, ^and to give out^ the currency ~~whi~~ in which **29–30 as far … banks:]** ~~and certainly~~ as far as I could see, all ~~the~~ ^who wished to be considered^ respectable ~~people of the country~~ did keep a certain amount of ~~money~~ this currency at these ~~peculiar~~ banks: **32–3 another … I think]** another it is ~~this namely~~ that the amount so kept was ~~an extremely limited part of the possessions of even those who used these banks most largely, but the oddest p thing of all was that people would go and deposit money daily for years together and yet never seem to be any richer:~~ ^but a very small part of ~~what~~ their possessions.^ I think **34 repeating]** and repeated **34 process … and keeping]** process day ~~after~~ by day, keeping **35–6 paid … coinage.]** paid the ^expenses of the^ bank ~~charges~~ with the other coinage.

34–42 a certain amount … on stated occasions: top half of f. 111r.

---

19 they … understand,] E2, they understand, E9 **20 into … against]** E2, into, and against, E9 **20 grammar,]** E9, grammer E2 **25 far however]** E2, far, however, E9 **26–7 certain, they … (the]** E2, certain, I gathered that they have two distinct currencies, each under the control of its own banks and mercantile codes. One of these (the E9 **27 musical banks]** E2, Musical Banks E9 **29 on: as]** E2, on; and as E9 **30 did keep]** E2, kept E9 **a certain ... currency]** E2, a larger or smaller balance E9 **31 banks: on]** E2, banks. On E9 **31 hand]** E2, ~, E9 **32 another]** E2, ~, E9 **32–6 kept was ... coinage. I]** E2, kept had no direct commercial value in the outside world; I E9

penses of the bank with other coinage. I am sure that the managers and cashiers of the musical banks were not paid in their own currency. Mr Nosnibor used to go to these musical banks, or rather to the great mother bank of the city, sometimes but not very often. He was a pillar of one of the other banks, though he appeared to hold some minor office also in these. The ladies generally went alone; as indeed was the case in most families, except on stated occasions.

I had long wanted to know more of this strange system, and had the greatest desire to accompany my hostess and her daughters. I had seen them go out almost every morning since my arrival and had noticed that they carried their purses in their hands, not exactly ostentatiously, yet just so as that those who met them should see whither they were going. I had never yet been asked to go with them myself.

It is not easy to convey a person's manner by words, and I can hardly give any idea of the peculiar feeling which came upon me whenever I saw the ladies in the hall, with their purses in their hands, and on the point of starting for the bank. There was a something of regret, a something as though they would wish to take me with them, but did not like to ask me, and yet as though I were hardly to ask to be taken. I was determined how-

---

38–9 mother bank SB's satiric subject is the English cathedral.
42 stated Having prescribed time. This was possibly an error, however: SB's E9 emendation 'state' in the Collation of Print Variants below is either a correction, meaning 'official', or an obsolete synonym of stated.

---

37 cashiers … were not] cashiers ~~were~~ ^of the musical banks were^ not **37–9 currency … often.]** currency. ^~~anymore [?]~~^ ~~and also that those of the other kind of banks were not paid in anything else.~~ ^~~but I could never understand how many cases currency made how many~~^ ~~Howeverr I will pass over this for I really no cannot be sure of my own accuracy, nor understand how the one coinage was convertible into the other~~ Mr Nosnibor used to go to ~~these~~ ^these musical^ banks (or rather to the great mother bank of the city) sometimes, but not very often; **40 other banks, though]** other ~~banking~~ ~~kind or~~ banks, though~~a[?]~~ **also]** [*uwr* in][*owr* al]so **41 alone;]** ~, **families,]** families **43 I had … system]** **…I had long wanted to** ~~I had long wanted~~ to know more of this latter system **45 go … almost]** go ^out^ almost **and … noticed]** and ^had^ noticed **46 hands,]** hands **46–7 as … those]** as ^that^ those **47 should]** shd **47–8 never … been]** never ^yet^ been **48 them myself.]** them ^myself^. **49 It is not … words, and]** One cannot convey a person's manner upon paper, ~~yet~~ and– **50 peculiar feeling]** peculiar sort of feeling **upon … whenever]** upon ^me^ whenever **51–2 hands, … bank.]** hands, and evidently just starting for the bank. **52 regret,]** ~ – **53 would wish to]** wd ~~like~~ ^wish^ to **53–4 them, … as though]** them, ~~and yet~~ but did not like to ask me – and yet ~~a something~~ as though **54 to ask]** to venture to ask **54–5 I was … bring]** ~~Were~~ – I was determined to bring

---

44–54 I had seen …. to be taken.: top half of f. 110^{r}.
54–57 I was determined … might do so.: Bottom of f. 111^{r}.

---

37 musical banks] E2, Musical Banks E9 **38 musical banks]** E2, Musical Banks E9 **42 stated]** E2, state E9 **47–8 never yet]** E2, never, however, yet E9 **50 which]** E2, that E9 **whenever]** E2, when E9 **51 ladies in … and on]** E2, ladies on E9 **54 determined however]** E2, determined, however, E9

ever to bring matters to an issue with my hostess about my going with them, and after a little parleying and many inquiries as to whether I was perfectly sure that I myself wished to go, it was decided that I might do so.

We passed through several streets of more or less considerable houses, and at last turning round a corner we came on a large piazza, at the end of which was a magnificent building, of a strange but noble architecture and of great antiquity. It did not open directly on to the piazza, there being a screen, through which was an archway, between the piazza and the actual precincts of the bank. On passing under the archway we found ourselves upon a green sward, round which there ran an arcade or cloister, while in front of us uprose the majestic towers of the bank and its venerable front, which was divided into three deep recesses and adorned with all sorts of marbles and many sculptures. On either side there were beautiful old trees wherein the birds were busy by the hundred, and a number of quaint but substantial houses of singularly comfortable appearance; they were situated in the midst of orchards and gardens, and gave me an impression of great peace and plenty.

Indeed it had been no error to say that this building was one which appealed to the imagination; it did more—it carried both imagination and judgement by storm. It was an epic in stone and marble, neither had I ever seen anything in the least comparable to it. I was completely charmed and

---

55 bring … issue Cause to be resolved.
56 parleying Discussing to resolve an issue.
59 piazza It. A public square.
59–71 at the end … peace and plenty SB describes English cathedral architecture and layout, with the characteristic close, including gated boundary walls, lawns, cloisters and ecclesiastical buildings.
64 green sward Turf.

55–6 with them, and] with them to the bank, and **58–9 streets … large]** streets ~~filled with~~ ^of more or less^ considerable ~~temples~~ ^houses^ (~~for all houses and workshops, and places of business are called temples in that country)~~ and at last, turning round a corner, we came on a ~~very~~ large **60–1 building … antiquity.]** building ~~in the gothic~~ ^of ~~a~~ strange but noble [*uwr* ~~style~~][*owr* of] architecture^ ~~style~~ and of great antiquity. **61–2 a screen … between]** a ~~sort of~~ screen (through which was an ~~large~~ archway) between **65 us uprose … majestic]** us ^uprose^ the majestic **bank]** ~, **front,]** front **66 recesses]** ~, **67 and many sculptures.]** and ^many^ sculptures. **67–8 there were … busy]** there were ~~venerable~~ ^beautiful old ~~elm~~^ trees in which the ~~rooks~~ ^birds^ were busy **68 number]** number **69 houses … comfortable]** houses of ~~a most~~ ^singularly^ comfortable **70 gardens,]** gardens **72–8 Indeed … bygone ages.]** *see app.*

57–84 We passed through … the right one.: f. 112^{r}. This page bears a crossed-out chapter title: '~~The Musical banks~~.'.

---

56 parleying] E2, parleying, E9 **59 on]** upon E2, E9 **63 found ourselves]** E2, we entered E9 72 which] E2, that E9 **74–5 marble, … charmed]** E2, marble, and so powerful was the effect it produced on me, that as I beheld it I was charmed E9

melted. I felt more conscious of the existence of a remote past. One knows of this always, but the knowledge is never so living as in the actual presence of some witness to the life of bygone ages. I felt how short a space of human life was the period of our own existence. I was more impressed with my own littleness, and much more inclinable to believe that the people whose sense of the fitness of things was equal to the upraising of so serene a handiwork, were hardly likely to be wrong in the conclusions they might come to upon any subject. My feeling certainly was that the currency of this bank must be the right one.

We crossed the sward and entered the building. If the outside had been impressive the inside was even more so. It was very lofty and divided into several parts by walls which rested upon massive pillars; the windows were filled with glass, on which had been painted the principal commercial incidents of the bank for many ages. In a remote part of the building there were men and boys singing; this was the only disturbing feature, for as the gamut was still unknown, there was no music in the country which could be agreeable to a European ear. The singers seemed to have derived their inspirations from the songs of birds and the wailing of the wind, which last they tried to imitate in melancholy cadences which at times degenerated into a howl. To my thinking the noise was hideous, but it produced a great effect upon my companions, who professed themselves much moved. As soon as the singing was over the ladies requested me to stay where I was, while they went inside the place from which it had seemed to come.

80–3 the people … any subject The theory of art that SB developed in AS bears some relation to this notion, for he came to believe that the quality of a work of art was inseparable from the intentions and moral character of the artist: art painted 'not from love' would be a 'sham' (AS, 121).
87–9 the windows were filled … many ages SB prompts comparison with stained glass windows in English churches, which illustrate biblical teachings and stories.
90 men and boys singing SB would have been familiar with sacred music in part through life at SJC, where daily chapel (when the all-male college choir would sing) was compulsory.
91 gamut The full range of pitches in a musical system.

---

76 existence.] ~: **80 littleness, and]** littleness ~~both of body & mind~~, and **81 upraising]** uprearing **82 handiwork, … likely]** handiwork were hardly likely **subject. My]** subject: my **lofty and]** lofty – and **87 upon … windows]** upon ~~exceedingly~~ massive pillars: the windows **88 glass,]** glass **89 bank]** country **ages. In]** ages: in **building there]** building ~~moreover~~ there **90 singing;]** ~: **92 to a European]** to ~~an~~ ^a^ European **93 birds and]** birds & **93–4 last … melancholy]** last they ~~seemed to~~ ^tried to^ imitate ~~in a~~ ^in^ melancholy **95 howl. To]** howl: to **thinking]** notions **96 companions,]** companions **97–8 was, while]** was while **98–9 place … forced]** place ~~where the singing was going on~~ ^from which it hand seemed to come^ ~~in order to present their cheques and get the money for them money in the bank~~. During their absence ~~I was unable to refrain from~~ certain reflections ~~which~~ forced

---

85–111 We crossed the … at this establishment.: f. 113^{r}.

---

88 with … painted the] E2, with stained glass descriptive of the E9 **94 which]** E2, that E9 **97 over]** E2, ~, **was,]** E2, was E9

During their absence certain reflections forced themselves upon me.

In the first place, it struck me as strange that the building should be so nearly empty: I was almost alone, and the few besides myself had been led by curiosity, and had no intention of doing business with the bank. But there might be more inside. I stole up to the curtain, and ventured to draw the extreme edge of it on one side. No, there was hardly any one there. I saw a large number of cashiers, all at their desks ready to pay cheques, and one or two who seemed to be the managing partners. I also saw my hostess and her daughters and two or three other ladies; also three or four old women and the boys from one of the neighbouring Colleges of Unreason; but there was no one else. This did not look as though the bank was doing a very large business; and yet I had always been told that every one in the city dealt with this establishment.

I cannot describe all that took place in these inner precincts, for a sinister-looking person in a black gown came and made unpleasant gestures at me for peeping. I happened to have in my pocket one of the musical bank pieces, which had been given me by Mrs Nosnibor, so I tried to tip him with it; but having seen what it was he became so angry that it was all I

---

101 nearly empty SB's contemporaries shared his perception that churches were empty on Sun-days. The United Kingdom Census of 1851 was held concurrently with a census of religion in England and Wales, which recorded attendance at religious services on 30 March; according to Hoppen, Horace Mann, the statistician in charge of this religious census, voiced the views of many when he suggested that the statistics proved 'a sadly formidable portion of the English people are habitual neglecters of the public ordinances of religion' (Hoppen, 431). Owen Chadwick, writing in the 1960s, suggested that 'we have small reason to doubt' the common 19th cent. perception of churches as 'less full' on Sundays than formerly (159). This view, however, has been subject to historiographic revision. Larsen, for instance, argues that anxiety about low church attendance is reflective rather of the intense religiosity of Victorian society; he presents this era as rather as 'the golden age of church attendance' (1). Hoppen concurs that, on the basis of the statistics collected in 1851, regular church attendance within the Church of England — as in the nation — was then 'anything but low' (431).

103 black gown An allusion to a black cassock.

---

100 place,] place **as strange]** as ~~very~~ strange **101–2 few … intention]** few ~~that were in the building besides myself~~ ^others^ had evidently been led by curiosity ~~to see the place itself~~ and had no intention **102 But]** [*uwr* b][*owr* B]ut **103 inside.]** ~; **104–5 side. … all]** side: no – there was hardly any one there: ^I saw^ a large number of ~~portly~~ cashiers – all **107 daughters … also]** daughters ^and two or three other ladies;^: also **women]** ~, **108 Colleges … but]** colleges of unreason; (~~of which more anon~~) but **110–11 city … establishment]** city ~~banked~~ kept their money at this establishment. **112 I cannot … these]** I ~~cannot say all that passing~~ ^do not know all that took place^ in these **113 sinister-looking]** sinister look **114 peeping.]** ~; **114–15 have … which]** have ~~one of~~ ^in my pocket one of the^ ~~the coins~~ musical bank pieces ~~in~~

112–23 I cannot describe … supposed that they: f. 114r.

---

101 empty:] ~; E2, E9 **114 musical bank]** E2, Musical Bank E9 **116 was]** E2, ~, E9 **116–17 it was all … do to]** E2, I had to give him a piece of the other kind of money to E9 **117 When he was]** E2, When I had done this he became civil directly. As soon as he was E9

could do to pacify him. When he was gone I ventured to take a second look, and saw Zulora in the very act of giving a piece of paper which looked like a cheque to one of the cashiers. He did not examine it, but, putting his hand into an antique coffer hard by, he pulled out a quantity of metal pieces apparently at random, and handed them over without counting them; neither did Zulora count them, but put them into her purse and departed. I supposed that they knew their own business best, for the ladies seemed quite satisfied, thanked him for the money, and began making towards the curtain; on this I let it drop and retreated to a reasonable distance.

They soon joined me. For some few minutes we all kept silence, but at last I ventured to remark that the bank was not so busy to-day as it probably often was. On this Mrs Nosnibor said that it was indeed melancholy to see what little heed people paid to the most precious of all institutions. To this I could say nothing; but I have ever been of opinion that the greater part of mankind do on the whole know where they get that which does them good. Mrs Nosnibor went on to say that I must not imagine that there was any want of confidence in the bank because I had seen so few people there; the heart of the country was thoroughly devoted to these establishments, and any sign of their being in danger would bring in support from the most unexpected quarters. It was only because people knew them to be so very safe, that in some cases (as she lamented to say in Mr Nosnibor's) they felt that their support was unnecessary. Moreover these institutions never de-

---

128–74 Mrs Nosnibor said … were entitled to Presumably these lines echo the kinds of arguments that SB heard in the context of widespread interest and concern in the mid-19th cent. about numbers and kinds of people regularly attending church services. As Hoppen has observed, Butler's generation was one that 'agonized over those who did not float upon the faith', as exemplified by Mann's comments noted above at l. 101n (427).

~~my pocket~~, which **116–17 angry … When]** angry that ~~I~~ it was all I could [*uwr* t][*owr* d]o to pacify him: when **119 but,]** but **121–2 handed … neither]** handed them ~~to her~~ ^over^ without counting them: neither **122 but put them]** but them **departed.]** departed, ~~as though contented.~~ **122–3 I supposed … knew]** I supposed ^that^ they ~~I supposed they~~ knew **124–5 thanked … drop]** thanked him ~~reverentially~~ for the money and ~~made~~ ^began making^ towards ~~me;~~ ^the curtain;^ on this I let ~~the curtain~~ ^it^ drop **126 soon … For]** soon~~ed~~ joined me: for **128–32 On this … went on to say]** *see app.* **133 there;]** ~: **134 the country was]** the ~~people~~ ^country^ was **136 people … very]** people ~~felt that it was~~ so ^knew them to ~~they were~~ be very **137–8 in Mr … institutions]** in M^{r} ~~Blefoorski's~~ ^Nosnibor's^) ~~people~~ ^they^ felt tht ~~it could do without their assistance;~~ ^their support was unnecessary;^ ~~besides~~ ^moreover^ th[*uwr* i][*owr* e]se institutions

---

123–46 knew their own… as it was: f. 115^{r}.

---

119 but,] but E2, E9 **122–5 departed. … this I]** went back to her seat after dropping a few pieces of the other coinage into an alms box that stood by the cashier's side. Mrs. Nosnibor and Arowhena then did likewise, but a little later they gave all (so far as I could see) that they had received from the cashier back to a verger, who I have no doubt put it back into the coffer from which it had been taken. They then began making towards the curtain; whereon I E9 **129–30 institutions … but]** institutions. I could say nothing in reply, but E2, E9 **131 on the whole]** approximately E2, E9 **132 imagine that]** E2, think E9

parted from the safest and most approved banking principles. Thus they never allowed interest on deposit, a thing now frequently done by certain bubble companies, which by doing an illegitimate trade had drawn many customers away; and even the shareholders were fewer than formerly, owing to the innovations of these unscrupulous persons, for the musical banks paid little or no dividend, but divided their profits by way of bonus on the original shares once in every three hundred and fifty years; and as it was now only two hundred years since there had been one of these distributions, people felt that they could not hope for another in their own time and preferred investments whereby they got some more tangible return; all which, she said, was very melancholy to think of.

Having made these last admissions, she returned to her original statement, namely, that every one in the country really supported the bank. As to the fewness of the people, and the absence of the able-bodied, she pointed out to me with some justice that this was exactly what we ought to expect. The men who were most conversant about the stability of human institutions, such as the lawyers, men of science, doctors, statesmen, painters, and the like, were just those who were most likely to be misled by their own fancied accomplishments, and to be made unduly suspicious by their licentious desire for greater present return, which was at the root of

---

141 bubble companies Companies associated with a stock-market bubble, a situation involving a swift rise in stock prices driven by a surge of over-eager investment and followed by a significant crash. The most famous example from SB's lifetime was the so-called Railway Mania of the 1840s. As railway construction increased rapidly in Britain from the late 1830s, so too did investment in railway companies; much of this investment was denounced in the press as rash and ill-informed and the resultant crash blamed on unsound business practice and innumerable instances of fraud. On the Railway Mania, see Broadbridge, esp. 151–75.

142–5 shareholders … years SB imagines the Musical Banks to be joint-stock banks owned and controlled by shareholders who receive profits as dividends. The Bank of England monopolised joint-stock banking until 1926; after that date, joint-stock banks were permitted to form outside of London and by the 1870s they had come to dominate the English banking system.

139–40 Thus … never] Thus ~~it~~ ^they^ never **140–1 deposit … doing]** deposit, which was now frequently given by curtain bubble companies, who by doing **142 formerly,]** formerly **143 unscrupulous persons,]** unscrupulous ~~people,~~ ^persons,^ **144 dividend, … divided]** dividend; but ^~~was [?]~~^ divided **145 shares]** share, **years;]** ~, **146 two hundred]** 200 **148 time and]** time & **149 return;]** ~: **admissions, she]** admissions ~~which~~ ~~made me~~ ^~~showed me~~^ ~~suspect~~ ^~~feel pretty sure~~^ ~~that~~ ^~~plainly~~^ ~~there was a screw loose somewhere,~~ she **151 statement,]** statement **152 people, … able-bodied,]** people and absence of the able bodied, **153 me … justice]** me, with some justice, **155 doctors,]** doctors **157–8 accomplishments, … licentious]** accomplishments, and to be ^made^ unduly suspicious ~~by way of~~ ^~~both~~ by their^ licentious **158–9 return, … vanity,]** return (which was at the root of nine tenths of the opposition) ~~and~~ by their vanity

---

146–74 now only two … to the house: f. 116r.

143–4 musical banks] E2, Musical Banks E9 **145 three ... fifty]** E2, thirty thousand E9 **146 hundred]** E2, thousand E9 **151 the bank.]** E2, these banks. E9

nine-tenths of the opposition, by their vanity, which would prompt them to affect superiority to the prejudices of the vulgar, and by the stings of their own conscience, which was constantly upbraiding them in the most cruel manner on account of their bodies, which were generally diseased; let a person's intellect be never so sound, unless his body were in absolute health he could form no judgment worth having on matters of this kind. The body was everything: it need not perhaps be such a *strong* body (she said this because she saw that I was thinking of the old and infirm-looking folks whom I had seen in the bank), but it must be in perfect health; in this case, the less active strength it had the more free would be the working of the intellect, and therefore the sounder the conclusion. The people then whom I had seen at the bank were in reality the very ones whose opinions were most worth having; they declared its advantages to be incalculable, and even professed to consider the immediate return to be far larger than they were entitled to; and so she ran on, nor did she leave off till we had got back to the house.

She might say what she pleased, but her manner was not one that carried much conviction; and later on I saw signs of general indifference to these banks that were not to be mistaken. Their supporters often denied it, but the denial was generally so couched as to add another proof of its existence. In commercial panics, and in times of general distress, the people as a mass did not so much as even think of turning to these banks. A few individuals

---

176–83 general indifference … other currency SB's depiction of a 'general indifference' to Christianity reflects, in part, currents of religious doubt in Victorian society. One hammer blow, in Chadwick's view, was biblical criticism: historical study of ancient texts, exemplified in the work of Strauss (see Ch. 19, l. 3) and others emanating from Germany, served to undermine the authority of the Bible by subjecting it to historical critique. Moreover, developments in science had offered counter-explanations

---

160 superiority to the] superiority ~~over~~ ^to^ the **vulgar, and by]** vulgar, ^and^ by **161 conscience,]** conscience **162–3 manner … person's]** manner. ~~Moreover~~ on account of their bodies ^which^ were generally diseased: let a ~~me~~ person's **164 could … judgement]** could ~~never~~ ^form no^ judgement **165 strong]** strong **166 saw … thinking]** saw that ~~the kind~~ I was thinking **167 bank),]** ~) **167–8 health; … less]** health: ~~if it be so, then~~ ^in this case^ the less **169 conclusion. … people]** conclusion: th[*uwr* eir][*owr* e] people **170 bank]** ~~,~~ **170–2 were most … even]** were ^most^ worth having: they declared ~~the~~ ^its^ advantages ~~of the bank~~ to be enormous, and even **173–4 entitled … house]** *see app.* **175 She might]** ~~I~~ She might **175–7 carried … Their]** carried ^much^ conviction; and ~~at a~~ later ~~period~~ on I saw signs of ~~The~~ general indifference to these banks, ~~were~~ ^that were^ not to be mistaken. [*uwr* t][*owr* T]heir **178–9 In … and]** In ~~the~~ commercial crises, and **180–3 so much … currency. In]** *see app.*

175–93 She might say … I assure you.": f. 117^{r}.

---

159 opposition,] E2, ~; E9 **160 vulgar,]** E2, ~, E9 **162 diseased; let]** E2, diseased. [*n.p.*] Let E9 **163 intellect be]** E2, intellect (she continued) be **163 were]** E2, is E9 **163 health]** ~, E2, E9 **164 could]** E2, ~, E9 **judgment]** E2, judgement E9 **165 was]** E2, is E9 **165 *strong*]** E2, strong E9 **169 people then]** people, then, E2, E9 **175–6 manner … conviction;]** manner carried no conviction, E2, E9 **180 individuals]** E2, *om.* E9

might do so, some from habit and early training, some from hope of gain, but few from a genuine belief that the money was good: the masses turned instinctively to the other currency. In conversation with one of the musical bank managers I ventured to hint this as plainly as politeness would allow. He said that it had been more or less true till lately; but that now they had put fresh stained glass windows into all the banks in the country, and repaired the buildings, and enlarged the organs, and taken to talking nicely to people in the streets, and to remembering the ages of their children and giving them things when they were ill, so that all would henceforth go smoothly.

"But haven't you done anything to the money itself?" said I, timidly.

"It is not necessary," he rejoined; "not in the least necessary, I assure you."

On reviewing the whole matter, I can be certain of this much only, that

for the natural world: as Chadwick put it bluntly, 'Geology disproved Genesis' (3). *Essays and Reviews* (1860), a broad-church volume of essays had, in SB's own words, marked the commencement of a religious 'storm' in England by engaging with the German critics, the evidence of miracles and biblical prehistory drawing evidence from the work of scientists (TWAF, 205). As critics such as Larsen have shown, however, the notion of a sudden 'crisis of faith' in Victorian England is to be tempered with the recognition that it was also an 'age of evangelicalism' (1). SB's chief target in his depiction of widespread false piety is what Houghton has described as a 'the discrepancy between Sunday and Monday' in Victorian England: '[a]s men were required to support Christianity by church attendance and active charity, and to accept the moral ideals of earnestness, enthusiasm, and sexual purity, the gap between profession and practice […] widened'; this was especially evident in the fact that 'the revival of Evangelical Christianity' in the 19th cent. existed side by side with a 'commercial spirit and a political economy of self-interest' (405).

186–7 stained glass … organs There was a vast industry of church restoration in the 19th cent.: see Brooks and Saint. In the 1860s SB's own father carried out considerable restoration work on St Andrew's Church at Langar, which stands next to the Rectory where SB was raised.

184–6 allow. … country,] allow: he said that it ~~was~~ ^had been more or less true^ ~~true that this had been the case~~ till lately, but that now they had ~~had~~ ^put^ fresh stained glass windows ~~put~~ into all the banks ~~throughout~~ ^in^ the country, **187 and taken … nicely]** and ~~talked~~ ^taken to talking^ nicely **188–9 to remembering … that]** to ~~asking after~~ ^remembering^ the ages of ≙ their children ^and giving them things when they were ill^, so that **191–3 timidly. … assure you."]** timidly–" "It's not necessary" – he rejoined ~~promptly~~ – "not in the least necessary – ~~there is nothing wrong with the mon~~ey ~~it is simply perfect." and so forth.~~ ^I assure you."^ **194–6 "On reviewing … not the money]** [*uwr* o][*owr* O]n reviewing the whole matter I can be certain of ~~I am certain of~~ this much only – that the money given out at the musical banks ~~is not the current coin of the realm. It~~ ^is not the current coin of the realm. It^ is not the money

194–224 On reviewing the … their faces, nominative: f. 118r.

183–4 musical bank] E2, Musical Bank E9 **187 organs, … talking]** E2, organs; the presidents, moreover, had taken to riding in [a]omnibuses and talking E9 **188 children]** E2, ~, E9 **189 ill,]** E2, naughty, E9 **194–223** On reviewing … if the same] E2, *See below* E9

And yet any one could see that the money given out at these banks was not that with which people bought their bread, meat, and clothing. It was like it at a first glance, and was stamped with designs that were often of great beauty; it was not, again, a spurious coinage, made with the intention that it should be mistaken for the money in

[a] **omnibuses** A large, public horse-drawn vehicle, usually running a fixed route.

the money given out at the musical banks is not the current coin of the realm. It is not the money with which the people do as a general rule buy their bread, meat, and clothing. It is like it; some coins very like it; and it is not counterfeit. It is not, take it all round, a spurious article made of base metal in imitation of the money which is in daily use; but it is a distinct coinage which, though I do not suppose it ever actually superseded the ordinary gold, silver, and copper, was probably issued by authority, and was intended to supplant those metals. Some of the pieces were really of exquisite beauty; and some were, I do verily believe, nothing but the ordinary currency, only that there was another head and name in place of that of the commonwealth. And here was one of the great marvels, for those who were most strongly in favour of this coinage maintained, and even grew more excited if they were opposed here than on any other matter, that the very selfsame coin with the head of the commonwealth upon it was of little if any value, while it became exceedingly precious if stamped with the other image. Some of the coins were plainly bad; of these last there were not many; still there were enough for them to be not uncommon. These seemed to be entirely composed of alloy; they would bend easily, would melt away to nothing with a little heat, and were quite unsuited for a currency. Yet there were few of the wealthier classes who did not maintain that even these coins were genuine good money, though they were chary of taking them. Every one knew this, so they were seldom offered; but all thought it incumbent upon them to retain a good many in their possession, and to let them be seen from time to time in their hands and purses. Of

215 chary Cautiously suspicious or reluctant.

197 bread, … clothing.] bread meat and clothing. **197 like it; … like it;]** like it: … like it: **198 not, … spurious]** not, ^take it all round^ a spurious **199–200 use; … coinage]** use, but it is a ^distinct^ coinage **201 gold, silver,]** gold silver **201–2 and was intended]** and ^was^ intended **202–12 pieces … little heat,]** *see app.* **214 currency … who]** currency; ~~and~~ yet there were ~~very~~ few ^of the wealthier classes^ who **215 that even]** that ~~th~~ even **215 genuine]** genuin~~g~~e **215 were chary]** were ~~wary~~ chary **216 this,]** this **offered;]** ~: **218–9 seen … in]** seen ^from time to time^ in

actual use; it was more like a toy money, or the counters used for certain games at cards; for, notwithstanding the beauty of the designs, the material on which they were stamped was as nearly valueless as possible. Some were covered with tin foil, but the greater part were frankly of a cheap base metal the exact nature of which I was not able to determine. Indeed they were made of a great variety of metals, or, perhaps more accurately, alloys, some of which were hard, while others would bend easily and assume almost any form which their possessor might desire at the moment.

Of course every one knew that their commercial value was nil, but all those who wished to be considered respectable thought it incumbent upon them to retain a few coins in their possession, and to let them be seen from time to time in their hands and purses. Not only this, but they would stick to it that the current coin of the realm was dross in comparison with the Musical Bank coinage. Perhaps, however, the strangest thing of all was that these very people would at times make fun in small ways of the whole system; indeed, there was hardly any insinuation against it which they would not tolerate and even applaud in their daily newspapers if written anonymously, while if the same

course people knew their real value exceedingly well; but few, if any, dared to say what that value was; or if they did, it would be only in certain companies or in writing in the newspapers anonymously. Strange! there was hardly any insinuation against the coinage which they would not tolerate and even applaud in their daily papers; and yet, if the same thing were said without ambiguity to their faces—nominative case verb and accusative being all in their right places, and doubt impossible—they would consider themselves very seriously and justly outraged, and accuse the speaker of being unwell.

I never could understand, neither can I do so now, why a single currency should not suffice them; it would seem to me as though all their dealings would have been thus greatly simplified; but I was met with a look of horror if ever I dared to hint at it. Even those who to my certain knowledge kept only just enough money at the musical banks to swear by, would call the other banks (where their securities really lay) cold, deadening, paralysing, and the like. I noticed another thing moreover which struck me greatly. I was taken to the opening of one of these banks in a neighbouring town, and saw a large assemblage of cashiers and managers. I sat opposite them and scanned their faces attentively. They did not please me; they lacked, with few exceptions, the true Erewhonian frankness; and an equal number from any other class would have looked happier and better men. When I met them in the streets they did not seem like other people, but had, as a general rule, a cramped expression upon their faces which pained and depressed me.

---

214 cramped Unnaturally constrained.

---

219 well; … any,] well: but few if any **220 did,]** did **221 companies or]** companies, ~~& places~~, or **anonymously … there]** anonymously. ~~A marvellous people!~~ ^Strange!^ There **222 the coinage]** this coinage **223–4 papers; … nominative]** papers and yet if the same thing was said ^~~by [?] divide [?] whom they could lay~~ ~~hold of]~~^ without ambiguity, ~~no~~ to their faces, nominative **225 places, … they]** plac[*uwr* es][*owr* e], and doubt impossible, they **226–7 outraged, … unwell.]** outraged[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] ~~and say~~ ^~~would~~^ ~~That his~~ ^~~the speaker's~~^ ~~body must be out of order.~~ ^and accuse the speaker of being unwell.^ **so 228 now,]** so better now, **230 simplified;]** ~, **231–4 hint … noticed]** hint at it. ~~I heard~~ ^[~~? ir~~]^ ~~ejaculations of "cold" "deadening" "paralysing" even~~ Even those, who to my certain knowledge ^kept^ ~~would~~ only ~~keep~~ ^just^ enough money to swear by at the musical banks~~,~~ would call the other banks ^(where their securities really lay)^ cold, deadening, paralysing, and ~~other~~ ^the^ like: I noticed **town,]** [*uwr* T][*owr* t]own, **237 attentively. They]** attentively; they **237–8 lacked, … frankness;]** lacked ^(with few exceptions)^ the true Erewhonian frankness, **238 number from]** number ~~of men~~ from **239–40 happier … like]** happier~~,~~ ~~healthier~~ and better ^~~[?th]~~^ ~~[?]~~ ^men.^ When I met ~~these men~~ ^them^ in the streets, they ^~~were~~^ ~~did not,~~ ~~as a general rule~~ ^did not seem^ like

---

224–47 case verb and … were to be: f. 119r.

---

228 understand, … now, why] E2, understand (neither can I quite do so now, though I begin to see better what they mean) why E9 **234 like. I]** E2, like. [*n.p.*] I **thing moreover]** E2, thing, moreover, E9

Those who came from the country were better; they seemed to have lived less as a separate class, and to be freer and healthier; but in spite of my seeing not a few whose looks were benign and noble, I could not help asking myself concerning the greater number of those whom I met, whether Erewhon would be a better country if their expression were to be transferred to the people in general. I answered myself emphatically, no. The expression on the faces of the high Ydgrunites was that which one would wish to diffuse, and not that of the cashiers. A man's expression is his sacrament; it is the outward and visible sign of his inward and spiritual grace, or want of grace; and as I looked at the majority of these men, I could not help feeling that there must be a something in their lives which had stunted their natural development, and that they would have been more healthily minded in any other profession. I was always sorry for them, for in nine cases out of ten they were well-meaning persons; they were in the main very poorly paid; their constitutions were as a rule above suspicion; and there were recorded numberless instances of their self-sacrifice and generosity; but they had had the misfortune to have been betrayed into a

243–4 from the country … freer and healthier SB's experience as an amateur lay assistant had been in the inner-city parish: see Gen. Int, 21.
249 high Ydgrunites See Ch. 16, l. 44–5n. SB possibly has in mind high churchmen, those members of the Anglican church who attach more importance to a form of liturgy and theology that emphasises the formal ceremonial Catholic elements of worship.
250–2 A man's … grace Many Christian denominations adhere to one of the definitions of a sacrament, or Christian rite, formulated by Saint Augustine in the 5th cent., as 'an outward sign of an inward grace' (Holcomb and Johnson, 1).
256–78 in nine cases … virtually impossible This is the fate that SB avoided, in his view, in 1859, when reneging on a career in the Church of England. Although emigration proved a happy alternative, the fact that he had been equipped through his liberal education for no alternative career evidently still rankled years later. Between February and June 1879, SB contributed to the *Examiner* an anonymous series of letters collectively entitled 'A Clergyman's Doubts'. In these letters he explored the dilemma of a clergyman who discovers mid-career, and with a family to support, that he can no longer subscribe to 'dogmatic orthodoxy' and finds himself 'utterly unmarketable' (C'sD, 62). Significantly, the letters take the form a debate between 'Cantab.' and 'Oxoniensis', SB linking the predicament particularly to graduates of the ancient universities through the Latinate titles of Cambridge and Oxford.

244 class, … but] class, and ~~among these~~ to be freer and ~~happier,~~ ^healthier;^ but **247 better country]** better ~~and happier~~ country **248 emphatically,]** emphatically **250 of the cashiers.]** of the~~se~~ ~~men~~ cashiers. **251 sacrament; it is]** sacrament; it his **252 grace, … grace;]** grace or want of grace, **men,]** men **254–5 have been … any]** have been happier and better in any **256–63 ten … unmistakeable.]** ten **they were well meaning ~~men~~; ^persons^ they were for the most part poorly paid: their constitutions were as a rule beyond suspicion; and ^there were ~~[?er]~~ recorded instances^ numberless ~~acts~~ of ^their^ self ~~devotion~~ sacrifice and even heroism. ~~were~~ but they had had the misfortune to ~~be~~ ^have been^ betrayed into a false position, at … system. ~~Nevertheless they were in a false position~~ ^But this did make their position the less a false one,^ and ~~th~~ ^its^ bad effects ^upon themselves^ were ~~plainly traceable~~ ^unmistakable^**

247–74 transferred to the … for a man: f. 120^{r}.

false position at an age for the most part when their judgement was not matured, and after having been kept in studied ignorance of the real difficulties of the system. But this did not make their position the less a false one, and its bad effects upon themselves were unmistakable.

Few people would speak quite openly and freely before them, which struck me as a very bad sign. When they were in the room every one would talk as though all currency save that of the musical banks should be abolished; and yet they knew perfectly well that even the cashiers themselves hardly used the musical bank money more than other people. It was expected of them that they should appear to do so, but this was all. The less thoughtful of them did not seem particularly unhappy, but many were plainly sick at heart, though perhaps they hardly knew it (*fortunatos quod infortuniam suam nescirent*?) Some few were opponents of the whole system; but these were liable to be dismissed from their employment at any moment, and this rendered them very careful, for a man who had once been cashier at a musical bank was out of the field for other employment, and was generally unfitted for it by reason of that course of treatment which was commonly called his education. In fact it was a career from which retreat was virtually impossible, and into which young men were generally induced to enter before they could be reasonably expected, considering their training, to have formed any opinions of their own. Few indeed were those who had the courage to insist on seeing both sides of the question

---

271–2 *fortunatos … nescirent* ‘Are they fortunate because they do not know of their misfortune?’. Another adaptation of Virgil’s *Georgics*, 2.458: see. Ch. 3, ls 60–1n.

---

264 Few … which] Moreover people would not speak ~~quite~~ openly & freely ~~in their company~~ ^before them^ which **265 sign. When]** sign: when **265–6 every … all]** every ~~one would~~ ^one would ^^~~people wd [?]~~^^ talk as though^ ~~pretend~~ ~~that~~ all **269 do so,]** do so **270 but many]** but ~~a great~~ many **271–3 though perhaps … liable]** though they perhaps hardly knew it ~~,~~ ^(fortunatos qupd infortuniam ^suam^ nescient ?)^ Some few were ~~known[?.] [~~*uwr* ~~T~~][*owr* ~~t~~]~~o be~~ opponents of the whole system; ~~but they~~ ^but these^ were liable **274 moment, … rendered]** moment, ~~which~~ ^and this^ rendered **275–7 bank … career]** bank ~~was not allowed to earn his living in many other ways, and even tho’ he had been he had as a general rule become unfitted for doing so.~~ ^was out of the field of employment, and was generally unfitted for it by reason of that ~~in most cases become incapable of earning his living in any other way [?]~~ course of treatment which was commonly called his education. In fact^ [*uwr* ~~it~~][*owr* ~~It~~] ~~was~~ ^it was^ a career **279–80 expected … opinions]** expected (considering their ~~education~~ ^training^) to have formed any opinion **281 insist on seeing]** insist ~~and~~ ^on^ seeing

---

274–93 who had once … more than this.: f. 121^{r}.

---

266 musical banks] E2, Musical Banks E9 **268 musical bank]** E2, Musical Bank E9 **271–2 it (*fortunatos* … Some]** it, and would not have owned to being so. Some **275 musical bank]** E2, Musical Bank E9 **280 own. Few]** E2, own. Not unfrequently, indeed, they were induced, by what we in England should call undue influence, concealment, and fraud. Few E9

before they committed themselves to either. One would have thought that this was an elementary principle,—one of the first things that an honourable man would teach his boy to do; but in practice it was not so.

I even saw cases in which parents bought the right of presenting to the office of cashier at one of these banks, with the fixed determination that some one of their sons (perhaps a mere child) should fill it. There was the lad himself—growing up with every promise of becoming a good and honourable man—but utterly without warning concerning the iron shoe which his natural protector was providing for him. Who could say that the whole thing would not end in a life-long lie, and vain chafing to escape?

I confess that there were few things in Erewhon which shocked me more than this.

285–6 parents bought … these banks An advowson, the right to present a member of the clergy to a particular living, could be bought in the 19th cent. by private individuals. They were often purchased by landowners to provide a career and income for a younger son who would not inherit the family estate.

282 either. One would] either, one wd **283 principle,—one]** principle – one **283–93 an honourable … this.]** *see app.*

282 themselves to … One] E2, committed themselves to what was practically a leap in the dark. One E9 **282–3 thought … was]** E2, thought that caution in this respect was E9 **284 to do;]** E2, to understand; E9 **291–2 escape? I]** E2, escape? [run on] I E9 **293 than this.]** E2, *see below* E9

than this.

[a]Yet we do something not so very different from this even in England, and as regards the dual commercial system, all countries have, and have had, a law of the land, and also another law, which, though professedly more sacred, has far less effect on their daily life and actions. It seems as though the need for some law over and above, and sometimes even conflicting with, the law of the land, must spring from something that lies deep down in man's nature; indeed, it is hard to think that man could ever have become man at all, but for the gradual evolution of a perception that though this world looms so large when we are in it, it may seem a little thing when we have got away from it.

When man had grown to the perception that in the everlasting Is-and-Is-Not of nature, the world and all that it contains, including man, is at the same time both seen and unseen, he felt the need of two rules of life, one for the seen, and the other for the unseen side of things. For the laws affecting the seen world he claimed the sanction of seen powers; for the unseen (of which he knows nothing save that it exists and is powerful) he appealed to the unseen power (of which, again, he knows nothing save that it exists and is powerful) to which he gives the name of God.

Some Erewhonian opinions concerning the intelligence of the unborn embryo, that I regret my space will not permit me to lay before the reader, have led me to conclude that the Erewhonian Musical Banks, and perhaps the religious systems of all countries, are now more or less of an attempt to uphold the unfathomable and unconscious instinctive wisdom of millions of past generations, against the comparatively shallow, consciously

[a] **Yet we ... no better** These paragraphs bear the impress of SB's objection, formulated in the 1880s, to determinist models of evolution. Despite his rejection of church doctrine from 1859, SB remained a theist in outlook and came to regard the Church as guarding humanity's finest ideas. In developing his Lamarckian ideas on evolution in the decades after the publication of *Erewhon* he acquired a conception of God as present in the operations of the entire organic world: see Lightman, 122–133.

reasoning, and ephemeral conclusions drawn from that of the [b]last thirty or forty.

The saving feature of the Erewhonian Musical Bank system (as distinct from the quasi-idolatrous views which coexist with it, and on which I will touch later) was that while it bore witness to the existence of a kingdom that is not of this world, it made no attempt to pierce the veil that hides it from human eyes. It is here that almost all religions go wrong. Their priests try to make us believe that they know more about the unseen world than those whose eyes are still blinded by the seen, can ever know—forgetting that while to deny the existence of an unseen kingdom is bad, to pretend that we know more about it than its bare existence is no better.

This chapter is already longer than I intended, but I should like to say that in spite of the saving feature of which I have just spoken, I cannot help thinking that the Erewhonians are on the eve of some [c]great change in their religious opinions, or at any rate in that part of them which finds expression through their Musical Banks. So far as I could see, fully ninety per cent. of the population of the metropolis looked upon these banks with something not far removed from contempt. If this is so, any such startling event as is sure to arise sooner or later, may serve as nucleus to a new order of things that will be more in harmony with both the heads and hearts of the people.

[b] **last … forty** i.e. since Darwin published the *Origin*.

[c] **great change … opinions** SB described the advent of this transformation in ER: Sunchildism, the repository of one's own 'best ethical and spiritual conceptions', becomes the new Erewhonian religion (297).

CHAPTER XV.

AROWHENA.

THE reader will perhaps have learned by this time a thing which I had myself suspected before I had been twenty-four hours in Mr. Nosnibor's house—I mean, that though the Nosnibors were very rich people, and exceedingly attentive and hospitable to me, yet that I could not and did not like them, with the exception of Arowhena who was quite different from the rest. They were not fair samples of Erewhonians. I saw many families with whom they were on visiting terms, whose manners charmed me more than I know how to say, but I never could get over my original prejudice against Mr Nosnibor for having embezzled the money. Mrs Nosnibor, too, was a very worldly woman, yet to hear her talk one would have thought that she had received the stigmata; neither could I endure Zulora; Arowhena however was perfection. She it was who ran all the little errands for her mother and Mr Nosnibor and Zulora, and gave those thousand proofs of sweetness and unselfishness which some one member of a family is generally required to give. All day long it was Arowhena this, and Arowhena that; but she never seemed to know that she was being put upon, and was always bright and willing from morning till evening. Zulora certainly was very handsome, but Arowhena was infinitely the more graceful of the two and was the very ne plus ultra of youth and

---

13 received the stigmata Shared in the sufferings of Christ, from the phenomenon of saints and other devout people being supernaturally impressed with marks resembling the wounds on the crucified body of Christ.

21 ne plus ultra Most extreme or perfect example.

1–2 CHAPTER … AROWHENA.] Chapter XV. "Arowhena" **3 learned]** gathered **3–6 a thing … people,]** a fact ~~[?]~~ which I had ~~pretty well~~ ^myself ~~discovered~~^ ~~made up my mind~~ ^suspected^ before I had been twenty four hours in Mr Nosnibor's house: I mean – that the Nosnibors were very rich people **6 me, yet]** me, ~~and~~ yet **8 different … They]** different ^from the rest. ~~of them~~^ ~~People are much the same~~ They **6–7 Erewhonians. … families]** Erewhonians: I saw ~~abundance of other~~ ^many^ families **9 terms, … charmed]** terms whose manners ~~pleased me~~ charmed **10–16 than I know … proofs of]** *see app.* **18 this, … that;]** this … that, **19–20 till evening]** to evening **20–2 was infinitely … I will]** was ~~to my thinking~~ infinitely the most beautiful of the two, ~~She~~ ^and^ was the very ~~perfection and~~ ne plus ultra of ~~[?] budding womanhood~~. ^youth and beauty^ I will

---

1–34 Chapter XV. … more serious obstacle: f. 122^r^. On the top of f. 122^v^, written vertically, are the words 'Ap. 1. 1871'.

5–7 Nosnibors … like them,] E2, Nosnibors showed me every attention, I could not cordially like E9 **13 had received … neither]** E2, was singularly the reverse; neither E9

beauty. I will not attempt to describe her, for any thing that I could say would fall so far short of the reality as only to mislead the reader. Let him think of the very loveliest that he can imagine, and he will be still below the truth.

Having said this much, I need hardly say that I had fallen in love with her, and determined that come what might I would certainly marry her, if she would only have me: to this end therefore I now devoted myself. She must have seen what I felt for her, but I tried my hardest not to let it appear even by the slightest sign. I had many reasons for this. I had no idea what Mr and Mrs Nosnibor would say to it; and I knew that Arowhena would not look at me (at any rate not yet) if her father and mother disapproved, which they probably would, considering that I had nothing except the pension of about a pound a day of our money which the King had granted me. I did not yet know of a more serious obstacle.

In the meantime, I may say that I had been presented at court, and was told that my reception had been considered as singularly gracious; indeed, I had several interviews both with the king and queen, at which from time to time the queen got everything from me that I had in the world, clothes and all, except the two buttons which I had given to Yram, the loss of which seemed to annoy her a good deal. I was presented with a court suit,

---

32–3 pension … our money In Ch. 78 of TWAF Ernest, after his term of imprisonment, is given an allowance of £300 per year by his godfather, as the smallest sum on a which a gentleman could be expected to rebuild his life.

35–71 I had been presented … of my country This section recalls the ‘long, disturbing tradition of bringing [typically by force] indigenous people from all parts of the expanding European world’ to European courts throughout the 17th and 18th cents, to be displayed as curiosities exemplifying their distant countries and cultures (Stopp, 46). On this topic, see, e.g., Vaughan.

---

22 her, for any] her, ~~because~~ ^for^ any **24–7 loveliest … myself. She]** loveliest than he can imagine and he will be still below the truth. ~~I~~ ^Having said this much, I^ need hardly say that I ^[? ce ?]had fallen ~~desperately~~^ ~~fell so irrevocably~~ in love with her, ~~that I~~ ^and ~~had~~^ determined ^that^ come what might ~~that~~ I would certainly marry her if she wd ~~let~~ ^only have^ me; ~~and~~ to this end ~~I~~ ^therefore I now^ devoted myself. ~~entirely.~~ ~~with no other thought~~ of ~~anything whatever.~~ She **28 her, but]** her ~~almost directly~~, but **30 it; and]** it; ~~nor~~ and **31–2 father … except]** father & mother, ~~were opposed to me,~~ ^disapproved^ which ~~was very~~ ^they^ probal[*uwr* e][*owr* y] ^wd ~~be~~^ considering that I had ~~no money~~ ^nothing^ except **33–5 the King … had been]** the ~~Emperor~~ Kind had granted me. ~~Alas~~! I did not ^yet^ know of ~~another~~ ^a^ ~~and still~~ more ~~fatal objection~~. ^serious obstacle.^ m~~e. I had~~ ^In the meantime, I may say ~~here~~ that I had^ ~~already~~ been **35–6 was told]** am told **36–7 indeed, I had]** indeed I ~~had since~~ I had **37–8 king … queen got]** King and Queen, ~~of which however there is no occasion for me to write more largely~~, ~~except that~~ ^at which from time to time^ the Queen got **38 world,]** world **39 Yram, the]** Yram, ~~and~~ the **40–1 suit, and her]** suit ~~instead~~, and ~~the~~ her

---

35–54 In the meantime, … but I ought: f. 123r.

---

22 any thing] E2, anything E9 **24 be still]** still be E2, E9 **24–5 Truth. Having]** E2, Truth. [*no n.p.*] Having E9 **26–7 her, … She]** her. [n.p.] She **28 tried … hardest]** my very hardest E2, my hardest E9 **37 king and queen,]** E2, King and Queen E9 **38 queen]** E2, Queen E9 **39 buttons … I]** E2, buttons I E9

and her Majesty had my old clothes put upon a wooden dummy, on which they probably remain, unless they have been removed in consequence of my subsequent downfall. His Majesty's manners were those of a cultivated English gentleman. He was much pleased at hearing that our government was monarchical, and that the mass of the people were resolute that it should not be changed; indeed, I was so much encouraged by the evident pleasure with which he heard me, that I ventured to quote to him those beautiful lines of Shakespeare's—

> "There's a divinity doth hedge a king,
> Rough hew him how we may;"

but I was sorry I had done so afterwards, for I don't think his Majesty admired the lines as much as I could have wished.

There is no occasion for me to dwell further upon my experience of the court, but I ought perhaps to allude to one of my conversations with his Majesty, inasmuch as it was pregnant with the most important consequences.

The king had been asking me about my watch, and whether such dangerous inventions were tolerated in the country from which I came. I owned with some confusion that watches were not uncommon; but, observing the gravity which came over his majesty's face I presumed to say that they were fast dying out, and that we had few if any other mechanical contrivances of which he was likely to disapprove. Upon his asking me to name some of our most advanced machines, I did not dare to tell him of our steam-engines and railroads and electric telegraphs, and was puzzling my

---

49–50 There's a divinity ... how we may This is a deliberate misquotation. The narrator combines Hamlet 5.2.10–11, when Hamlet says to Horatio: 'And that should learn us / There's a divinity that shapes our ends, / Rough-hew them how we will' with Hamlet 4.5.123–25, where Claudius says to Laertes: 'There's such a divinity doth hedge a king, / That treason can but peep to what it would, / Acts little of his will'.

41–3 dummy, … unless] dummy (like those outside tailors' shops) ~~where~~ ^on which^ they probably remain to this day unless **43–54 subsequent … but I ought]** *see app.* **54 perhaps to allude]** ~~I should however~~ perhaps allude **55–7 with the … king]** with the ~~im~~ most important consequences ~~to myself~~ at a later period. ~~this m~~ The king **59 uncommon; but,]** uncommon but **60 majesty's … to]** Majesty's face I ~~ventured~~ ^presumed^ to **62 contrivances of]** contrivances ~~that were likely to be~~ of **63 advanced … I]** advanced ~~inventions~~ ^discoveries^ I

54–91 perhaps to allude … look at me;: f. 124^{r}.

---

51 don't] E2, do not E9 **54–5 his Majesty,]** his majesty, E2, the King, E9 **57 The king]** E2, He E9 **and whether]** E2, and enquiring whether E9 **59 but,]** E2, but E9 **60 majesty's]** E2, Majesty's E9

brains to think what I could say, when, of all things in the world, balloons suggested themselves, and I gave him an account of a very remarkable ascent which was made some years ago. The King was too polite to contradict, but I felt sure that he did not believe me, and from that day forward though he always showed me the attention which was due to my genius (for in this light was my complexion regarded), he never questioned me about the manners and customs of my country.

To return however to Arowhena. I soon gathered that neither Mr nor Mrs Nosnibor would have any objection to my marrying into the family; a physical excellence is considered in Erewhon as a set off against almost any other disqualification, and my light hair was sufficient to make me an eligible match. But along with this welcome fact I gathered another which filled me with dismay: I was expected to marry Zulora, for whom I had already conceived a great aversion.

At first I hardly noticed the little hints and the artifices which were contrived in order to bring us together, but after a time they became too plain. Zulora, whether she was in love with me or not, was bent on marrying me, and I gathered in talking with a young gentleman of my acquaintance who frequently visited the house and whom I greatly disliked, that it was considered a sacred and inviolable rule that whoever married into a family must marry the eldest daughter at that time unmarried. The young gentleman urged this upon me so frequently that I at last got to see that he was in love with Arowhena himself and wanted me to get Zulora out of the way; but others told me the same story as to the custom of the country, and I saw there was a serious difficulty. My only comfort was that

---

70 genius See Ch. 20, E9 additions **a** and **b**.

65–6 say, … themselves,] say when (of all things in the world) balloons suggested themselves **67 King]** king **68–9 contradict, … forward]** contradict, ~~me~~ but I felt ^~~his manner~~^ sure ~~at the time~~ that he did no believe ~~a word~~ ^me^ ~~of~~ ~~what I had told him,~~ and from that ~~time~~ ^day^ forward **69–70 me … never]** me ~~marked~~ ^the^ attention which was due to my ~~complexion~~ ^genius (for in this light was my complexion regarded)^ , he never **71 and customs]** & customs **73–4 family; … excellence]** family[*uwr* :][*owr* ;] ~~light~~ a physical excellenc[*uwr* y][*owr* e] **75 and my … But]** and ~~I had~~ ^my ~~[?s]~~^ light hair ~~and complexion, which as I said before~~ ^was sufficient to make me an eligible match^ ~~are~~ ^~~is a~~^ ~~very great rarit~~[*uwr* ~~ies~~][*owr* ~~y~~] ~~among them, and held in great estimation~~: but **77 dismay: I was]** dismay: ~~it was that~~ ^~~I mean~~^ I was **78–9 aversion. At]** aversion. They might as well have tried to make me marry the man in the moon. At **80–1 to bring … Zulora,]** to ~~leave us~~ bring us together: in ~~which~~ ^these^ none had a greater share than Arowhena herself: presently they **81 not,]** no **82–5 acquaintance … The young]** acquaintance, who frequently visited the house, and whom I greatly ~~liked~~, ^disliked^ that it was considered ~~a fundamental~~ ^a sacred and inviolable^ rule that whoever married into ~~the~~ ^a^ family must marry the eldest ^unmarried^ daughter or none at all: [*uwr* t][*owr* T]he young **88 way;]** ~: **88–9 country, … My]** country: and I was ~~in despair~~; ^saw that there was a serious difficulty.^ My

---

80 contrived] resorted to E2, E9 **86 last got … that he]** E2, last saw he E9 **87 himself]** E2, ~, E9

Arowhena snubbed my rival and would not look at him. Neither would she look at me; nevertheless, there was a difference in the manner of her disregard; this was all I could get from her.

Not that she at all avoided me; on the contrary I had many a tête-à-tête with her, for her mother and sister were anxious for me to deposit some part of my pension in the musical banks, this being in accordance with the dictates of their goddess Ydgrun, of whom both Mrs Nosnibor and Zulora were great devotees. I could not then be sure whether I had kept my secret from being in the least perceived by Arowhena herself but none of the others suspected me, so she was set upon me to get me to open an account, at any rate pro formâ, with the musical banks; and I need hardly say that she succeeded (as she should have done in whatever else she wanted from me) although I felt little confidence in the banks. But I did not yield at once; I enjoyed the process of being argued with too keenly to lose it by a prompt concession; besides, a little hesitation rendered the concession itself more valuable. It was in the course of conversations on this subject that I learnt the religious opinions of the Erewhonians. I will describe them as briefly as possible in the following chapters before I proceed with the personal adventures of myself and Arowhena.

They were idolaters, though of a comparatively enlightened kind; but here, as in other things, there was a discrepancy between their professed and actual belief, for they had a genuine and potent faith which existed without recognition alongside of their idol worship.

---

109 idolators SB alludes to ancient Greek and Roman religious practices involving the worship of statues.

---

90 snubbed … nevertheless, there] snubbed ~~and unmercifully chaffed him~~ ^my rival^ and would not look at him. ~~which delighted me hugely.~~ ~~But~~ [*uwr* n][*owr* N]either would she look at me, ~~but she disre~~< >~~rded me with a difference nevertheless~~ ~~but~~ ~~I felt that~~ ^nevertheless^ there **92 disregard; … all I]** disregard; ~~which~~ ^this^ was all ~~the comfort~~ I **93 that she … on]** that she avoided me: On **tête-à-tête … deposit]** tête à tête with her, for ~~the rest of them~~ ^her mother and sister^ were ~~very~~ anxious for me to invest **95 being in]** being ~~almost a~~ in **96 their … Ydgrun,]** their ~~great~~ Goddess Ydgrun **96–109 both Mrs Nosnibor … kind; but]** *see app.* **110 here, … there]** here as ~~elsewhere~~ ^in other things^ there **111 existed]** exists

---

91–113 nevertheless there was … gods whom they: f. 125r.

---

91 nevertheless,] nevertheless E2, E9 **93 at all]** E2, *om.* E9 **95 musical banks,]** E2, Musical Banks, E9 **97 I … be sure]** E2, I was not sure E9 **98 being … perceived]** E2, being perceived E9 **98 herself]** E2, ~, E9 **100 musical banks;]** E2, Musical Banks; E9 **101–2 succeeded … But]** E2, succeeded. But E9 **105–6 I learnt … opinions]** E2, I learned the more defined religious opinions E9 **106 Erewhonians. I]** E2, Erewhonians, that coexist with the Musical Bank system, but are not recognised by those curious institutions. I E9 **107 I … the]** I return to the E2, E9 **108 myself … Arowhena.]** E2, Arowhena and myself.

The gods whom they worship openly are personifications of human qualities, as justice, strength, hope, fear, love, &c., &c. The people think that prototypes of these have a real objective existence in a region far beyond the clouds, holding as did the ancients that they are like men and women both in body and passion save that they are even comelier and more powerful, and also that they can render themselves invisible to human eyesight. They are capable of being propitiated by mankind and of coming to the assistance of those who ask their aid. Their interest in human affairs is keen and on the whole beneficent; but they become very angry if neglected, and punish rather the first they come upon than the actual person who has offended them; their fury being blind when it is raised, though never raised without reason. They will not punish with any less severity when people sin against them from ignorance, and without the chance of having had knowledge; they will take no excuses of this kind, but are even as the English law, which assumes itself to be known to every one—it is all

113–24 The gods … reason SB summarises the characteristics of the gods of classical antiquity, esp. as represented in the works of Homer and Hesiod (active between c. 750 and 650 BC). According to B&H, SB in the MS to his *Note-Books* approved the summary of Homer's depiction of the gods given by Scottish classicist John Stuart Blackie (1809–1895) in his essay collection *Horæ Hellenicæ* (1874): 'A god is a supernaturally strong, amorous, beautiful, brave, and cunning man, who may on any given occasion be benevolently disposed to mortals or the reverse'. SB's depiction of these gods in *Erewhon* is fair, but he cherry-picks his examples. He makes no reference to the twelve Olympian deities central to classical myth. Instead, he refers to the peripheral gods Themis and Dike/Justitia, divine personifications of justice, Kratos/Potestas, who personifies strength, Elpis/Spes, who personified hope, Phobos/Pavor who personified fear and Eros/Cupid, who personified love. The gods of 'physical affairs' are presumably minor deities like Helios/Sol, who personifies the sun, or Aura, who personifies the breeze. These selections presumably best serve SB's purpose of linking classical mythology to Paley's *Natural Theology* (see below, ls 128–46n).
127 English law … every one The legal principle of *ignorantia juris non excusat* holds that a person cannot escape liability for violating a law merely through ignorance of its content.

113 whom … personifications] whom they ~~ostensibly~~ ~~observe are~~ ^observe^. ~~They are~~ ^~~worship~~ outwardly are^ personifications **114 justice,]** justice **114–5 &c., … existence]** etc. etc. ~~the~~ ^The people think that^ prototypes of these ^~~are~~^ ~~they believed to~~ have a real ~~tangible~~ ^objective^ existence **116 ancients … men]** ancients, that they are ^like^ men **117 passion]** ~, **117–8 even … themselves]** far comelier and more powerful, (~~though how any~~ ~~being could be more comely than a well-bred Pantatenalla~~ ^~~Erewhonian~~^ ~~genortonian~~ ~~I cannot imagine~~) and also that they ~~have the power of rendering~~ ^can render^ themselves **119 by … and]** by ~~human~~ ~~observance~~, ^mankind^ and **120 ask … Their]** ask ~~[?it]~~ ~~after their~~ ^their aid.^ ~~respec~~tive ~~fashions~~: [*uwr* t][*owr* T]heir **121 beneficent;]** ~, **122–3 first … has]** first ~~whom~~ they come upon, than the actual person ~~that~~ ^who^ has **123–5 though … chance of]** though ~~seldom~~ ^never^ raised without reason: ~~sometimes they are unreasonable, as~~ ^~~thus~~ they will not punish with any less severity^ when people sin against them ignorantly, and even without possibility of **126 kind,]** kind **127 law,]** law **127–8 one— … whether]** one; ~~they punish just the same~~ ^it is all one to them^ whether

113–39 worship openly are … the motive nothing.: f. 126^{r}. At the top of f. 126^{v} is additional text: {~~genuine~~ powers ~~worship which~~} {recognition alongside of} / ~~idol worship, of which I will write further presently. In the mean time~~ ~~I will relate their opinions concerning those supposed deities whom they worship outwardly~~'.

116 holding] E2, ~, E9 **116 ancients]** E2, ~, E9 **117 passion save]** passion except E2, passion, except E9 **121 keen]** E2, ~, E9 **127 one—it … know. Thus]** E2, one. [*n.p.*] Thus

one to them whether the offender knew or did not know. Thus they have a law that two pieces of matter may not occupy the same space at the same moment, which law is presided over and administered by the gods of time and space jointly, so that if a flying stone and a man's head attempt to outrage these gods, by "arrogating a right which they do not possess," for so it is written in one of their books, and to occupy the same space simultaneously, a severe punishment, sometimes even death itself, is sure to follow, without any regard to whether the stone knew that the man's head was there, or the head the stone; this at least is their view of the common accidents of life. Moreover, they hold their deities to be quite regardless of motives. With them it is the thing done which is everything, and the motive goes for nothing.

Thus they hold it strictly forbidden for a man to go without common air

---

128–46 a law … his due SB finds humour in conflating two systems of belief under which divine purpose is inferred from observation of the laws of nature: ancient Greek and Roman mythology and the 18th cent. Christian tradition of natural theology. SB engages with this field of theology esp. as practised by Paley in *Natural Theology* (1802), which, benefitting from Enlightenment developments in science, esp. the areas now known as biology and physics, provides a detailed survey of the complex biological systems in humans, animals and plants, and the physical forces and natural elements support them, as evidence of the existence of an intelligent creator. David Hume, in *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (1779), had already launched an empirical critique on this argument from design. The philosopher Philo negates the idea that we can draw any conclusions about the qualities of the divine based on our experience of the natural world; if we try, we cannot conclude what the Christian theist wants. Relevant, perhaps, for SB's satire is Philo's argument in Part V that observation of mankind might just as well force us to infer multiple divinities like 'the theogony of ancient times' (Hume, 44). Test papers for the Previous Examination for 1855, include questions on Hume and reveal that Cambridge students were encouraged to read Paley as a response to Hume's scepticism (SJC P6.1).

132 arrogating … possess The gods of classical mythology were notorious for their dislike of displays of over-weaning arrogance. SB may have turned to NE, 4.7.2 for a definition of arrogance, where Aristotle defines a boaster ('ἀλαζὼν') as 'arrogating things held in high esteem which he does not possess' (my trans) or 'προσποιητικὸς τῶν ἐνδόξων εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπαρχόντων'. SB's translation of 'a right' for 'things held in high esteem' or 'τῶν ἐνδόξων' is perplexing; the wording is common in the ancient Greek version of the Bible and SB would definitely have understood its meaning, so it seems he deliberately altered the translation to suit his own purposes.

---

128 Thus] [*uwr* t][*owr* T]hus **130–1 moment, … so]** moment, ^which law is presided over and administered by the gods of time and space jointly^ so **131–2 attempt … for]** attempt ~~so~~ to outrage these gods ~~as to be in the same~~ ^~~of time and place~~ ~~they~~^ ~~instantly~~ ^by "arrogating^ a right which they do not possess" (for **133–5 books, … follow,]** books) and ^to^ occupy the same space simultaneously a severe punishment ^– sometimes^ ~~and~~ even death itself ^–^ ~~Sometimes~~, is sure to follow **137 Moreover,]** [*uwr* m][*owr* M]oreover **138–9 motive … for nothing.]** motive nothing. **140 hold it]** hold ~~that~~ it

---

128–67 Thus they hold … think that men: f. 127[r]. At the foot of f.127[v] Butler wrote a footnote to the text, meant originally to correspond to 'of me. … heat she' in the collation of MS variants below): '~~The author has been blamed for his injudicious use of the pronoun. He admits that the English language is herein defective but would quote the following from Bacon's Life of Henry VII "But my lords I labour too much in a clear business. The king is so wise, and hath so good friends abroas that he knoweth duke Perkin from his cradle.~~

---

132 possess," for] possess" (for **133 books,]** E2, books), E9

in his lungs for more than a very few minutes; and if by any chance he gets into the water, the air-god is exceeding wroth and will not suffer it; no matter whether the man got into the water by accident or on purpose, whether through the attempt to save a child or through presumptuous contempt of the air-god, it is all the same, the air-god will kill him, unless he give him his due.

This with regard to the deities who manage physical affairs. Over and above these they personify hope, fear, love, and so forth, giving them temples and priests and carving likenesses of them in stone, which they verily believe to be faithful representations of living beings who are only not human in being more than human. If any one denies the objective existence of these divinities, and says that there is really no such being as a beautiful woman called Justice, with her eyes blinded and a pair of scales positively living and moving in a remote and æthereal region, but that justice is only the personified expression of certain modes of human thought and action—on this they become disturbed and call the objector every kind of ill name, saying that he denies the existence of justice in

---

151–2 one denies … existence In the following paragraphs, SB mocks the anthropomorphising tendency attached to the argument from design. In Part 5 of the *Dialogues*, Hume had called this tendency into question through the mouthpiece of Philo, who points to the many problematic corollaries of Cleanthes' defence of a deity 'as similar to a human mind and understanding' (36). However, Paley devoted a whole chapter of *Natural Religion* to proving the personality of the Christian God: without going so far as to 'limit the properties of mind to any particular corporeal form' Paley concluded: 'that which can contrive, which can design, must be a person. […] The acts of a mind prove the existence of a mind: and in whatever a mind resides is a person' (439–40). The inconsistencies attached to this orthodox view of a Christian God as an infinite, omnipotent person continued to trouble SB and he made it the subject of a series of articles in *The Examiner* in 1879, collectively titled *God the Known and God the Unknown.*
153 Justice SB's image of Justice was drawn from modern rather than classical sources. Justitia, the roman goddess of Justice, and Themis and Dike, her Greek counterparts, were associated with the sword and scales, but none were blindfolded. The female personification of Justice was depicted with a blindfold in western art only from the 17th cent. and, even then, the blindfold was not ubiquitous given its association with deception (Resnik & Curtis, 62–90).

~~And because he is a great prince, if you have any good part here he can help him with notes to write his life.”~~’
141 minutes;] minutes, **142 water, … no]** water the air God is exceeding wroth, [*uwr* he][*owr* and] will not have it so: no **143–4 purpose, … child]** purpose, ~~[?r]~~ whether thro' the attempt to save a child **145 air-god, … air-god]** air God; … air-God **147–9 affairs. … priests]** affairs: ~~and with regard to those who preside over the mind of man it is much the same.~~ ^over and above these^ they personify hope fear, love, and so forth, ~~and give~~ ^giving^ them ~~a~~ temples and priests, **149 stone,]** stone **150 of living beings]** of ~~bona fide~~ ^living^ being, **151 human. If]** human. ~~But~~ If **152–3 as a … Justice]** as ^a^ beautiful woman called Justice with her eyes blindfold and a pair of scales, positively living & moving in a remote and ~~beautiful~~ ^ethereal^ region, but that Justice **156–7 action— … ill]** action, on this they become ~~vey angry~~, ^disturbed^ and call the objector every ~~conceivable~~ ^kind of^ ill

---

142 exceeding wroth] E2, very angry, E9 **145 air-god, … his due]** E2, air-god, the air-god will kill him, unless he keeps his head high enough out of the water, and thus gives the air-god his due. E9 **149 priests]** E2, ~, E9 **153 scales]** E2, ~, E9 **154 æthereal]** E2, ethereal E9 **156–7 action—… that he]** E2, action—they say that he E9 **157–8 justice … wanton]** Justice [*uwr* in][*owr* as] denying personality, and

denying her personality, and that he is a wanton disturber of men's religious convictions. They detest nothing so much as any attempt to lead them to higher spiritual conceptions of the deities whom they profess to worship. Arowhena and I had a pitched battle on this point, and should have had many more but for my prudence in allowing her to get the better of me.

I am sure that in her heart she was suspicious of her own position for she returned more than once to the subject. "Can you not see," I had exclaimed, "that the fact of Justice being admirable will not be in the least affected by the absence of a belief in her being also a living agent? Can you really think that men will be one whit less hopeful, because they no longer believe that hope is an actual person?" She shook her head, and said that with men's belief in the personality all incentive to the reverence of the thing itself, as justice or hope, would cease; men from that hour would never be either just or hopeful again. She was evidently so sincere, and looked so genuinely grieved at hearing any one doubt what she had been always told that she should regard as the first principle of belief, that I was fonder and fonder of her at every word she said. Never did she look so beautiful. There was in her face such a sweet and wondering simplicity that it was all I could do to avoid telling her that I had been converted by my own eyes into accepting faith's existence as a divinity.

But I could not move her, nor indeed did I seriously wish to do so. She deferred to me in most things, for she knew that I had travelled far and seen much, also, that I was quite sincere, and would not for the world have pained her; but from the first she never shrank from fearlessly maintaining her opinions if they were put in question, nor does she to this day abate one jot of her belief in the religion of her childhood, though in compliance

---

161 pitched Planned or, figuratively, violent. The conversation that follows is possibly a tribute to the form Hume adopted (and defended as particularly suited to natural theology) in his *Dialogues* or to the centrality of the dialogue in Western philosophy generally**.**

---

calling him a wanton **159 convictions. … any]** convictions, ^and saying that he must be unwell.^ There is nothing which ~~makes~~ ^they can so^ ill bear as ~~this~~ any **160–1 deities … have had]** deities ^whom^ they profess to worship. ~~Mrs Bleforski~~ ^Arowhena^ and I had a pitch battle on this point, and shd have had **162–3 of me. … heat she]** of me. ^I am sure that in her heart^ she **163–5 position … Justice]** position (~~which [?rendered]~~ ^~~made~~^ ~~her [?]~~ ^~~profess~~^ ~~suspicious of my sincerity~~), ~~and~~ ^for she^ was always harping back to the subject. "Can you not see" I had exclaimed. "that the fact of justice **167–94 will be one … slight emphasis.]** *see app.*

167–94 will be one … a slight emphasis: f. 128^{r}.

---

165 Justice] justice E2, E9 **in the least]** E2, *om.* E9 **171 She was evidently … as a divinity]** E2, *om.* E9 **178 nor indeed]** E2, nor, indeed, E9 **179–81 things, … maintaining]** E2, things, but she never shrank from maintaining E9 **182 question,]** ~; E2, E9

with my repeated entreaties she has allowed herself to be baptized into the English Church. She has however made a sort of illogical excrescence upon her original faith to the effect that her baby and I are the only human beings exempt from the vengeance of the deities for not believing in their personality. She is quite clear that we are exempted. She should never have so strong a conviction of it otherwise. How it has come about she cannot tell, neither does she wish to know; there are things which it is better not to know and this is one of them; but when I tell her that I believe in her deities as much as she does, and that she cannot believe in the existence of justice more firmly than I do, and that it is a difference about words, not things, she becomes silent with a slight emphasis.

I own that she very nearly conquered me once; for she asked me what I should think if she were to tell me that *my* God, whose nature and attributes I had been explaining to her, was but the expression for man's highest conception of goodness, wisdom, and power; that in order to generate a more vivid conception of so great and glorious a thought, man had personified it and called it by a name; that it was an unworthy conception of the Deity to hold Him personal, inasmuch as escape from human contingencies became thus impossible; that the real thing men should worship was the Divine, whereinsoever they could find it; that "God" was but man's way of expressing his sense of the Divine; that as justice, hope, wisdom, &c., were all parts of goodness, so God was the expression which embraced all goodness and all good power; that people would no more cease to love God on ceasing to believe in His objective per-

---

185 excrescence Outgrowth.

196–205 my God … wisdom, &c. Whether or not this reflects SB's position in 1872, it was an idea that he refuted in 1879 in 'God the Known': there he claimed that there would be no reason to complain of a conception of God as 'an expression whereby we personify […] our own highest ideal of power, wisdom, and duration' (48) except for the fact that few people are content to understand God as 'an idea only' (49). Rather, the persistency of the idea of God as a 'Living Person [...] points strongly in the direction of believing that it rests upon a foundation in fact' (51).

---

195 I own … once;] ~~out pitch battle~~. I own that she very nearly ~~had~~ ^conquered^ me once, **196 *my* God, whose]** my God (whose **197 been … was]** been ~~attempting to explain~~ ^explaining^ to ~~Orina~~ ^her^) was **198–9 goodness, … more]** goodness wisdom and power – and that in order to cause a more **199–201 a thought, … personal,]** a ~~combination~~ ^thought^ man had personified it, and called it ~~God~~. ^by a name.^ That it was ^an^ an unworthy ~~consideration~~ ^conception^ of the deity to hold him ~~to be~~ personal, **203–4 Divine, … Divine; that]** divine wereinsoever they could find it; ~~and~~ that God was but ~~the personification of~~ ^man's way of expressing his sense of^ the divine ^~~by man~~^ : that **205 &c.,]** &c. **205–6 expression … people]** expression ~~embracing~~ ^which embraced^ all goodness & ^all^ good power~~;?~~ ~~and~~ that people

---

195–227 I own that … cloven hoof again: f. 129r.

---

185 has however] E2, has, however, E9 **a sort … upon]** E2, a gloss upon E9 **189–90 cannot tell]** E2, does not know E9 **192 does, and … do, and]** E2, does—and E9 **196 *my*]** E2, my E9

than they had ceased to love justice on discovering that she was not really personal; nay, that they would never truly love Him till they saw Him thus. She said all this in her artless way, and with none of the coherence with which I have here written it; her face kindled, and she felt sure that she had convinced me that I was wrong, and that justice was a living person. Indeed I did wince a little; but I recovered myself immediately and pointed out to her that the case was entirely different, because we had books whose genuineness was beyond all possibility of doubt, as they were certainly none of them less than 1800 years old; that in these there were the most authentic accounts of men who had been spoken to by the Deity Himself, and of one prophet who had been allowed to see the back parts of God through the hand that was hidden over his face. This was conclusive; and I spoke with such solemnity that she was a little frightened, and only answered that they too had their books, in which their ancestors had seen the gods; on which I saw that further argument was not at all likely to convince her; and fearing that she might tell her mother what I had been saying, and that I might lose the hold upon her affections which I was beginning to feel pretty sure that I was obtaining, I began to let her have her own way, and to convince me; neither till after we were safely married did I show the cloven hoof again.

214 books Holy Scriptures. The narrator is now appealing to revealed rather than natural theology.
218 one prophet The prophet addressed is Moses in Exodus 33:21–23: 'Then the Lord said, "There is a place near me where you may stand on a rock. When my glory passes by, I will put you in a cleft in the rock and cover you with my hand until I have passed by. Then I will remove my hand and you will see my back; but my face must not be seen"'.
221 their books Classical texts that take Greek myth as their subject, e.g., Hesiod's *Theogeny* and *Works and Days* and Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.
227 cloven hoof To give oneself away or betray something devilish in one's character, from association of the goat with Satan in Christian mythology.

208 than … ceased] than they ^had^ ceased **208–11 she was … She]** she was not really personal? ^Nay – that they will never truly love him till they see him thus?^ ~~As~~ She **was, … she felt]** way and with ~~less~~ ^none of the^ coherence ~~than~~ ^with which^ I have ~~put it above~~ ^here written it,;^ her face kindled, ~~with a glow of animation~~, and she felt **212–13 justice … Indeed]** justice ^was^ really ~~was~~ a woman. Indeed **213 little;]** ~, **216 certainly … that]** certainly ~~not more~~ ^none of them more^ than 3000 years old; ~~any of them; and~~ that **217 of men who]** of ~~them~~ ^men^ who **217–18 Deity … who]** deity himself, and ~~[wh?]~~ of one who **219–20 face. … spoke]** face: this was conclusive; ^and^ ~~And~~ I spoke **221 only … books,]** only ~~made~~ answered that they too had their books **222 gods;]** ~; **222–3 argument … her;]** argument was little likely to convince her, **224 mother … and that]** mother ~~all that~~ ^what^ I had been saying, & that **225 obtaining, I]** obtaining, ~~& which I blush to own that I would have sacrificed less religious (ostensibly but not really)~~ ^~~for (and for which I blush to own that I [? ered] the [? t] and profession of my opinions~~)^ I **226–7 and to … show]** & to convince me, neither till ~~long~~ after we were ^safely^ married did ~~I ever~~ ^I^ show

213 immediately] E2, ~, **214 that the … because we]** E2, that we E9 **219 hidden]** laid E2, E9

CHAPTER XVI.

YDGRUN AND THE YDGRUNITES.

BUT, in spite of all the to-do which they made about their idols, and the temples which they build, and the priests and priestesses whom they support, I could never think that their professed religion was more than skin-deep; but they had another which they carried with them into all their actions; and although no one from the outside of things would suspect it to have any existence at all, it was in reality their great guide, the mariner's compass of their lives; so that there were very few things which they ever either did or refrained from without reference to its precepts.

Now I suspected that their professed faith had no great hold upon them—firstly, because I often heard the priests complain of the prevailing indifference, and they would hardly have done so without reason; secondly, because of the show which was made, for there was none of this about the worship of the goddess Ydgrun, in whom they really did believe; thirdly, because though the priests were constantly abusing Ydgrun as being the great enemy of the gods, it was well known that she had no more devoted worshippers in the whole country than these very persons, who were often priests of Ydgrun rather than of their own deities. Neither am I by any means sure that these were not the best of the priests.

Ydgrun certainly occupied a very anomalous position; she was held

---

2 YDGRUN An anagram of Grundy. Mrs Grundy is a character in the comic play *Speed the Plough* (1798) by Thomas Morton (1764?–1838) and does not appear on stage but is referred as someone whose opinion should be respected. By 1872, Mrs Grundy was well known as a personification of the tyranny of public propriety and conventional respectability. According to HFJ, SB claimed, around the time he was writing *Erewhon*, that the greater number of Christians were 'really worshippers of Mrs Grundy, whose name can often be substituted for that of the Founder of Christianity' (Jones 1919, I, 134). As Hoppen has said of the mid-Victorian period, respectability was 'the sharpest of all lines of division', amounting to a

---

1–2 CHAPTER … YDGRUNITES.] Chap. XVI "Ydgrun and the Ydgrunites" **3 But, … about]** But ~~for~~ ^in spite of^ all the to do which they make about **5–7 their … from]** their religion was ^more than^ skin deep: or rather ~~that~~ this religion – their outward and professed faith: for they had ~~a religion~~ ^another,^ which they really carried with them into every action; ~~of life, but this was the other, which~~ ^and although^ no one from **7 suspect it to]** suspect ^it^ to **8–9 all, … so that]** all: ^~~though~~ ~~it was~~ it was^ ~~but~~ ~~what was~~ in reality ^~~it was~~^ their ~~ruling~~ ~~in~~ ~~life~~ ^great guide, the mariner's compass of their lives:^ so that **10 did … precepts.]** did, or refrained from, without reference to ~~the dictates of this religion.~~ ^its precepts.^ **11–41 Now … example.]** *see app.*

1–41 Chapter XVI. … this except example.: f. 130r.

---

1 XVI.] E2, XVII E9 **3 But, in spite]** E2, In spite E9 **to-do … made]** E2, to-do they make E9 **4 which]** E2, *om*. E9 **10 did]** E2, ~, E9 **from without]** E2, from doing, without E9

indeed to be both omnipresent and omnipotent, but she was not an elevated conception, and was sometimes both cruel and absurd. Even her most devoted worshippers were a little ashamed of her, and served her more with heart and in deed than with their tongues. Theirs was no lip service; on the contrary, even when worshipping her most devoutly, they would often deny her. Take her all in all however she was a beneficent and useful deity, who did not care how much she was denied so long as she was obeyed and feared, and who kept hundreds of thousands in those paths which make life tolerably happy, who would never have been kept there otherwise, and over whom a higher and more spiritual ideal would have had no power. I greatly doubted whether the Erewhonians were yet prepared for any better religion, and though (considering my gradually strengthened conviction that they were the representatives of the lost tribes of Israel) I would have set about converting them at all hazards had I seen the remotest prospect of success, I could hardly contemplate the displacement of Ydgrun as the great central object of their regard without admitting that it would be attended with frightful consequences; in fact were I a mere philosopher, I should say that the gradual raising of the popular conception of Ydgrun would be the greatest spiritual boon which could be conferred upon them, and that nothing could effect this except example. I generally found that those who complained most loudly that Ydgrun was not high enough for them had hardly as yet come up to the Ydgrun standard, and I often met with a class of men, whom I called to myself "high Ydgrunites" (the rest being Ydgrunites, and low Ydgrunites), who, in the matter of human conduct and the affairs of life, appeared to me to have got about as far as it is in the right nature of man to go.

'mass cult' (63). For those of SB's class, the notion of respectability 'reached its apogee in shrine-like front parlours—formal settings in which to regulate relationships with outsiders according to established conventions' (Hoppen, 341). SB mocked this phenomenon in his 1864 painting *Family Prayers* (see Ch. 17, l. 15n). But in this artwork, as in *Erewhon*, SB's particular target was melding of public propriety and Christian dogmatism: as Moran reminds us, Christian morality was '*the* most powerful cultural presence in the Victorian milieu. Its beliefs and values shaped social behaviour through emphasis on duty, self-sacrifice and sexual propriety' (24). SB felt a liberation from this 'nonsense' in NZ, where, he claimed, there was 'little conventionalism, little formality, and much liberality of sentiment; very little sectarianism, and, as a general rule, a healthy, sensible tone in conversation, which I much like' (FY, 51).

44–5 high Ydgrunites … low Ydgrunites SB's satiric treatment of high churchmen is extended here

42 loudly … was] loudly ~~that Grundy~~ ^~~Ydgrun~~^ was **43 Ydgrun]** ~~Grundy~~ ^Ydgrun^ **44 men,]** men **"high Ydgrunites"]** "High ~~Grundyi~~tes ^Ydgrunites. **44–9 (the rest … spoke of Ydgrun,]** *see app.*

41–74 I generally found … than seems likely: f. 131r.

22 indeed] *om.* E2, E9 **27 all however]** E2, all, however, E9 **31 power. I]** E2, power. [*n.p.*] I E2 **32 doubted]** E2, doubt E9 **were]** E2, are E9 **44 men,]** men E2, E9

They were gentlemen in the full sense of the word; and what has one not said in saying this? They seldom spoke of Ydgrun, or even alluded to her, but would never run counter to her dictates without ample reason for doing so: in such cases they would override her with due self-reliance, and the goddess seldom punished them; for they are brave, and Grundy is not. Their physique is superlative and appearance most prepossessing, as might be expected in a country where bodily disease has been stamped upon for so many generations. They had most of them a smattering of the hypothetical language, and some few more than this, but only a few. I do not think that this language has had much hand in making them what they are; but rather that the fact of their being generally possessed of its rudiments was one great reason for the reverence paid to the hypothetical language itself. Being strong and handsome, and kindly nurtured, moreover, being inured from youth to exercises and athletics of all sorts, and living fearlessly under the eye of their peers, among whom there exists a high standard of courage, generosity, honour, and every good and manly quality, what wonder that they should have become, so to speak, a law unto themselves; and, while taking an elevated view of the goddess Ydgrun,

---

to include broad churchmen, Anglicans who favour a liberal interpretation of doctrine and multiple forms of conformity to ecclesiastical authority, and low churchmen, who ascribe low importance to sacraments and liturgical worship.

48–65 They were gentlemen … law unto themselves The category of gentleman in Victorian Britain was contested and variously defined, but an Oxbridge education, at least some knowledge of classical literature, good manners, good physique and 'having and keeping' a 'sound "character"' were attributes commonly associated with the ideal (Endersby, 30): see also Brander. SB's admiration for good physical physique was unusually marked; it fuelled his regard for Pauli and the *Note-Books* contain numerous passages in which SB associated good physique with God's grace, such as the following: 'To love God is to have good health, good looks, good sense, experience, a kindly nature and a fair balance of cash in hand' (26). SB also defined 'the most essential' characteristics 'that underlies this word' as 'gentleness, absence of brow-beating or overbearing manners, absence of fuss, and generally consideration for other people' (*Note-Books*, 29). So, for SB, the true gentleman displays good looks and gentle manners

---

50 her … without] her ~~religion~~ ^dictates^ without **51 with due self-reliance,]** with manly self reliance **52–3 they are … superlative]** they ~~were~~ ^are^ brave, and ~~Grundy~~ ^~~Ydgrun~~ Grundy^ is not. Their physique is superlative, **54–60 for so … Being]** for ^so^ many generations: **~~from the excellent good taste of their costume, I should have led to suppose that they were polygamists, but this was not the case.~~ They had most of them a smattering of the hypothetic[*uwr* k][*owr* al] language, and some few more than this; but only ^a^ ~~I~~ few. I do not think that this language had had much hand in making them what they are: but rather that the fact of their generally ~~poss~~. being possessed of its rudiments was ~~the~~ ^one^ great reason for the reverence paid to the hypothetic[*uwr* k][*owr* al] language itself.** [*uwr* b][*owr* B]eing **60–1 nurtured, … exercises]** nurtured, ~~and~~ moreover being inured from youth to ~~martial~~ exercises **62–4 peers, … what]** peers~~[?]~~ among whom ~~high~~ there exists a high standard of ~~propriety,~~ ^courage, generosity, honour, and every good and manly quality,^ ~~and honour – having such advantages,~~ what **65 themselves;]** ~, **65–6 the goddess … have]** the Goddess whom they did worship, have

---

52 Grundy] Ydgrun E2, E9 **52–5 not. … They]** E2, not. They E9 **60–1 itself. Being … being inured]** E2, itself. [*n.p.*] Being inured E9

they should have gradually lost all faith in the recognised deities of the country? These they do not set at defiance openly, for conformity until absolutely intolerable is a law of Ydgrun, yet they have no real belief in the objective existence of beings which so readily explain themselves as abstractions, and whose personality demands a quasi-materialism which it baffles the imagination to realise; but they keep their opinions greatly to themselves, inasmuch as most of their countrymen feel strongly about the gods, and they hold it wrong to give pain, unless for some greater good to come of it than seems likely to arise from their plain speaking.

On the other hand, their silence tended to increase the haze and fog of men's minds,—a great, and I was told, a growing evil. This haze and fog are to a man's life what foulness or turbidity is to a scheme of colour, or slovenliness of outline to a drawing. Neutral tones are one thing, muddiness is another; the losing in deep shadow is one thing, a diffused smudginess or fuzziness is another. No picture is great unless both drawing and colour are in some parts found, and again in others lost in formlessness and neutrality; and no man's mind is great which does not admit uncertainty on many questions; but in the picture let that which is lost be lost, that which is found be found, and that which is midway between them be treated vaguely; but let not that which should be found be lost, nor what should be

but without hypocrisy.

75–87 their silence …. diffused vagueness SB used the same comparison between the clarity of ideas on religious matters and painting techniques in Chapter 9 of FairH, where with reference to Romantic painter J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851) he ironically justifies God's admission of 'vagueness' in the Gospels accounts: 'We ought not […] to have expected scientific accuracy from the Gospel records—much less should we be required to believe that such accuracy exists. Does any great artist ever dream of aiming directly at imitation? He aims at representation—not at imitation […] Take Turner for example. Who conveys so living an impression of the face of nature? Yet go up to his canvas and what does one find thereon? Imitation? Nay—blotches and daubs of paint; the combination of these daubs, each one in itself when taken alone absolutely untrue, forms an impression which is quite truthful' (218–19).

67–9 they do … existence] they ~~still outwardly professed to revere~~ ^did not ~~openly~~ set at defiance openly ~~[?]~~^ for ~~it was~~ conformity ^until absolutely intolerable^ is a law of ~~Grundy~~, ^Ydgrun^ ~~until conformity is absolutely intolerable~~) ^but they have no real belief in the objective^ existence **70 demands … which]** demands ^a quasi-materialism^ ~~existence in time & space~~ which **71 realise;]** realise: **72 themselves, … as]** themselves, ^inasmuch^ as **73–4 wrong … likely]** wrong to hurt them, unless for some greater gain to come of it, than seems at all likely: **74 to arise … speaking.]** *om.* **75–87 On the … vagueness.]** *see app.*

75–87 On the other … a diffused vagueness.: f. 132^{r}. On 132^{v} is the following upside-down, partially struck-through text: 'On this point ~~And here I must own that I differed from them fundamentally, and on principle independently of~~'.

67 not set … for] E2, openly disregard, for E9 **71 realise; but they]** E2, realise. They E9 **71 opinions greatly]** E2, opinions, however, greatly E9 **73–4 good … than]** E2, good than E9 **75–88 hand, their … and surely]** hand … a frightful, and I was told … great which is not deeply impressed with a sense of its own ignorance; but … E2, hand, surely E9

lost be found—this is fatal; above all, let there not to be a diffused losing, a diffused finding, or a diffused vagueness.

The same holds good in matters of opinion; and surely those whose own minds are clear about any given matter (even though it be only that there is little certainty) should go so far towards imparting that clearness to others, as to say openly what they think and why they think it, whenever they can properly do so; for they may be sure that they owe their own clearness almost entirely to the fact that others have done this by them: after all, they may be mistaken, and if so, it is for their own and the general well-being that they should let their error be seen as distinctly as possible, so that it may be more easily refuted. I own therefore that on this one point I disapproved of the practice even of the highest Ydgrunites, and objected to it all the more because I knew that I should find my own future task more easy if the high Ydgrunites had already undermined the belief which is supposed to prevail at present.

In other respects they were more like Englishmen who had been educated

---

89–9 minds are clear … highest Ydgrunites In the Introduction to his *Evidence* pamphlet (see ls 157–68 below), SB criticised the 'intellectual cowardice' of the English who refused to discuss 'the most important of all subjects' (vi): in SB's view the events surrounding the Resurrection of Christ were the 'very key stone of the whole system' of Christianity' (vi). He added, 'we shall do ourselves some permanent mischief […] no nation can stand such want of intellectual *morale* in the nineteenth century' (vi). SB sent a copy of his pamphlet to CD, who in a letter of 30 September 1865 replied: 'I particularly agree with all you say in your preface' (Darwin, 1865).

88–90 The same … imparting] ^The same holds good^ ~~So~~, in matters of opinion, ^and surely^ those whose minds are ~~upon any point~~ perfectly clear to themselves ^about any given [*uwr* thing][*owr* ma]tter (even being little^ ~~are in duty bound~~ ^though it be only about the[*uwr* i][*owr* re] ~~own~~ ~~un~~certain~~ty~~) are in duty bound^ to go so far in the direction of imparting **90–2 think it, … sure]** think it~~:~~ ^whenever they can ~~do so without~~ properly do so:^ for they may be ~~very~~ sure **93–5 them: … well-being that]** them: moreover they may be wrong, and if so, it is for ^their own &^ the general well being that **96 may … refuted]** may be most easily refuted. **96–7 I disapproved]** I ~~differ~~ disapproved **97–8 and objected … high]** and ~~felt~~ ^objected to^ it all the more ~~In other respects they were~~ because I should find my own future work far easier, if the High **99–101 belief … they were]** belief [*uwr* in][*owr* wh]ich is supposed to prevail at present – In other respects they were ~~[?]~~ **101–33 more like … into Erewhon.]** *see app.*

88–101 The same holds … respects they were: f. 133^{r}. At the top of this page are the following lines: '~~The same~~ ^~~mutatis mutandis –~~^ ~~mutatis mutandis holds good in~~ ^~~the~~^ ~~matter of opinions, and I could not think it right that those whose minds were perfectly clear to themselves shoul (even though) should sit still and say~~ ^~~do~~^ ~~nothing towards imparting that clearness to others~~ '. On f. 133^{v} is the following upside-down, struck-through text: '~~it is nowhere so much required as in their religious opinions) a man should come to the clearest understanding with himself and~~'.

101–33 more like Englishmen … me into Erewhon: f. 134^{r}. On f. 134^{v} is written: 'a wall which stood well for many genera{t} which seemed in ~~little~~ no danger of falling (though say that the foundations might not be insecure'. For f. 135^{r}, *see app*.

---

96 own therefore] E2, own, therefore, E9 **101–3 like Englishmen … Cambridge, than]** E2, like the best class of Englishmen than E9

at such a school as Winchester (if there be such another) and sent thence to once of the best colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, than any whom I have seen in other countries. I should have liked to have persuaded half a dozen of them to come over to England and go upon the stage, for they had most of them a keen sense of humour and a taste for acting: they would be of great use to us. The example of a real gentleman is, if I may say so without profanity, the best of all gospels; such a man upon the stage becomes a potent humanising influence, an Ideal which all may look upon for a shilling.

I always liked and admired these men, and although I could not help deeply regretting their certain ultimate perdition (for they had no sense of a hereafter, and their only religion was that of self-respect and consideration for other people), I never dared to take so great a liberty with them as to attempt to put them in possession of my own religious convictions, in spite of my knowing that they were the only ones which could make them really good and happy, either here or hereafter. I did try sometimes, being impelled to do so by a strong sense of duty, and by my deep regret that so much that was admirable should be doomed to ages if not eternity of torture; but the words stuck in my throat as soon as ever I began. Whether a professional missionary might have a better chance I know not; such persons must doubtless know more about the science of conversion: for myself, I could

102 Winchester A joke aimed at Pauli, who had attended Winchester, one of the seven public schools of England, before studying at Pembroke College, Cambridge. SB's school, Shrewsbury, was a rival of Winchester.

105 the stage As Hugh Maguire has observed, at the beginning of the 19th cent., attending the theatre had attracted public censure and moral opprobrium, but in the second half of the cent. became a respectable activity, 'firmly entrenched in the social rituals' of a wide range of social groups (107); actors themselves new 'assumed heights of 'respectability': see also Maguire, 109.

106–10 The example … a shilling SB continued to adhere to the notion of a gentleman as a model for others: B&H have observed that in his *Note-Books* MS in 1876 SB defined a gentleman as 'the creature towards which all nature has been groaning and travailing together until now. He is an ideal. He shows what may be done in the way of good breeding, health, good looks, temper and fortune […] he preaches the gospel of grace' (Breuer and Howard, 152). This MS note alludes to Romans 8:22: 'For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now'.

122 science of conversion Conversion strategies evolved over time in response to their perceived efficacy, but, as Porter has demonstrated, missionary activity across the 19th cent. was advanced through a plethora of printed matter, including Bibles and tracts produced by British missionary societies and required often the introduction of English and vernacular language literacy 'as essential foundations of Bible study, religious understanding, and cultural change' and the foundation of indigenous churches (Porter 1999, 236). Missionary activity in the period was motivated chiefly by the emphasis on 'conversion and grace' in the evangelical tradition (Hilton 1988, 8). Since Evangelicals stressed also the the authority of the Bible and the centrality of Christ's death to the message of the Gospel, their theology was at odds with SB's own by 1872, for he had rejected orthodox doctrine esp. surrounding the resurrection: see below ls 157–63. This goes some to way to explaining SB's cynicism of the missionary impetus for conversion.

116 really] E2, really E9 **120 as ever I]** E2, as I E9 **began. Whether]** E2, began. [*n.p.*] Whether E9

only be thankful that I was in the right path, and was obliged to let others take their chance as yet. If the plan fails by which I propose to convert them myself, I would gladly contribute my mite towards the sending two or three trained missionaries, who have been known as successful converters of Jews and Mahometans; but such have seldom much to glory in the flesh, and when I think of the high Ydgrunites, and of the figure which a missionary would probably cut among them, I cannot feel sanguine that much good would be arrived at. Still the attempt is worth making, and the worst danger to the missionaries themselves would be that of being sent to the hospital where Chowbok would have been sent had he come with me into Erewhon.

Taking then their religious opinions as a whole, I must own that the Erewhonians are superstitious, on account of the views which they hold of their professed gods, and their entirely anomalous and inexplicable worship of Ydgrun, a worship at once the most powerful, yet most devoid of formalism, that I ever met with; but in practice they worked far better than might have been expected, and the conflicting claims of Ydgrun and the gods were arranged by unwritten compromises, for the most part in Ydgrun's favour, which in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred were very well understood. I could not conceive why they should not openly acknowledge high Ydgrunism, and discard the objective personality of hope, justice, &c.; but whenever I so much as hinted at this, I found that I was on dangerous ground. They would never have it; returning constantly to the assertion that ages ago the divinities were frequently seen, and that the moment their personality was disbelieved in, men would leave off practising even those ordinary virtues which the common experience of mankind has agreed on as being the greatest secret of happiness. "Who ever heard," they asked, indignantly, "of such things as kindly training, a good example, and an enlightened regard to one's own welfare, being able to keep men straight?" In my hurry, forgetting things which I ought to have remembered, I answered

---

126 trained missionaries The 19th cent. saw an increasing professionalisation of the missionary vocation, supported by the recruitment of university graduates and the establishment of numerous colleges tasked with educating a colonial clergy, such as St Augustine's College, Canterbury, a missionary college from 1848: see Porter 2002, 562, who summarises an extensive literature on the subject, and Carey, 247–304. SB's knowledge of missionary training was indebted probably to his friendship with John Patteson: see Ch. 25, ls 114–20n.

142–56 openly acknowledge … had not seen. A reiteration of ideas addressed in Ch. 15, ls 9–15n.

134–54 Taking then their … could straighten him,: f. 136^{r}.

---

135 superstitious] E2, ~, E9 **138 they … better]** E2, things worked better E9 **140 compromises, for]** E2, compromises (for E9 **141 favour,]** E2, ~), E9

that if a person could not be kept straight by these things, there was nothing that could straighten him, and that if he were not ruled by the love and fear of men whom he had seen, neither would he be so by that of the gods whom he had not seen.

At one time indeed I came upon a small but growing sect who believed, after a fashion, in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection from the dead; they taught that those who had been born with feeble and diseased bodies and had passed their lives in ailing, would be tortured eternally hereafter; but that those who had been born strong and healthy and handsome would be rewarded for ever and ever. Of moral qualities or conduct they made no mention.

Bad as this was, it was a step in advance, inasmuch as they did hold out a future state of some sort, and I was shocked to find that for the most part they met with opposition, on the score that their doctrine was based upon no sort of foundation, also that it was immoral in its tendency, and not to be desired by any reasonable beings. When I asked how it could be immoral, I was answered, that if firmly held, it would lead people to disregard the sanctity of this present life, making it appear to be an affair of only secondary importance; that it would thus distract men's minds from the perfecting of this world's economy, and was an impatient cutting, so to

---

157–63 sect who believed … made no mention These questions greatly concerned SB in 1872. While in NZ, he had subjected the Gospel accounts of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus to detailed scrutiny. He had come to question the doctrine, foundational to Christianity, that Jesus was resurrected on the third day after his crucifixion, and that, through his sacrifice, the souls of the Christian faithful could exist eternally in heaven if judged to have lived God-fearing lives. SB decided that the resurrection was, instead, an instance of Jesus losing and later regaining consciousness, and no miracle. This kind of biblical criticism had been modelled by Strauss (see Ch. 19, l. 3n) and other German Rationalists (see Chadwick, 40–96). SB's conclusion was unique, however. He had published his views upon his return to England in his anonymous 1865 pamphlet *Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*. In 1873 would return to the subject with FairH.

---

154 and that … seen.] *om.* **157–8 At one …fashion, in]** It is true that I came upon a small ~~and~~ ^but^ growing sect who ~~taught that men~~ believed ^after a fashion^, in **159 dead; they]** dead; ~~but I was~~ they **160 bodies and had]** bodies ~~[?here]~~, and ~~had a~~ ^~~who~~^ had **160–1 ailing, … that those]** ailing, ~~[s ? t]~~ would be tortured eternally hereafter: ~~but~~ ^but ~~and~~ that^ that those **162 would … Of]** would ~~in like manner~~ ^~~in like manner~~ ~~be~~^ be rewarded ^~~hereafter~~ ^^for ever and ever^^^: Of **164–5 advance, … find]** advance inasmuch as ~~it~~ ^they^ ~~[in al ? ted] the doc =~~ did hold out ^a future state of some sort,^ ~~some sort~~[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] ~~of hope of~~ and I was shocked ~~shocked~~ to find **166 they … opposition,]** they were bitterly opposed, **166–9 doctrine … people]** doctrine ~~was~~ ^~~of an~~^ ~~immoral~~ ~~in its~~ ~~tendency~~ ~~and~~ ^was^ based upon no sort of foundation, ^also^ ~~and~~ that it was immoral in its tendency ^and not to be desired by any reasonable beings.^ ~~.~~ When I ~~was~~ asked how it could possibly be immoral, I was answered that if firmly held it would ~~teach~~ ^lead^ people **170 life, … an]** life, ~~rendering it~~ ^making it appear to be^ an **171 importance; … distract]** importance: that it would ^thus^ distract **172–3 cutting, … of]** cutting (so to speak) of

---

157–71 At one time … of only secondary: f. 137r.
171–87 importance; that it … so left me.: f. 138r.

169–70 to disregard … of this] E2, to cheapen this E9 **168 beings. When]** E2, beings. [*n.p.*] When E9

speak, of the Gordian knot of life's problems, whereby some people might gain present satisfaction to themselves at the cost of infinite damage to others; that the doctrine tended to encourage the poor in their improvidence, and in a debasing acquiescence in ills which they might well remedy; that the rewards were illusory and the result, after all, of luck, whose empire should be bounded by the grave, and that its terrors were enervating and unjust; that even the most blessed rising would be but the disturbing of a still more blessed slumber; that sleep was better than waking, and rest than resurrection.

To all which I could only say that the thing had been actually known to happen, and that there were several well-authenticated instances of people having died and come to life again—instances which no man in his senses could doubt.

"If this be so," said my opponent, "we must bear it as best we may;" and so left me. He had hardly done so before the speech of Hamlet came into my mind.

---

173 Gordian knot An intricate knot tied by Gordius, king of Gordium in Phrygia. According to legend, whoever loosened it would rule Asia, a feat achieved by Alexander the Great who cut the knot with his sword.

187 speech of Hamlet An allusion to *Hamlet*, 3.1.57–91, the famous 'To be, or not to be' soliloquy, in which Hamlet contemplates suicide. SB echoes ls 67–70 from the soliloquy in his E9 additions below: 'For in that sleep of death what dreams may come, / When we have shuffled off this mortal coil, / Must give us pause. There's the respect / That makes calamity of so long life'.

---

173 some people] some ~~fr~~ people **175–6 others; … acquiescence]** others: that the doctrine tended ~~towards the encouraging~~ ^to encourage the poor in their^ improvidence, and in a stupid acquiescence **176–9 remedy; … rising]** remedy: that its rewards were illusory & ~~when all was said and done,~~ the result ^after all^ of ~~luck only, while~~ ^fate – whose empire should be bounded by the grave – and that^ its terrors were enervating and unjust: and that ^even^ the most blessed ~~slumbe~~ rising **180 blessed … that]** blessed ^~~[?]~~^ slumber: that **and]** & **182 only say that]** only ~~make answer~~ ^say^ that **183 well-authenticated instances]** well ~~proved~~ ^authenticated^ instances **184 again—… which]** again: ~~even after the corruption of the grave had set in~~ instances which **186–7 so," … me.]** so" said my opponent "we must ~~grin and bear it." and~~ ^bear it as^ best we may" – and so left me. **He had … mind.]** *om.*

---

178 grave, and that] grave; that E2, E9 **179 unjust; that]** E2, unjust; and that E9 **that sleep … resurrection.]** E2, *om*. E9 **186–8 may;" … mind.]** E2, *see below* E9

may."

I then translated for him, as well as I could, the noble speech of Hamlet in which he says that it is the fear lest worse evils may befall us after death which alone prevents us from rushing into death's arms.

"Nonsense," he answered, "no man was ever yet stopped from cutting his throat by any such fears as your poet ascribes to him—and your poet probably knew this perfectly well. If a man cuts his throat he is at bay, and thinks of nothing but escape, no matter whither, provided he can shuffle off his present. No. Men are kept at their posts, not by the fear that if they quit them they may quit a frying-pan for a fire, but by the hope that if they hold on, the fire may burn less fiercely. 'The respect,' to quote your poet, 'that makes calamity of so long a life,' is the consideration that though calamity may live long, the sufferer may live longer still."

On this, seeing that there was little probability of our coming to an agreement, I let the argument drop, and my opponent presently left me with as much disapprobation as he could show without being overtly rude.

CHAPTER XVII.

BIRTH FORMULÆ.

I HEARD what follows not from Arowhena, but from Mr Nosnibor and some of the gentlemen who occasionally dined at the house: they told me that the Erewhonians believe in pre-existence; and not only this (of which I will write more fully in the next chapter), but they believe that it is of their own free act and deed in a previous state that they come to be born into this world at all. They hold that the unborn are perpetually plaguing

2 BIRTH FORMULÆ The mythology of the unborn, developed over Chs 17–19, presents in satiric form the ideas on evolution that SB later developed in earnest in LH: see also Ch. 23, E9 additions **v**.

5 pre-existence SB conflates two intellectual debates in Chs 17 and 18: the question of the pre-existence of the soul (see Ch. 18, l. 45n.) and the pre-existence theory of embryological origin. SB's interest in embryology was probably sparked by reading Ch. 13 of *Origin*, in which CD considers how embryology supports his theory of descent with modification. However, SB looks back to a pre-Darwinian theory of embryological pre-existence, which had been used to account for the origin of species. Championed esp. by French priest Nicholas Malebranche (1638–1715), the pre-existence theory held that a new organism is not generated in secular time, but has pre-existed since the creation of the world. Current throughout much of the 17th cent. but long since outmoded by the time SB approached the subject, the pre-existence theory was famously challenged by Comte de Buffon (1707–1788), whom SB later came to admire, in his treatment of embryological generation *Natural History* (1749).

6–11 they believe … their protection The emphasis on the volition of the unborn prefigures SB's belief, explored first in LH, that we acquire traits through 'endeavour, failure, perseverance, intelligent contrivance, experience, and practice' before birth (LH, 50). SB argued that our consciousness of performing an action, which at first takes strenuous effort, decreases as we become more proficient. Therefore, actions such as breathing, which we do in life unconsciously, must have been performed with effort and deliberate will at some distant period, i.e., before birth. Thus, '[t]he whole history and development of the embryo in all its stages forces itself on our consideration. […] A chicken, for example, is never so full of consciousness, activity, reasoning faculty, and volition, as when it is an embryo in the eggshell, making bones, and flesh, and feathers, and eyes, and claws, with nothing but a little warmth and white of egg to make them from' (LH, 49–50).

1–2 CHAPTER … FORMULÆ.] Chap. XVII. Birth formulæ. **4–5 house: … pre-existence;]** house they told [*uwr* ~~I found~~][*owr* me] that the Erewhonians believe in preexistence; **6–7 they believe … own]** they also believe that it is by one's own **7 they come]** one comes **all. They]** all: they

1–9 Chapter XVII. … about them incessantly,: f. 139r. At the top of the page, several lines precede the text of the chapter proper: '~~Chapter XVII. The "~~[*uwr* ~~b~~][*owr* ~~B~~]~~irth formulæ"~~ ~~Before I return to Arowhena and the other adventures which befell me I may perhaps be permitted to introduce here another an interesting example of their modes of thought of which I heard not a syllable from Arowhena herself, but which I gathered from M~~r ~~Nosnibor and some of the gentlemen who occasionally dined at the house. after the ladies had retired to the drawing room. If I could here write in Latin I would do so, and may recommend the fastidious to be [?a little] on their guard for a page or two.~~'

1 XVII.] E2, XVIII E9

and tormenting the married of both sexes, fluttering about them incessantly, and giving them no peace either of mind or body until they have consented to take them under their protection. If this were not so, this at least is what they urge, it would be a monstrous freedom for one man to take with another, to say that he should undergo the chances and changes of this mortal life without any option in the matter. No man would have any right to get married at all, inasmuch as he can never tell what frightful misery his doing so may entail forcibly upon a being who cannot be unhappy as long as he does not exist. They feel this so strongly that they are resolved to shift the blame on to other shoulders; and have fashioned a long mythology as to the world in which the unborn people live, and what they do, and the arts and machinations to which they have recourse in order to get themselves into our own world. But of this more anon: what I would relate here is their manner of dealing with those who do come.

It is a distinguishing peculiarity of the Erewhonians that when they profess themselves to be quite certain about any matter, and avow it as a base on which they are to build a system of practice, they seldom quite believe in it; but instead of coming to an understanding with themselves, and endeavouring to find out exactly what it is that commends itself to their judgments as on the whole most probable, and then chancing it, they content themselves in nine cases out of ten with saying that the subject has been examined over and over again, and assert their faith the more ostentatiously, and with the more pomp and circumstance, because of their misgivings; but they will always abuse those who would have them examine

---

15 frightful misery The descriptions of familial disharmony in this and the following chapters subvert the romanticised notion of domestic family life that dominated Victorian society. This ideal, modelled by the royal family and permeating various forms of cultural production, was, in Wohl's view, 'deified' and ascribed almost 'spiritual properties' (11): the notion of home was connected to ideas of peace, respite and harmony, and valued as the haven where children were taught the social, moral and religious principles of good citizenship. Comparison can be made with SB's 1864 naïve painting *Family Prayers* in which style and subject matter combine to undermine the archetypal image of domestic life: see Shaffer 1988, 39–56. SB's unsentimental treatment of family life stems from his own upbringing in a family whose oppressive

---

8–9 tormenting … both] tormenting ~~living~~ ~~adult~~ ^the married ~~people~~^ of both **9–10 incessantly, and]** incessantly ~~whenever they have~~ ~~taken a fancy to them,~~ and **11–12 so, … monstrous]** so (~~at least~~ this ^at least^ is what they urge) it would be ^a^ monstrous **13 another,]** another **matter. No]** matter: no **15 to get … never]** to ~~become a father~~ ^get married ~~at all~~^ ~~at all~~ inasmuch as he ~~can~~ ^~~could~~ can^ never **16 so may … as long]** so ~~may not~~ ^~~might~~ may^ entail forcibly upon another who ~~is~~ ^~~was~~ is^ perfectly happy as long **18 on … shoulders;]** on ^to^ other shoulders **long]** huge **20–1 machinations … But]** machinations which they ~~have recourse~~ ^have recourse ~~turn~~^ to in order to get themselves into ~~the~~ ^our own^ world: but **23–46 It is … will not do;]** *see app.*

10–42 and giving them … was the pestering: f. 140^{r}.

26–35 in it; … a] in [*same as E1*] so amusingly pathetic, and yet (when one comes to think of it) so utterly disgraceful and deplorably as that [*same as E1*] Erewhonian gentleman in [*same as E1*] E2, in it. If they smell a E9

examine for themselves, an accusation of ill health being their favourite weapon. Indeed, there are few sights at once so pathetic and so amusing as that of a middle-aged Erewhonian in the act of smelling a rat about the precincts of a cherished institution, and stopping his nose to it.

This is what most of them did in this matter of the unborn, for I cannot (and never could) think that they seriously believed in their mythology concerning pre-existence: they did and they did not; they did not know themselves what they believed; all they did know was that it was a disease not to believe as they did. The only thing of which they were quite sure was that it was the pestering of the unborn which caused them to be brought into this world, and that they would not be here if they would have only let peaceable people alone.

It would be hard to disprove this position, and they might have a good case if they would only leave it as it stands. But this they will not do; they must have assurance doubly sure; they must have the written word of the child itself as soon as it is born, giving the parents indemnity from all responsibility on the score of its birth, and asserting its own pre-existence. They have therefore devised something which they call a birth formula—a document which varies in words according to the caution of parents, but is much the same practically in all cases; for it has been the business of the Erewhonian lawyers during many ages to exercise their skill in perfecting it and providing for every contingency.

Christian morality was accompanied by, and sometimes justified, unkindness. These experiences SB reproduced in TWAF through his fictional counterpart Ernest, who before he 'could well crawl he was taught to kneel; before he could well speak he was taught to lisp the Lord's prayer, and the general confession. […] If his attention flagged or his memory failed him, here was an ill weed which would grow apace, unless it were plucked out immediately, and the only way to pluck it out was to whip him, or shut him up in a cupboard, or dock him of some of the small pleasures of childhood' (88).

47–54 assurance … every contingency The Erewhonian view that a baby is responsible for its own birth is an extension of SB's views that an embryo exercises its own volition. The Erewhonians' treatment of birth as an act requiring legal indemnity is also significant: in LH, SB would go on to argue that our evolutionary memory, and therefore also our personality, stretches back to the unborn embryo and across generations to the primordial cell; our birth is commonly regarded as the beginning of our lives merely because it suits the 'the law courts and the purposes of daily life, which, being full of hurry and the pressure of business, can only tolerate compromise, or conventional rendering of intricate phenomena' (67).

---

47 sure;] ~: **48 born,]** born **49 birth,]** birth **49–51 pre-existence. … varies]** preexistence. They have therefore devised ~~the following~~ ^something^ which they call a birth formula, and which, though it varies **52–3 cases; for … ages to]** cases; [*uwr* as][*owr* for] it has been the constant business of the ~~Partetenalla-genitonian~~ ^Erewhonian^ lawyers ^during many ages^ to **54–5 contingency. These]** contingency ~~during~~

42–70 which caused them … of these things;: f. 141^{r}. In the middle of f. 141^{v} is written: 'They say that a man with a large family has been terribly wronged by the unborn–'.

---

43 not … here] E2, not have been here E9

These formulae are printed on common paper at a moderate cost for the poor; but the rich have them written on parchment and handsomely bound, so that the getting up of a person's birth formula is a test of his social position. They commence by setting forth, That whereas A. B. was a member of the kingdom of the unborn, where he was well provided for in every way, and had no cause of discontent, &c., &c., he did of his own wanton depravity and restlessness conceive a desire to enter into this present world; that thereon having taken the necessary steps as set forth in laws of the unborn kingdom, he did with malice aforethought set himself to plague and pester two unfortunate people who had never in the least wronged him, and who were quite contented and happy until he conceived this base design against their peace; for which wrong he now humbly entreats their pardon. He acknowledges that he is responsible for all physical blemishes and deficiencies which may render him answerable to the laws of his country; that his parents have nothing whatever to do with any of these things; and that they have a right to kill him at once if they be so minded, though he entreats them to show their marvellous goodness and clemency by sparing his life. If they will do this, he promises to be their most obedient and abject creature during his earlier years, and indeed unto his life's end, unless they should see fit in their abundant generosity to remit some portion of his service hereafter. And so the formula continues, going sometimes into very minute details, according to the fancies of family lawyers, who will not make it any shorter than they can help.

The deed being thus prepared, on the third or fourth day after the birth

---

63 malice aforethought The *mens rea* element required for a person to be found guilty of murder, reflecting SB's belief that birth was a form of intentional death: see Ch. 18, ls 57–9n.
78–104 The deed … it himself The signing of the birth formulae takes place within a similar time-

---

~~many generations.~~ These **55 a moderate]** a ~~very~~ moderate **56 poor;]** ~, **parchment … handsomely]** parchment, and ~~very~~ handsomely **57–8 a person's … A. B.]** a birth formula is a sort of test of social position. ~~They~~ ~~formula~~ ^It^ commences by setting forth that whereas A. B **60 &c., &c.,]** &c &c **60–1 own wanton … this]** own innate depravity and ~~di~~ restlessness conceive a desire to ~~undergo~~ ^enter into^ this **62 steps]** ~, **65 him, and]** him, & **66 for which]** for all which **67 pardon. … responsible]** pardon – He acknowledges that he is ~~thus~~ responsible **68 and deficiencies]** & deficiencies **69 country;]** country, **70 things; … right]** things and he ~~acknowledges~~ ^admits^ their right **71–2 and clemency]** & clemency **72 life. … promises]** life: ~~which~~ if they will do ^this^ he promises **73–4 creature … end,]** creature ~~for all the~~ ^duri~~ng his~~^ earlier years, ~~of his life~~ and indeed unto his life's end **75–6 service … into]** service ~~in later years~~ ^hereafter^ – and so the formula continues, going ^sometimes^ into **77 lawyers, … help.]** lawyers who will not make ~~the formula~~ ^it^ any shorter than they can help **78–86 The deed … wrong that he]** *see app.*

70–105 and that they … little uneasy until: f. 142r.

---

64 in the least] E2, *om.* E9 **67 pardon. He]** E2, pardon. [*n.p.*] He **73–4 unto … end,]** E2, all his life, E9

of the child, or as they call it, the "final importunity," the friends gather together, and there is a feast held, where they are all very melancholy—as a general rule, I believe, quite truly so—and make presents to the father and mother of the child in order to console them for the injury which has just been done them by the unborn. By and by the child himself is brought down by his nurse, and the company begin to rail upon him, upbraiding him for his impertinence and asking him what amends he proposes to make for the wrong that he has committed, and how he can look for food and nourishment from those who have perhaps already been injured by the unborn on some ten or twelve occasions; for they say of people with large families, that they have suffered terrible injuries from the unborn; till at last, when this has been carried far enough, some one suggests the formula, which is brought forth and solemnly read to the child by the family straightener. This gentleman is always invited on these occasions, for the very fact of intrusion into a peaceful family shows a depravity on the part of the child which requires his professional services.

On being teased by the reading and tweaked by the nurse, the child will commonly fall a crying, which is reckoned a good sign as showing a consciousness of guilt. He is thereon asked, Does he assent to the formula? on which, as he still continues crying and can obviously make no answer, some one of the friends comes forward and undertakes to sign the document on his behalf, feeling sure (so he says) that the child would do it if he only knew how, and that he will release the present signer from his engagement

---

frame to infant baptism in the Church of England; both follow a prescribed formula and are deemed a profession on the part of the child being baptised. In other respects, the Erewhonian documents satirically distort the significance of baptism. Baptism grafts a person to the Church and thereby makes possible the forgiveness of sin and eternal life. SB's vision of the child ceremoniously branded as unwelcome and blameworthy pierces the typical Victorian notion of baptism as a joyous occasion for a God-fearing family when a new-born was blessed with God's Grace and lovingly welcomed into the larger family of Christ. Through the Erewhonian Birth Formulæ SB also juxtaposes ideas of human evolution with Christian theology.

79 importunity Persistence, esp. so as to cause distress.

---

87 been injured by] being ~~wronged~~ ^injured^ by **88–9 occasions; … families,]** occasions [*uwr* ~~(~~][*owr* –] for they say of ~~those~~ ^people^ with large families **89–90 unborn; … has]** unborn[*uwr* ~~)~~][*owr* ;] till at last when this ~~mockery~~ has **90–1 formula, which]** formula wh: **92–3 straightener. … intrusion]** straightener; ^this gentleman^ ~~who~~ is always invited on these occasions; for the very fact of ~~the~~ intrusion **shows a]** shows ~~an innate~~ ^a^ a **94–5 requires … On]** requires ^his^ ~~the~~ professional services. ~~of the straightener~~ [*uwr* o][*owr* O]n **95 nurse,]** nurse **96 is reckoned]** is ~~always~~ reckoned **97–8 guilt. … which, as]** guilt; ~~and~~ he is thereon asked does he assent to the formula, ~~to~~ ^on^ which (as **98–9 answer, some]** answer) some **101 release]** re[*uwr* ~~f~~][*owr* l]ease

---

83 unborn. By and by] E2, unborn. [*n.p.*] By-and-by E9 **85 impertinence,]** E2, impertinence E9 **86 food]** care E2, E9 **91 forth]** E2, out E9 **96 fall a crying,]** E2, begin to cry E9 **sign]** E2, ~, E9

on arriving at maturity. The friend then inscribes the signature of the child at the foot of the parchment, which is held to bind the child as much as though he had signed it himself. Even this, however, does not fully content them, for they feel a little uneasy until they have got the child's own signature after all. So when he is about fourteen, these good people partly bribe him by promises of greater liberty and good things, and partly intimidate him through their great power of making themselves passively unpleasant to him, so that though there is a show of freedom made, there is really none, and partly they use the offices of the teachers in the Colleges of Unreason, till at last, in one way or another, they take very good care that he shall sign the paper by which he professes to to have been a free agent in coming into the world, and to take all the responsibility of having done so on to his own shoulders. And yet, though this document is obviously the most important which any one can sign in his whole life, they will have him do so at an age when neither they nor the law will for many a year allow any one else to bind him to the smallest obligation, no matter how righteously he may owe it, because they hold him too young to know what he is about, and do not consider it fair that he should commit himself to anything that may prejudice him in after years.

106 about fourteen The traditional age of confirmation in the Anglican church. Confirmation is the rite enabling the baptised to confirm promises made on their behalf at baptism. It marks full membership to the Christian community and the decision to live a responsible Christian life.

106–20 these good people … after years SB came to regard his early religious indoctrination as a form of betrayal, regarding himself as having been bullied by his elders into accepting fundamentally flawed religious teaching at a time when he was too young to resist. He also identified Anglican doctrine as partly responsible for the imbalance of power in Victorian family life. Through the mouthpiece of Overton in TWAF, SB argued that the church catechism 'was written too exclusively from the parental point of view; the person who composed it did not get a few children to come in and help him; […] If a new edition of the work is ever required I should like to introduce a few words insisting on the duty of seeking all reasonable pleasure and avoiding all pain that can be honourably avoided. I should like to see children taught that they should not say they like things which they do not like, merely because certain other people say they like them, and how foolish it is to say they believe this or that when they understand nothing about it' (31).

102 maturity. … signature] maturity. So the friend then signs the signature **104–5 though … for they]** though ~~it~~ ^he^ had signed ~~itself.~~ ^it himself.^ ~~but they are not contented with this~~ ^even this however does not fully content them^ for they **105–6 got … these]** got the actual signature after all – so when the child is about fourteen (~~at an age – mark you – when their laws will not for many a year give him power in any other matter,, feeling~~ ^~~holding~~^ ~~that his judgement is not ripe enough to make it fair that he should be pledged in such matter~~ ^~~to any thing~~^ ~~that may seriously affect him~~) these **108–53 making themselves … following chapter.]** *see app.*

105–37 they have got … of compromises; and: f. 143r.

104 himself. Even] E2, himself. [*n.p.*] Even E9 **108 passively]** E2, actively E9 **110 none, … use]** E2, none; they also use **112 professes to to have]** E2, professes to have E9

I own that all this seemed rather hard, and not of a piece with the many admirable institutions existing among them. I once ventured to say a part of what I thought about it to one of the Professors of Unreason. I did it very tenderly, but his justification of the system was quite out of my comprehension. I remember asking him whether he did not think it would do harm to a lad's principles, by weakening his sense of the sanctity of his word, and of truth generally, that he should be led into entering upon a solemn engagement which it was so plainly impossible that he should keep even for a single day with tolerable integrity—whether, in fact, the teachers who so led him, or who taught anything as a certainty of which they were themselves uncertain, were not earning their living by impairing the truth-sense of their pupils (a delicate organisation mostly), and by vitiating one of their most sacred instincts. The professor, who was a delightful person, seemed greatly surprised at the view which I took, but it had no influence with him whatsoever. No one, he answered, expected that the boy either would or could do all that he undertook; but the world was full of compromises; and there was hardly any engagement which would bear being interpreted literally. Human language was too gross a vehicle of thought—thought being incapable of absolute translation. He added, that as there can be no translation from one language into another which shall not scant the meaning somewhat, or enlarge upon it, so there is no language which can render thought without a jarring and a harshness somewhere—and so forth; all of which seemed to come to this in the end, that it was the custom of the country, and that the Erewhonians were a conservative people; that the boy would have to begin compromising sooner or later, and this was part of his education in the art. It was perhaps to be regretted that

125–38 I remember … interpreted literally SB returned to these views on the nature of truth and compromise in life in his *Note-Books*, where he appears to advocate them earnestly: e.g., under the heading 'Truth' he wrote 'The pursuit of truth is chimerical. That is why it is so hard to say what truth is. There is no permanent absolute unchangeable truth; what we should pursue is the most convenient arrangement of our ideas' (302).
138–43 Human language … so forth SB pursued an interest in the philosophy of language esp. in relation to evolutionary theory in later works, including LH, but especially his 1890 lecture 'Thought and Language', in which he countered the anti-Darwinian (and, more broadly, anti-evolutionary) theory of human language acquisition proposed by German philologist Max Müller (1823–1900).
141 scant Diminish.

137–51 there was hardly … belonging to him.: f. 144r.

127 word,] E2, word E9 **128–9 solemn … whether,]** E2, solemn declaration as to the truth of things about which all that he can certainly know is that he knows nothing—whether, E9 **133 instincts. … professor,]** E2, instincts. [*n.p.*] The Professor, E9 **136 could … but]** E2, could know all that he said he knew; but E9 **137 engagement]** E2, affirmation E9

compromise should be as necessary as it was; still it was necessary, and the sooner the boy got to understand it the better for himself.

But they never tell this to the boy. And when he begins to find out how largely compromise has entered into his education, he sometimes compromises himself, and those belonging to him. **150**

From the book of their mythology about the unborn I made the extracts which will form the following chapter.

150–1 compromise … compromises himself This is, in essence, the trajectory of Ernest's life in TWAF: as a clergyman-in-training increasingly disillusioned with the religious doctrine of the Church of England, Ernest assaults a young woman whom he perceives to be of loose morals; a prison term, family estrangement and poor health result.

148–9 himself. But] E2, himself. [*no n.p.*] But **149–51 And when … to him.]** E2, *om*. E9

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WORLD OF THE UNBORN.

THE Erewhonians say that we are drawn through life backwards; or again, that we go onwards into the future as into a dark corridor. Time walks beside us and flings back shutters as we advance; but the light **5**

---

2 THE … UNBORN Evolutionary theory provided SB with alternative answers to those of traditional Christian theology on the question of what constitutes personal identity. In particular, SB's mythology of life before birth can be seen as a reversal of the task undertaken by Anglican theologian Joseph Butler (1692–1752) in *Analogy of Religion* (1736) to defend the doctrine of life after death. In Ch. 1 of *Analogy* Joseph Butler considers what 'the analogy of nature, and the several changes which we have undergone, and those which we know we may undergo without being destroyed, suggest, as to the effect which death may, or may not, have upon us' (Butler 2006, 157). He concludes that nature presents insufficient evidence for the conclusion that death destroys us, so we must presume continuity. To counter any objections to the idea that personal identity can persist 'now and hereafter' (157), Joseph Butler appended to the *Analogy* an essay on the topic of personal identity; in it he argues against Locke's memory-based theory of personal identity, claiming instead that memory presupposes personal identity and therefore cannot constitute it.
3 The Erewhonians … backwards SB's theory of unconscious memory relies on an inversion of the usual idea that the past is left behind us as we look to the future. For this particular metaphor, SB probably drew inspiration from the ancient Greek conception of the past, which is known and can be seen stretching before us, and of the future as something we cannot see as we journey into it backwards. Hence, 'ὀπίσω/ὀπίσσω', meaning 'backwards', refers also to the future in the sense of 'hereafter' (Moore 2014, 134). SB's understanding of Māori culture was rudimentary, but he possibly knew that the indigenous imagination viewed time in a similar way, as expressed in the *whakataukī*, or proverb, 'Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua' meaning 'I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past' (Rameka, 387).
4–12 we go onwards … are gone Given the significance of memory to SB's LH evolutionary theory, this metaphor may have been inspired by the method of loci (from Lat. *loci*, meaning 'places'), a memory technique used by classical orators, in which sections of an argument are associated with locations in a palace and the orator mentally walks through the building to retrieve his points. Equally, SB may have encountered the Mansion of Many Apartments metaphor developed by John Keats (1795–1821) in a letter of 3 May 1818 to his friend John Hamilton Reynolds (1794–1852). Keats uses the image of passing through

---

1–2 CHAPTER … UNBORN] Chap. XVII The World of the Unborn **3–4 backwards; … onwards]** backwards: or again that we go onward **4–6 corridor. … dazzles]** corridor. ~~Whereon an unseen hand~~ ^Time walks beside us and^ flings open shutters ^~~from the windows~~^ as we advance; ^but^ the light from these ~~often~~ ^often^ dazzles

---

1–23 CHAPTER XVIII. … we look hopefully: f. 145r. Fragments on this page have been roughly stuck together revealing an earlier version of the start of the chapter in the middle: '{~~that which we do not see:~~} ~~ever peering curiously into through the glare~~ ~~of the present into the gloom of the future, presaging the leading lines of that~~ ~~which is before us by faintly reflected lights from dull mirrors which are~~ ~~behind us, and so we stumble along the gallery now delighted with the~~ ~~prospect, and now abhorring it until the trap door opens beneath us and~~ ~~we are gone~~.'. On f. 145v is the following upside-down: 'How comes it that while so many have delighted to visit the the dead and report what they have seen there on returning to the there is none who has set foot in the world of the unborn and he with the coming great ones? ~~The answer is because~~]

---

1 XVIII.] E2, XIX. E9

thus given often dazzles us, and deepens the darkness which is in front. We can see but little at a time, and heed that little far less than our apprehension of what we shall see next; ever peering curiously through the glare of the present into the gloom of the future, we presage the leading lines of that which is before us by faintly reflected lights from dull mirrors that are behind, and stumble on as we may till the trap-door opens beneath us and we are gone.

They say at other times that the future and the past are as a panorama upon two rollers; that which is on the roller of the future unwraps itself on to the roller of the past; we cannot hasten it, and we may not stay it; we must see all that is unfolded to us whether it be good or ill; and what we have seen once we may see again no more. It is ever unwinding and being wound; we catch it in transition for a moment, and call it present; our flustered senses gather what impression they can, and we guess at what is coming by the tenor of that which we have seen. The same hand has painted the whole picture, and the incidents vary little, rivers, woods, plains, mountains, towns and peoples, love, sorrow, and death: yet the interest never flags, and we look hopefully for some good fortune, or fearfully lest

---

rooms of a mansion to suggest that life involves transitions between various stages of thought: see Forman, 124–31). SB disliked the Romantic poets and in 1900 claimed: 'I have never read and never, I am afraid shall read a line of Shelley, Keats or Coleridge' (Jones 1919, II, 321). Yet he did read *Poems of John Keats* (1896): see Jones 1919, II, 324. My thanks to Dr Ruth Abbott for identifying this reference.

13–20 the future and the past … we have seen These lines anticipate comments SB makes in LH about personal identity as 'a thing dependent upon the present, which has no logical existence, but lives only upon the sufferance of times past and future, slipping out of our hands into the domain of one or other of these two claimants the moment we try to apprehend it' (64). B&H have identified a *Note-Books* MS entry, made in January 1889, in which SB described our perception of the present moment in light of his evolutionary theory: 'Perfect present has no existence in our consciousness. As I said many years ago in *Erewhon*, it lives but upon the sufferance of past and future. We are like men standing on a narrow footbridge over a railway. We watch the future hurrying like an express train towards us, and then hurrying in the past, but in the narrow strip of the present we cannot see it. Strange that that which is the most essential to our consciousness should be exactly that of which we are least definitely conscious' (Breuer and Howard, 300).

---

8 of what … next;] of ~~the future~~ what we shall see next[*uwr* ;][*owr* ,] **11 and stumble … opens]** and ~~so~~ stumble ~~forwards~~ ^on as we may^ till the trap door opens **13 They … past]** ~~Or again~~ ^[*uwr* t][*owr* T]hey say ~~that~~ at other times that^ the future & the past **14 rollers; … is on]** rollers; ~~of~~ ^that^ which ~~what~~ is on **15 past; … hasten it,]** past: we cannot hasten it **16 that is … whether]** that ~~there~~ is ^unfolded to us^ whether **17 once … more. It]** once ~~no matter how fair it was~~ we may see ~~it~~ ^again^ no more: [*uwr* i][*owr* I]t **18–19 catch … we guess]** catch ~~as much as our flustered senses will allow, &~~ ^it in transition for a moment and^ call it present, we remember as much as our flustered senses will allow, and we guess **20 hand … painted]** hand ~~hath~~ ^has^ painted **21–2 little, … love,]** little rives, woods, ~~and~~ plains, and mountains: towns & peoples, love **23–43 for some good. … devils.]** *see app.*

23–43 for some good … than the devils: f. 146r.

---

10 us] E2, ~, E9 **21 little,]** E2, ~ — E9

our own faces be shown us as figuring in something terrible. When the scene is past we think we know it, though there is so much to see, and so little time to see it, that our conceit of knowledge as regards the past is for the most part poorly founded; neither do we care about it greatly, save in so far as it may affect the future, wherein our interest mainly lies.

The Erewhonians say it was by chance only that the earth and stars and all the heavenly worlds began to roll from east to west, and not from west to east, and in like manner they say it is by chance that man is drawn through life with his face to the past instead of to the future. For the future is there as much as the past, only that we may not see it. Is it not in the loins of the past, and must not the past alter before the future can do so?

Sometimes again they say that there was a race of men tried upon the earth once, who knew the future better than the past, but that they died in a twelvemonth from the misery which their knowledge caused them; and if any were to be born too prescient now, he would be culled out by natural selection, before he had time to transmit so peace-destroying a faculty to his descendants.

Strange fate for man! He must perish if he get that, which he must perish if he strive not after. If he strive not after it he is no better than the brutes, if he get it he is more miserable than the devils.

Having waded through many chapters like the above, I came at last to

---

26–7 our conceit … poorly founded These lines prefigure the distinction SB makes in LH between unconscious memory and actual memory: 'So we, at six or seven years old, have no recollection of ever having been infants, much less of having been embryos; but the manner in which we shed our teeth and make new ones, and the way in which we grow generally [...] proves most incontestably that we remember our past existences, though too utterly to be capable of introspection in the matter' (118).

29–34 The Erewhonians … future can do so SB evokes a Darwinian universe governed by chance: see below ls 80–9.

35–40 Sometimes again … to his descendants Presumably a reference to the Erewhonians' dire prophesies concerning machine evolution set out in Chs 21–3. SB's wariness concerning fore-knowledge of the future was possibly allied to his belief in the importance of familiar surroundings for the operation of heredity: see below, ls 59–60n. In a *Note-Book* entry SB resumed the topic: 'Communication with a world twenty thousand years ahead of us might ruin the human race as effectually as if we had fallen into the sun. It would be too wide a cross. The people in my supposed world know this and if, for any reason, they want to kill a civilisation, stuff it and put it into a museum, they tell it something that is too much ahead of its other ideas, something that travels faster than thought, thus setting an avalanche of new ideas tumbling in upon it and utterly destroying everything' (233).

---

44 Having … above,] Having ~~assured themselves for some time with~~ ~~easy~~ ^waded through so many chapters full of metaphors and rather cheap^ paradoxes such as the above,

---

44–5 Having waded through … that they were: f. 147^{r}. At the head of the page is the following additional line of text: '~~As to the unborn themselves they are held to be ver~~'.

---

35 Sometimes again] E2, Sometimes, again, E9

the unborn themselves, and found that they were held to be souls pure and simple, having no actual bodies, but living in a sort of gaseous yet more or less anthropomorphic existence, like that of a ghost; they have thus neither flesh nor blood nor warmth. Nevertheless, they are supposed to have local habitations and cities wherein they dwell, though these are as unsubstantial as their inhabitants; they are even thought to eat and drink some thin ambrosial sustenance, and generally to be capable of doing whatever mankind can do, only after a visionary ghostly fashion as in a dream. On the other hand, as long as they remain where they are they never die—the only form of death in the unborn world being the leaving it for our own. They are believed to be extremely numerous, far more so than mankind. They arrive from un-known planets, full grown, in large batches at a time; but they can only leave the unborn world by taking the steps necessary for their arrival here—which is, in fact, by suicide.

They ought to be an exceedingly happy people, for they have no extremes of good or ill fortune; never marrying, but living in a state much like that

45 souls SB draws inspiration from the theory of pre-existence, the belief that each individual human soul existed before mortal conception, and at some point before birth enters or is placed into the body. SB probably encountered the idea through Ancient Greek philosophy, where it was advanced esp. by Plato: see Givens, 99–128. Christianity teaches that the human soul comes into existence upon conception.

57–9 but they can … by suicide In LH SB argued that birth is a form of death, since the embryo is in harmony with its past selves but this memory, which aided its development, wanes at birth: 'Birth is but the beginning of doubt, […] the end of that time when we really knew our business, and the beginning of the days wherein we know not what we would do […] birth may indeed be looked upon as the most salient feature in a man's life; but this is not at all the sense in which it is commonly so regarded. It is commonly considered as the point at which we begin to live. More truly it is the point at which we leave off knowing how to live' (49–50).

59–60 no extremes … ill fortune SB's mistrust of extremes was bolstered by his LH theory, for he came to believe that a living organism is 'stored with the memories and experiences of its past existences, to be recollected under the circumstances most favourable to recollection, i.e. when under similar conditions to those when the impression was last made and last remembered' (82). SB argued that circumstances widely dissimilar to those under which one's ancestors operated disrupt the process of heredity, which relies instead on similar but not exact conditions: 'Memory vanishes with extremes of resemblance or difference. Things which put us in mind of others must be neither too like nor too unlike them' (*Note-Books*, 56).

60 never marrying Throughout his adult life, SB avoided and mocked marriage as a convention unlikely to produce happiness. On his self-fashioning as an 'incarnate bachelor' (*Note-Books*, 25) see Sussman.

45 themselves, … were] themselves and found that they were; **45–72 held to be … recruited]** *see app.*

45–72 held to be … ranks are recruited.: f. 148r. This page has a fold-out flap, bearing all SB's side inserts. On the back of the flap are the following words: '~~ery. have I let the cat out of the bag too much~~ ~~denouement of their treatment of diseases?~~ ~~I have a little: a stroke of the pen here & there~~ ~~dy this.~~ ~~enouement treated too callously and with a~~ ~~gy so plain as to be absolutely revolting; on the~~ ~~is not this perhaps wise?~~ ~~ot pp. 3, 4, (on the back) be better out?~~ ~~slip out.~~.'

48 Nevertheless,] Nevertheless E2, E9

fabled by the poets as the primitive condition of mankind. In spite of this, however, they are incessantly complaining; they know that we in this world have bodies, and indeed they know everything else about us, for they move among us whithersoever they will, and can read our thoughts, as well as survey our actions, at pleasure. One would think that this would be quite enough for them; and most of them are alive to the desperate risk which they will run by indulging themselves in that body with "sensible warm motion" which they so much desire; nevertheless, there are some to whom the ennui of a disembodied existence is so intolerable that they will venture anything for a change; so they resolve to quit. The conditions which they must accept are so uncertain, that none but the most foolish of the unborn will consent to take them; and it is from these, and these only, that our own ranks are recruited.

When they have finally made up their minds to leave, they must go before the magistrate of the nearest town and sign an affidavit of their desire to quit their then existence. On their having done this, the magistrate reads them the conditions which they must accept, and which are so long that I can only extract some of the principal points, which are mainly the following:—

First, they must take a potion which will destroy their memory and sense of identity; they must go into the world helpless, and without a will of their own; they must draw lots for their dispositions before they go, and take it, such as it is, for better or worse—neither are they to be allowed any choice in the matter of the body which they so much desire; they are simply allotted by chance, and without appeal, to two people whom it is their business to find and pester until they adopt them. Who these are to be, whether rich or poor, kind or unkind, healthy or diseased, there is no knowing; they have, in fact, to entrust themselves for many years to the care

---

61 the primitive … of mankind The Golden Age, which, according to classical mythology, was the first and best age of mankind.

67 sensible warm motion An allusion to Claudio's words in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* at 3.1.121–1: 'This sensible warm motion to become / A kneaded clod'.

80–9 they must go … of guarantee SB regarded luck as a key component of CD's theory, for in *Origin*, CD sees chance variation as driving the evolutionary process. In later years, SB would reduce the complexity of evolutionary theory to a simple opposition between those arguments that favoured luck (i.e., natural selection) and those that favoured a kind of 'intelligent design', which SB styled 'cunning', as in the full title of LC: *Luck or Cunning, As the Main Means of Organic Modification?* He would later align

---

73–116 When they … many of either] *see app.*

73–8 When they have … mainly the following:—: f. 149^{r}.
79–116 First, they must … many of either: f. 150^{r}.

---

65 actions,] actions E2, E9 **65 would … enough]** E2, should be enough E9 **66 are alive]** E2, are indeed alive E9 **71 take]** E2, *om.* E9 **74 town]** E2, ~, E9 **81 it,]** E2, them, E9 **82 it is,]** E2, they are, E9

of those for whose good constitution and good sense they have no sort of guarantee.

It is curious to read the lectures which the wiser heads give to those who are meditating a change. They talk with them as we talk with a spendthrift, and with about as much success.

"To be born," they say, "is a felony—it is a capital crime, for which sentence may be executed at any moment after the commission of the offence. You may perhaps happen to live for some seventy or eighty years, but what is that, in comparison with the eternity which you now enjoy? And even though the sentence were commuted, and you were allowed to live on for ever, you would in time become so terribly weary of life that execution would be the greatest mercy to you. Consider the infinite risk; to be born of wicked parents and trained in vice! to be born of silly parents, and trained to unrealities! of parents who regard you as a sort of chattel or property, belonging more to them than to yourself! Again, you may draw utterly unsympathetic parents, who will never be able to understand you, and who will thwart you as long as they can to the utmost of their power (as a hen when she has hatched a duckling), and then call you ungrateful because you do not love them, or parents who may look upon you as a thing to be cowed while it is still young, lest it should give them trouble hereafter by having wishes and feelings of its own.

"In later life, when you have been finally allowed to pass muster as a full member of the world, you will yourself become liable to the pesterings of the unborn—and a very happy life you may be led in consequence! For we solicit so strongly that a few only—nor these the best—can refuse us; and yet not to refuse is much the same as going into partnership with half a

himself with the latter school of thought against the 'apostles of luck' (LC, 80): CD, Herbert Spencer and Canadian-Scots evolutionary biologist George Romanes (1848–1894). In 1872, however, SB had not self-consciously distanced himself from this element of CD's theory.

93–4 To be born … the offence In the *Note-Books* SB recorded an idea he intended to develop in ER involving a reinterpretation of the Christian doctrine of original sin (i.e., the tendency to evil presumed to be innate in humans from birth) from the perspective of his own evolutionary theory (echoing the language of Rom 6:23: 'For the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord'): 'Refer to the agony and settled melancholy with which unborn children in the womb regard birth as the extinction of their being, and how some declare that there is a world beyond the womb and others deny this. "We must all one day be born," "Birth is certain" and so on, just as we say of death. Birth involves with it an original sin. It must be sin, for the wages of sin is death (what else, I should like to know, is the wages of virtue?) and assuredly the wages of birth is death' (*Note-Books*, 291–2).

102–8 utterly unsympathetic parents … of its own These examples reflect SB's views of his own childhood (discussed in Ch. 17, l. 15n) and the ill-feeling that had arisen between SB and members of his family in 1859 over his views on church doctrine and his future profession: see Gen. Int., 23.

96 in comparison] E2, compared E9 **which]** E2, *om.* E9 **98 life]** E9, ~, E2 **99 you. Consider]** E2, you. [*n.p.*] Consider E9 **100 parents, and]** E9, parents, and E2 **104 will thwart … power (as]** E2, who will do their best to thwart you (as E9 **106 them, … may]** E2, them; or, again, you may draw E9

dozen different people about whom one can know absolutely nothing beforehand—not even whether one is going into partnership with men or women, nor with how many of either. Delude not yourself with thinking that you will be wiser than your parents. You may be an age in advance of them, but unless you are one of the great ones you will still be an age behind your children.

"Imagine what it must be to have an unborn quartered upon you, who is of an entirely different temperament and disposition to your own; nay, half a dozen such, who will not love you though you have stinted yourself in a thousand ways to provide for their comfort and well-being,—who will forget all your self-sacrifice, and of whom you may never be sure that they are not bearing a grudge against you for errors of judgment into which you may have fallen, though you had hoped that such had been long since atoned for. Ingratitude such as this is not uncommon, yet fancy what it must be to bear! It is hard upon the duckling to have been hatched by a hen, but is it not also hard upon the hen to have hatched the duckling?

"Consider it again, we pray you, not for our sake but for your own. Your initial character you must draw by lot; but whatever it is, it can only come to a tolerably successful development after long training; remember that over that training you will have no control. It is possible, and even probable, that whatever you may get in after life which is of real pleasure and service to you, will have to be won in spite of, rather than by the help of, those whom

---

116–19 Delude not … your children SB came to conceive of an individual life as a journey from knowledge to inexperience: as we age, we gradually lose the 'mass of healthy ancestral memory' that guides 'a young and growing creature, free from ache or pain, and thoroughly acquainted with its business so far' (LH, 243–4).

120– 29 Imagine what … the duckling It was for similar reasons that SB reflected in later life on his own decision not to have children in a wry extension of the Erewhonians' mythology: 'I have often told my son that he must begin by finding me a wife to become his mother who shall satisfy both himself and me. But this is only one of the many rocks on which we have hitherto split. We should never have got on together; I should have had to cut him off with a shilling either for laughing at Homer, or for refusing to laugh at him, or both, or neither, but still cut him off. So I settled the matter long ago by turning a deaf ear to his importunities and sticking to it that I would not get him at all. Yet his thin ghost visits me at times and, though he knows that it is no use pestering me further, he looks at me so wistfully and reproachfully that I am half-inclined to turn tail, take my chance about his mother and ask him to let me get him after all. But I should show a clean pair of heels if he said "Yes." Besides, he would probably be a girl' (*Note-Books*, 373).

116–19 Delude … children.] *om.* **120–45 "Imagine … How it shall fall]** *see app.*

120–45 "Imagine what it … it shall fall.: f. 151^{r}.

---

118 them, but] E2, those women you have pestered, but E9 **118–19 behind … children.]** E2, behind those who will in their turn pester you. E9 **125 judgment]** E2, judgement E9

you are now about to pester, and that you will only win your freedom after years of a painful struggle in which it will be hard to say whether you have suffered most injury, or inflicted it.

"Remember also, that if you go into the world you will have free will; that you will be obliged to have it, that there is no escaping it, that you will be fettered to it during your whole life, and must on every occasion do that which on the whole seems best to you at any given time, no matter whether you are right or wrong in choosing it. Your mind will be a balance for considerations, and your action will go with the heavier scale. How it shall fall will depend upon the kind of scales which you may have drawn at birth, the bias which they will have obtained by use, and the weight of the immediate considerations. If the scales were good to start with, and if they have not been outrageously tampered with in childhood, and if the combinations into which you enter are average ones, you may come off well; but there are too many "ifs" in this, and with the failure of any one of them your misery is assured. Reflect on this, and remember that should the ill come upon you, you will have yourself to thank, for it is your own choice to be born, and there is no compulsion in the matter.

"Not that we deny the existence of pleasures among mankind; there is a certain show of sundry phases of contentment which may even amount to a very considerable happiness; but mark how they are distributed over a

---

139–51 Remember also… is assured In the *Note-Books* SB clarified this passage: 'free-will is apparent only, and that, as I said years ago in *Erewhon*, we are not free to choose what seems best on each occasion but bound to do so, being fettered to the freedom of our wills throughout our lives' (322). SB regarded volition as an exercise of free will and inextricably linked to necessity (or genetic determinism) in an organism's development. Since any initial action, and its every repetition in succeeding generations, involves this element of will power, all living organisms are, paradoxically, bound to exercise free will.

143–4 a balance … considerations In later works, SB repeatedly defined his concept of volition as action taken upon a balance of considerations. This balancing of considerations, exercised in conjunction with unconscious memory of past experience, SB viewed as inherent to all stages of all organic lifeforms in the evolutionary process, as he explains in LH: 'The action, therefore, of an embryo making its way up in the world from a simple cell to a baby, developing for itself eyes, ears, hands, and feet while yet unborn, proves to be exactly of one and the same kind as that of a man of fifty who goes

---

145 will depend] *om.* **145–6 the kind … will]** the quality of ~~the scales~~ ^~~the scales~~ those^ which you ~~drew~~ ^may have drawn^ at birth, the bias which ~~it~~ ^they^ which will **147 start with,]** start with **outrageously]** egregiously **150 "ifs"]** ifs **151–2 assured … ill]** assured: reflect ~~upon~~ ^on^ this, and remember that ~~shd~~ ^should^ the ill **153 born, … matter.]** born, and not that of others who thrust life upon you. **154–5 deny … phases]** deny that there exist pleasures among mankind: there is a certain show of ~~certain~~ ^sundry^ phases **156–8 happiness; … after.]** happiness: but mark how ^they^ they are distributed over a man's life, belonging – all the keenest of them to the fore part, and few ~~or more~~ ^indeed^ to the after.

145–76 upon the kind … places for themselves;: f. 152r.

---

140 it,] E2, ~; E9 **it,]** E2, ~; E9

man's life, belonging, all the keenest of them, to the fore part, and few indeed to the after. Can there be any pleasure worth purchasing with the miseries of a decrepit age? If you are good, strong, and handsome, you have a fine fortune indeed at twenty, but how much of it will be left at sixty? For you must live on your capital; there is no investing your powers so that you may get a small annuity of life for ever: you must eat up your principal bit by bit, and be tortured by seeing it grow continually smaller and smaller, even though you happen to escape being rudely robbed of it by crime or casualty. Remember, too, that there never yet was a man of forty who would not come back into the world of the unborn if he could do so with decency and honour. Being in the world he will as a general rule stay till he is forced to go; but do you think that he would consent to be born again, and re-live his life, if he had the offer of doing so? Do not think it. If he could so alter the past as that he should never have come into being at all, do you not think that he would do it very gladly? What was it that one of their own poets meant, if it was not this, when he cried out upon the day in which he was born, and the night in which it was said there is a man child conceived? 'For now,' he says, 'I should have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept; then had I been at rest with kings and counsellors of the earth, which built desolate places for themselves; or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver; or as an hidden untimely birth, I had not been; as infants which never saw light. There the wicked cease from

into the City and tells his broker to buy him so many Great Northern A shares—that is to say, an effort of the will exercised in due course on a balance of considerations as to the immediate expediency, and guided by past experience' (61).

171–9 their own poets … at rest The poet is Job and SB echos his words at Job 3:11–17: 'Why died I not from the womb? why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly? Why did the knees prevent me? or why the breasts that I should suck? For now should I have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept: then had I been at rest, With kings and counsellors of the earth, which build desolate places for themselves; Or with princes that had gold, who filled their houses with silver: Or as an hidden untimely birth I had not been; as infants which never saw light. There the wicked cease from troubling; and there the weary be at rest'.

159 good, … handsome,] good strong and handsome **160 but how]** but ~~yo~~ how **161 capital;]** ~: **seeing it grow]** seeing ^it^ grow **164–5 by crime … who would]** by ~~time~~ ^crime^ or casualty. Remember too that there never was a man of forty yet who would **166–8 could do … go;]** could do it ~~decently and comfortably~~. ^with decency and honour^ Being in the world he will, as a general ^~~rule~~ ~~be unwilling to retract so important a step when he has once taken~~ ~~it, and with~~^ ~~rule stay there~~ ^rule, stay^ till he is forced to go, **168–9 re-live his life,]** re live his life **170–1 all, do … that]** all, do ^think^ you not ~~suppose~~ that **174 'For … 'I]** "For now" he says "I **175 slept;]** slept **rest]** rest, **earth,]** earth **176 themselves;]** themselves **gold,]** gold **177 birth,]** birth **178 light. There]** light, there

176–209 or with princes … but one instinct,: f. 153r.

165 casualty. Remember,] E2, casualty. [*n.p.*] "Remember, E9 **171 gladly? What]** E2, gladly? [*n.p.*] "What E9

troubling, and the weary are at rest.' Be very sure that the guilt of being born carries this punishment at times to all men; but how can they ask for pity, or complain of any mischief that may befall them, having entered open-eyed into the snare?

"One word more and we have done. If any faint remembrance, as of a dream, flit dream, flit in some puzzled moment across your brain, and you shall feel that the potion which is to be given you shall not have done its work, and the memory of this existence which you are leaving endeavours vainly to return; we say in such a moment, when you clutch at the dream but it eludes your grasp, and you watch it, as Orpheus watched Eurydice, gliding back again into the twilight kingdom, fly—fly—if you can remember the advice—to the haven of your present and immediate duty, taking shelter incessantly in the work which you have in hand. This much you may perhaps recall; and this, if you will imprint it deeply upon your every faculty, will be most likely to bring you safely and honourably home through the trials that are before you." *

This is the fashion in which they reason with those who would be for leaving them, but it is seldom that they do much good, for none but the unquiet and unreasonable ever think of being born, and those who are foolish enough to think of it are generally foolish enough to do it. Finding

* The myth above alluded to exists in Erewhon with changed names, and considerable modifications. I have taken the liberty of referring to the story as familiar to ourselves.

188 Orpheus and Eurydice In Greek mythology, the musician–poet Orpheus was permitted to retrieve his bride from the underworld after her untimely death, provided that he did not look back at her during their return to earth. When he did look back, Eurydice fell away from him and was lost forever.

179 troubling,] troubling **179–81 rest.' … complain of]** rest." Be very sure that ~~every one who commits the criminal folly of being born must~~ ^born carries this punishment at times to all men; but ~~often~~^ ~~feel thus: if he goes into the trap with his eyes open~~ how can ~~he~~ ^they^ ask for pity,~~?~~ or ~~repine~~ ^complain^ of **181–3 befall … "One]** befall ~~him/you~~ ^them,^ ~~after~~ having entered open eyed into the snare? One **183–4 done. … and you]** done: If any faint glimmering, as in a dream, flit in ~~a~~ ^some^ puzzled moment across your ~~mind~~, ^brain^ and you **185–6 done … memory]** done ~~all~~ its work, ~~but~~ and the memory **leaving … to]** leaving ~~makes an abortive effort~~ ^~~endeavours vainly~~^ to **188–9 as Orpheus … fly—if]** as Orpheus watched Eurydice ^one who watches a half [r ? d] shade^ gliding back again into the twilight kingdom, ^fly –^ fly – if **190 advice … of your]** advice – ~~fly~~ to the ~~harbour~~ ^haven^ of your **191 taking … incessantly]** taking ~~refuge~~ ^shelter^ incessantly **192 recall; … deeply]** recall, and this, **–** if you ^will^ imprint ^it^ deeply **195–6 reason … leaving]** reason – with those who would be ^for^ leaving **197 ever … born, and]** ever even ~~give the matter consideration at all,~~ ^think of being born^ and those **198 it. Finding]** it: ^and ~~for~~ and,

198–9 Finding therefore] E2, Finding, therefore, E9 **199–201 The myth … ourselves.]** *om.*

therefore that they can do no more, the friends follow weeping to the courthouse of the chief magistrate, where the one who wishes to be born declares solemnly and openly that he accepts the conditions attached to his decision. On this he is presented with a potion, which immediately destroys his memory and sense of identity, and dissipates the thin gaseous tenement which he has inhabited: he becomes a bare vital principle, not to be perceived by human senses, nor to be by any chemical test appreciated. He has but one instinct, which is that he is to go to such and such a place, where he will find two persons whom he is to importune till they consent to undertake him; but whether he is to find these persons among the race of Chowbok or the Erewhonians themselves is not for him to choose.

---

209 one instinct In Ch. 8 of *Origin* CD discussed instinct heritability, positing that instincts, however originally formed, are inherited, vary and subject to the laws of natural selection: where an instinct is advantageous to a species' survival, natural selection will ensure that individuals demonstrating that instinct survive and reproduce.

~~un~~doubtedly if the ~~Partatenallagenortonians~~ ^Erewhonian^ mythology is true, ~~and the unborn have the option of coming here~~ they would do much more wisely to keep ~~out of it~~ ^away^ Finding **202 no more, … weeping]** no ~~good they following him~~ ^more, the friends follow^ weeping **203–4 the one … declares]** the ^one who wishes to be born^ declares **204 he accepts]** he ~~wishes to be born into the world and~~ accepts **205 decision. On]** decision: on **with a potion,]** with ~~a~~ ^the^ potion **206 identity,]** identity **207 he … inhabited]** he ~~had~~ ^has^ inhabited: **principle, not]** principle not **208–9 senses, … instinct, which]** senses neither by any chemical test appreciable. He ~~hath~~ ^has^ but one piece of knowledge which **persons]** persons, **211 him;]** him: **211–12 among. … is not]** among ~~Cannibals Africans or of the highest classes of civilised nations~~ ^the race of Chowbok or the Erewhonians themselves^ is not

---

209–Ch. 19, l. 18 which is that … an inconsiderable extent: f. 154^{r}.

CHAPTER XIX.

WHAT THEY MEAN BY IT.

I HAVE given the above mythology at some length, but it is only a small part of what they have upon the subject. My first feeling on reading it was that any amount of folly on the part of the unborn in coming here was justified by a desire to escape from such intolerable prosing. The mythology is obviously an unfair and exaggerated representation of life and things; and had its authors been so minded they could have easily drawn a picture which would err as much on the bright side as this does on the dark. No Erewhonian believes that the world is as black as it has been here painted, but it is one of their peculiarities that they very often do not believe or mean things which they profess to regard as indisputable. In the present instance their professed views concerning the unborn have arisen from their desire to prove that people have been presented with the gloomiest possible picture of their own prospects before they came here; otherwise, they could hardly say to one whom they are going to punish for an affection of the heart or brain that it is all his own doing. In practice they modify their theory to a considerable extent, and seldom refer to the birth formula except

3 mythology SB's interest in the function of myth was prompted by his engagement in the 1860s with biblical criticism surrounding the resurrection, esp. *The Life of Jesus* (1835) by German theologian David Friedrich Strauss (1808–1874) which offered a new interpretation of the New Testament emphasising its mythic value. In ER, SB revisited this topic through his depiction of Sunchildism, the religion that developed around the Erewhonian interpretation of the narrator's escape by balloon in Ch. 24 as a miraculous ascension into heaven. Biblical parallels are obvious, but SB eschewed this connection, claiming that his aim in ER was to explore simply 'how myth, attended both by zealous good faith on the part of some and chicane on the part of others, would be very naturally developed, in consequence of a supposed miracle.' (Jones 1919, II, 338).

6 intolerable prosing Eliza Savage, who throughout her correspondence with SB cautioned him against sententiousness, seems to have suggested this addition. While revising the MS in 1871, SB wrote to her: 'I have seized on what you said about having come here to avoid the prosing of the didactic old parties in the World of the Unborn, and have made it so far as it will go an apology for having been so didactic' (Keynes and Hill, 18).

16 affection An abnormal bodily state; a disease or medical complaint.

1–18 CHAPTER … considerable extent,] *see app.* **18–19 and … not,]** ~~more kindly than they are bound~~

18–34 and seldom refer … in their theories: f. 155r. SB made his side insertions on a fold-out flap on the back of which is written: 'The proficiency in these studies which The more "earnest" and "conscientious" students obtain a proficiency in [?these] studies which is quite surprising. There ~~is~~ ^are^ hardly any~~thing~~ ~~which they are not taught to reconcile with its opp-~~ inconsistencies which they ~~cannot~~ ^do not learn^ justify ~~nor~~ or injunctions'.

1 XIX.] E2, XX. E9 **12 indisputable. In]** E2, indisputable. [*n.p.*] In E9

in extreme cases; for the force of habit, or what not, gives many of them a kindly interest even in creatures who have so much wronged them as the unborn have done; and though a man generally hates the unwelcome little stranger for the first twelve months, he is apt to mollify (according to his lights) as time goes on, and sometimes he will become inordinately attached to the beings whom he is pleased to call his children.

Of course, according to Erewhonian premises, it would serve people right to be punished and scouted for moral and intellectual diseases as much as for physical, but here they stop short half-way. They see that the movements of the body are within a person's own control, whereon they conclude that its health is so also; they are keenly alive to the consequences of a physical deterioration, and are therefore inexorable upon this head, resting upon their mythology of the unborn; but they shrink from going further, because they feel that few have either had power over their own original disposition, or been able to escape from free will: they are therefore loath to give scouting a logical position in their theories concerning moral delinquency.

In spite, however, of modifications in practice of a theory which is itself revolting, the relations between children and parents in that country are less happy than in Europe. It was rarely that I saw cases of real hearty and intense affection between the old people and the young ones. Here and there I did so, and was quite sure that the children, even at the age of twenty, were fonder of their parents than they were of any one else; and that of their

---

~~to~~ ^~~do by~~^ ~~according th~~ ^and seldom refer^ to the birth formula ~~to which they only refer~~ ^except^ in extreme cases. [*uwr* f][*owr* F]or the force of habit or what not **21–2 unwelcome … stranger]** unwelcome ^little^ stranger **23–4 sometimes … beings]** sometimes ^he will even^ become~~s~~ ~~even~~ inordinately attached to ~~them,~~ ^the ~~[?]~~^ ~~tho'~~ beings **24–5 children. … premises,]** children. ~~though it does not follow~~ ~~that he will behave with any more real wisdom to them upon this account~~ Of course according to ~~Partatenellagenortonian~~ ^Erewhonian^ premises **26 and intellectual]** & intellectual **27–8 here … within]** here ~~as in everything else~~ they ~~always~~ ^they^ stop short half way: they ~~feel~~ ^~~are alive to~~^ ~~the importance of the body and that its movements~~ ^see that the movements of the body^ are entirely within **28–50 control, … own parents]** *see app.*

---

which they ~~cannot~~ ^are unable to^ avoid. I saw the lecture rooms of both these professors – over the door of ^the^ one was the written "consistency is a vice which degrades human notions & levels man with the brute: over the other'.

36–50 In spite, however, … their own parents: f. 156r.

27–35 but here … moral delinquency.] E2, and I cannot to this day understand why they should have stopped short half way. Neither, again, can I understand why their having done so should have been, as it certainly was, a matter of so much concern to myself. What could it matter to me how many absurdities the Erewhonians might adopt? Nevertheless I longed to make them think as I did, for the wish to spread those opinions that we hold conducive to our own welfare is so deeply rooted in the English character that few of us can escape its influence. But let this pass. E9 **36 spite, … modifications]** E2, spite of not a few modifications E9

own inclination, being free to choose what company, they would often choose that of their father and mother. The straightener's carriage was rarely seen at the door of those houses. I saw two or three such cases during the time that I remained in the country, and cannot express the pleasure which I derived from a sight suggestive of so much goodness and wisdom and forbearance, so richly rewarded; yet I firmly believe that the same thing would happen in nine families out of ten if the parents were merely to remember how they felt when they were young, and actually to behave towards their children as they would have had their own parents behave towards themselves. But this, which would appear to be so simple and obvious, seems also to be a thing which not one in a hundred thousand is able to put in practice. It is only the very great and good who have any living faith in the simplest axioms; and there are few who are so holy as to feel that 19 and 13 make 32 as certainly as 2 and 2 make 4.

I am quite sure that if this narrative should ever fall into Erewhonian hands, it will be said that what I have written about the relations between parents and children being seldom satisfactory is an infamous perversion of facts, and that in truth there are few young people who do not feel happier in the society of their nearest relations* than in any other. Mr Nosnibor

* Is it not time that the old word "kinsman" should be reinstated, and oust the interloper "relation"?

53–5 It is only … make 4 A reference to *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) by English Enlightenment philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). At 1.2.16, Locke writes: 'a man knows that eighteen and nineteen are equal to thirty-seven, by the same self-evidence that he knows one and two to be equal to three: yet a child knows this not so soon as the other; not for want of the use of reason, but because the ideas the words eighteen nineteen, and thirty-seven stand for, are not so soon got, as those which are signified by one, two, and three' (56). In this paragraph, Locke questions the idea that we can conclude ideas to be innate because they are universally assented to when they acquire the use of reason: the growth of reason is accompanied by the ability to form general abstract ideas and understand general names—children may have the former ability but not the latter. This forms part of Locke's broader empiricist argument in Book 1 against the theory of innate ideas.

61–2 Is it not … interloper relation Deletions in the MS show that SB originally had his narrator

51 towards] to **52 seems also]** appears also **52–3 is able to]** is ~~man~~ ~~enough~~ ^~~wise~~ able^ to **53–6 good … I am]** good ~~whose can reduce axioms. belief in axiom is vital~~ who have any ~~[?real]~~ living faith in the simplest axioms; ~~and most of us are under the impression more~~ ~~or less unconscious that although two and two make four the~~ and there are few who ^are so holy as to^ feel that 19 and 13 ~~will~~ make 32 as certainly as ~~that~~ two and two make four. I am **59 are few]** are ~~very~~ few **61–2 * Is it … "relation"?]** What a safe word "relation" is! How little it predicates! ~~That~~ ~~it should have overgrown "kinsman" is symptomatic of to my mind of good things~~ **60–79 any other. … discomforts]** *see app.*

50–67 behave towards themselves. … of his life.: f. 157r.

61–2 * Is … "relation"?] E2, * What a safe word "relation" is; how little it predicates! yet it has overgrown "kinsmen." E9

would be sure to say this. Yet I cannot refrain from expressing an opinion that he would be a good deal embarrassed if his deceased parents were to reappear and propose to pay him a six months' visit. I doubt whether there are many things which he would regard as a greater infliction. They had died at a ripe old age some twenty years before I came to know him, so the case is an extreme one; but surely if they had treated him with what in his youth he had felt to be true unselfishness, his face would brighten when he thought of them to the end of his life.

In the one or two beautiful cases of true family affection which I met with, I am sure that the young people who were so genuinely fond of their fathers and mothers at eighteen, would at sixty be perfectly delighted were they to get the chance of welcoming them as their guests. There is nothing which could please them better, except perhaps to watch the happiness of their own children and grandchildren. This is how things should be. It is not an impossible ideal; it is one which actually does exist in some few cases, and might exist in almost all, with a little more patience and forbearance upon the parents' part; but it is rare at present—so rare that they have a proverb which I can only translate in a very roundabout way, but which says that the great happiness of some people in a future state will consist in watching the discomforts to which their parents were subjected on returning to an eternal companionship with their grandfathers and grandmothers; whilst "compulsory affection" is the idea which lies at the root of their word for the deepest anguish. There is no talisman in the word "parent" which can generate miracles of affection, and I can well believe that my own child might find it less of a calamity to lose both Arowhena and myself when he is six years old, than to find us again when he is sixty—a sentence which I would not pen did I not feel that by doing so I was giving

---

assert the opposite opinion (see Collation of Edition Variants previous pages) and reinstated that opinion in E9. Seemingly, SB ascribes to 'kinsman' (by then chiefly literary) the positive sense of being 'akin' and considers 'relation' a neutral expression of blood association, inflected, perhaps, by its usage in the second clause, where 'relations' means simply 'dealings'.

82–149 to which their parents … imply that if a] *see app.*

71–82 In the one … the discomforts to: f. 158^{r}. On 158^{v} are the following lines of text: 'parents should their own parents return: this their term for hell. punished if the children education not a training up in order that at some future time &. a Page upon the market market worship–'.
82–124 which their parents … putting a tax: f. 159^{r}. SB again made side insertions on a fold-out flap on the back of which is written: '~~that~~ what I proposed would not be held dishonourable in England a part of what he told me – other parts,'.

---

71 beautiful] E2, *om*. E9 **76 grandchildren. This]** E2, E9 **82 discomforts to which]** E2, distress of E9 **were subjected]** E2, *om*. E9 **80 an]** E2, *om*. E9 **85 anguish. There**] E2, anguish. [*n.p.*] There

him something like a hostage, or at any rate putting a fearful weapon into his hands against me, should my selfishness exceed reasonable limits.

Money is at the bottom of all this to a great extent. If the parents would put their children in the way of earning a competence earlier than they do, the children would soon become self-supporting and in-dependent. As it is, under the present system, the young ones get old enough to have all manner of legitimate wants (that is, if they have any "go" about them) before they have learnt the means of earning money to pay for them; hence they must either do without them, or take more money than the parents can be expected to spare. This is due chiefly to the schools of Unreason, where a boy is taught upon hypothetical principles, as I will explain hereafter; spending years in being in-capacitated for doing this, that, or the other (he hardly knows what himself), during all which time he ought to have been actually doing the thing itself, beginning at the lowest grades, and picking it up, and rising according to the energy which is in him. These schools of Unreason surprised me much. It would be easy to fall into pseudo utilitarianism, and I would fain believe that the system may be good for the children of very rich parents, or for those who show a natural instinct to acquire hypothetical lore; but the misery was that their Ydgrun-worship required all people with any pretence to respectability to send their children to some one or other of these schools, mulcting them of years of money. It astonished me to see what sacrifices the parents would make in order to render their children as nearly useless as possible; and it was hard to say whether the old suffered most from the expense which they were thus put to, or the young from being deliberately swindled in some of the most important branches of human inquiry, and directed into false channels or

92–99 Money is … to spare During his time at SJC, SB was financially dependent upon his father, to whom he forfeited a portion of his scholarship awards and justified expenses. With oblique irony, he wrote to his father on 29 Oct 1855: 'I am exceedingly pleased with the unexpected addition to my income by your giving me half the £35. I have always contrived to make my present carry me thro' and I cannot say that I have had anything to complain of on the score of money at my university career so far. But another £4 per term will be very acceptable' (Silver, 53). From 1859 until the publication of E1, tension over money is a consistent theme in SB's correspondence with his father. Throughout 1859 Canon Butler refused to finance those professions he deemed inappropriate for his son, particularly SB's main wish to be a painter, writing 'not one sixpence will you receive from me after your Michaelmas payment till you come to your senses' (Silver, 74). Wrangling over money persisted over Canon Butler's investment in Mesopotamia, then SB's inability to repay £600 despite his profits, as well as SB's reversionary interest in Whitehall, a property in Shrewsbury left to him in his grandfather's will, but of which he had been persuaded to sell a portion: see Raby, 61. SB's financial worries ended only when he came into his full inheritance upon the death of Canon Butler in 1887.

110 mulcting To exact money from someone through a fine or taxation; to obtain by deceit.

90 fearful] E2, *om*. E9 **102 himself),]** E2, *om*. E9 **104 up, and]** E2, up through actual practice, and E9

left to drift, in the great majority of cases. With the less well-dressed classes the harm was not so great; for among these, at about ten years old, the child has to begin doing something: if he is intelligent he makes his way up, and will not be kept down; if he is not, he stops where he is, which is the best for every one concerned. People find their level as a rule; and though they do unfortunately sometimes miss it, it is in the main true that those who have valuable qualities are perceived to have them and can sell them. I think that the Erewhonians are beginning to become aware of these things, for there was much talk about putting a tax upon all parents whose children were not earning a competence according to their degrees by the time they were twenty-five years old. I am sure that if they will have the courage to carry it through they will never regret it; for the parents will take care that the children shall begin earning money (which means "doing good" to society) at an early age; then the children will be independent early, and they will not press on the parents, nor the parents on them, and they will like each other better than they do now.

124–69 upon all parents … party of extreme: f. 160[r].

116 drift,] E2, drift E9 **cases. With]** E2. *see below* E9

cases.

I cannot think I am mistaken in believing that the growing tendency to limit families by infanticide—an evil which was causing general alarm throughout the country—was almost entirely due to the way in which education had become a fetish from one end of Erewhon to the other. Granted that provision should be made whereby every child should be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, but here [a]compulsory state-aided education should end, and the child should begin (with all due precautions to ensure that he is not overworked) to acquire the rudiments of that art whereby he is to earn his living.

He cannot acquire these in what we in England call [b]schools of technical education; such schools are cloister life as against the rough and tumble of the world; they unfit, rather than fit for work in the open. An art can only be learned in the workshop of those who are winning their bread by it.

Boys, as a rule, hate the artificial, and delight in the actual; give them the chance of earning, and they will soon earn. When parents find that their children, instead of being made artificially burdensome, will early begin to contribute to the well-being of the family, they will soon leave off killing them, and will seek to have that plenitude of offspring which they now avoid. As things are, the state lays greater burdens on parents than flesh and blood can bear, and then wrings its hands over an evil for which it is itself mainly responsible.
With

118 intelligent] E2, capable E9 **119–20 up, and … concerned. People]** E2, if he is not, he is at any rate not made more incapable by what his friends are pleased to call his education. People E9 **121 do]** E2, *om.* E9 **126 twenty-five]** E2, twenty E9

[a] **compulsory … education** SB's antagonism stems also from his belief that true learning happened outside the academic establishment (as outlined in Ch. 11, E9 additions **h**). Arguably, it also reflects the hostility within liberal laissez-faire thought to state intervention within education.

[b] **schools … education** Until the final quarter of the 19th cent. technical training had been carried out largely through apprenticeships. Following a series of Royal Commissions into the stage of technical education from the 1860s–1880s, government restructuring and increased funding enabled considerable growth in the number of technical colleges in the 1890s, see: Green 1995, 133–139.

This is the true philanthropy. He who makes a colossal fortune in the hosiery trade, and by his energy has succeeded in reducing the price of woollen goods by the thousandth part of a penny in the pound—this man is worth ten professional philanthropists. So strongly are the Erewhonians impressed with this, that if a man has made a fortune of over £20,000 a year they exempt him from all taxation, considering him as a work of art, and too precious to be meddled with; they say, "How very much he must have done for society before society could have been prevailed upon to give him so much money;" so magnificent an organisation overawes them; they regard it as a thing dropped from heaven.

"Money," they say, "is the symbol of duty, it is the sacrament of having done for mankind that which mankind wanted. Mankind may not be a very good judge, but there is no better." This used to shock me at first, when I remembered that it had been said on high authority that they who have riches shall enter hardly into the kingdom of heaven; but the influence of Erewhon had made me begin to see things in a new light, and I could not help thinking that they who have not riches shall enter more hardly still. People oppose money to culture, and imply that if a man has spent his time

135–41 So strongly … from heaven SB lays bare the irony that while Victorian writers, cultural critics and clergy excoriated money-grabbing and crass materialism as a sign of moral decline, the economic conditions of Victorian England explicitly encouraged capitalist self-interest. The doctrine of laissez-faire (abstention by governments in the workings of the free market on the basis that when individuals compete for their own interests without restriction welfare is maximised) became an integral tenet of 19th cent. liberalism. SB's sentiments accord with the 'invisible hand' theory first advanced by philosopher and economist Adam Smith (1723–1790) in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759): 'the rich […] in spite of their natural selfishness and rapacity, though they mean only their own conveniency, though the sole end which they propose from the labours of all the thousands whom they employ, be the gratification of their own vain and insatiable desires, they divide with the poor the produce of all their improvements. They are led by an invisible hand to make nearly the same distribution of the necessaries of life, which would have been made, had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants, and thus without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interest of the society, and afford means to the multiplication of the species' (215). The issue was of interest to SB's contemporary novelists, such as Anthony Trollope (1815–1822), who in his *Autobiography* (1883) wrote: 'clergymen […] preach sermons against the love of money, but […] know that the love of money is so distinctive a characteristic of humanity that such sermons are mere platitudes called for by customary but unintelligent piety. All material progress has come from man's desire to do the best he can for himself and those about him […] we know that the more a man earns the more useful he is to his fellow-men' (Trollope, 140–1). On other novelists' engagement with this topic in the 19th cent., see, e.g., O'Gorman.

144–6 I remembered … of heaven SB alludes to Jesus' words in Matthew 19:23–24: 'Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God'. This is echoed in Mark 10:24–25 and Luke 18:24–25.

149 People … culture Possibly SB had in mind poet and cultural critic Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), who presented an influential articulation of this opposition in his essay series *Culture and Anarchy* (1869). Arnold argued that culture, 'the best which has been thought and said', was a necessary antidote to anarchy,

148–9 still. People] E2, people [*n.p.*] Still E9

in making money he will not be cultivated—fallacy of fallacies! As though there could be a greater aid to culture than the having earned an honourable independence, and as though any amount of culture will do much for the man who is penniless, except make him feel his position more deeply. The young man who was told to sell all his goods and give to the poor, must have been an entirely exceptional person if the advice was given wisely, either for him or for the poor; how much more often does it happen that we perceive a man to have all sorts of good qualities except money, and feel that his real duty lies in getting every halfpenny that he can persuade others to pay him for his services, and becoming rich. It is only in so far as the love of money implies the want of money, that it is the root of all evil. The above may sound irreverent, but it is conceived in the spirit of the most utter reverence for those things which do alone deserve it—that is, for the things which are, which mould us and fashion us, be they what they may; for the things that have power to punish us, and which will punish us if we do not heed them; for our masters therefore. But I am drifting away from my story.

They have another plan about which they are making a great noise and fuss, much as some are doing with women's rights in England. A party of

---

the 'dismal and illiberal' malaise that pervaded mid-Victorian England, brought about by societal fragmentation, the pursuit of individual over collective interests and the focus on material wealth as an end in itself. He targeted especially 'the bad civilisation of the English middle class', which, he felt, perversely resisted culture in favour of 'the machinery of business' (Arnold, 140). See also Carlyle, Ch. 22, ls 62–5n.

153–6 The young man … the poor An allusion to Jesus' words in Matthew 19:21: 'Jesus said unto him, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come and follow me'. The same words occur in Mark 10:21 and Luke 18:22.

159–60 the love of money … all evil SB references the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy at 1 Timothy 6:10: 'For the love of money is the root of all evil: which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows'.

168 women's rights From the 1850s, the campaign for women's rights gathered momentum in the fields of suffrage, marriage and its associated legal constraints, prostitution and sexual health, education

---

150 cultivated— … As] cultivated ~~oh!~~ fallacy of fallacy[*uwr* ~~y~~][*owr* ies]! As **152–3 will do … except]** will do ~~anything~~ ^much^ for the man who is ~~without money~~ ^penniless^ except **154 poor,]** poor **155–7 wisely, … have all]** wisely ^either for him or for the poor:^ : how much more~~ true is it in most case to~~ ~~say~~ ^of~~ten~~ does it happen that we^ perceive ~~that~~ a man ~~has~~ ^to have^ all **157 money, … feel]** money, and to ~~bid him~~ feel **158–61 halfpenny … sound]** half penny that he can ~~out of~~ ^persuade^ others ~~people~~, ^to pay him for his services^ and becoming rich ^~~It is not the love of money but the want of money which is the root of all evil. All~~ **~~and~~ It is only in so far as the love of money implies the want of money, that it is the root of all evil.** ~~all~~ which may sound **162–3 deserve … us, be]** deserve it – ~~[? e]~~ ^that is,^ for the things which are, which mould us and fashion us be **165 them;]** ~: **168–9 fuss, … professed]** fuss about the same as they do with women's rights in England. ~~It is~~ ~~based upon much the same sort of uncertainty as that which Herodotus~~ ~~An extreme party~~ A party of extreme ^radicals have^ professed

---

159 It is … as the] E2, It has been said that the E9 **160 money implies … it is]** E2, money is E9 **evil. The]** E2, The want of money is so quite as truly. [*n.p.*] The **161 the]** E2, a E9 **163 are,]** E2, are E9

extreme radicals have professed themselves unable to decide upon the superiority of age or youth. At present all goes on the supposition that it is desirable to make the young old as soon as possible. Some would have it that this is wrong, and that the object of education should be to keep the old young as long as possible. They say that each age should take it turn in turn about, week by week, one week the old to be topsawyers, and the other the young, drawing the line at thirty-five years of age; but they insist that the young should be allowed to inflict corporal chastisement on the old, without which the old would be quite incorrigible. In any European country this would be out of the question; but it is not so there, for the straighteners are constantly ordering people to be flogged, so that they are familiar with the notion. I do not suppose that the idea will be ever acted upon; but its having been even mooted is enough to show their utter perversion of mind.

---

and employment. Prominent within this broader movement (but by no means its sole champion) was John Stuart Mill, whose 1861 essay *The Subjection of Women* argued for legal and social equality between women and men. SB seems to have met Mill's arguments with derision. Of women's suffrage he wrote in the *Note-Books*: 'I will vote for it when women have left off making a noise in the reading-room of the British Museum, when they leave off wearing high head-dresses in the pit of a theatre and when I have seen as many as twelve women in all catch hold of the strap or bar on getting into an omnibus' (229).

169–77 extreme radicals … quite incorrigible SB's argument in LH that life entails a gradual loss of ancestral memory led him to challenge typical assumptions about age and experience: 'It is the young and fair, then, who are the truly old and the truly experienced; it is they who alone have a trustworthy memory to guide them; […] The whole charm of youth lies in its advantage over age in respect of experience, […] When we say that we are getting old, we should say rather that we are getting new or young, and are suffering from inexperience, which drives us into doing things which we do not understand, and lands us, eventually, in the utter impotence of death' (244).

---

170 youth. At] youth: at **171 soon as possible. Some]** soon as possible: they **172 wrong, … education]** wrong and that the object of ~~all~~ education **long as possible. … week by]** possible: ~~for they say that the young are in all ways sweeter and happier~~ ^~~and better~~^ ~~than the old, and that as they~~ ^~~this proved by the fact that~~^ ~~the Young all the old would be young if they knew how, and make themselves look young as ever they can: sh surely then the young should be the schoolmasters to the old and teach them how they shd feel and act, or at any rate they~~ ^they say that each age^ should take it turn in turn abouts week by **174 topsawyers,]** topsawyers **175 thirty-five … age;]** 35 years of age: **176 old,]** old **177 incorrigible. In any]** incorrigible: ~~of course~~ in any **178 be out … there,]** be quite out of the question but it is not so there **179 flogged,]** flogged **180 notion. … suppose]** notion. ~~I don't~~ ^do not^ suppose **180–1 upon; … is enough]** upon but it ^that it shd ever have been mooted is^ is enough

---

169–81 radicals have professed … perversion of mind.: f. 161r. At the top of the page are the following lines: '{-sious [?must]} ~~the alternate process of drunkenness and sobriety day by day until they should at last have arrived at the same result during both conditions of mind. In like manner then~~ ^~~fussy Erewhonians~~^ ~~Partatenallagenortonians~~'. At the foot of the page is further text not properly cut away from the fragment: '~~that it should have been even mooted. If they can go wrong about a plainer matter one may be very sure that they will do so. as in their arguments upon~~'.

---

181 their] E2, the E9 **of mind.]** E2, of the Erewhonian mind. E9

CHAPTER XX.

THE COLLEGES OF UNREASON.

I HAD now been a visitor with the Nosnibors for some five or six months, and though I had frequently proposed to leave them and take apartments of my own, they would not hear of my doing so. I suppose they thought I should be more likely to fall in love with Zulora if I remained but it was my affection for Arowhena that kept me.

During all this time both Arowhena and myself had been dreaming, and drifting towards an avowed attachment, but had not dared to face the real difficulties of the position. Gradually, however, matters came to a crisis in spite of ourselves, and we got to see the true state of the case with most unpleasant distinctness. I remember that one evening we were sitting in the garden, and I had been trying in every stupid roundabout way to get her to say that she should be at any rate *sorry* for a man, if he really loved a woman who would not marry him. I had been stammering and blushing, and been as silly as any one could be, and I suppose had pained her by fishing for pity for myself in such a transparent way, and saying nothing about her standing in need of it; at any rate, she turned upon me with a sweet sad smile and said, "Sorry? I am sorry for myself; I am sorry for you; and I am sorry for everyone." The words had no sooner crossed her lips than she bowed her head, gave me a look as though I were to make no answer, and left me.

The words were few and simple in themselves, but the manner with which they were uttered was ineffable: the scales fell from my eyes, and I

---

23 scales … eyes Figuratively, this means 'to see the truth clearly'. It derives from Saul's conversion in Acts 9:18: 'And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales: and he received sight forth-

---

1–2 CHAPTER … UNREASON.] Chap. XIX The Colleges of Unreason. **3–4 some … months,]** some ~~four or~~ five ^or six^ months, **5–6 suppose they]** suppose ~~that that~~ they **6–16 fall in love … fishing for pity]** *see app.* **17–18 way, … rate, she]** way, ~~and having~~ ^but saying^ ~~said~~ nothing about her standing in need of pity; ~~but after I had fished and fished in vain~~ ^at any rate^ she **18–19 sad … "Sorry?]** sad ~~look~~ ^smile^ and said "sorry? **19–20 you; … had]** you; ^and^ I am sorry for every one." ~~She bowed her beautiful head and left me~~ The words ~~we~~ had **20–1 than … gave]** than ^she^ bowed her ^head.^ ~~beautiful head, and returned swiftly to the house with a look~~, gave **23–9 the scales … keenly at the]** *see app.*

1–17 CHAPTER XX. … way, and saying: f. 162^{r}.
17–29 nothing about her … keenly at the: f. 163^{r}. Upside-down on f. 163^{v} are the following words: '~~That I imagine Ask Pauli neither do I know how to get it. Territory air mercantile of the bleakest write about the title~~'.

---

1 XX.] E2, XXI. E9 **11–12 case … one]** E2, case, all too clearly. [*n.p.*] One **14 *sorry*]** E2, sorry E9 **18 her ... need]** E2, her own need E9 **18 turned upon]** E2, turned all upon E9 **22 simple … but]** E2, simple, but E9

felt that I had no manner of right to try and induce her to infringe one of the most inviolable customs of her country, as she needs must do if she were to marry me. I sat for a long while thinking, and when I remembered the sin and shame and misery which an unrighteous marriage—for as such it would be held in Erewhon—would entail, I became thoroughly ashamed of myself for having been so long self-blinded. I write coldly now, but I suffered keenly at the time, and should probably retain a much more vivid recollection of what I felt had not all ended so happily.

As for giving up the idea of marrying Arowhena, it never so much as entered my head to do so: the solution must be found in some other direction than this. The idea of waiting till somebody married Zulora was to be no less summarily dismissed. To marry Arowhena at once in Erewhon—this had already been abandoned: there remained therefore but one alternative, and that was to run away with her, and get her with me to Europe, where there would be no bar to our union save my own impecuniosity, a matter which gave me no uneasiness. To this obvious and simple plan I could see but two objections that deserved the name,—the first, that perhaps Arowhena would not come; the second, that it was almost impossible for me to escape even alone, for the king had himself told me that I was to consider myself a prisoner on parole, and that the first sign of my endeavouring to escape would cause me to be sent to one of the hospitals for incurables. Besides, I did not know the geography of the country, and even were I to try and find my way back, I should be discovered long before I had reached the pass over which I had come. How then could I hope to be able to take Arowhena with me? For days and days I turned these difficulties over in my mind, and at last hit upon as wild a

with, and arose, and was baptised'.

31–2 of what … As] of ~~its intensity~~ ^what I felt^ had ~~it~~ not all ended so happily. ~~for~~ As **32 Arowhena, it never]** Arowhena ~~that idea~~ ^it^ never **33 head … so: the]** head ^to do so^ ~~;~~ ~~No~~ the **34–6 married … this had]** married Zelora ~~that too~~ was to be ^no less^ summarily dismissed. To marry ~~her~~ ~~and~~ ^Arowhena^ at once in Erewhon – that had **40–1 see … first,]** see ~~no~~ ^but two^ objections that deserved the name, ~~but two only~~ – the first **41–2 come; … impossible]** come: the second that it was ^almost^ impossible **42–8 alone, … For days]** alone~~;~~ **for the king … would ~~be~~ cause me to be ~~imprisoned in~~ ^sent to^ one of the hospitals for incurables ~~I could never escape detection~~: Besides I ~~could~~ did not … try & find my way back, ~~to the statues~~ should … the ~~Er~~ pass … How then could I possibly hope to take Arowhena with me?** For days

30–48 time, and should … Arowhena with me?: f. 164r. At the foot of the page is the following additional text: '~~but~~ ^~~that the difficulty would~~^ ~~with Arowhena~~ ~~the~~ ~~it would be increased tenfold by my having to take Arowhena with me.~~ ~~The solution of these two difficulties was now my~~'.
48–62 For days and … whether she would: f. 165r.

24 no … right] E2, no right E9 **31 felt]** E2, ~, E9 **39 uneasiness. To]** E2, uneasiness. [*n.p.*] To **49–50 upon … plan]** upon ~~and idea~~ as wild ~~an idea~~ a plan

plan as was ever suggested by extremity. This was to meet the second difficulty: the first gave me less uneasiness, for when Arowhena and I next met after our interview in the garden I could see that she had suffered not less acutely than myself.

I resolved that I would have another interview with her—the last for the present—that I would then leave her, and set to work upon maturing my plan as fast as possible. We got a chance of being alone together, and then I gave myself the loose rein, and told her how passionately and devotedly I loved her. She said but little in return, but her tears (which I could hardly help answering with my own) and the little she did say were quite enough to show me that I should meet with no obstacle from her. Then I put the case before her, that our marriage in Erewhon was out of the question, and asked her whether she would run a great and terrible risk which we should share in common, if in case of success I could take her to my own people, to the home of my mother and sisters, who would be always good to her, and would treat her as one of themselves. At the same time I pointed out that the chances of failure were far greater than those of success, and that the probability was that even though I could get so far as to carry my design into execution, it would end in death to us both.

I was not mistaken in her; she said that she believed I loved her as much as she loved me, and that she would brave anything if I could only assure her that what I proposed would not be thought dishonourable in England; she could not live without me, and would rather die with me than alone; that death was perhaps the best for us both; that I must plan, and that when the hour came I was to send for her, and trust her not to fail me; and so after many tears and embraces, we tore ourselves away.

---

50 This … meet the] [*uwr* t][*owr* T]his was ~~for~~ ^to meet^ the **51–2 uneasiness, … she had]** uneasiness for ~~on next seeing~~ ^when^ Arowhena ^and^ and I ~~could discu~~ next met after our interview in the garden I could see ~~from her eyes also the scales had fallen from her eyes~~ ~~as well as from my own, and that~~ she had **54 have … interview]** have ~~one last~~ ^another^ interview **55 would then … her,]** could then leave her **56 We … alone]** We found the means to ~~come together and~~ be alone **57 rein, and told]** rein and ~~poured out my love to her~~ told **58 her. She said]** her: ~~for a couple of hours we talked and~~ she said **58–9 could … help]** could not ~~not~~ help **59 were quite]** was quite **61 her,]** her **64 to the … mother]** to my father & mother **65 would treat her]** would ~~love~~ ^treat^ her **69 her;]** ~: **70 she … me,]** she ~~m~~ loved myself. **71–2 her that … could]** her that we would have no dishonour to fear, and nothing worse than death. [*uwr* s][*owr* S]he could **72 alone;]** ~: **73 both; … plan, and]** both: that I must plan – and **74 me;]** ~: **75–6 embraces, … I]** embraces we tore ourselves away and parted. I

62–79 run a terrible … Zulora both treated: f. 166r.

---

58 but] E2, *om*. E9 **58–9 could … help]** E2, could not refrain from answering E9 **60–2 I … asked]** E2, I asked E9 **62 a … terrible]** E2, a terrible E9 **63 if]** E2, ~, E9 **success]** E2, ~, E9 **64–5 be always … At]** be always [*same as E1*] good to her, would [*same as E1*] E2, welcome her very gladly. At E9

I then left the Nosnibors, took a lodging in the town, and became melancholy to my heart's content. Arowhena and I used to see each other sometimes, for I had taken to going regularly to the musical banks, but Mrs Nosnibor and Zulora both treated me with considerable coldness. I felt sure that they suspected me. Arowhena looked miserable, and I saw that her purse was now always as full as she could fill it with the musical bank money—much fuller than of old. Then the horrible thought occurred to me that her health might possibly break down, and that she might be subjected to a criminal prosecution. Oh! how I hated Erewhon at that time.

I was still received at court, but my good looks were beginning to fail me, and I was not such an adept at concealing the effects of pain as the Erewhonians are. I could see that my friends began to look concerned about me, and was obliged to take a leaf out of Mahaina's book, and pretend to have developed a taste for drinking. I even consulted a straightener as though this were so, and submitted to much discomfort. This made matters better for a time, but I could see that my friends thought less highly of my constitution as my flesh began to fall away.

I was told that the poor made an outcry about my pension, and I saw a stinging article in an anti-ministerial paper, in which the writer went so far as to say that my having light hair reflected little credit upon me, inasmuch as I had been reported to have said that it was a common thing in the country from which I came. I have reason to believe that Mr Nosnibor himself inspired this article. Presently it came round to me that the king had begun to dwell upon my having been possessed of a watch, and to say that I ought to be treated medicinally for having told him a lie about the balloons. I saw

---

94 anti-ministerial paper A newspaper politically opposed to the government.

---

76 Nosnibors, … town,] Nosnibors – took a lodging in the town **78–9 Mrs … Zulora]** Mrs Nosnibor & Zelora **81–2 full … much]** full ~~of th~~ ^as she could fill it with the^ musical bank money, ~~as it could pos-~~ ~~much f~~ – much **83 down,]** down **84 prosecution. Oh! how]** prosecution ~~at~~ ^on^ which I tore my hair and gnashed my teeth with rage. Oh how **86 concealing the]** concealing ~~my~~ the **88 book,]** bok **89 drinking.]** ~: **92 began … away.]** began to fa[*uwr* i][*owr* l]l ~~me~~ away. **93 and I saw]** and ^I^ saw **94 anti-ministerial paper,]** antiministerial paper **95 reflected little]** reflected ~~very~~ little **96 been … common]** been ~~heard to say~~ ^reported to have said^ that ~~light~~ it was a ~~very~~ common

---

79–103 me with considerable … of my plan.: f. 167^r^. On this page, between 'thought occurred to me' and 'that her health' cut and pasted fragments reveal the following text: '~~were insuperable. On every side the prospect looked as black {as}~~ {[*remaining words on this line obscured*]} ~~-sibly do, and the dejection under which I laboured grew greater from~~ day to ~~day. Arowhena and I sometimes saw each other and it was hard to say which looked most miserable: then the horrible thought occurred to me~~.'

---

78 musical banks,] E2, Musical Banks, E9 **89 musical bank]** E2, Musical Bank E9 **83 possibly]** E2, *om.* E9

misfortune gathering round me in every direction, and felt that I should have need of all my wits and a good many more, if I was to steer myself and Arowhena to a good conclusion. But I never lost sight of my plan.

There were some who continued to show me kindness, and strange to say, I received the most from the very persons from whom I should have least expected it—I mean from the cashiers of the musical banks. I had made the acquaintance of several of these persons, and now that I frequented their bank, they were inclined to make a good deal of me. One of them, seeing that I was thoroughly out of health, though of course he pretended not to notice it, suggested that I should take a little change of air and go down with him to one of the principal towns, which was some two or three days' journey from the metropolis, and one great seat of the Colleges of Unreason; he assured me that I should be delighted with what I saw, and that I should receive a most hospitable welcome. I determined therefore to accept the invitation.

We started on the following morning, and after a night on the road, we arrived at our destination towards evening. It was now autumn, and as nearly as might be twelve months since I had started with Chowbok on my expedition, but it seemed more like twelve years. The trees had already begun to change their colour, and the air had become cool and grateful. After having lived so many months in the metropolis, the sight of the country, and the country villages through which we passed refreshed me greatly, but I

---

102 more,] more **104 plan. There were … kindness, and]** plan ~~still~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]here were some who ^~~still~~^ continued ~~good~~ ^~~to show~~ ^^~~friendly towards~~^^ ~~to me~~[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] ^to show me^ ~~The high Ydgrunites~~ ^kindness,^ and **105–6 the most … I had]** the ~~greatest~~ ^most^ ~~kindness~~ from those very persons from whom I shd have least expected it. I mean from ~~one of~~ the cashiers of the musical banks; ~~the acquaintance of~~ I had **107–8 and now that … inclined]** and ~~having been persuaded~~ ^~~by Arowhena to deposit part of my~~ pension^ ~~to make a certain deposit at their institutions, they were~~ ^now that I frequented their bank, they were^ inclined **109 them,]** these **of health, though]** of sorts (though **110 it, suggested … a little]** it) suggested that I should ~~try~~ ^~~take~~^ a little **111–13 towns, which … Unreason;]** towns, ^~~which was~~^ ~~some two or three~~ ^which was some two or three^ days journey from the metropolis, ~~which was~~ ^and one^ ~~the~~ great seat of the colleges of unreason; **114–17 I determined … we arrived]** I ~~Having thought the matter over I~~ determined ^therefore to^ ~~to~~ accept the invitation[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] ~~and to see whether during my absence I could not see~~ ^~~find~~^ ~~some solution of my many difficulties.~~ ~~Next morning we made a start together~~, ^We started on the following morning,^ and after a night on the road ^we^ arrived **117 autumn, and as]** Autumn, ~~in fact~~ ^and^ as **120 colour,]** colour **121 metropolis, the … country,]** metropolis the sight of the country **122–3 I could … were the]** I ~~f~~ could not forget my situation: ^the last five miles or so were^ the

---

104–33 There were some … person who can: f. 168r.

---

106 musical banks.] E2, Musical Banks. E9 **112 one great]** E2, the chief E9 **116 started … and]** E2, started two or three days later, and E9 **117 autumn,]** E2, full spring, E9 **118 twelve]** E2, ten E9 **119–20 trees … and]** E2, trees were in their freshest beauty, E9 **120 cool and grateful.]** E2, warm without being oppressively hot. E9

could not forget my situation. The last five miles or so were the most beautiful part of the journey, for the country became more undulating, and the woods were more extensive; but the first sight of the city of the colleges itself was the most delightful of all. I cannot imagine that there can be any fairer in the whole world, and I expressed my pleasure to my companion, and thanked him for having brought me. We drove to an inn in the middle of the town, and then while it was still light my friend the cashier, whose name was Thims, took me for a stroll in the streets and in the court-yards of the principal colleges. Their beauty and interest were extreme; it was impossible to see them without being attracted towards them; and I thought to myself that he must be indeed an ill-grained and ungrateful person who can have been a member of one of these colleges without retaining an affectionate feeling towards it for the rest of his life. All my misgivings which I had felt concerning much that I had heard gave way at once upon my seeing the beauty and venerable appearance of this delightful city. For half an hour or so I forgot both myself and Arowhena.

After supper Mr Thims told me a good deal about the system of education which is here practised. I already knew a part of what I heard, but much was new to me, and I obtained a better idea of the Erewhonian position than I had done hitherto: nevertheless there were parts of the scheme of which I could not comprehend the fitness, although I fully admit that this inability was probably the result of my having been myself trained so very differently, and to my being then much out of sorts.

The main feature in their system is the prominence which they give to a

---

139–40 system of education Another allusion to the liberal education as delivered at Cambridge University, discussed at Ch. 9, l. 133n, and in the Gen. Int., 17–23.

---

124 journey, for] journey ~~was that which~~ for **125 woods were more extensive;]** trees were ~~more~~ ^here^ abundant; **126 imagine that]** imagine ~~anything~~ that **127 fairer … expressed]** fairer ~~city~~ in the whole world and ~~was~~ expressed **129–30 cashier, … took]** cashier (whose name was Sthim) took **131 interest … it]** interest ~~was beyond all praise~~; ^were extreme^ it **132 without … them;]** without ~~becoming attached~~ ^being attracted towards^ to them; **134 have been … one]** have been trained at one **135 my misgivings]** the misgivings **137 the beauty]** the ~~extreme~~ beauty **139 supper … told]** supper ~~Mr Thism~~ Mr~~Thism~~ ^Sthim^ told **140–1 practised. … hitherto:]** practised; I already knew some of the things ~~he told me~~: ^I heard^ others were new to me and gave me a better idea of the Erewhonian position than I had obtained hitherto: **143 could … comprehend]** could ~~never~~ ^not^ comprehend **144–6 trained … feature in]** trained ~~on such an entirely different system~~, ^so very differently^ and to my being then ~~very~~ much out of sorts. The main ~~mischief~~ ^~~point~~ feature^ in

---

134–72 have been a … should be flippant: f. 169r.

---

128 me. We] E2, me. [*n.p.*] We **129 then]** E2, ~, E9 **light]** E2, ~, E9 **135–6 which ... heard]** E2, *om.* E9 **136–7 upon … seeing]** E2, when I saw E9 **138 half … I]** half an hour I E2, half-an-hour I E9 **144 myself]** *om.* E2, E9

study which I can only translate by the word "hypothetics." They argue thus—that to teach a boy merely the nature of the things which exist in the world around him, and about which he will have to be conversant during his whole life, would be giving him but a narrow and shallow conception of the universe, which it is urged might contain all manner of things which are not now to be found therein. To open his eyes to these possibilities, and so to prepare him for all sorts of emergencies, is the object of this system of hypothetics. To imagine a set of utterly strange and impossible contingencies, and require the youths to give intelligent answers to the questions that arise therefrom, is reckoned the fittest conceivable way of preparing them for the actual conduct of their affairs in after life.

Thus they are taught what is called the hypothetical language for many of their best years—a language which was originally composed at a time when the country was in a very different state of civilisation to what it is in at present, a state which has long since exploded and been superseded. Many valuable maxims and noble thoughts which were at one time concealed in it have become current in their modern literature, and have been

147 hypothetics A parodic version of Classics.
147–57 They argue thus … after life Amidst mounting critique of the curriculum of Cambridge University in the 19th cent., champions of the existing state of affairs defended Classics specifically through various arguments, including its relationship to reason: see Gen. Int., 18–19. They endorsed the subject also for its importance in cultivating taste (since the classical canon was thought to contain superlative models of thought and expression) and for its role in creating a bond amongst the university-educated: e.g., in his publications defending Cambridge's system of education, Whewell urged that in classical literature 'the ideas of literary beauty of thought and expression are embodied and exemplified […] which mould the taste and awaken the discernment. Moreover classical authors […] become a bond of mental union among all liberally educated men' (Whewell 1845, 11). SB's Classics tutor at SJC, Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, defended Whewell's arguments in two articles entitled 'Classical Studies' in the first two issues of the *Eagle*: almost certainly SB read in these articles his claim that 'affectation of style ought to be impossible to the reader of Herodotus and Demosthenes' (Mayor, 'Classical Studies—Continued' 1859, 194).
158 hypothetical language The classical languages: ancient Greek and Latin.
162–4 Many valuable … now spoken SB's habit is to challenge or deliberately misquote the classical maxims he uses in *Erewhon*, e.g., the epigraph on the title page and in Ch. 3, ls 60–1.

147 "hypothetics."] 'hypotheticks.' **148–9 merely … about which]** merely the arts & sciences which exist in the world ~~about~~ ^around^ him, ~~(~~and ~~with~~ ^about^ which **150 life, would]** life long whether he knows any thing about them or no,~~)~~ would **152 possibilities,]** possibilities **153 emergencies, is]** emergencies ~~and~~ is **154–5 impossible … youths]** improbably contingencies and require the youth **156 reckoned … way of]** reckoned ~~one of~~ the fittest conceivable way~~s~~ of **159–67 years— … the store]** years; ~~of their life~~: a language which **~~It~~ was … what it is at present, …superseded. ^~~Whatever~~^ ~~The~~ ^Many^ valuable maxims ^and noble thoughts^ ~~that were originally~~ ^which were at one time^ concealed … translated ~~into~~ ^over^ and over again into the language ~~which they speak now;~~ ^now spoken^ ~~at present.~~ Surely … pursue it, They however, think very differently;** ~~either never was spoken at all~~ ^~~and never could by any possibility have been spoken being as far as~~^ ~~or at any rate has become so entirely obsolete for many [?termed] for all practical purposes non existent adverbs and interjections.~~ ! ^~~I could [a ? t ?] [d ? t ? te] of verbs nouns pronouns~~^ ~~but~~ the store

160–1 is … at] E2, is at E9 **161 exploded]** E2, disappeared E9

translated over and over again into the language now spoken. Surely then it would seem to be enough that the study of the original language should be consigned to the few whose instincts led them naturally to pursue it. But the Erewhonians think differently; the store they set by it is perfectly astonishing; they will even give any one a maintenance for life if he attains a considerable proficiency in the study; nay, they will spend years in learning to translate some of their own good poetry into the hypothetical language, to do which with fluency is reckoned a distinguishing mark of a scholar and a gentleman. Heaven forbid that I should be flippant, but it appeared to me to be a very wanton waste of good human energy that men should spend years and years in the perfection of so barren an exercise, when their own civilisation presented actual living problems by the hun-

168 maintenance for life Graduates were appointed to life fellowships as a reward for intellectual distinction in the Tripos examinations. These coveted positions offered the opportunity to prepare for a career (often an ecclesiastical one) or further scholarship unburdened by economic concerns. However, the condition of celibacy caused few dons to retain their fellowships into old age: see Garland, 1–2.

170–1 learning … hypothetical language In the CT of the mid-19th cent. four-elevenths of the total number of marks were given to Composition, the translation of English poetry — typically verses from Shakespeare, Milton, or Edmund Spenser (1552/1553–1599) — or prose (usually excerpts from historical or philosophical works) into Greek and Latin. Skill was measured in terms of the student's ability to emulate the style, modes of thought and expression of classical authors (Seeley 1863, 133). Awards were given for composition, e.g., the Porson Prize required students to render excerpts from Shakespeare into Latin verse. SB displayed his own skills of composition in a humorous translation of an excerpt from Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1842–4) submitted to the *Eagle* in 1894 (reproduced in *Note-Books*, 422) in which Mrs Gamp's working-class idiom is transformed into the hexameter of Homeric epic.

172–7 it appeared to me … handsomely SB voices a widespread sentiment that the University's system of education had ossified amidst the Victorian zeal for practical progress. Since the beginning of the century, criticism had coalesced around the fact that a Cambridge education left students ill-equipped for real-world industry, an issue motivating the commissions of enquiry of the 1850s: see Gen. Int., 17–18, and Searby, 423–544. SB seems to channel the views of those University figures best known to him who still dismissed the idea that Cambridge should offer a practical education, e.g., Whewell, who claimed that for the higher classes "'practical knowledge" can never stand in the place of a really liberal education, nor in the smallest degree supersede the necessity of [it]' (Whewell 1838, 44). Mayor went further: 'we have no right to relinquish [Classics] to foreigners on the convenient plea that practical life is the province of Englishmen. Practical life often means nothing more than mental indolence' (Mayor 1859, 'Classical Studies', 85).

168–9 astonishing; … considerable] astonishing: they will even give ~~people~~ ^anyone^ a maintenance for life if ~~they~~ ^he^ attains ~~any~~ ^a^ considerable **169–70 years … some]** years in ^learning to^ translat[*uwr* ~~ing~~][*owr* e] some **179–1 hypothetical language,]** hypothetic[*uwr* k][*owr* al] language **172 scholar and]** scholar & **should … but]** should ~~be hard upon~~ ~~do them an injustice~~ ^be flippant^ ~~Hence~~, but **173 a very … good]** a wanton waste of ~~time~~ good

172–207 but it appeared … currency; it might: f. 170r.

165 to be] E2, *om*. E9 **166 consigned]** E2, confined E9 **it. But]** E2, it. [*n.p.*] But **167–8 by it … astonishing;]** E2, by this hypothetical language can hardly be believed; E9 **169 study; nay,]** E2, study of it; nay, E9 **171 language,]** E2, ~— E9 **do which with]** E2, do so with E9 **is]** E2, being E9 **173 very]** E2, *om*. E9 **175 actual living]** E2, *om*. E9

dred which cried aloud for solution and would have paid the solver handsomely; but people know their own affairs best. If the youths chose it for themselves I should have wondered less; but they do not choose it, they have it thrust upon them, and for the most part are disinclined towards it. I can only say that all I heard in defence of the system was insufficient to make me think very highly of its general advantages.

The arguments in favour of the deliberate development of the unreasoning faculties were much more cogent. But here they depart from the principles on which they justify their study of hypothetics; for they base the importance which they assign to hypothetics upon the fact of their being a preparation for the extraordinary, while their study of Unreason rests upon its developing those faculties which are required for the daily conduct of affairs. Hence their professorships of Inconsistency and Evasion, in both of

177–9 If the youths … disinclined towards it Classical learning dominated the curricula of public schools in the 19th cent. and the classics curriculum at Cambridge was predicated on this long preparation, as the 1863 *Student's Guide* attests: 'In no Examination so much as in the Classical Tripos are the effects of early training manifested' (Seeley 1863, 111). Like other boys of his time and social position, SB was educated in Classics as a matter of course, but family precedent for distinction in the subject was particularly strong. His father had studied classics at Shrewsbury and SJC, while his grandfather had been a distinguished classical scholar at Rugby and SJC before taking up headmastership at Shrewsbury, where he had instituted a notable tradition of classical scholarship which saw streams of Salopians win places and prizes at Cambridge. If SB's self-reflections are to be trusted, he showed no particular aptitude for classical learning, his interests lying instead in the fields of music and drawing (*Butleriana*, 5).
179 thrust upon them A (possibly inadvertent) allusion to Malvolio's words in *Twelfth Night* 2.5.45: 'And some have greatness thrust upon them'.
182–7 The arguments … of affairs The chief argument advanced in favour of the Cambridge liberal education as a whole was that it developed students' powers of reason: see Gen. Int., 18–19.
188 professorships of … Evasion Although SB parodies the professorial system generally, a particular source of inspiration may have been the position of Knightbridge Professor of Moral Theology and Casuistical Divinity, occupied by Whewell from 1838–1855 and theologian John Grote (1813–1866) from 1855–1866. Casuistry has two meanings: it is an ethical method of applying general rules of religion and morality to new moral conundrums involving altered sets of circumstances, but it also denotes sophistry or evasive reasoning.

176–7 solution … but] solution ^and ~~paid the~~ would have paid the solver handsomely;^ ; but **177–80 best. … can]** best[*uwr* ;][*owr* .] ~~and it~~ ~~is a dangerous thing to complain of any one for spending his power upon whatever he chooses~~: ^if the youth chose it for themselves I should not have wondered: but they do not choose it: they have it thrust upon them, and for the most part are disinclined towards it.^ I can **181–2 advantages. The]** advantages ~~to mankind~~. The **183 cogent. But]** cogent. ~~and gave me a much higher opinion of them.~~ But **184–7 hypothetics; … faculties]** hypotheticks; ~~They say that the two studies should go hand an in hand supplement each other~~. ~~Life would be intolerable if every action were to be guided by~~ ~~reason and reason only~~: ~~how many of the most important and most delightful~~ ~~hours of our lives would stand utterly condemned if they were to be judged by the standard of pure reason? There is a something above it and beyond it, which can only be reconciled with reason by~~ for they base the importance ~~[?]~~ which they assign to hypotheticks upon the fact of ~~its~~ ^their^ being a preparation for the extraordinary: while their ~~science~~ ^study^ of unreason rests upon its ~~giving~~ ^developing^ those faculties **188 Inconsistency … Evasion]** [*uwr* i][*owr* I]nconsistency and [*uwr* e][*owr* E]vasion,

178 it,] E2, ~; E9 **181 general]** E2, *om.* E9

which studies the youths are most carefully examined before being allowed to proceed to their degree in hypothetics. The more "earnest" and "conscientious" students attain to a proficiency in these subjects which is quite surprising: there is hardly any inconsistency so glaring but they soon learn to defend it, or injunction so clear that they cannot find some pretext for disregarding it. I saw the lecture-rooms of both these professors. Over the door of the one was written, "Consistency is a vice which degrades human nature and levels man with the brute;" over the other, "It is the glory of the parliament to make a law—it is the glory of the minister to evade it."

Life, they urge, would be intolerable if men were to be guided in all they did by reason and reason only. Reason betrays men into the drawing of hard and fast lines, and to the defining by language—language being like the

189–90 carefully examined … hypothetics Possibly SB had in mind the restrictions once surrounding the CT. First introduced in 1822, the CT was initially accessible only to those who had previously gained honours in the Mathematical Tripos. From 1849, it was opened to those who had qualified for an Ordinary BA by taking the first part of the Mathematical Tripos. Not until the year SB matriculated was it was opened to all students who had passed the Previous Examination, demonstrating the importance then ascribed to mathematics in the University.

190–93 The more earnest … disregarding it While the academic requirements were low for the majority of Cambridge undergraduates ('poll' men who read for an ordinary degree), Honours students, like SB, worked rigorously to meet demanding standards in the Tripos examinations: these took place over five days in the Senate House, with students individually ranked afterwards on the basis of their performance. Cambridge had become one of Europe's foremost training grounds in mathematics and great prestige was attached to the Mathematical Tripos, in particular, on account of its rigour. However, SB's letters attest to the academic rivalry also surrounding the CT. He wrote repeatedly to his father of examination rankings (see Silver, 49, 55 and 59) and of his private tuition with distinguished Greek scholar Richard Shilleto (1809–1976), who honed him intensively for First Class Honours (see Silver, 55–6, 59, 62–3).

195–6 Consistency is … the brute SB subverts the words of his father, who wrote an essay while a pupil at Shrewsbury beginning: 'Inconsistency is a vice which degrades human nature and levels man with the brute' (Jones 1919, I, 12).

196–7 It is the glory … evade it Possibly a sly jibe at Gladstone's Cabinet of 1868–74. SB disliked Gladstone's politics and in a *Note-Book* entry entitled 'Nature's Double Falsehood' insinuated that Gladstone, like Nature herself, was a liar: '[t]hat one great lie she told about the earth being flat when she knew it was round all the time! […] There is no lie which she will not tell and stick to like a Gladstonian' (301).

198–223 Life, they urge, would … initial conditions SB uses the words 'reason' and 'logic' interchangeably throughout his works. Certainly, the chief examples of reason satirised in *Erewhon* are the arguments from analogy advanced by Joseph Butler and Paley, although any adherence of logical argumentation (e.g., CD's in *Origin*) provides satiric fodder. SB believed that reason needed to be tempered with good faith, as the narrator of TWAF affirms: 'It is faith and not logic which is the supreme

189 youths] youth **their … hypothetics.]** their ~~examinati~~ degree in hypotheticks. **190–7 The more … evade it."]** *om.* **198 if … all]** if ~~every action~~ ^men^ were to be guided ~~by~~ in all **199 only. … into the]** only. ~~How many of our most important and delightful hours would stand condemned if they were to be judged by the standard and of reason pure reason~~! Reason ~~leads to~~ ^betrays men into^ the **200–1 lines, … Extremes]** lines, ^and^ to the defining by language; ~~a thing which~~ ^language being^ like the sun ^which^

189 most carefully] E2, *om.* E9 **190 "earnest"]** E2, earnest E9 **191 "conscientious"]** E2, conscientious E9 **192 surprising:]** ~, E2, E9 **194–7 I saw … evade it."]** E2, *om.* E9

sun, which reareth and then scorcheth. Extremes are alone logical, but they are almost invariably absurd; the mean is illogical or unreasonable, but it is better than the purely reasonable; in fact there are no follies and no unreasonablenesses so great as those which can apparently be irrefragably defended by reason itself. There is hardly an error into which men might not easily be led if they based their conduct upon reason only. Reason might very possibly abolish the double currency; it might even attack the personality of Hope and Justice. Besides, people have such a strong natural bias towards it that they will seek it for themselves and act upon it quite as much as or more than is good for them: there is no need of encouraging reason. With unreason the case is different. She is the natural complement of reason, without whose existence reason itself were non-existent. If then reason would be non- existent were there no such thing as

arbiter. They say all roads lead to Rome, and all philosophies that I have ever seen lead ultimately either to some gross absurdity, or else to the conclusion […] that the just shall live by faith, that is to say that sensible people will get through life by rule of thumb as they may interpret it most conveniently without asking too many questions for conscience sake. Take any fact, and reason upon it to the bitter end, and it will ere long lead to this as the only refuge from some palpable folly' (305).

201 sun … scorcheth An allusion to the parable of the sower in Matthew 13:6: 'And when the sun was up, they were scorched; and because they had no root, they withered away'. The verbs in this passage (echoed in Mark 4:6) do not take the archaic third person singular endings in any version of the Bible. Possibly SB archaicised a remembered extract or drew upon another work that discussed the parable. B&H linked this passage also to James 1.11: 'For the sun is no sooner risen with a burning heat, but it withereth the grass, and the flower thereof falleth, and the grace of the fashion of it perisheth: so also shall the rich man fade away in his ways'.

201–3 Extremes … purely reasonable This paragraph encapsulates a major theme in *Erewhon*: see Title Page, ls 4–7n. One influence for SB's interest in mean states was Books 3–4 of NE, in which Aristotle argues that moral virtues are a mean between deficiency and excess: see Ch. 10, l. 25n.

211–16 She is the natural … reason herself These lines encapsulate what scholars have referred to as SB's 'chiasticism' (Norrman, 16) or 'harmonics' (Gillott 2012, 10), an interest in the way all categories include traces of their opposite: e.g., his ideas that life involves dying (see, Ch. 18, ls 57–9n) or that every

reareth and then ~~withereth.~~ ^drieth up^ Extremes **202 absurd;]** absurd~~ities~~: **205 by reason]** by ~~pure~~ reason **206 their … reason]** their ~~[s?]~~ conduct upon ~~narrowly~~. reason **207 currency; … even]** currency [*uwr* :][*owr* –] nay – it might. even **208 and … people]** & Justice: moreover people **211 reason. … She]** reason. ^With^ Unreason ~~is alone~~ ~~eternal.~~ ^the case is different^ She **212–13 non-existent. … non-existent]** non existent. … no[*uwr* t][*owr* n] existent

207–23 even attack the … the initial conditions.: f. 171r. At the top of this page is the following additional text: '~~well aware that there is much to be said upon the other side~~[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] ~~and are also quite sure that nothing will change their present system. Reason they urge is extremely fallible; it leads men into all sorts of errors: it would possibly abolish the double currency: nay – it might~~'.

201 reareth] E2, rears E9 **scorcheth]** E2, scorches E9 **202 are … absurd]** E2, are always absurd E9 **illogical .. is]** E2, illogical, but an illogical mean is E9 **203 purely … there]** E2, sheer absurdity of an extreme. There E9 **205 itself. There]** E2, itself, and there E9 **205 might]** E2, may E9 **206 based]** E2, base E9 **only. Reason]** E2, only. [*n.p.*] Reason **212–13 non-existent. If then]** E2, non-existent. [*n.p.*] If, then,

unreason, surely it follows that the more unreason there is, the more reason there must be also? Hence the necessity for the development of unreason, even in the interests of reason herself. Far be it from them to undervalue reason: none can be more deeply impressed than they are, that if the double currency cannot be rigorously deduced as a necessary consequence of human reason, the double currency should cease forthwith; but they say that it must be deduced from no narrow and exclusive view of reason which should deprive that admirable faculty of the one-half of its own existence. Unreason is a part of reason; it must therefore be allowed its full share in stating the initial conditions.

genius is also a fool (see E9 additions below). This bears obvious relation to his preference for the mean over extremes: if every absolute category involves a contradiction in terms, life must be guided by a common-sense balance of the two. This preoccupation has been construed as an intellectual strategy governing esp. his works on evolution and religion but also a 'psychomorphology' manifesting in structures of thought and prose which employ symmetry, antithesis, reciprocity: see Norrman, chs 1–3.

214 unreason, surely] unreason – surely **there is, the]** there is the **215–16 unreason, even]** unreason even **217 none can]** none ~~are~~ can **are, that]** are~~,~~ that **218–20 consequence … must]** consequence of reason itself the double currency should ~~go to the wall forthwith:~~ ^cease forthwith^ ~~they use beautiful language to express this and assume an air of force and integrity and candour which I could never convey on paper:~~ ^nothing can surpass^ but then they ~~say~~ ^maintain that^ it must **221–2 admirable … allowed]** admirable of faculty of the one half of its own existence: unreason is a part of reason; ~~being a necessity for the existence of reason~~: ~~therefore~~ it must ^therefore^ be allowed **223–4 conditions. The]** conditions of the argument. The

216–11 herself. … reason:] E2, herself. The Professors of Unreason deny that they undervalue reason: E9 **217 deeply impressed]** convinced E2, E9 **223–6 conditions. … but I could]** E2 *see below* E9

conditions.

CHAPTER XXII.
THE COLLEGES OF UNREASON—*Continued.*

Of [a]genius they make no account, for they say that every one is a genius, more or less. No one is so physically sound that no part of him will be even a little unsound, and no one is so diseased but that some part of him will be healthy—so no man is so mentally and morally sound, but that he will be in part both mad and wicked; and no man is so mad and wicked but he will be sensible and honourable in part. In like manner there is no genius who is not also a fool, and no fool who is not also a genius.

[a] genius Following his LH theory, SB theorised that genius is evidence of generations of ancestral effort, and therefore differs in degree, but not in kind, from skills possessed by ancestors. He argued too that an aspect of genius was the ability to assimilate improvements into existing habits, which is in itself an inherited capacity which improves with repeated use: 'sometimes […] a single impression, though involving considerable departure from our routine, makes its mark so deeply that we adopt the new at once, though not without difficulty, and repeat it in our next performance, and henceforward in all others; but those who vary their performance thus readily […] are men of genius' (LH, 130). SB encapsulates these ideas in TWAF, when the narrator observes that genius is not 'a kind of spontaneous germination, without parentage'; instead 'ideas, no less than the living beings in whose minds they arise, must be begotten by parents not very unlike themselves, the most original still differing but slightly from the parents that have given rise to them. Life is like a fugue, everything must grow out of the subject and there must be nothing new' (203).

The above is a brief summary of much that I heard from Mr Thims. I

224–5 from … said] from M^r^ ~~Thism~~ ^Sthim:^ ~~while we were taking our evening meal; and~~ I confess that ~~it~~ he said

---

224–52 The above is … and made them: f. 172^r^. Midway down this page, where fragments have been roughly cut and pasted, the following text is visible after 'his loss': 'limits. {So it is with} ~~had to endure the additional taxation must have felt it very k~~eenly: ~~but when that generation had died away none other can feel i~~t: ~~the evil exists as much as ever — but it is not felt: because we have always been accustomed to it.~~'.

When I talked about originality and genius to some gentlemen whom I met at a supper party given by Mr. Thims in my honour, and said that original thought ought to be encouraged, I had to eat my words at once. Their view evidently was that genius was like offences—needs must that it come, but woe unto that man through whom it comes. [b]A man's business, they hold, is to think as his neighbours do, for Heaven help him if he thinks good what they count bad. And really it is hard to see how the Erewhonian theory differs from our own, for the word "idiot" only means a person who forms his opinions for himself.

The venerable Professor of Worldly Wisdom, a man verging on eighty but still hale, spoke to me very seriously on this subject in consequence of the few words that I had imprudently let fall in defence of genius. He was one of those who carried most weight in the university, and had the reputation of having done more perhaps than any other living man to suppress any kind of originality.

[c]"It is not our business," he said, "to help students to think for themselves. Surely this is the very last thing which one who wishes them well should encourage them to do. Our duty is to ensure that they shall think as we do, or at any rate, as we hold it expedient to say we do." In some respects, however, he was thought to hold somewhat radical opinions, for he was President of the Society for the Suppression of Useless Knowledge, and for the Completer Obliteration of the Past.

As regards the tests that a youth must pass before he can get a degree, I found that they have no class lists, and discourage anything like competition among the students; this, indeed, they regard as self-seeking and unneighbourly. The examinations are conducted by way of papers written by the candidate on set subjects, some of which are known to him beforehand, while others are devised with a view of testing his general capacity and *savoir faire*.

My friend the Professor of Worldly Wisdom was the terror of the greater number of students; and, so far as I could judge, he very well might be, for he had taken his Professorship more seriously than any of the other Professors had done. I heard of his having [d]plucked one poor fellow for want of sufficient vagueness in his saving clauses paper. Another was [e]sent down for having written [f]an article on a scientific subject without having made

[b] **A man's business … opinions for himself** This facet of SB's concept of the relationship between genius and progress by 1901 was, again, informed by his evolutionary thought: he argued that if ideas differ too much from those generally current — if, in biological terms, they are a different species — they will be sterile hybrids and fail to assimilate. To take hold, genius must be a balance between progress and the common sense of the people: 'A man who thinks for himself knows what others do not, but does not know what others know. Hence the belli causa, for he cannot serve two masters, the God of his own inward light and the Mammon of common sense, at one and the same time. How can a man think apart and not apart? But if he is a genius this is the riddle he must solve' (*Note-Books*, 177).

[c] **It is not our business, … we do** SB's satire barely exaggerates observations made by Whewell in his defence of 'Permanent Studies' in *Of a Liberal Education*: 'The studies and occupations of the young are not properly called Education merely because they draw out something, without considering whether it is an attribute of the race, or an accident of the individual. Young persons may be so employed and so treated, that their caprice, their self-will, their individual tastes and propensities, are educed and developed; but this is not Education. […] It is not the Education of a man's Humanity, but the Indulgence of his Individuality' (Whewell 1845, 5).

[d] **plucked** Rejected as not reaching the required standard in an examination.

[e] **sent down** Forced to leave the University (permanently or for a specified time) as a punishment.

[f] **an article … earnestly** Terms indicative of conscious knowledge, acquired through effort, which according to the LH theory evinced less true ability than unconscious knowledge acquired through instinct.

confess that he said some things which were new to me, and half converted me to the science of unreason, but I could not get over the hypothetics, especially the turning their own good poetry into the hypothetical **225**

226 science A field of study concerned with theory rather than method, or requiring the knowledge and systematic application of principles. The word had only recently become associated specifically with the physical world and its phenomena. William Whewell had coined the word 'scientist' to replace 'natural philosopher' only in 1833: see Snyder, 83.

226–7 unreason, … hypothetics,] Unreason, but I could not get over the hypotheticks, **227 hypothetical]** hypothetic

free enough use of the words "carefully," "patiently," and "earnestly." One man was refused a degree for being too often and too seriously in the right, while a few days before I came a whole batch had been plucked for insufficient distrust of printed matter.

About this there was just then rather [g]a ferment, for it seems that the Professor had written an article in the leading university magazine, which was well known to be by him, and which abounded in all sorts of plausible blunders. He then set a paper which afforded the examinees an opportunity of repeating these blunders—which, believing the article to be by their own examiner, they of course did. The Professor plucked every single one of them, but his action was considered to have been not quite handsome.

I told them of [h]Homer's noble line to the effect that a man should strive ever to be foremost and in all things to outvie his peers; but they said that no wonder the countries in which such a detestable maxim was held in admiration were always flying at one another's throats.

"Why," asked one Professor, "should a man want to be better than his neighbours? Let him be thankful if he is no worse."

I ventured feebly to say that I did not see how progress could be made in any art or science, or indeed in anything at all, without more or less self-seeking, and hence unamiability.

"Of course it cannot," said the Professor, "and therefore we object to progress."

After which there was no more to be said. Later on, however, a young Professor took me aside and said he did not think I quite understood their views about progress.

"We like progress," he said, "but it must commend itself to the common sense of the people. If a man gets to know more than his neighbours he should keep his knowledge to himself till he has sounded them, and seen whether they agree, or are likely to agree with him. He said it was as immoral to be too far in front of one's own age, as to lag too far behind it. If a man can carry his neighbours with him, he may say what he likes; but if not, what insult can be more gratuitous than the telling them what they do not want to know? A man should remember that intellectual over-indulgence is one of the most insidious and disgraceful forms that excess can take. Granted that every one should exceed more or less, inasmuch as absolutely perfect sanity would drive any man mad the moment he reached it, but . . . "

He was now warming to his subject and I was beginning to wonder how I should get rid of him, when the party broke up, and though I promised to call on him before I left, I was unfortunately prevented from doing so.

I have now said enough to give English readers some idea of the strange views which the Erewhonians hold concerning unreason, hypothetics, and education generally. In many respects they were sensible enough, but I could

[g] **rather a ferment … of course did** This anecdote probably had a basis in real or rumoured events. Magazines certainly existed to which fellows were the main contributors: the first issues of *The Lion* and *The Bear* appeared in 1858, for instance, each self-styled as a university magazine and containing articles written exclusively by Cambridge fellows.

[h] **Homer's noble line … peers** An allusion to Hippolochus' advice to Glaucus of Lycia in Book 6, l. 208 0f Homer's *Iliad*: 'αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων', meaning 'to be bravest and preeminent above all' (Homer 1999, 289). The line repeated in Book 11, l. 784. SB, through his narrator Overton, cited this line in TWAF, as a statement at odds with his own aversion to extremes: 'Homer tell us about some one who made it his business […] always to excel and to stand higher than other people. What an uncompanionable disagreeable person he must have been! Homer's heroes generally come to a bad end, and I doubt not that this gentleman, whoever he was, did sooner or later' (83).

language. In the course of my stay I met one youth who told me that for fourteen years the hypothetical language had been almost the only thing that he had been taught, although he had never (to his credit, as it seemed to me) shown the slightest aptitude towards it, while he had been endowed with not inconsiderable abilities for several other branches of human learning. He assured me that he would never open another hypothetical book after he had taken his degree, but would follow out the bent of his own inclinations. This was well enough, but who could give him his fourteen years back again?

The Erewhonians must reap harm from such a system; but they cannot see it. They are like a man who has had an income of a hundred a year all his life when he might as easily have had double, only he does not know it. He never has had double, therefore he does not feel his loss.

I sometimes wondered how it was that the mischief done was so little apparent as it was, and that the young men and women grew up as sensible and goodly as they did, in spite of the attempts almost deliberately made to warp and stunt their growth. Many doubtless received irreparable damage, from which they suffered to their life's end; but many seemed little or none the worse, and some almost the better. The reason would seem to be that the natural instinct of the lads in most cases so absolutely rebelled against their training, that do what the teachers might they could never get them to pay serious heed to it. The consequence was the boys only lost their time, and not so much of this as might have been expected, for in their hours of leisure they were actively engaged in exercises and sports which developed

228–36 I met one youth … back again SB draws upon his own life experience up to 1872, but he did in fact resume an interest in Classics from the 1880s: see Ed. Int., 49.
251–2 leisure … healthy SB just pre-dated the period, typically associated with late-Victorian and

228–9 for … almost] for ~~over ten~~ ^fourteen^ years the hypothetic[*uwr* k][*owr* al] language had been ~~l~~ almost **230 although … as it]** although he ~~hated it~~ ~~with the bitterest hatred and~~ had never (to his credit – as it **231 towards … been]** towards it, ~~and had~~ ^while he had^ been **232–3 human … he would]** human ~~art and science~~. ^learning^ He assured me that ~~as soon as ever his degree was over~~ he would **book … follow]** book, ~~but~~ ^after he had taken his degree but wd^ follow **235–7 inclinations. … system;]** inclinations; ~~but who~~ this was well enough, but who ~~can~~ ^could^ give him his ~~ten~~ ^fourteen^ years back again? ~~of course~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]he Erewhonians must reap ~~an infinity of~~ harm from such a system: **239 might … double,]** might ~~l~~ as well have had double **240 has had]** has had **241 I … wondered]** I ~~have often~~ ^sometimes^ wondered **241–2 done … was, and]** done ~~in these~~ ~~Partatenallagenortonian schools~~ was as little apparent as it was, ~~And~~ and **242 women … as]** women did grow up as **243 did,]** did **245 suffered to]** suffered from to **246 worse, … The]** worse ^and some almost the better^. The **247 most cases]** many cases **248 training,]** training **teachers … they]** teachers ~~could~~ ^might^ they **249–50 heed … and not]** heed ~~[?]~~ to it. The consequence is ~~they~~ the boys only lost their time – and not

231 aptitude] E2, proclivity E9 **232 abilities]** E2, ability E9 **237–40 The Erewhonians … his loss.]** E2, *om*. E9 **241–2 so little … and]** E2, not more clearly perceptible, and E9 **244 Many]** E2, Some E9 **irreparable]** E2, *om*. E9 **246 some]** E2, ~, E9 **249 was the]** E2, was that the E9 **250–1 expected,**

their physical nature, and made them at any rate strong and healthy; also, being keen and intelligent they kept their eyes and ears constantly open to everything which interested them, and so picked up all manner of really useful knowledge unconsciously. Moreover those who had any special tastes could not be restrained from developing them: they would learn what they wanted to learn and liked, in spite of obstacles which seemed rather to urge them on than to discourage them, while for those who had no special aptitude for anything, the loss of time was of comparatively little moment; but in spite of these alleviations of the mischief, I cannot doubt that the infinite damage was done to the children of the sub-wealthy classes. The poorer children suffered far less; destruction and death say that they have heard the sound of wisdom with their ears; in many respects poverty has done so also.

On the morning after my arrival Mr Thims took me the round of the city which delighted me more and more at every turn. I dare not trust myself with any attempt at description of the exquisite beauty of the different

---

Edwardian England, when competitive team sports took on 'axiological significance' within the University (Rothblatt 1974, 260), but such sports were nevertheless firmly established in the fabric of undergraduate life in the 1850s. SB's letters to his parents reveal the importance and collegiate loyalty he attached to rowing: see Silver, 51, 58 and 61. SB had also been a cross-country runner at Shrewsbury and the sports of his school and university days were apparently good preparation for the immense physical demands of colonial life and his later walking holidays, covering prodigious distances, in Continental Europe.

253–7 they kept their eyes … learn and liked This later became an element of SB's theory of artistic improvement: pursuing interests freely and without professional direction is the means by which incremental improvements are accumulated: see Ch. 12, E9 additions **h**.

261 sub-wealthy classes SB alludes chiefly to sizars, who at the bottom of the social scale, received financial assistance for their education; they had traditionally performed menial duties in return, although this was so longer the case by the 1850s: see Hilton 2011, 244–47.

262–3 destruction and death … their ears SB alludes to Job's hymn to wisdom in Job 28:20–22: 'Whence then cometh wisdom? and where is the place of understanding? Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air. Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears'.

… sports] expected; for in their ~~play~~ hours ^of leisure^ they were actively engaged in exercises & sports **252 nature, … also,]** nature, & at any rate made them strong and healthy; ~~and~~ also, **253 intelligent]** ~, **eyes and ears]** eyes & ears **254 which]** wh: **257 liked,]** liked **258 them,]** them **259 moment;]** ~: **260 mischief,]** mischief **261 the sub-wealthy classes]** the ~~wealthier~~ ^sub-wealthy^ classes. **263 ears;]** ~: **265 Mr Thims]** M^{r} ~~Thism~~ ^Sthim^ **266 city,]** city **267 attempt … beauty]** attempt at

---

252–64 strong and healthy; … done so also.: f. 173^{r}. At the foot of f.173 are several lines of deleted text: *see app.* On 173^{v} are the following lines of text, on a sideways angle: '[?] mechanical life be the [?] the future. uld not a vegetable have considered life except vegetable life to be no life at all?'

265–88 On the morning … talking upon the: f. 174^{r}**.** On f. 174^{v} are many lines of deleted text: *see app.*

260–1 I cannot … damage was] E2, I am sure that much harm was E9 **261–2 classes. … poorer]** E2, classes, by the system which passes current among the Erewhonians as education. The poorest E9 **262 far … destruction]** E2, least—if destruction E9 **say that they]** E2, *om.* E9 **263 wisdom ... poverty]** E2, wisdom, to a certain extent E9 **267 attempt at]** *om.* E2, E9

colleges, and their walks and gardens. Truly in these things alone there must be a hallowing and refining influence which is in itself half an education, and which no amount of error can wholly spoil. I was introduced to many of the professors, who showed me every hospitality and kindness; nevertheless I could hardly avoid a sort of suspicion that some of those whom I was taken to see had been so long engrossed in their own study of hypothetics that they had become the exact antitheses of the Athenians in the days of St. Paul; for whereas the Athenians spent their lives in nothing save to see and to hear some new thing, there were some here who seemed to devote themselves to the avoidance of every opinion with which they were not perfectly familiar, and who regarded their own brains as a sort of sanctuary, to the which if an opinion had once resorted, none other was to touch it. I need hardly say however that such persons were quite exceptional.

It was during my visit to this City that I learnt the particulars of the revolution which had ended in the destruction of all Machinery. Mr Thims took me to the rooms of one gentleman who had a great reputation for learning, but who was also, so Thims told me, rather a dangerous person, inasmuch as he had attempted to introduce an adverb into the hypothetical

268–9 Truly in these … education An idea indebted to SB's interest in the writings of art critic John Ruskin (1819–1900), who in works such as *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and *The Stones of Venice* (1851–1853) insisted upon the connection between architectural and artistic beauty and moral edification: the architecture of a country, he claimed in Volume 3 of *Stones*, reflects 'the moral temper' of the nation (Ruskin, XI, 1904, 135). SB began reading Ruskin enthusiastically as an undergraduate and continued to paint in his style until 1870. He distanced himself from Ruskin's influence when developing his own art criticism in later life and professed a 'decided dislike' for him in 1878 (Shaffer 1988, 305). While SB's art criticism would later sit in somewhat ambiguous relation to Ruskin's ideas, he continued to stress the importance of an artist's social conditions to his or her development: Zdanski, esp. 240–44.
274–6 Athenians … new thing An allusion to the Athenians' reception of Paul in Acts 17:21: '(For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing)'.

~~the~~ description ~~of what I saw, but could easily fill a volume in praise of the ex~~ ^of the ex^ quisite beauty **268 gardens. Truly]** gardens. T~~he~~ Truly **271–2 professors, … nevertheless]** professors who~~se~~ ^showed me every^ hospitality and kindness, ~~towards me was unbounded~~: ~~I asked Mr Thism how it was that~~ nevertheless **274 hypothetics … spent]** hypotheticks that they had ~~come to have little or no interest in the actualities of the outer world. They could see nothing beyond their system and regarded change of any sort with great disfavour. In fact there were one or two of whom I felt that they were~~ ^become^ the exact antitheses of the Athenians ~~as described by~~ ^in the days of^ St Paul; for whereas ~~these last~~ ^the Athenians^ spent **276 thing, … seemed]** thing ~~these persons~~ ^there were many here who^ seemed **278 familiar, … regarded]** familiar[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] ~~They seemed~~ ^and who ~~appeared to~~^ to ~~har~~ regarded **279 resorted,]** resorted **281 during … City]** during ~~this~~ ^my^ visit to this city **282–3 Machinery. … took]** machinery. Mr ~~Thism~~ ^Sthim^ took

271 professors,] E2, Professors, E9 **278 who]** E2, *om.* E9 **279 the]** E2, *om.* E9 **280 touch]** E2, attack E9 **I need … quite exceptional.]** E2, *om.* E9 **281 visit … learnt]** E2, stay in the city of the Colleges of Unreason—a city whose Erewhonian name is so cacophonous that I refrain from giving it—that I learned E9 **282 all … Mr]** so many of the mechanical inventions which were formerly in common use. [*n.p.*] Mr. **283 one]** E2, a E9

language. He had heard of my watch and been exceedingly anxious to see me, for he was accounted the most learned antiquary in Erewhon on the subject of mechanical lore. We fell to talking upon the subject, and when I left he gave me a reprinted copy of the work which brought the revolution about. It had taken place some five hundred years before my arrival: people had long become thoroughly used to the change, although at the time that it was made the country was plunged into the deepest misery, and a reaction which followed had very nearly proved successful. Civil war raged for many years, and is said to have reduced the number of the inhabitants by one-half. The parties were styled the machinists and the anti-machinists, and in the end, as I have said already, the latter got the victory, treating their opponents with such unparalleled severity that they extirpated every trace of opposition. The wonder was that they allowed any mechanical appliances to remain in the kingdom, neither do I believe that they would have done so, had not the professors of Inconsistency and Evasion made a stand against the carrying of the new principles to their legitimate conclusions. These professors however insisted that during the struggle the anti-machinists should use every known improvement in the art of war, and even invented several new weapons, offensive and defensive, while it was in progress. I was surprised at their having so many mechanical specimens as they have in their museums, and that they had rediscovered their past uses so completely; for at the time of the revolution they destroyed and utterly broke in pieces each one of the more complicated machines and burnt all treatises on mechanics

290–98 It had taken … opposition While altering numbers and dates, SB finds inspiration in the events of the English Civil War (1642–1651), fought mainly over issues of religious freedom and the relative powers of the monarch, Charles I, and parliament in relation to the rule of the three kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland. The anti-Royalists' (or Roundheads') victory over the Royalists (or Cavaliers) ushered in a period of Puritan rule under Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), who was Lord Protector from 1653–1658. SB's knowledge of these events derived in part from his reading of *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches (*SJC BV C3) edited by Carlyle (see Ch. 22, l. 62–5n). SB disliked Carlyle and presumably resisted his heroising of Cromwell.

307–10 revolution … treasure SB draws inspiration from periods of iconoclasm in England. The English Reformation witnessed iconoclasm on an unprecedented scale: the largely state-sponsored regime of image destruction saw the comprehensive eradication of centuries of religious art on the grounds that

286–7 see me, for] see ~~it~~, ^me^ for **287 antiquary … on]** antiquary ^in Erewhon^ on **288–321 subject, and … arrow heads.]** *see app.*

287–321 subject, and when … flint arrow heads.: f. 175[r].

290 about. It] E2, about. [*n.p.*] It E9 **298 opposition. The]** E2, opposition. [*n.p.*] The E9 **300 professors]** E2, Professors E9 **301–2 professors however]** E2, Professors, moreover, E9 **303 and … several]** E2, and several E9 **304 defensive, while]** E2, defensive, were invented, while E9 **305 as they … their]** E2, as are seen in the E9 **306 that ... had]** E2, at students having E9 **their … so]** E2, there remaining so E9 **307–8 they destroyed ... of the]** the victors wrecked all the E9

and all engineers' workshops, and, so they thought, cut the mischief out root and branch, at an incalculable cost of blood and treasure. **310**

Certainly they had not spared their labour, but work of this description can never be perfectly achieved, and when, some two hundred years before my arrival, all passion upon the subject had cooled down, and no one save a lunatic would have dreamt of reintroducing mechanical appliances, the subject came to be regarded as a curious antiquarian study like that of some long- **315** forgotten religious practices among ourselves. Then came the careful search for whatever fragments could be found, and for any machines that might have been hidden away, and also numberless treatises were written, showing what the functions of each rediscovered machine had been; all being done with no idea of ever using such machinery again, but with the feelings of an English **320** antiquarian concerning Druidical monuments or flint arrow heads.

On my return to the metropolis, during the remaining weeks or rather days of my sojourn in Erewhon I made a resumé in English of the work which brought about the already mentioned destruction. My ignorance of technical terms has led me doubtless into many errors, and I have occasionally, where **325** I found translation impossible, substituted purely English names and ideas for the original Erewhonian ones, but the reader may rely on my general accuracy. I have thought it best to insert my translation here, before proceeding to relate the story of my escape with Arowhena.

---

the veneration of images was heretical. The Puritan iconoclasm of the Civil War years sought to advance this same endeavour.

315–21 curious antiquarian … arrow heads Antiquarianism, the study, collecting and cataloguing of objects from antiquity, developed during the 19th cent. into new, research-based disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, sociology and history: see Sweet, esp. 1–30. But it was, in part, also an amateur activity in the period, without professional recognition or institutional support, and as Levine observes, by the mid-19th cent. these hobbyists (often clergymen) had become the butt of a tradition of literary jest, which tended to dismiss their enthusiasm as peculiar or ludicrous (Levine 2002, 17–18). SB's examples of druidical monuments and flint arrowheads speak to Victorian interest in the antiquities of the British Isles: see, e.g., Sweet, 119–276, and Levine 2002, 70–100.

---

322 On] [*uwr* o][*owr* O]n **322–3 remaining … Erewhon]** remaining months or rather weeks of my ~~sta re~~ being in Erewhon **323 the work]** the ~~origi~~ work **324 destruction. My]** destruction. ~~It is necessarily a~~ My **325 errors,]** errors **325–6 occasionally, … impossible,]** occasionally (where … impossible) **327 but the]** but ~~on the whole I have been been very faithful and~~ the **328 it best … before]** it ~~better~~ ^~~on l~~ best^ to insert my translation here ~~with~~ before

---

322–9 On my return … escape with Arowhena.: f. 176r. At the foot of the page is a chapter-opening which Butler abandoned: 'He argued thus. Chap XX "The book of the Machines"'.

---

308 machines] E2, ~, **burnt]** E2, burned E9 **309 workshops, and,]** E2, workshops—thus, E9 **cut]** E2, cutting E9 **314 dreamt]** E2, dreamed E9 **mechanical appliances,]** E2, forbidden inventions, E9 **315 study]** E2, ~, E9 **320 ever]** E2, *om.* E9 **324 destruction.]** E2, revolution. E9 **328–9 here, … Arowhena.]** here. E2, E9

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BOOK OF THE MACHINES.

THE writer commences:—"There was a time, when the earth was to all appearance utterly destitute both of animal and vegetable life, and when according to the opinion of our best philosophers it was simply a hot round ball with a crust gradually cooling. Now if a human being had existed while the earth was in this state and had been allowed to see it as though it were some other world with which he had no concern, and if at the same time he were entirely ignorant of all physical science, would he not have pronounced it impossible that creatures possessed of anything like consciousness should be evolved from the seeming cinder which he was beholding? Would he not have denied that it contained any

2 THE BOOK … MACHINES Chs 21 and 22, and the treatise excerpts of Ch 23, extend CD's theory of evolution by natural selection to machinery. Chs 21 and 23 are an expansion of the ideas contained in SB's *Press* article 'Darwin Among the Machines', published on 13 June 1863 (enlarged into 'The Mechanical Creation', published in *The Reasoner* on 1 July 1865). Through parodic ratiocination, 'Darwin Among the Machines' prognosticated the consequences of the rapid development of mechanical life. See also Ch. 23, l. 284–99n.

3–15 There was a time … at present SB's playful enlargement of Darwinian ideas by way of analogy, see Gen. Int., 34–6.

3–6 the earth … gradually cooling This interpretation of the earth's formation is consistent with catastrophism, the theory that the earth's crust has been shaped by occasional violent upheavals. A rival theory, advocated in the 19th cent. esp. by geologist Charles Lyell (1797–1875), was uniformitarianism, which held that the earth's crust has been shaped over an immense period of time by the same geological processes that are observable in the present. In his *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* (1840) Whewell, a critic of Lyell's theory, concluded that the earth's 'central heat […] naturally suggests an earlier state of the mass, in which it was incandescent, and from which it is now cooling. But this original incandescence of the globe of the earth is manifestly an entire violation of the present course of things; it belongs to the catastrophist view' (672–3). CD was greatly influenced by Lyell's arguments after reading his *Principles of Geology* (1830–33): uniformitarianism made conceivable the idea that new species could be formed through the process of natural selection operating 'uniformly and slowly during vast periods of time' (*Origin*, 199). In light of his enthusiasm for the *Origin*, it is curious that SB's opening image calls to mind the theory prevailing at Cambridge University, despite the fact that CD had explicitly dismissed catastrophism in *Origin* as an 'old notion' (234).

5 philosophers Experts in a particular branch of knowledge, including the physical and natural sciences; commonly used in the compound 'natural philosophers', meaning specialists of natural philosophy, the study of the nature of the physical universe.

1–36 CHAPTER … the ultimate] *see app.*

1–36 CHAPTER XXI. … against the ultimate: f. 177^{r}.

1 XXI.] E2, XXIII. E9

potentiality of consciousness? Yet in the course of time consciousness came. Is it not possible then that there may be even yet new channels dug out for consciousness, though we can detect no signs of them at present?

"Again. Consciousness, in anything like the present acceptation of the term, having been once a new thing—a thing, as far as we can see, subsequent even to an individual centre of action and to a reproductive system (which we see existing in plants without apparent consciousness)—why may not there arise some new phase of mind which shall be as different from all present known forms of consciousness as the consciousness of animals is from that of vegetables? It would be absurd to attempt to define such a mental state (or whatever it may be called), inasmuch as it must be something so foreign to man that his experience can give him no help towards conceiving its nature; but surely when we reflect upon the manifold phases of life and consciousness which have been evolved already, it would be a rash thing to say that no others can be developed, and that animal life is the end of all things. There was a time when fire was the end of all things; another when rocks and water were so."

The writer, after enlarging on the above for several pages, proceeds to inquire whether traces of the approach of such a new phase of life could be perceived at present; whether we could see any tenements preparing which might in a remote futurity be adapted for it; whether in fact the primordial cell of such a kind of life could be now detected upon earth. In the course of his work he answers this question in the affirmative and points to the higher machines.

"There is no security"—to quote his own words—"against the ultimate

---

15 consciousness SB's musings on the origins of consciousness seem to have been carried out independently of other theorists. Although it was a conundrum necessarily raised by his evolutionary theory, CD did not attempt to answer in *Origin* the question of how consciousness began; indeed, CD never attempted to solve the question in his published writings. In *The Descent of Man* (1871), where CD applied his evolutionary theory to human development, he conceded: '[i]n what manner the mental powers were first developed in the lowest organisms is as hopeless an enquiry as how life itself first originated. These are problems for the distant future' (Darwin 2009, 36).

28–9 There was a time … water were so SB draws on Lyell's contributions to the understanding of geological periods as imported into *Origin*; in *Principles* and *Elements of Geology* (1838), Lyell had developed his own system for temporal classification of the stratigraphic record (coining terms such as Pliocene, Miocene, and Eocene), helping to consolidate a sense of geological time as containing identifiable epochs, and CD had echoed his language (see, e.g., *Origin*, 241, 272).

32 tenements *Fig*. dwelling-places, esp. applied to the human (or other) body as the abode of the soul.

35 higher machines A spoofing of CD's allusions in *Origin* to higher animals or higher plants, i.e., those exhibiting a relatively complex organisation or structure.

---

21 forms of … consciousness of] E2, phases, as the mind of **22 vegetables? It]** vegetables? [*n.p.*] "It **26 a rash thing]** E2, rash E9 **28 things;]** ~: E2, E9 **30 proceeds]** E2, proceeded E9 **33 whether in fact]** E2, whether, in fact, E9

development of mechanical consciousness, in the fact of machines possessing little consciousness now. A mollusc has not much consciousness. Reflect upon the extraordinary advance which the machines have made during the last few hundred years, and observe how slowly the animal and vegetable kingdoms are advancing in comparison. The more highly organised machines are creatures not so much of yesterday as of the last five minutes, so to speak, in comparison with past time. Assume for the sake of argument that conscious beings have existed for some twenty million years: see what strides machines have made in the last thousand! May not the world last twenty million years longer? If so, what will they not in the end become? Is it not safer to nip the mischief in the bud and to forbid them further progress?

"But who can say that the vapour engine has not a kind of consciousness? Where does consciousness begin, and where end? Who can draw the line? Who can draw any line? Is not everything interwoven with everything? Is not machinery linked with animal life in an infinite variety

---

38 mollusc An animal of the phylum Mollusca, a heterogeneous group of invertebrates that have soft, unsegmented bodies, including snails, oysters, mussels and octopi.

39–40 Reflect upon … hundred years SB alludes to the events of the Industrial Revolution, when new or improved machinery and large-scale production methods changed the face of manufacturing first in Britain, and then in parts of western Europe and North America. The process, which gathered pace from the later decades of the 18th cent., had profound economic, political and social effects, as an agrarian society in Britain became an industrial empire: see Hoppen 2006, 671–6, who summarises a substantial literature on the subject.

41–2 highly organised What he meant by this term, CD did not attempt to define precisely: '[t]he embryo in the course of development generally rises in organisation: I use this expression, though I am aware that it is hardly possibly to define what is meant by the organisation being higher or lower. But no one probably will dispute that the butterfly is higher than the caterpillar' (*Origin*, 324). Or again: 'naturalists have not as yet defined to each other's satisfaction what is meant by high and low forms. The best definition probably is, that the higher forms have their organs more distinctly specialised for different functions' (247).

49 vapour engine A steam engine, one of the major technologies driving the Industrial Revolution.

37–8 development … little] development of a quasi consciousness in machines ~~derivable from~~ ^in^ the fact of their possessing no such **38–9 consciousness. Reflect]** consciousness; "Is there not grave cause for alarm when we reflect **41 comparison.]** ~? **42 machines are creatures]** machines ~~that~~ the~~ machines are machines~~ ^~~as more highly organised~~^ are creatures **43–5 time. … see what]** time. ~~Assuming~~ ^~~Assuming for the~~^ ~~for the sake of~~ ^Assume for the sake of^ arguments that ~~man has existed some~~ ^~~conscious animals have~~ conscious beings have existed for some] twenty million years[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] ~~See~~ ^see^ what **46 last twenty]** last ~~another~~ twenty **46–7 so, … become?]** so what ~~may~~ ^will^ not the machines become? **47–8 and to forbid]** and ^to^ forbid **50 consciousness? Where]** consciousness? ~~about it~~? Where **begin,]** begin **52 everything? … life]** everything? ~~Nay~~ "[*uwr* i][*owr* I]s not machinery linked with our own life

---

37–51 development of mechanical … draw the line?: f. 178^{r}.
51–75 Who can draw any … drink and clothing?: f. f. 179^{r}.

---

39 the] E2, *om*. E9 **40 observe]** E2, note E9 **41 in comparison.]** E2, *om*. E9 **42 yesterday]** E2, ~, E9

of ways? The shell of a hen's egg is a machine as much as an egg-cup is: the shell is a plan for holding the egg as much as the egg-cup for holding the shell: both are phases of the same function; the hen makes the shell in her inside, but it is pure pottery. She makes her nest outside of herself for convenience' sake, but the nest is not more of a machine than the egg-shell is. A 'machine' is only a 'device.'"

Then returning to consciousness, and endeavouring to detect its earliest manifestations, the writer continues:—

"There is a kind of plant which eats organic food with its flowers: the moment that a fly settles upon the blossom, the petals close upon it and hold it fast till the plant has absorbed the insect into its system. Shall we say that the plant does not know what it is doing merely because it has no eyes, or ears, or brains? If we say that it acts mechanically, and mechanically only, shall we not be forced to admit that sundry other and apparently very actions are also mechanical? If it seems to us that the plant kills and eats

---

58 A machine … a device In the context of SB's critical study of the New Testament in Greek, he began to mistrust a perceived habit amongst theologians of exploiting, for their own ends, the ambiguities of linguistic definitions: 'speech' he wrote in FairH, is 'nothing but a shuffler and a loiterer' (22). It was a charge he aimed at theologian and textual critic Henry Alford (1810–1871), who in his *New Testament in Greek* (1841–1861) gave interpretive guidance such the following, written in reference to Rev. 20:4–6: 'If, in a passage where two resurrections are mentioned, where certain "souls lived" at the first, and the rest of the "dead lived" only at the end of a specified period after that first, if in such a passage the first resurrection may be understood to mean spiritual rising with Christ, while the second means literal rising from the grave; then there is an end of all significance in language, and Scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to anything. If the first resurrection is spiritual, then so is the second, which I suppose none will be hardy enough to maintain. But if the second is literal, then so is the first, which in common with the whole primitive Church and many of the best modern expositors, I do maintain' (Alford, 732).

67–8 plant kills … a fly The Venus flytrap (*Dionaea muscipula*) is a carnivorous plant native to the East Coast of the United States. It catches prey with leaves that form a trapping structure, triggered by tiny hairs on its inner surfaces. Carnivorous plants had been the subject of popular and scientific fascination since their introduction into Britain in the latter half of the 18th cent.: see Chase 2009.

53–5 machine … shell in] machine ~~pure and simple~~. **as much as an egg cup is: the shell is ^a ~~trick~~ ^^plan^^ for^ ~~to hold~~ ^holding^ the egg as much as the egg cup for holding the shell: both are phases of the same function.** [*uwr* t][*owr* T]he hen makes ~~it~~ ^the shell^ in **57 convenience' sake,]** convenience sake[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] **57–8 egg-shell … Then]** egg shell is. A "machine" is only a "device"." Then **60–1 manifestations, … "There]** manifestations the writer continues, "There **61–2 which … a fly]** which ~~lives on~~ ^eats^ organic food with its flowers; the moment ^that^ a fly **64–5 eyes, or ears, or]** eyes and ears and **65–6 it acts … shall]** does what it does mechanically (which is certain) shall **66 that sundry … apparently]** that ~~some~~ ^sundry ^^[*uwr* s][*owr* ~~c~~]~~ertain~~ other and^^^ apparently **67–8 mechanical? … a man]** mechanical? ~~If~~ ^If it seems to us that^ ~~the plant~~ ^the plant^ kills and eats a fly mechanically, ~~would it not seem as though~~ ^may it not seem to the plant that^ a man

---

53 egg … machine] egg is made of a delicate white whare and is a machine E2, E9 **54 plan]** E2, device E9 **54 egg as]** E2, egg, as E9 **60 continues:—]** E2, continued– E9 **61 which]** E2, that E9 **61–2 the moment that]** E2, when E9 **63 system. Shall]** system; but they will close on nothing but what is good to eat; of a drop of rain or a piece of stick they will take no notice. Curious! that so unconscious a thing should have such a keen eye to its own interest. If this is unconsciousness, where is the use of consciousness? "Shall E2, E9

a fly mechanically, may it not seem to the plant that a man must kill and eat a sheep mechanically? But it may be said that the plant is void of reason, because the growth of a plant is an involuntary growth. Given earth, air, and due temperature, the plant must grow: it is like a clock, which being once wound up will go till it is stopped or run down; it is like the wind blowing on the sails of a ship—the ship must go when the wind blows it. But can a healthy boy help growing if he have good meat and drink and clothing? Can anything help going as long as it is wound up, or go on after it is run down? Is there not a winding up process everywhere?

"Even a potato* in a dark cellar has a certain low cunning about him

*The root alluded to is not the potato of our own gardens, but a plant so near akin to it that I have ventured to translate it thus. Apropos of its intelligence, had the writer known Butler he would probably have said—

"He knows what's what, and that's as high,
As metaphysic wit can fly."

70–6 Given earth … winding up process everywhere Here SB seems to subvert Paley's comparison in Ch. 3 of *Natural Theology* between the natural world and the workings of a clock: 'every indication of contrivance,' Paley wrote, 'every manifestation of design, which existed in the watch, exists in the works of nature; with the difference, on the side of nature, of being greater and more, and that in a degree which exceeds all computation. I mean that the contrivances of nature surpass the contrivances of art, in the complexity, subtility, and curiosity of the mechanism; and still more, if possible, do they go beyond them in number and variety; yet, in a multitude of cases, are not less evidently mechanical' (16).

77 low cunning This is a clear instance in which ideas presented jestingly in *Erewhon* form the basis of SB's LH theory, according to which acts of cunning are exhibited in all living organisms: see Ch. 23, E9 additions **v**.

78–9 The root … thus Possibly SB drew inspiration from a vegetable somewhat akin to a potato found in NZ: Kūmara (*Ipomoea batatas*), a sweet potato, was a staple of the Māori diet.

81– 2 He knows what's what … fly SB cites Part 1, Canto 1, ls 149–50 of *Hudibras* by Samuel Butler (1612–1680), a satiric poet and essayist (and no relation of SB himself). The lines describe the eponymous knight errant Sir Hudibras. SB greatly admired the poem, which satirises, among other things, Aristotelian logic, academic pedantry and religious fervour. In an essay of 1880, he claimed that *Hudibras* had been part of *Erewhon*'s literary genealogy: 'I have a great respect for my namesake, and always say that if *Ere-*

69–70 But … growth] But ^~~it may be said~~^ ~~the plant is evidentl~~y ^it may be said that the plant is^ void of reason[*uwr* :][*owr* ;] ~~the plant knows what's what well enough~~ ^because^ the growth **70–1 growth. … clock,]** growth; given earth air and due temperature and the plant must grow; it is like a clock **72 down;]** ~: **73 ship—the]** ship; ~~as long as the sails are set~~ the **74 But]** [*uwr* b][*owr* B]ut **76–84 everywhere? … sees]** everywhere?" ~~The writer followed this up and reduced it to an absurdity~~ ~~Again~~ [*uwr* ~~t~~][*owr* ~~T~~]~~here is a low cunning~~ ^~~even~~ even^ ~~about~~ a potato in a dark cellar ~~which~~ ^has a certain low cunning about it which^ serves it in excellent stead. [*uwr* It][*owr* He] knows perfectly well what ~~it~~ ^he^ wants and how to get it. [*uwr* It][*owr* He] sees

75–101 Can anything help … is not everybody.: f. 180^{r}.

69 mechanically? But] E2, mechanically? [*n.p.*] "But **76 down?]** ~: E2, E9

which serves him in excellent stead. He knows perfectly well what he wants and how to get it. He sees the light coming from the cellar window and sends his shoots crawling straight thereto: they will crawl along the floor and up the wall and out at the cellar window; if there be a little earth anywhere on the journey he will find it and use it for his own ends. What deliberation he may exercise in the matter of his roots when he is planted in the earth is a thing unknown to us, but we can imagine him saying, 'I will have a tuber here and a tuber there, and I will suck whatsoever advantage I can from all my surroundings. This neighbour I will over-shadow, and that I will undermine; and what I can do shall be the limits of what I will do. He that is stronger and better placed than I shall overcome me, and him that is weaker I will overcome.' The potato says these things by doing them, which is the best of languages. What is consciousness if this is not consciousness? We find it difficult to sympathise with the emotions of a potato; so we do with those of an oyster. Neither of these things makes a noise on being boiled or opened, and noise appeals to us more strongly than anything else, because we make so much about our own sufferings. Since then they do not annoy us by any expression of pain we call them emotionless; and so *quâ* mankind they are; but mankind is not everybody.

"If it be urged that the action of the potato is chemical and mechanical only, and that it is due to the chemical and mechanical effects of light and heat, the answer would seem to lie in an inquiry whether every sensation is not chemical and mechanical in its operation? whether those things which we deem most purely spiritual are anything but disturbances of equilibrium in an infinite series of levers, beginning with those that are too small for microscopic detection, and going up to the human arm and the appliances which it makes use of? whether there be not a molecular action of thought,

---

whon had been a racehorse it would have been got by *Hudibras* out of *Analogy*. Someone said this to me many years ago, and I felt so much flattered that I have been repeating the remark as my own ever since' ('Desiderio', 112).

100 quâ As; in the capacity of.

109–10 molecular action … passions A letter from SB to Julius Haast of 14 February 1865 reveals that SB was already contemplating these comic extensions of evolutionary theory at that time. He suggested to Haast: 'Here are two good titles for mock scientific papers "The Dynamical Theory of Grief"

84–5 and sends … shoots] and ~~crawls~~ ^sends^ [*uwr* its][*owr* his] shoots **86 window;]** ~: **87 journey he will]** journey ~~the potato~~ ^he^ will **for his own]** for ~~its~~ ^his^ own **89 us,]** ~." **but we … saying,]** *om.* **89–101 'I will have a tuber … is not everybody.]** *see app.* **102 only]** only~~,~~ **105 operation? whether]** operation? ~~and~~ [*uwr* w][*owr* W]hether **107 in an … levers,]** in a series of quasi infinite levers **107–8 for … detection,]** for ~~[?]~~ microscopic detection **109 whether]** Whether

---

102–20 "If it be … changed his ground.: f. 181^{r}.

---

92 limits] E2, limit E9 **94 overcome.' The]** E2, overcome.' [*n.p.*] The **99 Since then]** E2, Since, then, E9 **109–10 thought, whence]** though, ~~from~~ whence

whence a dynamical theory of the passions shall be deducible? Whether strictly speaking we should not ask what kind of levers a man is made of rather than what is his temperament? How are they balanced? How much of such and such will it take to weigh them down so as to make him do so and so?"

The writer went on to say that he anticipated a time when it would be possible, by examining a single hair with a powerful microscope, to know whether its owner could be insulted with impunity. He then became more and more obscure, so that I was obliged to give up all attempt at translation; neither did I follow the drift of his argument. On coming to the next part which I could construe, I found that he had changed his ground.

"*Either*," he proceeds, "a great deal of action that has been called purely mechanical and unconscious must be admitted to contain more elements of consciousness than has been allowed hitherto (and in this case germs of consciousness will be found in many actions of the higher machines)—*Or* (assuming the theory of evolution but at the same time denying the consciousness of vegetable and crystalline action) the race of man has descended from things which had no consciousness at all. In this case there is no *à priori* improbability in the descent of conscious (and more than conscious) machines from those which now exist, except that which is suggested by the apparent absence of anything like a reproductive system in the mechanical kingdom. This absence however is only apparent, as I shall presently show.

"Do not let me be misunderstood as living in fear of any actually existing

---

and "The Molecular Action of Thought." Might not some good nonsense with half sense be written on the subject?' (Jones 1919, I, 116–17).

128 à priori Relating to, or denoting, reasoning or knowledge which proceeds from theoretical deduction rather than from observation or experience.

---

111 ask what] ask ~~if~~ what **114–15 so?" … went]** so?" ~~Whether it is~~ The writer ~~then~~ went **possible,]** possible **116 microscope,]** microscope **117 impunity. … became more]** impunity. ~~Then the writer~~ ^He then^ bec[*uwr* omes][*owr* ame] more **118 I was]** I ~~really~~ was **118–9 translation; … did I]** translation[uwr :][owr ;] neither d[uwr o][owr id] I **119 argument. On coming]** argument. [uwr o][owr O]n ~~resuming~~ coming **120–1 construe, … great]** construe he ~~seemed to have~~ ^I found that he had^ changed his ground. "Either" he proceeds "a great **121–2 been … unconscious]** been ~~hitherto~~ ^called^ ~~regarded as~~ purely mechanical and unconscious~~,~~ **123 hitherto (and]** hitherto ~~or~~ (and **124–5 machines) … denying the]** machines) [uwr o][owr O]r – ~~admitting~~ (assuming the theory of evolution, ~~and~~ ^but at the same time denying^ ~~denying any~~ the **126–7 has descended]** has ~~been~~ descended **127 all. In]** all; in **128 *priori* … (and]** priori ~~impossibility~~ ^improbability^ in the descent of conscious~~,~~ (and **129–30 is suggested by the]** is ~~derived from~~ ^suggested by^ the **131–3 kingdom. … "Do]** kingdom: this absence however is ^only^ apparent, ~~[?]~~ as I shall presently show." "Do

---

121–52 "*Either*," he proceeds, … something very different: f. 182r.

---

121 "*Either*,"] E2, "Either," E9 **124 *Or*]** E2, Or E9

machine; there is probably no known machine which is more than a prototype of future mechanical life. The present machines are to the future as the early Saurians to man. The largest of them will probably greatly diminish in size. Some of the lowest vertebrata attained a much greater bulk than has descended to their more highly organised living representatives, and in like manner a diminution on the size of machines has often attended their development and progress. Take the watch, for example; examine its beautiful structure; observe the intelligent play of the minute members which compose it: yet this little creature is but a development of the cumbrous clocks that preceded it; it is no deterioration from them. The day might come when clocks, which certainly at the present time are not diminishing in bulk, would be superseded owing to the universal use of watches, in which case they would become as extinct as ichthyosauri, while the watch, whose

136 Saurians Reptiles in the order Sauria, applied in popular usage to crocodiles and extinct lizard-like animals such as the ichthyosaurus (see l. 146 below).

137–48 diminish in size … extinct race Applying his principle of natural selection, CD had in *Origin* argued that species less well-adapted to a changing environment died out over long periods of time to be superseded by better-adapted descendants. This accounts for similarities between extinct fossil remains and recent species in the same geographical area: 'those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species' (*Origin*, 8). CD did not assert that new species become smaller, but, rather, that they have 'some advantage over those with which [they come] into competition' (236). Possibly SB's ideas about the fossil remains are attributable to his knowledge of the work of palaeontologist Richard Owen (1804–1892), who in numerous works, including his *History of British Fossil Reptiles* (1849–1884), offered extensive technical descriptions of extinct vertebrates. Owen did much to popularise the creatures he labelled '*Dinosauria'* and made comparison between living species and 'gigantic extinct species' (Owen 1849, 275), but disputed CD's claim that natural selection had been operative in causing the survival of species and the extinction of ancient ones. A more direct influence on SB was probably Haast, who collected bones of the extinct moa, nine species of the order Dinornithiformes**,** which were flightless birds endemic to NZ. Some species were gigantic, at nearly 12 feet tall. Haast, who undoubtedly discussed his work with SB, corresponded with Owen while SB was in NZ and used his collection of moa bones to launch an international scientific career: see Barton.

137 lowest vertebrata Reptiles, amphibians and fishes, which belong to the subphylum Vertebrata and possess a back bone or spinal column.

146 ichthyosauri A genus of extinct marine animals, with a large head, four paddles and a long tail.

134 no … which] no ^known^ machine ~~now existing~~ which **137 size. Some]** size[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] ~~just as~~ [*uwr* s][*owr* S]ome **138–9 representatives, … manner a]** representative, ~~so~~ ^and in like manner^ a **140 watch,]** watch **141 observe]** ~~watch~~ observe **143 no … come]** no deterioration ^~~degener~~^ from them. The day ~~may~~ ^~~m~~[*uwr* ~~ight~~][*owr* ~~ay~~]^ ^might^ come **144–5 bulk, … universal]** bulk, ~~may~~ ^would^ be entirely superseded by the universal **146 they … extinct]** they ~~will~~ ^would^ become ^as^ extinct **146–7 watch, … years been]** watch ~~(~~whose tendency has ^for some years^ been **147–8 contrary, … remain]** contrary,~~)~~ ~~will~~ ^would^ remain

137 vertebrata] E2, vertebrate E9 **139 diminution on]** diminution in E2, E9 **140 progress. Take]** E2, progress. [*n.p.*] "Take **143 The day]** E2, A day E9 **might]** E2, may E9 **145 would be]** E2, will be E9 **146 would]** E2, will E9

tendency has for some years been to decrease in size rather than the contrary, would remain the only existing type of an extinct race.

"But returning to the argument, I would repeat that I fear none of the existing machines so long as they were wisely handled, and not suffered to progress further; what I do fear is the extraordinary rapidity with which they are becoming something very different to what they are at present. No class of beings have in any time past made so rapid a movement forward. Should not that movement be jealously watched, and checked before we find ourselves in a false position and unable to check it? And is it not necessary for this end to destroy the more advanced of the machines which are in use at present, though it be admitted that they are in themselves harmless?

"As yet the machines receive their impressions through the agency of man's senses: one travelling machine calls to another in a shrill accent of alarm and the other instantly retires, but it is through the ears of the driver that the voice of the one has acted upon the other. Had there been no driver, the callee would have been deaf to the caller, even as a man who has no hearing. There was a time when it must have seemed highly improbable that machines should learn to make their wants known by sound even through the ears of man, and may we not conceive that a day might come when those ears should be no longer needed, and the hearing be done by the delicacy of the machine's own construction?—when its language should have been developed from the cry of animals to a speech as intricate as our own? It is possible that by that time children would learn the differential calculus—as they learn now to speak—from their mothers and nurses, or that they might talk in the hypothetical language and work rule of three sums before they were born; but it is not probable; and we cannot

170–73 It is possible … before they were born SB was an early, but not the sole, writer of his time to contemplate future human development in light of Darwinian theory. Polymath Francis Galton (1822–

148–51 race. … extraordinary] race." ~~Returning however~~ ^"But returning^ to the argument, ~~does it not behove us to be on our guard when we con~~ ^I would repeat that I ^^should^^ fear none of the existing machines^ so long as they ~~be~~ ^were^ wisely handled ^and not suffered to ~~increase~~: ^^progress^^ further.^: what I do fear is ~~that~~ the extraordinary **152–80 to what they are … fellow-creatures."]** *see app.*

152–80 to what they … our fellow-creatures.'": f. 183^{r}. On f. 183^{v} is the following line of text, sideways: '{es} his very soul to the machines.'

148 would] E2, will E9 **150–1 machines … do fear]** E2, machines; what I fear E9 **154–5 checked before … to check]** E2, checked while we can still check E9 **157 be admitted]** E2, is admitted E9 **161 retires,]** ~; E2, E9 **163–4 caller, … hearing. There]** E2, caller. There E9 **165 sound]** E2, ~, E9 **166 man, and]** man; and E9 **166 conceive that]** E2, conceive, then, that E9 **might]** E2, will E9 **167 should]** E2, will E9 **hearing be]** E2, hearing will be E9 **169 should]** E2, shall E9 **170 own? It]** E2, own? [*n.p.*] It E9 **would]** E2, will E9 **172 might]** E2, may E9 **language]** ~, E2, E9 **173 sums ... but it]** E2, sums, as soon as they are born; but this **probable; and we]** E2, probable; we

calculate on any corresponding advance in man's intellectual or physical powers which shall be a set-off against the far greater development which seems in store for the machines. Some people may say that man's moral influence will suffice to rule them; but I cannot think it is safe to repose much trust in this.

"Again, might not the glory of the machines consist in their being without this same boasted gift of language. 'Silence,' it has been said by one writer, 'is a virtue which renders us agreeable to our fellow-creatures.'"

1911), CD's half-cousin, was another. In *Hereditary Genius* (1869) Galton drew on Darwinian arguments to ponder the social conditions that would produce a gifted population. In later life, through *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Development* (1883) and his own social action, Galton deployed Darwinist arguments to advocate for eugenics, the practice of improving the human species by selectively mating people with so-called desirable hereditary traits, thereby 'breeding out' traits regarded as undesirable. Although their interests overlapped, SB never adhered to eugenicist thinking.

180 gift of language The origin of language was already a subject of scholarship and some controversy by the time CD published his views on the topic in *Descent of M*an (1871) as part of his consideration of the comparative mental powers of humans and the lower animals. In conjecturing how language might have evolved through natural and sexual selection, CD countered the theory, championed by Müller in a series of lectures delivered in 1861 (published as *Lectures on the Science of Language* in 1866), that language was uniquely human and a manifestation of man's higher nature.

180–1 Silence … fellow-creatures SB accurately quotes the opening of another of his father's boyhood essays (Jones 1919, I, 12).

180 without] E2, without E9 **language.]** ~? E2, E9

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MACHINES —*continued*.

"BUT other questions come upon us. What is a man's eye but a machine for the little creature that sits behind in his brain to look through? A dead man's eye is nearly as good as a living one's for some time after the man is dead. It is not the eye that cannot see, but the restless one that cannot see through it. Is it man's eyes, or is it the big seeing engine which has revealed to us the existence of worlds beyond worlds into infinity? What has made man familiar with the scenery of the moon, the spots on the sun, or the geography of the planets? He is at the mercy of the seeing engine for these things, and is powerless unless he tack it on to his own identity, and make it part and parcel of himself. Or again is it eyes or the little see-engine which has shown us the existence of infinitely minute organisms which swarm unsuspected around us?

---

2 THE MACHINES—continued SB and Eliza Savage both believed that novelist George Eliot (1819–1880) had plagiarised from this chapter for Chapter 17 of *Impressions of Theophrastus Such* (1879), a collection of literary essays by a fictional scholar. The title of Eliot's chapter, 'Shadows of the Coming Race', echoes the title of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's science-fiction fantasy *The Coming Race* (1871), which describes a subterranean race of humans who rely on machine technology and an energy-form called Vril. Eliot's chapter imagines that machines will supplant humans by evolving 'conditions of self-supply, self-repair, and reproduction' (Eliot 1994, 138). In a letter of 24 September 1879, Savage informed SB that '[t]he only bit [of *Theophrastus*] in the least bit readable is a crib from *Erewhon*—a most barefaced crib' (Keynes and Hill, 210). On 10 June of the following year, SB wrote to his sister May: 'I was laughing when I said George Eliot had paid me a compliment in *Theophrastus Such*. The compliment consisted in a certain chapter on machines which she introduced into that book, & which so closely resembled a certain other chapter on machines that I had the satisfaction of feeling that great minds had thought alike—that was all; but the resemblance is so close that there can be no doubt where she drew from. It is quite legitimate, still it *is* a compliment' (Howard 1962, 86).

3–12 man's eye … parcel of himself In *Natural Theology* Paley had drawn comparison between the eye and a telescope to prove organic design, arguing that telescopes and eyes rely on similar optical principles 'both being adjusted to the laws by which the transmission and refraction of rays of light are regulated' (Paley 2006, 16). He concluded that 'there is precisely the same proof that the eye was made for vision, as there is that the telescope was made for assisting it' (18). CD questioned Paley's argument: 'It is scarcely possible to avoid comparing the eye to a telescope. We know that this instrument has been perfected by the long-continued efforts of the highest human intellects; and we naturally infer that the eye has been formed by a somewhat analogous process. But may not this inference be presumptuous? Have

---

1–17 CHAPTER … Hypothetics at] *see app.*

1–32 CHAPTER XXII … machine-tickling aphid?: f. 184^{r}.

---

5 dead man's eye] E2, dead eye E9 **living one's]** E2, living one E9 **12 Or again ... eyes]** E2, Or, again, is it the eye, **13 see-engine which]** E2, see-engine, which E9

"And take man's vaunted power of calculation. Have we not engines which can do all manner of sums more quickly and correctly than we can? What prizeman in Hypothetics at any of our Colleges of Unreason can compare with some of these machines in their own line? In fact, wherever precision is required man flies to the machine at once, as far preferable to himself. Our sum-engines never drop a figure, nor our looms a stitch; the machine is brisk and active, when the man is weary; it is clear-headed and collected, when the man is stupid and dull; it needs no slumber, when man must sleep or drop; ever at its post, ever ready for work, its alacrity never flags, its patience never gives in; its might is stronger than combined hundreds, and swifter than the flight of birds; it can burrow beneath the earth, and walk upon the largest rivers and sink not. This is the green tree; what then shall be done in the dry?

"Who shall say that a man does see or hear? He is such a hive and swarm of parasites that it is doubtful whether his body is not more theirs than his,

---

we any right to assume that the Creator works by intellectual powers like those of man?' (*Origin*, 141). Without professing to know how the eye had been formed, CD urged the possibility that 'a perfect and complex eye could be formed by natural selection' (140).

17 prizeman An Oxbridge term for a student who wins a prize for academic excellence.

20 sum-engines In the 1820s, mathematician and inventor Charles Babbage (1791–1871) had designed a Difference Engine, a mechanical calculating machine which could produce tables of values for a variety of mathematical functions. Babbage never built a completed model of the machine, which was to be so large as to require steam power for its operation. In 1843, Swedish inventor Per Georg Scheutz (1785–1873) constructed a smaller, simpler model, a version of which was built in Britain in 1859. The 'Scheutzian Calculating Machine' was praised in the press as the culmination of what Babbage had intended to prove: 'that brass and iron could calculate with an accuracy far superior to that of the human brain' ('Scheutz's Calculating Engine', *LDN*, 22 March 1860, p. 4).

20 looms The power-loom was first designed by clergyman and inventor Edmund Cartwright (1743–1823) in 1786. His invention, which was refined over the following century towards a more mechanised operation, became one of several important technologies to transform the textile industry during the Industrial Revolution.

26–7 This is the green … the dry SB cites Jesus' words to the Daughters of Jerusalem as he is led to his crucifixion in Luke 23:31: 'For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?'

28–30 hive and swarm … ant-heap after all SB relies on cell theory developed from the late 1830s by German physician and physiologist Theodore Schwann (1810–1884) and German botanist Matthias Jakob Schleiden (1804–1881), who posited that all living organisms are composed of cells and that cells are their basic structural unit. German pathologist Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) added a third element to the theory: all cells come from pre-existing cells. It was probably through reading CD's theory of heredity, called pangenesis, in *Plants and Animals under Domestication* (1868), that SB encountered the work of Virchow. CD quotes from Virchow's *Cellular Pathology* (1858) in support of his theory of pangenesis,

---

17 Colleges] colleges **fact,]** fact **18 once,]** once **19 sum-engines never]** sum-~~machines~~ ^engines^ never **20–1 stitch; … active,]** stitch: the ~~engine~~ ^machine^ is brisk and active **21–2 clear-headed … slumber,]** clearheaded and collected when the man is ^stupid and^ dull: it needs no slumber **23 drop;]** ~: **24–5 gives in; … swifter]** gives in. ~~They are~~ ^Its might is^ stronger than combined hundreds ^and^ swifter **35–6 birds; … walk]** birds: ~~they soar in the air and~~ ^it can^ burrow beneath the earth, ~~they~~ ^and^ walk **26 tree;]** ~: **27–8 dry? "Who]** dry? ~~"Moreover~~ "[*uwr* w][*owr* W]ho **28 does … hear?]** does ^see or^ hear? **29 parasites that]** parasites ~~himself~~ that **his … more]** his ~~own~~ body is not ~~far~~ more

and whether he is anything but another kind of ant-heap after all. Might not man himself become a sort of parasite upon the machines? A kind of affectionate machine-tickling aphid?

"It is said by some that our blood is composed of infinite living agencies which go up and down the highways and byways of our bodies as people in the streets of a city. When we look down from a high place upon crowded thoroughfares, is it possible not to think of corpuscles of blood travelling through veins and nourishing the heart of the town to make it grow? No mention shall be made of sewers, nor of the hidden nerves which serve to communicate sensations from one part of the town's body to another."

Here the writer became again so hopelessly obscure that I was obliged to miss several pages. He resumes:—

"It can be answered that even though machines should hear never so well and speak never so wisely, they will still always do the one or the other for our advantage and not for their own; that man will be the ruling spirit and the machine the servant; that as soon as a machine fails to discharge the service which men expects from it, it is doomed to extinction; that the machines stand to man simply in the relation of lower animals, the vapour engine itself being only a more economical kind of horse; so that instead of

including the line '[e]very single epithelial and muscular fibre-cell leads a sort of parasitical existence in relation to the rest of the body.' (*Domestication*, 382–3, quoting *Pathology*, 505).

32 aphid Members of the superfamily Aphidoidea, minute sap-suckers, destructive to vegetation.

34–5 people in … a city In his own copy of E2, SB underlined this phrase and wrote in the margin: 'See Cannon Street and Charing Cross railway stations from the bridges of the Embankment'. He compared the view of these stations in AS to the workings of a human body: 'When, again, I think of Waterloo Bridge, and the huge wide-opened jaws of those two Behemoths, the Cannon Street and Charing Cross railway stations, I am not sure that the prospect here is not even finer than in Fleet Street. See how they belch forth puffing trains as the breath of their nostrils, gorging and disgorging incessantly those human atoms whose movement is the life of the city. How like it all is to some great bodily mechanism of which the people are the blood' (BII ERE 1872.3). SB's metaphor (perhaps unconsciously) echoes one used by Wordsworth at the end of his 1807 sonnet 'Composed upon Westminster Bridge, September 3, 1802', where he compares London to a 'mighty heart […] lying still' at l. 14 (Wordsworth 2011, 635). My thanks to Dr Ruth Abbott for identifying this similarity with Wordsworth's lines.

30–2 ant-heap … aphid?] antheap after all M[*uwr* ay][*ow right*] not man ~~be~~ ^himself become^ a ~~kind~~ ^sort^ of parasite upon the machines? ~~unless their development be now resolutely checked~~? ^~~[?a]~~ ~~[?]~~ An affectionate machine-tickling aphid? **33–42 "It is said … machines should]** *see app.* **42 hear never]** ^hear^ never **44–5 spirit … servant;]** spirit~~,~~ and the machine~~s~~ the servant [*uwr* –][*owr* ;] **46 men expects]** man expects **extinction;]** extinction[*uwr* –][*owr* ;] **48 so that … being]** so that ~~far from~~ ^instead of^ being

33–66 "It is said … proposing the complete: f. 185r.

30 Might] E2, May E9 **31–2 A kind of affectionate]** E2, An affectionate E9 **33 agencies]** E2, agents E9 **37 town to … grow? No]** E2, town? No E9 **39 another."]** another; nor of the yawning jaws of the railway stations, whereby the circulation is carried directly into the heart,—which receive the venous lines, and disgorge the arterial, with an eternal pulse of people. And the sleep of the town, how life-like! with its change in the circulation." E2, E9 **44 advantage ... for their]** E2, advantage, not their E9 **46 men]** man E2, E9

being likely to be developed into a higher kind of life than man's, they owe their very existence and progress to their power of ministering to human wants, and must therefore both now and ever be man's inferiors.

"This is all very well. But the servant glides by imperceptible approaches into the master; and we have come to such a pass that even now man must suffer terribly on ceasing to benefit the machines. If all machines were to be annihilated at one moment, so that not a knife nor lever nor rag of clothing nor anything whatsoever were left to man but his bare body alone that he was born with, and if all knowledge of mechanical laws were taken from him so that he could make no more machines, and all machine-made food destroyed so that the race of man should be left as it were naked upon a desert island, we should become extinct in six weeks. A few miserable individuals might linger, but even these in a year or two would become worse than monkeys. Man's very soul is due to the machines; it is a machine-made thing: he thinks as he thinks and feels as he feels through

62–5 Man's very soul … his for theirs In 'Signs of the Times', an essay published in the *Edinburgh Review* in June 1829, philosopher and historian Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) described the early decades of 19th cent. as 'the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word' (Carlyle, XXVII, 60). He insisted that the ubiquity of machines for 'all earthly […] purposes' (60) had made people mechanical in body and soul, devoid of intellectual freedom or spiritual vigour: 'Men are grown mechanical in head and in heart, as well as in hand. They have lost faith in individual endeavour, and in natural force, of any kind. […] Their whole efforts, attachments, opinions, turn on mechanism, and are of a mechanical character' (63). Carlyle's critique formed part of a broader public debate about the cultural, social and economic consequences of new machinery in the period. While new technologies were often celebrated as a symbol of progress (as in the Great Exhibition of 1851), Carlyle was not alone in his critique of mechanisation: workers such as the Luddites (bands of early 19th century textile-makers), political economists such as David Ricardo (1772–1823) and cultural critics such as Ruskin (see below l. 80), among many others, expressed degrees of opposition from a variety of perspectives. Some of the debate was subsumed by the 'Condition of England Question', raised by Carlyle in his long pamphlet *Chartism* (1839), concerning the 'ominous' conditions of the British working classes under 'the huge demon of Mechanism' (Carlyle, XXIX, 118, 141). From the 1840s, various novelists, including Charles Dickens (1812–1870), Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865) and Benjamin Disraeli (1804–1881), explored this question in their fiction. As Maxine Berg says, '[t]he great range of contemporary writing on economic, social and intellectual aspects of the rapid industrialisation of early nineteenth century Britain made the machinery question a national controversy' (10). So while SB channels Carlyle's arguments in 'Signs', his contemporary

51–3 therefore … have come] therefore ~~be~~ both now and ever ^be^ man's inferiors." "This is all very well: ^~~but~~ ~~does not~~ ^^~~but~~^^ ^^but^^ the servant glides by imperceptible approaches into the Master[*uwr* ~~?~~][*owr* .] ~~Have~~ ^^and^^^ ~~but have~~ we [*uwr* ?must][*owr* have] come **54–6 man must … clothing]** man ~~seems as though he were doomed to destruction~~ ^man must suffer terribly on^ ~~if he should cease~~ ^ceasing^ to benefit the machines~~?~~ ~~This much is certain that if at one sweep~~ ^If^ all machinery were to be ^annihilated at ~~at~~ on[*uwr* c][*owr* e]~~e~~ moment^ ~~annihilated~~ ^~~at one sweep~~^ so that not a knife, nor lever, no rag of clothing, **57 if all]** if ~~likewise~~ all **58–9 machine-made … so]** machine made food ~~taken from him~~, ^destroyed^ so **59 should be]** shd be **60–1 island, … two would]** island, ~~it would~~ ^we should^ become ~~an~~ extinct ~~thing~~ in ~~a twelve month.~~ ^six weeks.^ A few miserable individuals might linger, ~~in warmer countries, of which if such there be,~~ but even these in ~~fifty years~~ ^a year or two^ would **62 monkeys.]** monkies. **62–3 machines; … as he thinks]** machines: ^it is a machine made thing:^ he thinks as thinks,

53 that even now] that, even now, E2, E9 **63 thinks … he feels]** E2, thinks, and feels as he feels, E9

the work that machines have wrought upon him, and their existence is quite as much a *sine quâ non* for his, as his for theirs. This fact precludes us from proposing the complete annihilation of machinery, but surely it indicates that we should destroy as many of them as we can possibly dispense with, lest they should tyrannise over us even more completely. It is true, from a low materialistic point of view, it would seem that those thrive best who use machinery wherever its use is possible with profit; but this is the art of the machines—they serve that they may rule. They bear no malice towards man for destroying a whole race of them provided he creates a better instead; on the contrary, they reward him liberally for having hastened their development. It is for neglecting them that he incurs their wrath, or for using inferior machines, or for not making sufficient exertions to invent new ones, or for destroying them without replacing them; yet this is what we must do, and do quickly; for though our rebellion against their infant power will cause infinite suffering, what will not things come to, if that rebellion is delayed?

"They have preyed upon man's grovelling preference for his material over his spiritual interests, and have betrayed him into supplying that element of struggle and warfare without which no race can advance. The lower

---

readers would have been aware of a broader current of unease about the implications of mechanisation.

65 sine quâ non Absolutely necessary.

80–1 man's grovelling preference … spiritual interests This formed part of Carlyle's critique in 'Signs of the Times', where he wrote: 'The truth is, men have lost their belief in the Invisible, and believe, and hope, and work only in the Visible; or, to speak it in other words: This is not a Religious age. Only the material, the immediately practical, not the divine and spiritual, is important to us' (Carlyle, XXVII, 74). Ruskin shared similar concerns in various works including *Unto This Last* (1860), a book on economy, and *Fors Clavigera* (1871), a series of letters addressed to British workmen in the 1870s. In Volume 1 of *Stones*, he argued that the signs of Venetian spiritual decline, a 'stopping short of […] religious faith' (IX, 27), in favour of 'the advancement of her own private interests' (IX, 24), could be seen in its shift from Gothic to Renaissance architecture. This provided context for Ruskin's views of contemporary England, articulated in Volume 2: the perfections of England's buildings were 'signs of a slavery' and workmen had been 'counted off into a heap of mechanism, numbered with its wheels, and weighed with its hammer strokes' (X, 195).

82 struggle In 1838 CD had read *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) by economist and clergyman Thomas Malthus (1766-1834), which argues that population growth, if unchecked, is potentially exponential and will outstrip resource production leading to crisis such as famine or war. The concept of a constant struggle for existence, which CD gleaned from Malthus, proved decisive in the development of his theory of evolution by natural selection. Perceiving that favourable variations would tend to be preserved, and unfavourable ones destroyed, in the struggle for existence in nature, CD was led to

---

64 him, … existence] him: and th[*uwr* is][*ow rei*]r existence theirs. ~~True~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]his fact precludes our even proposing

65–6 for … proposing] for his as his for

66–115 annihilation … they are] *see app.*

66–103 annihilation of machinery, … be granted that: f. 186r.

---

68 completely. It … from] E2, completely. [*n.p.*] "True, from E9

76–7 yet this … must do,] E2, yet these are the very things we ought to do,

animals progress because they struggle with one another; the weaker die, the stronger breed and transmit their strength. The machines being of themselves unable to struggle, have got man to do their struggling for them: as long as he fulfils this function duly, all goes well with him—at least he thinks so; but the moment he fails to do his best for the advancement of machinery by encouraging the good and destroying the bad, he is left behind in the race of competition; and this means that he will be made uncomfortable in a variety of ways, and perhaps that he will die. So that even now the machines will only serve on condition of being served, and that too upon their own terms; the moment their terms are not complied with, they jib, and either smash both themselves and all whom they can reach, or turn churlish and refuse to work at all. How many men at this hour are living in a state of bondage to the machines? How many spend their whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, in tending them by night and day? Is it not plain that the machines are gaining ground upon us, when we reflect on the increasing number of those who are bound down to them as slaves, and of those who devote their whole souls to the advancement of the mechanical kingdom?

"The vapour-engine must be fed with food and consume it by fire even as man consumes it; it supports its combustion by air as man supports it; it has a pulse and circulation as man has. It may be granted that man's body is as yet the more versatile of the two, but then man's body is an older thing; give the steam-engine but half the time that man has had, give it also a continuance of our present infatuation, and what may it not ere long attain to?

"There are certain functions indeed of the vapour-engine which would probably remain unchanged for myriads of years—which in fact would perhaps survive when the use of vapour has been superseded: the piston and cylinder, the beam, the fly-wheel, and other parts of the machine would

---

conclude that the result would be the formation of new species. Hence, CD alludes to this struggle throughout *Origin*, including in his subtitle: '*Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*'.

102 combustion The burning of fuel.

103 pulse The movement of the piston back and forth inside a cylinder.

108–14 There are certain … and noses CD described generic characteristics as 'the points in which all the species of a genus resemble each other, and in which they differ from the species of some other genus' (*Origin*, 118). These he attributed to descent from a common progenitor in a remote period. He posited the greater variability of specific characters, 'those which distinguish species from species', than of generic characteristics, which have remained constant over long periods (120).

103–25 man's body is … of purposes, as.: f. 187r.

---

90 perhaps that … die. So] E2, perhaps die. [*n.p.*] "So E9 **105 steam-engine]** E2, vapour-engine E9 **108 would]** E2, will E9 **109 would]** E2, will E9 **111–12 would be probably]** E2, will probably be E9

be probably permanent, just as we see that man and many of the lower animals share like modes of eating, drinking, and sleeping; thus they have hearts which beat as ours, veins and arteries, eyes, ears, and noses; they sigh even in their sleep, and weep and yawn; they are affected by their children; they feel pleasure and pain, hope, fear, anger, shame; they have memory and prescience, they know that if certain things happen to them they will die, and they fear death as much as we do: they communicate their thoughts to one another, and some of them deliberately act in concert. The comparison of similarities is endless: I only make it because some may say that since the steam-engine not being likely to improve in the main particulars is unlikely to be henceforward extensively modified at all. This is too good to be true: it would be modified and suited for an infinite variety of purposes, as much as man has been modified so as to exceed the brutes in skill. In the meantime the stoker is almost as much a cook for his engine as our own cooks for ourselves. Consider also the colliers and pitmen and coal merchants and coal trains and the men who drive them and the ships that carry coals—what an army of servants do the machines thus employ! Are there not probably more men engaged in tending machinery than in tending men? Do not machines eat as it were by mannery? Are we not ourselves creating our successors in the supremacy of the earth? daily adding to the beauty and delicacy of their organisation, daily giving them greater skill and supplying more and more of that self-regulating self-acting power which will be better than any intellect?

"What a new thing it is for a machine to feed at all! The plough, the spade, and the cart must eat through man's stomach; the fuel that sets them going must burn in the furnace of a man or of horses. Man must consume bread and meat or he cannot dig; the bread and meat are the fuel which drive the spade. If a plough be drawn by horses, the power is supplied by grass or beans or oats, which being burnt in the belly of the cattle give the power of

126 colliers Coal-miners (also pitmen) or coal merchants.
130 mannery SB's own term, modelled on machinery.

115–16 affected … pain,] ^affected by their^ children; they feel pleasure & pain, **119 another,]** another **concert. The]** concert: the **120 endless:]** ~; **120–1 say that … steam-engine]** say that the steam engine **122–3 at all. … would be]** at all: ^this is too good to be true^ it ~~will~~ ^would^ be **124–76 much as … reproductive system]** *see app.*

124–37 as much as … or of horses: f. 188r.
137–66 Man must consume … in self-sacrifice?: f. 189r.

117 prescience,] E2, ~; E9 **118 do:]** E2, ~; E9 **121–2 steam-engine not being … is unlikely]** E2, vapour-engine is not likely to be improved in the main particulars, it is unlikely E9 **124 would]** E2, will E9 **125 skill. In]** E2, skill. [*n.p.*] "In **127 trains]** E2, ~; E9 **them]** E2, ~; E9

working: without this fuel the work would cease, as an engine would stop if its furnaces were to go out. A man of science has demonstrated 'that no animal has the power of originating mechanical energy, but that all the work done in its life by any animal, and all the heat that has been emitted from it, and the heat which would be obtained by burning the combustible matter which has been lost from its body during life, and by burning its body after death, make up altogether an exact equivalent to the heat which would be obtained by burning as much food as it has used during its life, and an amount of fuel which would generate as much heat as its body if burned immediately after death.' How then can it be objected against the future vitality of the machines that they are, in their present infancy, at the beck and call of beings who are themselves incapable of originating mechanical energy?

"The main point however to be observed as affording cause for alarm is, that whereas animals were formerly the only stomachs of the machines, there are now many which have stomachs of their own, and consume their food themselves. This is a great step towards their becoming, if not animate, yet something so near akin to it, as not to differ more widely from our own life than animals do from vegetables. And though man should remain, in some respects, the higher creature, is not this in accordance with the practice of nature, which allows superiority in some things to animals which have, on the whole, been long surpassed? Has she not allowed the ant and the bee to retain superiority over man in the organisation of their communities and social arrangements, the bird in traversing the air, the fish in swimming, the horse in strength and fleetness, and the dog in self-sacrifice?

"It is said by some with whom I have conversed upon this subject, that the machines can never be developed into animate or *quasi*-animate existences, inasmuch as they have no reproductive system, nor seem ever likely to possess one. If this be taken to mean that they cannot marry, and

142–50 A man of science … after death From a paper in the Royal Institution Proceedings of 1856, 'On the Origin and Transformation of Motive Power', by mathematical physicist and engineer William Thomson (1824–1907), who made important contributions to many areas of physics and was active in industrial research and development. The paper forms part of Thomson's work on thermodynamics and lays out principles regarding the 'the sources available to man for the production of mechanical effect' (Thomson 1882, 188).

167–98 "It is said … being of the: f. 190r.

142 out. A] E2, out. "A man of science—how E9

150 death.' How] E2 death.' I do not know how he has found this out, but he is a

154 point however] E2, point, however, E9

that we are never likely to see a fertile union between two vapour-engines with the young ones playing about the door of the shed, however greatly we might desire to do so, I will readily grant it. But the objection is not a very profound one. No one expects that all the features of the now existing organisations will be absolutely repeated in an entirely new class of life. The reproductive system of animals differs widely from that of plants, but both are reproductive systems. Has nature exhausted her phases of this power? Surely if a machine is able to reproduce another machine systematically, we may say that it has a reproductive system. What is a reproductive system, if it be not a system for reproduction? And how few of the machines are there which have not been produced systematically by other machines? But it is man that makes them do so. Yes; but is it not insects that make many of the plants reproductive, and would not whole families of plants die out if their fertilisation was not effected by a class of agents utterly foreign to themselves? Does any one say that the red clover has no reproductive system because the humble bee (and the humble bee only) must aid and abet it before it can reproduce? No one would venture upon such an obviously absurd assertion. The humble bee is a part of the reproductive system of the clover. Each one of ourselves has sprung from minute animalcules whose entity was entirely distinct from our own, and which acted after their kind with no thought or heed of what we might think about it. These little creatures are part of our own reproductive system; then why not we part of that of the machines?

"But the machines which reproduce machinery do not reproduce ma-

---

185–7 red clover … reproduce An example inspired by CD's description in *Origin* of the relationship between the common red and incarnate clovers (*Trifolium pratense* and *incarnatum*) and the hive and humble (now bumble) bees, as an example of how slight variations could be advantageous to each organism (*Origin*, 59).
190 animalcules Microscopic organisms.

---

177 systems. Has nature] systems[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] [*uwr* h][*owr* H]as nature **178 power? … able]** power? ~~If Is it not enough for~~ ^Surely if^ a machine ~~to be~~ ^is^ able **179–80 systematically, … system, if]** systematically, ~~in order for us to~~ ^we may^ say that ~~machines~~ ^it has^ a reproductive system~~?~~ What is a reproductive system **182 machines? … man]** machines[*uwr* :][*owr* ?] ~~certainly~~ ^But it^ [*uwr* ~~i~~][*owr* ~~I~~]~~t~~ is man **so. … is it]** so. ~~But~~ ^Yes – but^ is it **183–4 and would … if their]** and wd ~~they not~~ ^not whole families of plants die out^ ~~die out in a twelve month~~ if their **185 utterly … themselves?]** utterly ~~distinct from~~ ^foreign to^ themselves? **187–9 No one … sprung from]** No one wd say ~~anything of the kind~~. ^would venture upon such an obviously absurd assertion.^ The humble bee is ^a^ part ~~and parcel~~ of the reproductive system of the clover[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] ~~and so very possibly man will be always~~ ^be^ ~~part~~ of ~~that system of the machines: even we ourselves each one of us have sprung~~ ^[*uwr* e][*owr* E]ach one of ourselves has sprung^ from **190 was entirely]** was ~~one~~ entirely **190–1 and which acted]** and ~~who~~ ^which^ acted **191 of what we]** of ~~our~~ what we **192–3 system; … why]** system: ^then^ why **193–4 machines? "But]** machines?~~"~~ ^~~And how short a time may it not be before man finds himself to be merely an affection machine tickling aphid.~~^ "But **195 reproduce machines]** reproduce them

---

178 power? Surely] E2, Power? "Surely E9

chines after their own kind. A thimble may be made by machinery, but it was not made by, neither will it ever make, a thimble. Here again if we turn to nature we shall find abundance of analogies which will teach us that a reproductive system may be in full force without the thing produced being of the same kind as that which produced it. Very few creatures reproduce after their own kind; they reproduce something which has the potentiality of becoming that which their parents were. Thus the butterfly lays an egg, which egg can become a caterpillar, which caterpillar can become a chrysalis, which chrysalis can become a butterfly; and though I freely grant that the machines cannot be said to have more than the germ of a true reproductive system at present, have we not just seen that they have only recently obtained the germs of a mouth and stomach? And might not some stride be made in the direction of true reproduction which should be as great as that which has been recently taken in the direction of true feeding?

"It is possible that the system when developed may be in many cases a vicarious thing. Certain classes of machines may be alone fertile, while the rest discharge other functions in the mechanical system, just as the great majority of ants and bees have nothing to do with the continuation of their species, but get food and store it, without thought of breeding. One cannot expect the parallel to be complete or nearly so; certainly not now, and probably never; but is there not enough analogy existing at the present moment, to make us feel seriously uneasy about the future, and to render it our duty to check the evil while it is still in our power to do so? Machines can within certain limits beget machines of any class, no matter how different to themselves. Every class of machines will probably have its special mechanical breeders, and all the higher ones will owe their existence to a large number of parents and not to two only. We are misled by considering any complicated machine as a single thing; in truth it is a city or society, each member of which was bred truly after its kind. We see a machine as a whole, we call it by a name and individualise it; we look at our own limbs, and know that the combination forms an individual which

---

195–6 thimble. … Here] thimble. ~~but~~ [*uwr* h][*owr* H]ere **197 which will teach]** which ~~forbid us to deny~~ ^will^ teach **198 being of the]** being the **198–217 same kind … to do so?]** *see app.* **220 will owe]** will ~~probably be~~ owe **221 of parents]** of ~~mechanical~~ parents **222–3 thing; … member]** thing: in truth it is a ^city or^ society, ~~if members~~ each ~~one~~ ^member^ of **223 kind. We]** kind; we **224 it; we]** it: we **225–6 which springs … assume]** which ~~is the result of a~~ ^springs from^ a single centre of reproductive action: ~~therefore~~ we ^therefore^ assume

---

198–228 same kind as … assumption is unscientific: f. 191r.

---

196 Here again] E2, Here, again, E9 **206 might]** E2, may E9 **217 while it is … to do so?]** E2, while we can still do so? E9 **221 only. We]** E2, only. [*n.p.*] "We

springs from a single centre of reproductive action; we therefore assume that there can be no reproductive action which does not arise from a single centre; but this assumption is unscientific, and the bare fact that no vapour-engine was ever made entirely by another, or two others, of its own kind, is not sufficient to warrant us in saying that vapour-engines have no **230** reproductive system. The truth is that each part of every vapour-engine is bred by its own special breeders, whose function it is to breed that part, and that only, while the combination of the parts into a whole forms another department of the mechanical reproductive system, which is at present exceedingly complex and difficult to see in its entirety. Complex now, but **235** how much simpler and more intelligibly organised might it not become in another hundred thousand years? or in twenty thousand? For man at present believes that his interest lies in that direction; he spends an incalculable amount of labour and time and thought in making machines breed always better and better; he has already succeeded in effecting much that at one **240** time appeared impossible, and there seem no limits to the results of accumulated improvements if they are allowed to descend with modification from generation to generation. It must always be remembered that man's body is what it is through having been moulded into its present

226 single centre … action A loose reversal of the 'single centres of creation' theory, which CD defends in Ch. 11 of *Origin*. CD supported the view that each individual species had been formed in 'in one area alone [and] subsequently migrated from that area as far as its powers of migration and subsistence under past and present conditions permitted', rather than appearing simultaneously at many different points (260).

244 man's body … immense time CD did not explicitly address human evolution in relation to his

228–9 centre; … vapour-engine] centre: ~~We ought not to deny~~ ^but this assumption is un-^ -scientific, ~~and we should certainly~~ ^avoid- [?denying]^ and the ~~mere~~ ^bare^ fact that no vapour engine **229 another, … kind,]** another or two others of its own kind **230 that vapour-engines]** that vapour engines **231–2 The truth … breeders]** The ~~fact~~ ^truth^ is that ~~that the vapour-engines have a reproductive system~~ ~~simply~~ ~~because one vapour engine is not made~~ ^~~on the mere ground that none of them has been~~^ ~~by another or two others of its own kind:~~ ~~we must enlarge our views of reproduction:~~ ~~the fact being that~~ ^~~surely for~~^ each part of ~~the~~ ^every^ vapour engine ~~was~~ ^is^ bred truly by its own special breeders **232 that part,]** that part **323–6 whole … not become]** whole ~~is the formation of another part~~ ^forms another department^ of the~~ir~~ mechanical reproductive system [*uwr* –][*owr* ,] ~~that~~ ~~system being~~ ^which is^ at present exceedingly complex ^and difficult to see in its entirety^. Complex now: but how much simpler ~~ma~~ and more intelligibly organised ~~may~~ ^might it not^ become **239–40 and time … better; he]** and~~,~~ ~~in turn~~ ^time and^ thought, ~~and~~ in making ~~them~~ ^machines^ breed always better and better; ~~and~~ he **240 effecting much]** effecting ~~so~~ much **241 seem … results]** seems no limit to ^the^ results **242–33 to descend … remembered]** to ^descend with modification from generation to ~~be~~ generation.^ ~~continue~~. It must ~~be~~ always ^be^ remembered **244 it is … having]** it ^is^ ~~from~~ ^through^ having

228–31 and the bare … truth is that: f. 192r.
231–48 each part of … it so frequently.": f. 193r.

235 entirety. Complex] E2, entirety. "Complex E9 **236 might]** E2, may E9

shape by the chances and changes of an immense time, but that his **245** organisation never advanced with anything like the rapidity with which that of the machines is advancing. This is the most alarming feature in the case, and I must be pardoned for insisting on it so frequently."

---

theory of natural selection until *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, published on 24 February 1871. Possibly SB read this work while preparing the MS of E1, which he finished in May of the same year. SB's phrase is reminiscent of the words of part of the Anglican Compline service: 'Be present, O merciful God, and protect us through the silent hours of this night, so that we, who are wearied by the changes and chances of this fleeting world, may repose upon thy eternal changelessness' (*Night Prayer*, 99).

---

245 immense time,] E2, many millions of years E9

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MACHINES—*concluded*.

HERE followed a very long and untranslatable digression about the different races and families of the then existing machines. The writer attempted to support his theory by pointing out the similarities existing between many machines of a widely different character, which served to show descent from a common ancestor. He divided machines into their genera, subgenera, species, varieties, subvarieties, and so forth. He showed the existence of connecting links between machines that seemed to have very little in common, and showed that many more such links had existed which had now perished. He pointed out tendencies to reversion, and the presence of rudimentary organs which existed in many machines feebly developed and perfectly useless, yet serving to mark descent from an ancestor to whom the function was actually useful. I left the translation of this part of the treatise, which, by the way, was far longer than all that

4 races and families SB mimics CD's taxonomic language in *Origin*, where the word 'race' is used interchangeably with 'variety' as in the subtitle: *Or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. Family is the taxonomic rank above genus.

5–7 similarities existing … a common ancestor In *Origin* CD had proposed common descent, the idea that one species is the ancestor of two or more species later in time. This notion contrasted with then-current views that all species had been created independently of each other at the beginning of time, or at punctuated intervals through time: see Beer 2008, vii. In *Origin*, CD described common descent as follows: 'all living species have been connected with the parent-species of each genus […] and these parent-species, now generally extinct, have in their turn been similarly connected with more ancient species; and so on backwards, always converging to the common ancestor of each great class' (208).

11–14 tendencies to reversion … actually useful CD conjectured that the existence of rudimentary organs (those that have lost their basic significance in the process of the historical development of the species) esp. in hybrid offspring may be governed partly by the laws of reversion, i.e., the tendency to revert to an ancestral form. He wrote in *Origin* that the variability of rudimentary organs 'seems to be owing to their uselessness, and therefore to natural selection having no power to check deviations in their structure. Thus rudimentary parts are left to the free play of the various laws of growth, to the effects of long-continued disuse, and to the tendency to reversion' (114). On CD's views on reversion, see Olby, 40–1.

1–2 CHAPTER … *concluded*.] Chapter XXII "The Machines Concluded" [*This text is written over several asterisks*] **3 Here followed]** Here there followed **4 families … between]** families of ^the^ then existing machines; ~~in which~~ the writer attempted to ~~prove~~ ^support^ his theory by ~~the~~ ^~~the~~ pointing out the^ similarities ~~which existed~~ ^existing^ between **6 character, which]** character, ~~and~~ which **8 subgenera, …subvarieties]** subgenera species varieties, subvarieties~~,~~ **10 many … links]** many ^more such^ links **11 out tendencies to]** out ~~the~~ tendenc[*uwr* ~~y~~][*owr* ies] to **13 useless,]** useless **14 ancestor to whom]** ancestor ~~in~~ ^to^ which **14–16 useful. … given here,]** *see app.*

1–16 CHAPTER XXIII … have given here,: f. 194r.

1 XXIII.] E2, XXV. E9 **9 showed]** proved E2, E9 **11 existed which]** existed, but E2, E9

I have given here, for a later opportunity. Unfortunately, I left Erewhon before I could return to the subject; and though I saved my translation and other papers at the hazard of my life, I was obliged to sacrifice the original work. It went to my heart to do so; but I thus gained ten minutes of invaluable time, without which both Arowhena and myself must have certainly perished.

I remember one incident which bears upon this part of the treatise. The gentleman who gave it to me had asked to see my tobacco-pipe; he examined it carefully, and when he came to the little protuberance at the bottom of the bowl he seemed much delighted, and exclaimed that it must be rudimentary. I asked him what he meant.

"Sir," he answered, "this organ is identical with the rim at the bottom of a cup; it is but another form of the same function. Its purpose must have been to keep the heat of the pipe from marking the table upon which it rested. You would find, if you were to look up the history of tobacco-pipes, that in early specimens this protuberance was of a different shape to what it is now. It will have been broad at the bottom, and flat, so that while the pipe was being smoked the bowl might rest upon the table without marking it. Use and disuse must have come into play and reduced the function to its present rudimentary condition. I should not be surprised, sir," he continued,

---

34 use and disuse CD acknowledged that '[t]he laws governing inheritance are quite unknown' (*Origin*, 13). However, he also suggested that what he called the effects of use and disuse (the idea that organs can develop as a result of an environmental need and that that state of development can be passed down to progeny) may come into play alongside the operation of natural selection: 'we may conclude that habit, use, and disuse, have, in some cases, played a considerable part in the modification of the constitution, and of the structure of various organs; but that the effects of use and disuse have often been largely combined with, and sometimes overmastered by the natural selection of innate variations'(*Origin*, 109). On this Lamarckian element of CD's theory of hereditary: see Olby 35–6.

18–19 original work] original ~~volume~~ work **19 so;]** ~, **20–2 time, … one]** time ~~which~~ without which both Arowhena & myself must have ~~inevitably~~ ^certainly^ perished. I remember ~~however~~ one **22 treatise. The]** treatise. ~~from which I have been translating.~~ The **23–2 tobacco-pipe; … carefully,]** tobacco pipe: he examined ^it^ carefully **24–5 at the bottom]** at the the bottom **25–6 exclaimed … rudimentary.]** exclaimed ~~at once~~ that it ~~was~~ ^must be^ rudimentary. **27 "Sir," … "this]** "Sir" he answered, "This **28 cup;]** ~: **30–1 You would … protuberance]** You ~~wolld~~ ^would^ find, ~~Sir, on your~~ ^If you were to^ ~~return to you own country and~~ look up the history of tobacco pipes, ~~–~~ ~~you would find, Sir,~~ that in early ~~tobacco pipes~~ ^specimens^ their protuberance **32 now. It]** now: it **bottom, and flat,]** bottom and flat **35 condition.]** ~: **35–6 sir," … it were]** Sir," he continued "if ~~y~~ in the course of time it were

---

16–26 for a later … must be rudimentary: f. 195r.
26–36 I asked him … to become modified: f. 196r. At the start of this page is an extended section of text: '~~who gave me the treatise which I have been translating pointed out to me an~~ ~~interesting example of rudimentary organs. Mr Sthim had asked me to show my tobacco pipe and explain his its use. The other examined it carefully and then~~ ^~~in a delighted~~ ~~manner began~~^ ~~tapping the little protuberance which projected at the bottom of the bowl. "Rudimentary" he exclaimed "Unquestionably~~ ~~udimentary."~~'.

"if, in the course of time, it were to become modified still farther, and to assume the form of an ornamental leaf or scroll, or even a butterfly, while, in some cases, it will become extinct."

Curiously enough, on my return to England, I looked up the point, and found that my friend was right.

Returning, however, to the treatise, my translation recommences as follows:—

"May we not fancy that if, in the remotest geological period, some early form of vegetable life had been endowed with the power of reflecting upon the dawning life of animals which was coming into existence alongside of its own, it would have thought itself exceedingly acute if it had surmised that animals would one day become real vegetables? Yet would this be more mistaken than it would be on our part to imagine that because the life of machines is a very different one to our own, there is therefore no higher possible development of life than ours; or that because mechanical life is a very different thing from ours, therefore that it is not life at all?

"But I have heard it said, 'granted that this is so, and that the steam-engine has a strength of its own, surely no one will say that it has a will of its own?' Alas, alas! if we look more closely, we shall find that this does not make against the supposition that the vapour-engine is one of the germs of a new phase of life. What is there in this whole world, or in the worlds beyond it, which has a will of its own? The Unknown and Unknowable only!

"A man is the resultant and exponent of all the forces that have been

---

59–65 A man is … were a machine In his own copy of E2 (BII ERE 1872.4), SB wrote the following in the margin beside this paragraph: 'Automation is but one of the many instances of nature's love of a contradiction in terms. For everything is automatic and nothing is automatic. So again with chance. Every-

---

37–8 scroll, … cases,] scroll or even a butterfly, while in some cases **39–42 enough, … follows:—]** enough on my return to England I actually did look up the point and found that my friend~~'s sagacity~~ was ~~quite~~ right. Returning however to the treatise, ~~I find that~~ my translation recommences as follows. **42 if,]** if **period,]** period **44 endowed with]** endowed ~~the~~ with **46–7 exceedingly … one]** exceedingly ~~clever~~ ^acute^ if it had ~~arrived at the conclusion~~ ^surmised^ that ~~they~~ ^animals^ wd one **48 more … than]** more ~~absurd~~ ^mistaken^ than **imagine … life]** imagine ~~that~~ ^~~that~~^ ~~because~~ ^that because^ the life **49–52 own, … 'granted]** own ~~that to al therefore there is no career before them higher than~~ ours ~~own.~~ ^there is therefore no higher ~~development then it of life~~ possible development of life than ours ~~own;~~^ or ~~that because their life~~ ^or that because mechanical life^ is a very different thing to ours, therefore ^that ~~the~~^ it is not life at all?" ~~(others seem acquiescent &)~~ "But, I have ~~had~~ heard it said, ~~even~~ granted **52–3 that the steam-engine]** that ~~Granted then tha~~ the steam engine **53 own,]** ~: **54 own? … closely, we]** own? Alas! Alas! If we look ~~at it~~ more closely we **55 that the … one]** that ~~th~~ ^the vapour engine^ ~~it~~ is one **56–88 world, … experience]** *see app.*

36–52 still farther and … so, and that: f. 197r.
52–88 the steam engine … has had experience: f. 198r.

---

39 Curiously ... on] On E2, E9 **52–3 steam-engine]** E2, vapour-engine E9 **54 Alas, alas!]** E2, Alas! E9

brought to bear upon him, whether before his birth or afterwards. His action at any moment depends solely upon his constitution, and on the intensity and direction of the various agencies to which he is and has been subjected. Some of these will counteract each other; but as he is by nature, and as he has been acted on, and is now acted on from without, so will he do as certainly and regularly as though he were a machine.

"We do not generally admit this, because we do not know the whole nature of any one, nor the whole of the forces that act upon him. We see but a part, and being thus unable to generalise human conduct, except very roughly, we deny that it is subject to any fixed laws at all, and ascribe much both of a man's character and actions to chance, or luck, or fortune; but these are only words whereby we escape the admission of our own ignorance; and a little reflection will teach us that the most daring flight of the imagination or the most subtle exercise of the reason is as much the thing that must arise, and the only thing that can by any possibility arise, at the moment of its arising, as the falling of a dead leaf when the wind shakes it from the tree; for the future depends upon the present, and the present (whose existence is only one of those minor compromises of which human life is full) depends upon the past, and the past is unalterable. The only reason why we cannot see the future as plainly as the past, is because we know too little of the actual past and actual present; these things are too great for us, otherwise the future, in its minutest details, would lie spread out before our eyes, and we should lose our sense of time present by reason of the clearness with which we should see the past and future; perhaps we should not be even able to distinguish time at all; but that is foreign. What we do know is, that the more the past and present are known, the more the future can be predicted; and that no one dreams of doubting the fixity of the future in cases where he is fully cognisant of both past and present, and has had experience of the consequences that followed from such a past and such a present on previous

thing is chance and nothing is chance.' When he made this annotation is uncertain. B&H have observed that SB had occasion to disagree with Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895), biologist and defender of CD's theory of natural selection, on this issue in later life. In his 1874 address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science (now the British Association), 'On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata, and its History', Huxley proposed a strictly mechanical model for all organic life (see Huxley 1893). In LC, SB would criticise Huxley's 'theory' that 'all living beings are conscious machines': it 'can be fought just as much and just as little as the theory that machines are unconscious living beings; everything that goes to prove either of these propositions goes just as well to prove the other also' (120).

88–118 of the consequences … produce a blaze.: f. 199[r].

62 is] E2, ~, E9 **been]** E2, ~, E9 **64 do]** E2, ~, E9 **76 tree; for]** E2, tree. [*n.p.*] "For E9 **78 full)]** E2, full—for it lives only on sufferance of the past and future) E9 **89–90 on previous … and will]** on ~~a~~

occasions. He perfectly well knows what will happen, and will stake his whole fortune thereon.

"And this is a great blessing; for it is the foundation on which morality and science are built. The assurance that the future is no arbitrary and changeable thing, but that like futures will invariably follow like presents, is the groundwork on which we lay all our plans, the faith on which we do every conscious action of our lives. If this were not so we should be without a guide; we should have no confidence in acting, and hence we should never act; there would be no knowing that the results which will follow now will be the same as those which followed before. Who would plough or sow if he disbelieved in the fixity of the future? Who would throw water on a blazing house if the action of water upon fire were uncertain? Men will only do their utmost when they feel certain that the future will discover itself against them if their utmost has not been done. The feeling of such a certainty is a constituent part of the sum of the forces at work upon them, and will act most powerfully on the best and most moral men. Those who are most firmly persuaded that the future is immutably bound up with the present in which their work is lying, will best husband their present, and till it with the greatest care. The future must be a lottery to those who think that the same combinations can sometimes precede one set of results, and sometimes another. If their belief is sincere they will speculate instead of working: these ought to be the immoral men; the others have the strongest spur to exertion and morality, if their belief is a living one.

"The bearing of all this upon the machines is not immediately apparent, but will become so presently. In the meantime I must deal with friends who tell me that, though the future is fixed as regards inorganic matter, and in some respects with regard to man, yet that there are many ways in which it cannot be considered as fixed. Thus, they say that fire applied to dry shavings, and well fed with oxygen gas, will always produce a blaze, but

---

99 Who would … or sow An allusion to the parable of the farmer in Isaiah 28:24: 'Doth the plowman plow all day to sow? Doth he open and break the clods of his ground?'

---

previous occasions. He ~~knows~~ perfectly well ^knows^ what will happen~~,~~ and will **92 "And … for]** And this is a great blessing. For **92–111 which morality … strongest]** *see app.* **112 exertion and]** exertion & **114 meantime]** mean time, **115 that,]** that **116 respects … there]** respects even with regard to man, yet ^that^ there **117–8 as fixed … but]** as a fixed thing. Thus, ^they say ~~a~~^ ^that^ fire applied to ~~shav~~ dry shavings ^and well fed with oxygen gas^ will always produce a blaze. ~~and well fed with oxygen gas~~ but

---

118–54 but that a … it will be: f. 200^{r}. At the top of f. 200^{v} the following words: 'What is this same breeding? Is not all life chemical and mechanical at bottom?'.

---

95 plans,] E2,~— E9 **98 act; there]** E2, act, for there E9

that a coward brought into contact with a terrifying object will not always result in a man running away. Nevertheless, if there be two cowards perfectly similar in every respect, and if they be subjected in a perfectly similar way to two terrifying agents, which are themselves perfectly similar, there are few who will not expect a perfect similarity in the running away, even though a thousand years intervene between the original combination and its being repeated. The apparently greater regularity in the results of chemical than of human combinations arises from our inability to perceive the subtle differences in human combinations—combinations which are never identically repeated. Fire we know, and shavings we know, but no two men ever were or ever will be exactly alike; and the smallest difference may change the whole conditions of the problem. Our registry of results must be infinite before we could arrive at a full forecast of future combinations; the wonder is that there is as much certainty concerning human action as there is; and assuredly the older we grow the more certain we feel as to what such and such a kind of person will do in given circumstances; but this could never be the case unless human conduct were under the influence of laws, with the working of which we become more and more familiar through experience.

"If the above is sound, it follows that the regularity with which machinery acts is in itself no proof of the absence of vitality, or at least of germs which may be developed into a new phase of life. At first sight it would indeed appear that a vapour-engine cannot help going when set upon a line of rails with the steam up and the machinery in full play; whereas the

---

120 away. … if] away. ~~But~~ [*uwr* ~~s~~][*owr* ~~S~~]~~urely~~ [*uwr* ~~is~~][*owr* ~~it~~]~~ will be granted that~~ ^(run on) Nevertheless^ if **121–8 subjected … Fire]** subjected ^in a perfectly similar way^ ~~even at an interval of months and years~~ to two terrifying agents which are themselves perfectly similar, ~~it will be granted that~~ ^there are few who will not expect^ ~~we shall have~~ ^~~find~~^ a perfect similarity in the ~~results, the apparently greater regularity in the result of~~ ^running away, even though a thousand years intervene between the original combination and its being repeated. The apparently greater regularity in the results of^ chemical than of human combinations arises ~~simply~~ from out ~~incapability of perceiving~~ ^inability to perceive^ the subtle differences in ~~the human~~ ^human combinations –^ combinations~~,~~ which are never ^identically^ repeated. ~~with absolute identity.~~ Fire **129 or … and]** or ^ever^ will be exactly alike, and **131 results must be]** results ~~would have to~~ ^must^ be **133 is; … more]** is; ~~and certainly~~ ^and assuredly^ the older ~~we grow and the more experience we have had in the ways of man,~~ ^we grow^ the more **134–5 kind … circumstances;]** kind of ~~man~~ ^person^ will do in given circumstances: **135 be … unless]** be ^the case^ unless **136 laws,]** laws **we become more]** we ~~come~~ ^become^ more **137–8 experience. … regularity]** experience." "If the above be sound, it follows that the ~~mere~~ regularity **139–40 or … germs]** or ~~at any rate~~ ^at least^ ~~of the absence~~ of germs **140 of life. At]** of ^~~life.~~^ ~~physical existence~~. ^life^ At **141–4 vapour-engine … pleases; so]** vapour engine ^~~[?] could~~ ^^can^^ not help going when^ set upon a line of rails, with he steam up, ^and the machinery in full play,;^ ~~gen could not help going,~~ ~~whereas~~ ~~the enginge driver could can help making it go~~ ~~or~~ ^whereas the man whose business it is to drive it can help ~~driving it~~ doing so^ at any moment that ~~it so~~ ^he^ pleases ~~him~~; so

---

125 repeated. The] E2, repeated. [*n.p.*] "The **139 in itself]** E2, *om*. E9

man whose business it is to drive it can help doing so at any moment that he pleases; so that the first has no spontaneity, and is not possessed of any sort of free will, while the second has and is. This is true up to a certain point; the driver can stop the engine at any moment that he pleases, but he can only please to do so at certain points which have been fixed for him by others, or in the case of unexpected obstructions which force him to please to do so. His pleasure is not spontaneous; there is an unseen choir of influences which have cast their spells around him, and which make it impossible for him to act in any other way than one. It is known beforehand how much strength must be given to these influences, just as it is known beforehand how much coal and water are necessary for the vapour-engine itself; and curiously enough it will be found that the influences brought to bear upon the driver are of the same kind as those brought to bear upon the engine—that is to say, food and warmth. The driver is obedient to his masters, because he gets food and warmth from them, and if these are withheld or given in insufficient quantities he would cease to drive; in like manner the engine would cease to work if it is insufficiently fed. The only difference is, that the man is conscious about his wants, and the engine beyond refusing to work, does not seem to be so; but this is temporary, and has been dealt with above.

"Accordingly the requisite strength being given to the motives that are to drive the driver, there has never, or hardly ever, been an instance of a man stopping his engine through wantonness. But such a case might occur; yes, and it might occur that the engine should break down: but if the train

---

144 spontaneity, … possessed] spontaneity~~, neither [?neithe]~~ ^~~nor is~~ and is not^ possessed **145 second … up to]** second ^has and is. This^ ~~is: this~~ is true~~,~~ up to **148 which]** wh: **149–51 spontaneous; …known]** spontaneous; ~~for~~ there is an unseen choir of influences ~~that have woven their webs~~ ^which have cast their spells^ around him, and which make ~~him~~ ^it^ impossible ^for him^ to do other than act in a given way. [*uwr* i][*owr* I]t is known **152–3 as it … coal and]** as it is ~~calculated~~ ^known beforehand^ how much coal & **154 itself;]** ~: **154 that the influences]** that ~~the main strength of~~ the influences **155 driver… kind]** driver ~~is exactly~~ ^are of^ the same [*uwr* as][*owr* ki]nd **156–9 his masters, … engine]** his drivers because he gets food & warmth from them, ^and^ ~~which~~ if these were withelf ^or given in insufficient^ ~~in sufficient quali~~ quantities he would cease to drive; ~~just as~~ ^in like manner^ the engine **159 it is]** it were **160 is,]** is **160–2 wants, … above]** wants and the engine (beyond refusing ^to^ work) ^with~~out being properly fed)~~^ does not seem to be so: but this is temporary and has been dealt with above." **163 strength being given]** strength ~~is~~ ^being^ given **164 driver,]** driver, ~~and~~ **ever,]** eve[*uwr* n][*owr* r], **164–5 a man … occur;]** a ~~driver~~ ^man^ stopping his engine thro' wantonness, ~~But Such~~ ^But such^ a case might occur: **166–90 yes, … let him watch]** *see app.*

154–94 found that the … the buffers on: f. 201r.

---

145 is. This] E2, is. [*n.p.*] "This **150 influences … and which]** E2, influences around him, which E9 **158 would]** E2, will E9 **159 would]** E2, will E9 **160–1 engine, beyond]** engine (beyond E2, E9 **163 "Accordingly]** E2, ~, E9

is stopped from some trivial motive it will be found either that the strength of the necessary influences has been miscalculated, in the same way as an engine may break down from an unsuspected flaw; but even in such a case there will have been no spontaneity; the action will have had its true parental causes: spontaneity is only a term for man's ignorance of the gods.

"Is there then no spontaneity on the part of those who drive the driver?"

Here followed an obscure argument upon this subject, which I have thought it best to omit. The writer resumes:—"After all then it comes to this, that the difference between the life of a man and that of a machine is one rather of degree than of kind, though differences in kind are not wanting. An animal has more provision for emergency than a machine. The machine is less versatile; its range of action is narrow; its strength and accuracy in its own sphere are superhuman, but it shows badly in a dilemma; sometimes when its normal action is disturbed, it will lose all head and go from bad to worse like a lunatic in a raging frenzy: but here again we are met by the same consideration as before, namely, that the machines are still in their infancy; they are mere skeletons without muscles and flesh. For how many emergencies is an oyster adapted? For as many as are likely to happen to it, and no more. So are the machines; and so is man himself. The list of casualties that daily occur to man through his want of adaptability is probably as great as that occurring to the machines; and every day gives them some greater provision for the unforeseen. Let any one examine the wonderful self-regulating and self-adjusting contrivances which are now incorporated with the vapour-engine, let him watch the way in which it supplies itself with oil, in which it indicates its wants to those who tend it, in which, by the governor, it regulates its application of its own strength, let him look at that store-house of inertia and momentum the fly-wheel, or at the buffers on a railway carriage, let him see how those improvements are being culled out for perpetuity which contain provision

194 buffers Projecting, shock-absorbing pads fitted at the ends of a carriage.

192 which, … governor,] which by the governor **193 store-house … fly-wheel,]** store house of inertia and momentum, the fly wheel, **195–6 improvements … emergencies]** improvements ~~alone~~ ~~have been~~ ^are being^ culled out ~~by selection~~ for perpetuity which contain provision ~~for~~ against ~~more and more of~~ the emergencies

194–9 a railway carriage … preparing for himself.: f. 202^{r}. For ff. 203^{r}, 204^{r} and 205^{r}, *see app*.

168 miscalculated, in] miscalculated, or that the man has been miscalculated, in E2, E9 **172 there then]** E2, there, then, E9 **180–1 all head]** E2, its head, E9 **181–2 here again]** E2, here, again E9 **184 flesh. For]** E2, flesh. [*n.p.*] "For E9 **191 oil,]** E2, ~; E9 **192 it,]** E2, ~; E9 **193 strength,]** E2, ~; E9 **194 carriage,]** E2, ~; E9 **195 culled out]** E2, selected E9

against the emergencies that may arise to harass the machines, and then let him think of a hundred thousand years, and the accumulated progress which they will bring, unless man can be awakened to a sense of his situation, and of the doom which he is preparing for himself.*

"The misery is that man has been blind so long already. In his reliance upon the use of steam he has been betrayed into increasing and multiplying. To withdraw steam power suddenly will not have the effect of reducing us to the state in which we were before its introduction; there will be a general break-up and time of anarchy such as has never been known; it will be as though our population were suddenly doubled, with no additional means of

* Since my return to England, I have been told that those who are conversant about machines use many terms concerning them which show that their vitality is here recognised, and that a collection of expressions in use among those who attend on steam engines would be no less startling than instructive. I am also informed, that almost all machines have their own tricks and idiosyncrasies; that they know their drivers and keepers; and that they will play pranks upon a stranger. It is my intention, on a future occasion, to bring together examples both of the expressions in common use among mechanicians, and of any extraordinary exhibitions of mechanical sagacity and eccentricity that I can meet with—not as believing in the Erewhonian Professor's theory, but from the interest of the subject.

206–16 Since my return … of the subject SB's original footnote as it appears in the MS of E1 consisted of a newspaper cutting: 'Occasional Notes', *PMG*, 4 March 1871, p. 11. The article described a demonstration of Thomson's Road Steamer, a vehicle powered by a steam engine and used for ploughing fields. SB underlined those words in the newspaper cutting that reflect mechanical vitality, such as 'drag itself' and 'it steamed down the field': see app. for ff. 203^{r} and 204^{r}. B&H have located in SB's *Note-Books* MS an observation he made in 1899, in which he described journalists' tendency to treat machines as animate, by quoting from an account of a railway accident: 'leaving the lines suspended over a chasm which constituted a veritable death trap for the driver and stoker of the unfortunate goods train', adding '[t]he driver and stoker are not considered unfortunate, it is the train that is to be pitied' (quoted in Breuer and Howard, 206).

199–200 doom … "The misery] *see app.* **200–1 already. … has]** already. ~~He~~ ^In his reliance upon the use of steam he ^^~~The misery is that man has been~~^^^ has **201–3 multiplying. …state]** multiplying. ~~on the strength~~ ^~~in reliance~~^ ~~of the use of steam power.~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]o withdraw ~~the~~ steam power suddenly ~~would~~ ^will^ not ~~be~~ ~~to reduce us in to~~ ^have the effect of reducing us to^ the state **203–4 introduction; … time]** introduction: there w[*uwr* oul~~d~~][*owr* ill] be a general ~~bouleversement,~~ ^break up^ and ^~~a~~^ and time **204 never … be]** never ^~~yet~~^ been known: it ~~would~~ ^will^ be **205 doubled,]** doubled **206–16 Since … the subject]** *om.*

200–41 "The misery is … possibility of man's: f. 206^{r}, except for ls 206–16, which no not appear in the MS, being a revision of the footnote on ff. 203^{r}, 204^{r} and 205^{r}.

feeding the increased number. The air we breathe is hardly more necessary for our animal life than the use of any machine, on the strength of which we have increased our numbers, is to our civilisation; it is the machines which act upon man and make him man, as much as man who has acted upon and made the machines; but we must choose between the alternative of undergoing much present suffering, or seeing ourselves gradually superseded by our own creatures, till we rank no higher in comparison with them, than the beasts of the field with ourselves.

"Herein lies our danger. For many seem inclined to acquiesce in so dishonourable a future. They say that although man should become to the machines what the horse and dog are to us, yet that he will continue to exist, and will probably be better off in a state of domestication under the beneficent rule of the machines than in his present wild condition. We treat our domestic animals with much kindness. We give them whatever we believe to be the best for them; and there can be no doubt that our use of meat has increased their happiness rather than detracted from it. In like manner there is reason to hope that the machines will use us kindly, for their existence will be in a great measure dependent upon ours; they will rule us with a rod of iron, but they will not eat us; they will not only require our services in the reproduction and education of their young, but also in waiting upon them as servants, in gathering food for them, and feeding them, in restoring them to health when they are sick, and in either burying their dead or working up their deceased members into new forms of mechanical existence. The nature of the motive power which works the ad-

228 state of domestication SB again parodies CD's language, although dissociates the term some-

218 machine,] machine **219–20 have … act]** have ~~contracted to~~ increased our ~~race~~ ^numbers^ is to our civilisation: it is the machines ~~who~~ ^which^ act **220–1 much as … choose]** much as ~~he upon~~ ^man who has acted upon and made the machines^ ~~them. We must however~~ ^; but we must^ choose **222 much … suffering,]** much ~~terrible~~ present suffering **223–5 own … lies]** own ~~creatures~~ ~~until~~ ^creatures, till^ we rank no higher ^in comparison with them^ than the beasts of the field ~~at present~~ ~~in comparison with ourselves.~~ ^~~with when~~ with ourselves."^ ~~And~~ "[*uwr* h][*owr* H]eirin lies **225 seem]** seem~~s~~ **226 man … become]** man ~~does~~ ^should^ become **are to … exist,]** are to ~~ourselves,~~ ^~~himself~~ us,^ yet that he will ^~~would~~^ continue to exist **229–30 wild … with]** wild ~~state.~~ condition. We treat ~~[?] horses dogs cattle and sheep on the whole~~ ^our ~~own~~ domestic animals^ with **230–1 whatever … best]** whatever ~~our~~ ~~experience teaches us to be~~ ^~~a real or supposed~~ we believe to be^ best **232 has … like]** has ~~added to~~ ^increased^ ~~rather than~~ ~~detracted from the~~ ^their^ happiness ~~of the lower animals~~: ^rather than detracted from it:^ in like **223–4 will use … great]** will ~~treat us~~ ^use us^ kindly, for their existence will ~~probably be always~~ ^be^ in great **235 iron,]** iron **us; they]** us; ~~and~~ they **236 services … of]** services in the ~~parturition~~ ^reproduction and education^ of **237–8 servants … when]** servants, ~~cooking~~ ^in gathering food^ for them~~,~~ and feeding them, in ~~setting~~ ^restoring^ them ~~right~~ ^to health^ when **240 The nature]** The ~~very~~ nature

237 servants,] E2, ~; E9 **238 them,]** E2, ~; E9 **sick,]** ~; E9 **240 existence. The]** E2, existence. [*n.p.*] "The very

vancement of the machines precludes the possibility of man's life being rendered miserable as well as enslaved. Slaves are tolerably happy if they have good masters, and the revolution will not occur in our time, nor hardly in ten thousand years, or ten times that. Is it wise to be uneasy about a contingency which is so remote? Man is not a sentimental animal where his material interests are concerned, and though here and there some ardent soul may look upon himself and curse his fate that he was not born a vapour-engine, yet the mass of mankind will acquiesce in any arrangement which gives them better food and clothing at a cheaper rate, and will refrain from yielding to unreasonable jealousy merely because there are other destinies more glorious than their own. The power of custom is enormous, and so gradual will be the change, that man's sense of what is due to himself will be at no time rudely shocked; our bondage will steal upon us noiselessly and by imperceptible approaches; nor will there ever be such a clashing of desires between man and the machines as will lead to an encounter between them. Among themselves the machines will war eternally, but they will still require man as the being through whose agency the struggle will be principally conducted. In point of fact there is no occasion for anxiety about the future happiness of man so long as he continues to be in any way profitable to the machines; he may become the inferior race, but he will be infinitely better off than he is now. Is it not then

what from the context in which CD used it: *Origin* opens with a discussion of 'Variation under Domestication' (9), where CD argues that the domestic breeds or varieties have been produced through a process of artificial selection, an argument that provides the basis for CD's consideration of variation in nature from Ch. 2.

246–7 some ardent soul … curse his fate An echo of line 4 of Shakespeare's sonnet 29: 'And look upon myself and curse my fate'.

251 power … is enormous A reiteration of ideas addressed in Ch. 12, ls 5–12n.

241 man's life] man's ~~being~~ life **242 enslaved. Slaves are]** enslaved. ~~Even~~ [*uwr* s][*owr* S]laves are **243 masters, and the]** masters, ^and^ ~~Moreover the change in our relative situation will come about so gradually that man will hardly find it out at an given moment,~~ ^~~not be shocked by finding it out suddenly:~~^ the **244 years,]** years **245 remote? … his]** remote? ~~Man~~ Man is not a sentimental animal ~~when~~ ^where^ his **246 may … that]** may ~~"~~"'look upon himself~~,~~ and curse his fate~~"~~"' that **249 a cheaper]** a ~~cheaperr~~ cheaper **249–50 will … to]** will forbear giving way to **251 own. The]** own. ~~"~~The **252 gradual … that]** gradual will ^be^ the chang[*uwr* es][*owr* e] ~~be~~ that **252–3 himself … steal]** himself will ~~never~~ be ^at no time^ rudely shocked: ~~at any one moment, it~~ ^our ~~slavery~~ bondage^ will steal **254 approaches; nor will]** approaches; ~~neither~~ ^nor^ will **257 will … being]** will ~~probably~~ still require man as the~~ir~~ being **258–60 fact … machines;]** fact, (they continue) there ~~[?]~~need be no anxiety for the future happiness of man ~~of mankind~~ so long as he continues to be ^in any way^ profitable ~~in any way~~ to the machines: **261–5 but he will … ourselves?** *see app.*

241–61 life being rendered … he is now.: f. 207[r].
261–5 Is it not … than to ourselves?: f. 208[r].

251 own. The] E2, own. "The E9

both absurd and unreasonable to be envious of our benefactors? And should we not be guilty of consummate folly if we were to reject advantages which we cannot obtain otherwise, merely because they involve a greater gain to others than to ourselves?

"With those who can argue in this way I have myself nothing in common. I shrink with as much horror from believing that my race can ever be superseded or surpassed, as I should do from believing that even at the remotest period my ancestors were other than human beings. Could I believe that ten hundred thousand years ago a single one of my ancestors was another kind of being to myself, I should lose all self-respect, and take no further pleasure or interest in life. I have the same feeling with regard to my descendants, and believe it to be one that will be felt so generally that the country will resolve upon putting an immediate stop to all further mechanical progress, and upon destroying all improvements that have been made for the last three hundred years. I would not urge more than this. We may trust ourselves to deal with those that remain, and though I should prefer to have seen the destruction include another two hundred years, I am aware of the necessity for compromising, and would so far sacrifice my own

268–9 at the remotest … human beings Some of the public outrage that *Origin* produced upon publication was directed at its implication that, in Robert M. Young's phrasing, 'the origin of man occurred by means of the continuous operation of natural laws and not by special creation', which in turn suggested that man was descended from apes, a proposal that was seen to reduce man to the level of beast: see Young 1985, 57. At a famous session of the British Association at Oxford on 29 June 1860, Huxley, who championed CD's theory, was challenged by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford: Wilberforce asked Huxley whether he would prefer to have an ape as an ancestor on his grandmother's or his grandfather's side (see Brooke 2011). At the end of 'Darwin on the Origin of Species', SB's first *Press* article, one of the interlocutor's concludes: 'I confess to caring very little whether my millionth ancestor was a gorilla or no': see Gen. Int., 29. In writing this passage of *Erewhon*, SB may also have had in mind *In Memoriam* (1850), a lyric poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1809–1892), which engaged with then-current ideas on evolution. In Canto 185, the poet rejects an evolutionary account of humanity's past: 'Let him, the wise man who springs / Hereafter, up from childhood shape / His action like the greater ape, / I was born to other things'.

266 "With] "[*uwr* w][*owr* W]ith **have myself nothing]** have ~~myself~~ ^myself^ nothing **267–8 can … do]** can ^be^ ever ~~be~~ superseded or surpassed, as I shd do **269 remotest]** remo[*uwr* ved][*owr* test] **269–70 I believe]** I ~~ever~~ believe **271–4 self-respect, … putting]** self respect and take no further pleasure or interest in life. ^I have the same feeling with regard to^ ~~so with~~ my descendants and ~~I trust that this feeling may be sufficiently prevalent to arouse the country~~ ^believe ~~[?]~~ it to be one ~~[i ?] believe~~ that ~~it~~ will be felt so generally that the country will resolve upon^ putting **274 further mechanical]** further ~~prog~~ mechanical **276 for … three]** for ^the last^ three **276–8 We … prefer]** We ~~m~~[*uwr* ~~ight~~][*owr* ~~ay~~] ^may^ trust ourselves to ~~keep~~ ^deal with^ those that ~~remain~~[*uwr* ne~~d~~][*owr* n] ^remain,^ [?f] ~~well in hand~~, and though I shd prefer **279 necessity of compromising,]** necessity ~~of~~ ^for^ compromising,

266–99 "With those who… own at once.: f. 209r.

271 myself] E2, *om.* E9

individual convictions as to be content with three hundred. Less than this will be insufficient."

This was the conclusion of the attack which led to the destruction of machinery throughout Erewhon. There was only one serious attempt to answer it. Its author said that machines were to be regarded as a part of man's own physical nature, being really nothing but extra-corporeal limbs. Man, he said, was a machinate mammal. The lower animals keep all their limbs at home in their own bodies, but many of man's are loose, and lie about detached, now here and now there, in various parts of the world—some being kept always handy for contingent use, and others being occasionally hundreds of miles away. A machine is merely a supplementary limb; this is the be all and end all of machinery. We do not use our own limbs other than as machines; and a leg is only a much better wooden leg than any one can manufacture. In fact, machines are to be regarded as the mode of development by which human organism is now especially advancing, every past invention being an addition to the resources of the

284–99 Its author said … own at once This passage closely resembles the arguments that SB advanced in 'Lucubratio Ebria', the article he published in the *Press* on 29 July 1865. 'Lucubratio Ebria' collapses the separation between human and mechanical life by considering how our lives and bodies are modified by the machines we use. These ideas would become the basis of SB's evolutionary theory in later life: see E9 additions at the end of the chapter, **v**. In 1880, SB described this process whereby the ideas he had advanced in jest in 1872 were incorporated earnestly into his mature theorising: 'I proposed to myself to see not only machines as limbs, but also limbs as machines […] The use of the word "organ" for a limb told its own story; the word could not have become so current under this meaning unless the idea of a limb as a tool or machine had been agreeable to common sense. What would follow, then, if we regarded our limbs and organs as things that we had ourselves manufactured for our convenience?' (UM, 17–18).

282 the conclusion of] the ~~substance~~ ^conclusion^ of **283 throughout … There]** throughout ~~Patatenallagenitonia.~~ ^Erewhon –^ There **284 it. … said]** it. ^~~a copy of which was also given me; I made a few~~^ ~~from which I will make a few brief extracts which are all that my space allows.~~ ^~~from it, which but can five no more than the following~~^ The writer said **285 extra-corporeal]** extracorporaneous **287 bodies, but many]** bodies, ~~but that~~ ^but^ many **288 detached,]** ~~,~~ **there,]** there **288–9 world—some]** world; some **289–90 others … away.]** others ~~now here & now many hundred miles~~ ^being occasionally hundreds of miles^ away. **291 limb; … use]** limb: this is the be all, and end all of machinery; ~~neither do we~~ ^we do not^ use **292–3 machines; … machines]** machines[*uwr* ;][*owr* ,] ~~Indeed Machinery is coeval with life itself. The shell of an oyster or that of a hen's egg being nothing but machines.~~ ^and a leg is only a much better wooden leg than any one can manufacture. ~~there are intracorporaneous machines: our inventions are extracorporaneous members~~^ In fact machines **295 advancing, … to the]** advancing, ~~and~~

293 manufacture. In fact,] manufacture. Observe a man digging with a spade; his right forearm has become artificially lengthened, and his hand has become a joint. The handle of the spade is like the knob at the ends oof the humerus, the shaft is the additional bone, and the oblong iron plate is the new form of the hand which enables its possessor to disturb the earth in a way to which his original hand was unequal; having thus modified himself, not as other animals are modified, by circumstances over which they have had not even the appearance of control, but having, as it were, taken forethought and added a cubit to his stature, civilisation began to dawn upon the race, the social good offices, the genial companionship of friend, the art of unreason, and all those habits of mind which most elevate man above his fellow creatures, in the course of time ensued. Thus civilisation and mechanical progress advanced hand in hand, each developing and being developed by the other, the earliest accidental use of

human body. Even community of limbs is thus rendered possible to those who have so much community of soul as to own money enough to pay a railway fare; for a train is only a seven-leagued foot that five hundred may own at once.

The only serious danger which this writer apprehended was that the machines would so equalise men's powers, and so lessen the severity of competition, that many persons of inferior physique would escape detection and transmit their inferiority to their descendants. He feared that the removal of the present pressure might cause a degeneracy of the human race, and indeed that the whole body might become purely rudimentary, the man himself being nothing but soul and mechanism. "How greatly," he writes, "do we not now live with our external limbs?

"We vary our physique with the seasons, with age, with advancing or decreasing wealth. If it is wet we are furnished with an organ commonly

---

304 degeneracy In the final decades of the 19th cent. a variety of commentators, influenced by developments in medicine (discussed in Ch. 12, ls 104–13n) and evolutionary theory began to fear the spectre of degeneration. The word connoted decline, deviance and disarray and, as Greenslade has observed, 'derived essentially from fear of what was repressed' in late Victorian society (9): criminality, insanity, homosexuality or hysteria. On this topic, see also Lister.

---

every past invention ~~is to be~~ ^being ~~nothing~~^ ~~regarded as~~ ^~~be~~^ an addition~~al~~ to the **296–8 limbs … five]** limbs ~~being now~~ ^is thus rendered^ possible, as is exemplified in the railway train ~~wh: is as~~ ^which is only^ a seven leagued foot ~~which~~ ^that^ five **302 competition,]** competition **detection]** detection~~,~~ **303 to their descendants]** to ^their^ descendants **305 and indeed]** and ~~that~~ indeed **305–6 become … man]** become ~~nothing but a~~ ^purely^ rudimentary, ~~organ~~ the man **306–7 soul … limbs?]** soul & mechanism. "How greatly" he writes "do we not ^now^ live ^with our ^^~~in our~~^^ external limbs?^ **308 "We]** We **309–312 organ … than]** organ which is called an umbrella, and which seems designed for the purpose of protecting our ~~clothes or our~~ ^~~extra corporaneous~~ clothes or our^ skins from the injurious effects of rain. M[*uwr* any][*owr* an] ~~such organs there are~~ ^has many extra corporaneous members^ which are ~~really~~ of more importance ~~to~~ ^~~a man~~^ ~~him~~ ^to him^ than

---

300–7 The only serious … our external limbs?: f. 210r.
308–37 "We vary our … scope to describe.: f. 211r. At the top of the page there is an extended passage of crossed-out text, which reads as follows: '~~The only real danger which this writer apprehended was tha{t}~~ ~~so many men of inferior physique would~~ ^~~escape detection when~~^ ~~live now~~ ~~that they had machines to make their struggle in life less severe and that the machines~~ ^~~men's powers were~~^ ~~had~~ ~~done so much to equalised, men's powers~~ ^~~here he writes~~^ ~~— These will now transmit an a~~ ~~progeny of greatly inferior physi their inferiority to descendants, that there is~~ ~~danger of a degeneracy of the human body owing to the removal of the pressure put upon it: may it not~~ ^the whole body^ ~~in the course of time become a mere rudimentary~~ ~~organ? How greatly do we~~ ^~~not~~^ ~~live in our external limbs now at the present time~~[*uwr* ?][*owr* !]'.

---

the stick having set the ball rolling and the [a]prospect of advantage keeping it in motion. In fact, E2, manufacture. [*n.p.*] "Observe [*same as E2*] ensued. [*n.p.*] "Thus [*same as E2*] In fact, E9 **300 only]** E2, one E9 **305 body]** human race E2, E9 **306–7 mechanism. "How]** E2, mechanism, an intelligent but passionless principle of mechanical action. [*n.p.*] "How E9 **307 writes,]** E2, wrote E9

[a] **prospect of advantage** In his own copy of E2, SB underlined this phrase and, in the margin, wrote the quotation from Aristotle found on the novel's title page.

called an umbrella, and which is designed for the purpose of protecting our clothes or our skins from the injurious effects of rain. Man has now many extra-corporeal members, which are of more importance to him than a good deal of his hair, or at any rate than his whiskers. His memory goes in his pocket-book. He becomes more and more complex as he grows older; he will then be seen with see-engines, or perhaps with artificial teeth and hair: if he be a really well-developed specimen of his race, he will be furnished with a large box upon wheels, two horses and a coachman."

The writer proceeded to say, that men should be classified by their genera, species, varieties, and subvarieties, and that names should be given

---

313 hair,] hair **more and]** more & **older;]** ~: **315 or perhaps]** [*uwr* and][*owr* or] perhaps **316 well-developed … race,]** well developed specimen of his race **317 wheels,]** wheels **318–9 writer … given]** writer went on to say that men should be classified into species & genera and varieties & subvarieties and ^that^ names ^shd be^ given

---

317 horses] E2, ~, E9 **317–29 coachman." … but the other]** *see below* E2 and E9

coachman."

It was this writer who originated the custom of classifying men by their horse-power, and who divided them into genera, species, varieties, and subvarieties, giving them names from the hypothetical language which expressed the number of limbs which they could command at any moment. He showed that men became more highly and delicately organised the more nearly they approached the summit of opulence, and that none but millionaires possessed the full complement of limbs with which mankind could become incorporate. "Those mighty organisms," he writes, "our leading bankers and merchants, speak to their [a]congeners through the length and breadth of the land in a second of time; their rich and subtle souls can defy all material impediment, whereas the souls of the poor are clogged and hampered by matter, which sticks fast about them as treacle to the wings of a fly, or as one struggling in a quicksand: their dull ears must take days or weeks to hear what another would tell them from a distance, instead of hearing it in a second as is done by the more highly organised classes. Who shall deny that one who can tack on a special train to his identity, and go wheresoever he will whensoever he pleases, is more highly organised than he who, should he wish for the same power, might wish for the wings of a bird with an equal chance of getting them; and whose legs are his only means of locomotion? That old philosophic enemy, matter, the inherently and essentially evil, still hangs about the neck of the poor and strangles him: but to the rich, matter is immaterial; the elaborate organisation of his extra-corporeal system has freed his soul.

"This is the secret of the homage which we see rich men receive from those who are poorer than themselves: it would be a grave error to suppose that this deference proceeds from motives which we need be ashamed of: it is the natural respect which we should pay to any who were higher than we are in the scale of animal life, and is analogous to the veneration which a dog feels for man. Among the savage races it is deemed highly honourable to be the possessor of a gun, and throughout all known time there has been a feeling that those who are worth most are the worthiest; if there were two men of equal physical, moral, and intellectual merit, and one was rich while the other was poor, there cold be no question which was the abler of the two. Let no one say that the above is fanciful till he finds that he can do what he wants without money, and that he wants nothing whatsoever save that his own flesh and blood suffices for."

And so he went on at considerable length, attempting to show what changes in the distribution of animal and vegetable life throughout the kingdom had been caused by this and that of man's inventions, and in what way each was connected with the moral and intellectual development of the human species: he even allotted to some the share which they had had in the creation and modification of man's body, and that which they would hereafter have in its destruction; but the E2

coachman." [*same as E2*] incorporate. [*n.p.*] "Those [*same as E2*] worthiest." [*n.p.*] And so [*same as E2*] but the E9

---

[b] **congeners** Things or people of the same kind as another.

to each class from the hypothetical language, which should express the number of limbs which they could command at any moment: for he said that those who could identify themselves with a special train whenever they pleased, were far more highly organised than those whose means of locomotion were confined to their own legs. In fact, he it was who originated the custom of reckoning men by their horse-power, and who pointed out that those alone possessed the full complement of limbs who stood in the first rank of opulence; the great merchants and bankers being the most astonishing organisms which the world had ever seen.

And so he went on at considerable length; but the other writer was considered to have the best of it, and in the end succeeded in destroying all the inventions that had been discovered for the preceding 271 years, a period which was agreed upon by all parties after several years of wrangling as to whether a certain kind of mangle which was much in use among washerwomen should be saved or no. It was at last ruled to be dangerous, and was just excluded by the limit of 271 years. Then came the reactionary civil wars which nearly ruined the country, but which it would be beyond my present scope to describe.

333 mangle A machine for laundering clothes, consisting of two rollers on a frame and powered chiefly by hand in the 19th cent.

320 should] shd **323 pleased,]** pleased **324 locomotion were]** locomotion w[*uwr* as][*owr* ere] **324–37 legs. … describe.]** *see app.* **337 describe.]** E2, *see below* E9 describe.

CHAPTER XXVI.

[c]THE VIEWS OF AN EREWHONIAN PROPHET CONCERNING THE RIGHTS OF ANIMALS.

[c] **THE VIEWS … ANIMALS.** In these E9 additions, SB summarises his neo-Lamarckian evolutionary theory, but also satirises the Victorian vegetarian movement. Gregory has identified the immediate origins of this movement as lying with 'a few hundred pioneers' in the 1830s who encouraged the diet 'as part of their religious beliefs […] or as a result of their temperance beliefs, or compassion for animals' (21). As the movement had gathered momentum, the first Vegetarian Society had been formed in 1841. Most Victorians, however, continued to regard vegetarianism as a 'radical' movement (Gregory, 1). SB had met George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), playwright, political activist and vegetarian, in the 1890s; through Shaw SB had also met Henry Salt (1851–1939), social reformer, vegetarian and author of *Animal Rights: Considered in Relation to Social Progress* (1892). According to HFJ, SB wrote to him of both men in a letter of 4 February 1902: '[Salt] has also sent me a pamphlet on Animals Rights—"The immediate question that claims our attention is this: If men have rights, have animals their rights also?" This sentence, on which I light, is so absurdly suggestive of the Rights of Animals chapter which I have intercalated into my enlarged Erewhon that Mr Salt […] may be excused for thinking that I had him in view when writing my own chapter—but I am innocent of all knowledge of the pamphlet. By the way, Shaw said that he regarded my chapter on the Rights of Animals chapter as a direct attack on himself—but he was not serious' (Jones 1919, II, 374). In 1901 SB probably had in mind, instead, Johnian classicist John E. B. Mayor (1825–1910), the elder brother of Joseph Bickersteth Mayor, SB's Cambridge tutor, and a vegetarian activist. He had been appointed President of the Vegetarian Society in 1883, published the pamphlet *What is Vegetarianism?* in 1885 and produced *Plain Living and High Thinking*, a collection of works on vegetarianism, in 1897.

It will be seen from the foregoing chapters that the Erewhonians are a meek and long-suffering people, easily led by the nose, and quick to offer up [d]common sense at the shrine of logic, when a philosopher arises among them, who carries them away through his reputation for especial learning, or by convincing them that their existing institutions are not based on the strictest principles of morality.

The series of revolutions on which I shall now briefly touch shows this even more plainly than the way (already dealt with) in which at a later date they [e]cut their throats in the matter of machinery; for if the second of the two reformers of whom I am about to speak had had his way—or rather the way that he professed to have—the whole race would have died of starvation within a twelve-month. Happily common sense, though she is by nature the gentlest creature living, when she feels the knife at her throat, is apt to develop unexpected powers of resistance, and to send doctrinaires flying, even when they have bound her down and think they have her at their mercy. What happened, so far as I could collect it from the best authorities, was as follows:—

Some two thousand five hundred years ago the Erewhonians were still uncivilised, and lived by hunting, fishing, a rude system of agriculture, and plundering such few other nations as they had not yet completely conquered. They had no schools or systems of philosophy, but by a kind of dog-knowledge did that which was right in their own eyes and in those of their neighbours; the common sense, therefore, of the public being as yet [f]unvitiated, crime and disease were looked upon much as they are in other countries.

But with the gradual advance of civilisation and increase in material prosperity, people began to ask questions about things that they had hitherto taken as matters of course, and one old gentleman, who had great influence over them by reason of the sanctity of his life, and his supposed inspiration by an unseen power, whose existence was now beginning to be felt, took it into his head to disquiet himself about the rights of animals—a question that so far had disturbed nobody.

All prophets are more or less fussy, and this old gentleman seems to have been one of the more fussy ones. Being maintained at the public expense, he had ample leisure, and not content with limiting his attention to the rights of animals, he wanted to reduce right and wrong to rules, to consider the foundations of duty and of good and evil, and otherwise to put all sorts of matters on a logical basis, which people whose time is money are content to accept on no basis at all.

As a matter of course, the basis on which he decided that duty could alone rest was one that afforded no standing-room for many of the old-established habits of the people. These, he assured them, were all wrong, and whenever any one ventured to differ from him, he referred the matter to the unseen power with which he alone was in direct communication, and the unseen power invariably assured him that he was right. As regards the rights of animals he taught as follows: —

"You know, he said, "how wicked it is of you to kill one another. Once upon a time your fore-fathers made no scruple about not only killing, but also eating their relations. No one would now go back to such detestable practices, for it is notorious that we have lived much more happily since they were abandoned. From this increased prosperity we may confidently deduce the maxim that we should not kill and eat our fellow-creatures. I have consulted the higher power by whom you know that I am inspired, and he has assured me that this conclusion is irrefragable.

"Now it cannot be denied that sheep, cattle, deer, birds, and fishes are our fellow-creatures. They differ from us in some respects, but those in which they differ are few and secondary, while those that they have in common with us are many and essential. My friends, if it was wrong of you to kill and eat your fellow-men, it is wrong also to kill and eat fish, flesh, and fowl. Birds, beasts, and fishes, have as full a right to

---

[d] **common sense** SB's respect for common sense originated, no doubt, in NZ, where success as a pastoralist depended on practical ability rather than abstract reason: see Gen. Int., 26. In later years, however, he made common sense a part of his life philosophy and self-conception. This was particularly evident in the way SB aligned his own evolutionary ideas with what Gillott has called 'the common sense views of the layman' 68) and against 'academicism' and 'the Darwin industry' from the late 1870s (Gillott 2012, 91). Hence, in the opening of LH, SB stated: 'my book cannot be intended for the perusal of scientific people; it is intended for the general public only, with whom I believe myself to be in harmony' (LH, 1–2). On this topic generally, see Gillott 2012.

[e] **cut their throats** Brought about out their downfall.

[f] **unvitiated** Uncorrupted

live as long as they can unmolested by man, as man has to live unmolested by his neighbours. These words, let me again assure you, are not mine, but those of the higher power which inspires me.

"I grant," he continued, "that animals molest one another, and that some of them go so far as to molest man, but I have yet to learn that we should model our conduct on that of the lower animals. We should endeavour, rather, to instruct them, and bring them to a better mind. To kill a tiger, for example, who has lived on the flesh of men and women whom he has killed, is to reduce ourselves to the level of the tiger, and is unworthy of people who seek to be guided by the highest principles in all, both their thoughts and actions.

"The unseen power who has revealed himself to me alone among you, has told me to tell you that you ought by this time to have outgrown the barbarous habits of your ancestors. If, as you believe, you know better than they, you should do better. He commands you, therefore, to refrain from killing any living being for the sake of eating it. The only animal food that you may eat, is the flesh of any birds, beasts, or fishes that you may come upon as having died a natural death, or any that may have been born prematurely, or so deformed that it is a mercy to put them out of their pain; you may also eat all such animals as have committed suicide. As regards vegetables you may eat all those that will let you eat them with impunity."

So wisely and so well did the old prophet argue, and so terrible were the threats he hurled at those who should disobey him, that in the end he carried the more highly educated part of the people with him, and presently the poorer classes followed suit, or professed to do so. Having seen the triumph of his principles, he was gathered to his fathers, and no doubt entered at once into full communion with that unseen power whose favour he had already so pre-eminently enjoyed.

He had not, however, been dead very long, before some of his more ardent disciples took it upon them to better the instruction of their master. The old prophet had allowed the use of [e]eggs and milk, but his disciples decided that to eat a fresh egg was to destroy a potential chicken, and that this came to much the same as murdering a live one. Stale eggs, if it was quite certain that they were too far gone to be able to be hatched, were grudgingly permitted, but all eggs offered for sale had to be submitted to an inspector, who, on being satisfied that they were addled, would label them "Laid not less than three months" from the date, whatever it might happen to be. These eggs, I need hardly say, were only used in puddings, and as a medicine in certain cases where an [h]emetic was urgently required. Milk was forbidden inasmuch as it could not be obtained without robbing some calf of its natural sustenance, and thus endangering its life.

It will be easily believed that at first there were many who gave the new rules outward observance, but embraced every opportunity of indulging secretly in those [i]flesh-pots to which they had been accustomed. It was found that animals were continually dying natural deaths under more or less suspicious circumstances. Suicidal mania, again, which had hitherto been confined exclusively to donkeys, became alarmingly prevalent even among such for the most part self-respecting creatures as sheep and cattle. It was astonishing how some of these unfortunate animals would scent out a butcher's knife if there was one within a mile of them, and run right up against it if the butcher did not get it out of their way in time.

Dogs, again, that had been quite law-abiding as regards domestic poultry, tame rabbits, sucking pigs, or sheep and lambs, suddenly took to breaking beyond the control of their masters, and killing anything that they were told not to touch. It was held that any animal killed by a dog had died a natural death, for it was the dog's nature to kill things, and he had only refrained from molesting farmyard creatures hitherto because his nature had been tampered with. Unfortunately the more these unruly tendencies became developed, the more the common people seemed to delight in breeding the very animals that would put

---

[g] **eggs and milk** Mayor, in his 1886 pamphlet, made a point of discussing vegetarians' attitudes to eggs and milk. He quoted 'the oracle of our late president', classical scholar Francis Newman (1805 – 1897), who in *Essays on Diet* (1883) offered the kind of definition SB sought to mock in his E9 additions: 'We are open to the scoff of being, not Vegetarians but Brahmins, who do not object to animal food, but only to the taking of animal life. Few of us refuse eggs, or milk and its products. This is highly illogical, if we seek consistency with an abstract theory […] However, since most Vegetarians admit eggs and milk, I define the diet as consisting of food which is substantially the growth of the earth without animal slaughter' (Newman, 20, cited in Mayor 1886, 8–9). By 1901, SB had come to believe earnestly that the hen and egg shared one identity, writing in LH: 'a hen is only an egg's way of making another egg' (109).

[h] **emetic** A substance that causes vomiting.

[i] **flesh-pots** Places of luxurious or hedonistic living.

temptation in the dog's way. There is little doubt, in fact, that they were deliberately evading the law; but whether this was so or no they sold or ate everything their dogs had killed.

Evasion was more difficult in the case of the larger animals, for the magistrates could not wink at all the pretended suicides of pigs, sheep, and cattle that were brought before them. Sometimes they had to convict, and a few convictions had a very terrorising effect—whereas in the case of animals killed by a dog, the marks of the dog's teeth could be seen, and it was practically impossible to prove malice on the part of the owner of the dog.

Another fertile source of disobedience to the law was furnished by a decision of one of the judges that raised a great outcry among the more fervent disciples of the old prophet. The judge held that it was lawful to kill any animal in self-defence, and that such conduct was so natural on the part of a man who found himself attacked, that the attacking creature should be held to have died a natural death. The High Vegetarians had indeed good reason to be alarmed, for hardly had this decision become generally known before a number of animals, hitherto harmless, took to attacking their owners with such ferocity, that it became necessary to put them to a natural death. Again, it was quite common at that time to see the [j]carcase of a calf, lamb, or kid exposed for sale with a label from the inspector certifying that it had been killed in self-defence. Sometimes even the carcase of a lamb or calf was exposed as "warranted still-born," when it presented every appearance of having enjoyed at least a month of life.

As for the flesh of animals that had bona fide died a natural death, the permission to eat it was [k]nugatory, for it was generally eaten by some other animal before man got hold of it; or failing this it was often poisonous, so that practically people were forced to evade the law by some of the means above spoken of, or to become vegetarians. This last alternative was so little to the taste of the Erewhonians, that the laws against killing animals were falling into desuetude, and would very likely have been repealed, but for the breaking out of a pestilence, which was ascribed by the priests and prophets of the day to the lawlessness of the people in the matter of eating forbidden flesh. On this, there was a reaction; stringent laws were passed, forbidding the use of meat in any form or shape, and permitting no food but grain, fruits, and vegetables to be sold in shops and markets. These laws were enacted about two hundred years after the death of the old prophet who had first unsettled people's minds about the rights of animals; but they had hardly been passed before people again began to break them.

I was told that the most painful consequence of all this folly did not lie in the fact that law-abiding people had to go without animal food—many nations do this and seem none the worse, and even in flesh-eating countries such as Italy, Spain, and Greece, the poor seldom see meat from year's end to year's end. The mischief lay in the [l]jar which undue prohibition gave to the consciences of all but those who were strong enough to know that though conscience as a rule [m]boons, it can also bane. The awakened conscience of an individual will often lead him to do things in haste that he had better have left undone, but the conscience of a nation awakened by a respectable old gentleman who has an unseen power up his sleeve will pave hell with a vengeance.

Young people were told that it was a sin to do what their fathers had done unhurt for centuries; those, moreover, who preached to them about the enormity of eating meat, were an [n]unattractive academic folk, and though they over-awed all but the bolder youths, there were few who did not in their hearts dislike them. However much the young person might be shielded, he soon got to know that men and women of the world—often far nicer people than the prophets who preached abstention—continually spoke sneeringly of the new doctrinaire laws, and were believed to set them aside in secret, though they dared not do so openly. Small wonder, then, that the more human among the student classes were provoked by the touch-not, taste-not, handle-not precepts of their rulers, into questioning much that they would otherwise have unhesitatingly accepted.

---

[j] **carcase** Alternative spelling of carcass.

[k] **nugatory** Unimportant.

[l] **jar** Painful shock.

[m] **boons** SB uses nouns as verbs; boon means advantage and bane is a cause of distress or annoyance.

[n] **unattractive academic folk** This is a clue that SB had John Mayor in mind, but also more generally the gatekeepers of authoritative academic knowledge discussed below at **q**.

One sad story is on record about a young man of promising amiable disposition, but cursed with more conscience than brains, who had been told by his doctor (for as I have above said disease was not yet held to be criminal) that he ought to eat meat, law or no law. He was much shocked and for some time refused to comply with what he deemed the unrighteous advice given him by his doctor; at last, however, finding that he grew weaker and weaker, he stole secretly on a dark night into one of those dens in which meat was surreptitiously sold, and bought a pound of prime steak. He took it home, cooked it in his bedroom when every one in the house had gone to rest, ate it, and though he could hardly sleep for remorse and shame, felt so much better next morning that he hardly knew himself.

Three or four days later, he again found himself irresistibly drawn to this same den. Again he bought a pound of steak, again he cooked and ate it, and again, in spite of much mental torture, on the following morning felt himself a different man. To cut the story short, though he never went beyond the bounds of moderation, it preyed upon his mind that he should be drifting, as he certainly was, into the ranks of the habitual law-breakers.

All the time his health kept on improving, and though he felt sure that he owed this to the beefsteaks, the better he became in body, the more his conscience gave him no rest; two voices were for ever ringing in his ears—the one saying, "I am Common Sense and Nature; heed me, and I will reward you as I rewarded your fathers before you." But the other voice said: "Let not that plausible spirit lure you to your ruin. I am Duty; heed me, and I will reward you as I rewarded your fathers before you."

Sometimes he even seemed to see the faces of the speakers. Common Sense looked so easy, genial, and serene, so frank and fearless, that do what he might he could not mistrust her; but as he was on the point of following her, he would be checked by the austere face of Duty, so grave, but yet so kindly; and it cut him to the heart that from time to time he should see her turn pitying away from him as he followed after her rival.

The poor boy continually thought of the better class of his fellow-students, and tried to model his conduct on what he thought was theirs. [o]"They," he said to himself, "eat a beefsteak? Never." But they most of them ate one now and again, unless it was a mutton chop that tempted them. And they used him for a model much as he did them. "He," they would say to themselves, "eat a mutton chop? Never." One night, however, he was followed by one of the authorities, who was always prowling about in search of law-breakers, and was caught coming out of the den with half a shoulder of mutton concealed about his person. On this, even though he had not been put in prison, he would have been sent away with his prospects in life irretrievably ruined; he therefore hanged himself as soon as he got home.

CHAPTER XXVII.
THE VIEWS OF AN EREWHONIAN PHILOSOPHER CONCERNING THE RIGHTS OF VEGETABLES.

Let me leave this unhappy story, and return to the course of events among the Erewhonians at large. No matter how many laws they passed increasing the severity of the punishments inflicted on those who ate meat in secret, the people found means of setting them aside as fast as they were made. At times, indeed, they would become almost obsolete, but when they were on the point of being repealed, some national disaster or the preaching of some fanatic would reawaken the conscience of the nation, and people were imprisoned by the thousand for illicitly selling and buying animal food.

About six or seven hundred years, however, after the death of the old prophet, a philosopher appeared, who, though he did not claim to have any communication with an unseen power, laid down the law with

---

[o] **They, he said to himself, … as he got home** In his *Memoir*, HFJ reproduced a letter of 6 November 1884 from SB to HFJ's brother Edward, in which SB pointed out an analogy between growth and the repair of wasted tissue: 'It is curious that this analogy extends into the mental condition which precedes both eating and the act of generation; in each case there is an appetite—a strong desire to unify some foreign body with ourselves, which ends either in assimilation, by eating, or in connection and reproduction and, consequently, in assimilation after all. […] It is curious that we use the same words for the appetite of eating and for that of reproduction. We say we love roast beef and we should like to have roast beef' (Jones 1919, I, 431).

as much confidence as if such a power had inspired him. Many think that this philosopher did not believe his own teaching, and, being in secret a great meat-eater, had no other end in view than reducing the prohibition against eating animal food to an absurdity, greater even than an Erewhonian Puritan would be able to stand.

Those who take this view hold that he knew how impossible it would be to get the nation to accept legislation that it held to be sinful; he knew also how hopeless it would be to convince people that it was not wicked to kill a sheep and eat it, unless he could show them that they must either sin to a certain extent, or die. He, therefore, it is believed, made the monstrous proposals of which I will now speak.

He began by paying a tribute of profound respect to the old prophet, whose advocacy of the rights of animals, he admitted, had done much to soften the national character, and enlarge its views about the [p]sanctity of life in general. But he urged that times had now changed; the lesson of which the country had stood in need had been sufficiently learnt, while as regards vegetables much had become known that was not even suspected formerly, and which, if the nation was to persevere in that strict adherence to the highest moral principles which had been the secret of its prosperity hitherto, must necessitate a radical change in its attitude towards them.

It was indeed true that much was now known that had not been suspected formerly, for the people had had no foreign enemies, and, being both quick-witted and inquisitive into the mysteries of nature, had made extraordinary progress in all the many branches of art and science. In the chief Erewhonian museum I was shown a microscope of considerable power, that was ascribed by the authorities to a date much about that of the philosopher of whom I am now speaking, and was even supposed by some to have been the instrument with which he had actually worked.

This philosopher was [q]Professor of botany in the chief seat of learning then in Erewhon, and whether with the help of the microscope still preserved, or with another, had arrived at a conclusion now universally accepted among ourselves—I mean, that all, both animals and plants, have had a common ancestry, and that hence the second should be deemed as much alive as the first. He contended, therefore, that animals and plants were cousins, and would have been seen to be so, all along, if people had not made an arbitrary and unreasonable division between what they chose to call the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

He declared, and demonstrated to the satisfaction of all those who were able to form an opinion upon the subject, that there is no difference appreciable either by the eye, or by any other test, between a [r]germ that will develop into an oak, a vine, a rose, and one that (given its accustomed surroundings) will become a mouse, an elephant, or a man.

He contended that the course of any germ's development was dictated by the habits of the germs from which it was descended and of whose identity it had once formed part. If a germ found itself placed as the germs in the line of its ancestry were placed, it would do as its ancestors had done, and grow up into the same kind of organism as theirs. If it found the circumstances only a little different, it would make shift (successfully or unsuccessfully) to modify its development accordingly; if the circumstances were widely different, it would die, probably without an effort at self-adaptation. This, he argued, applied equally to the germs of plants and of animals.

He therefore connected all, both animal and vegetable development, with intelligence, either spent and now unconscious, or still unspent and conscious; and in support of his view as regards vegetable life, he

---

[p] **sanctity of life … towards them** According to HFJ, SB preferred flowers in pots, with roots intact, to cut flowers in vases: 'His view was that plants have limbs and organs as we have, and that it is a shame to cut them about; it is especially cruel to mutilate a plant at the moment when it is laying the foundations of the next generation' (Jones 1919, II, 404).

[q] **Professor of botany** … **in Erewhon** Regius Professor of Botany at the time SB wrote was Harry Marshall Ward (1854–1906), with whom SB had little to do. His satire is directed more broadly at the way in which the academic establishment asserted and maintained authority over scientific knowledge in the in the latter decades of the 19th cent., which was accompanied at Cambridge University by an increase in undergraduate teaching and specialisation in the sciences, as well as the establishment of various research facilities, including laboratories: on these developments, see Brooke 1993, 151–209.

[r] **germ** SB means the initial state from which something may develop, rather than a causative agent of disease.

pointed to the way in which all plants have adapted themselves to their habitual environment. Granting that vegetable intelligence at first sight appears to differ materially from animal, yet, he urged, it is like it in the one essential fact that though it has evidently busied itself about matters that are vital to the well-being of the organism that possesses it, it has never shown the slightest tendency to occupy itself with anything else. This, he insisted, is as great a proof of intelligence as any living being can give.

"Plants," said he, "show no sign of interesting themselves in human affairs. We shall never get a rose to understand that five times seven are thirty-five, and there is no use in talking to an oak about fluctuations in the price of stocks. Hence we say that the oak and the rose are unintelligent, and on finding that they do not understand our business conclude that they do not understand their own. But what can a creature who talks in this way know about intelligence? Which shows greater signs of intelligence? He, or the rose and oak?

[s]"And when we call plants stupid for not understanding our business, how capable do we show ourselves of understanding theirs? Can we form even the faintest conception of the way in which a seed from a rose-tree turns earth, air, warmth and water into a rose full-blown? Where does it get its colour from? From the earth, air, &c.? Yes—but how? Those petals of such ineffable texture—that hue that outvies the cheek of a child—that scent again? Look at earth, air, and water—these are all the raw material that the rose has got to work with; does it show any sign of want of intelligence in the alchemy with which it turns mud into rose-leaves? What chemist can do anything comparable? Why does no one try? Simply because every one knows that no human intelligence is equal to the task. We give it up. It is the rose's department; let the rose attend to it—and be dubbed unintelligent because it baffles us by the miracles it works, and the unconcerned business-like way in which it works them.

[t]"See what pains, again, plants take to protect themselves against their enemies. They scratch, cut, sting, make bad smells, secrete the most dreadful poisons (which Heaven only knows how they contrive to make), cover their precious seeds with spines like those of a hedgehog, frighten insects with delicate nervous systems by assuming portentous shapes, hide themselves, grow in inaccessible places, and tell lies so plausibly as to deceive even their subtlest foes.

"They lay traps smeared with [u]bird-lime, to catch insects, and persuade them to drown themselves in pitchers which they have made of their leaves, and fill with water; others make themselves, as it were, into living rat-traps, which close with a spring on any insect that settles upon them; others make their flowers into the shape of a certain fly that is a great pillager of honey, so that when the real fly comes it thinks that the flowers are bespoke, and goes on elsewhere. Some are so clever as even to overreach themselves, like the horse-radish, which gets pulled up and eaten for the sake of that pungency with which it protects itself against underground enemies. If, on the other hand, they think that any insect can be of service to them, see how pretty they make themselves.

"What is to be intelligent if to know how to do what one wants to do, and to do it repeatedly, is not to be intelligent? Some say that the rose-seed does not want to grow into a rose-bush. Why, then, in the name of all that is reasonable, does it grow? Likely enough it is unaware of the want that is spurring it on to action. We have no reason to suppose that a human embryo knows that it wants to grow into a baby, or a baby into

---

[s] **And when we call plants … works them** This section is an elaboration of SB's LH theory, i.e., his view that 'if we once admit the principle that consciousness and volition have a tendency to vanish as soon as practice has rendered any habit exceedingly familiar, so that mere presence of an elaborate but unconscious performance shall carry with it a presumption of infinite practice, we shall find it impossible to draw the line at those actions which we see acquired after birth, no matter at how early a period' (49).

[t] **See what pains … their subtlest foes** SB seemed to hold this opinion half-seriously, for he had written in a letter to his sister May of 16 January 1884: 'the tempers of plants have not been sufficiently studied; and what little opinion we have formed about their dispositions is for the most part ill formed. The sulkiest trees that I know is the silver beech. It never forgives a scratch. There is a tree in Kensington Gardens a little off the west side of the Serpentine with the names cut upon it as long ago as 1717 and 1736, which the tree is as little able to forgive and forget as though the injury had been done not ten years since' (Howard 1962, 112).

[u] **bird-lime** An adhesive substance used for trapping birds.

a man. Nothing ever shows signs of knowing what it is either wanting or doing, when its convictions both as to what it wants, and how to get it, have been settled beyond further power of question. The less signs living creatures give of knowing what they do, provided they do it, and do it repeatedly and well, the greater proof they give that in reality they know how to do it, and have done it already on an infinite number of past occasions.

"Some one may say," he continued, "'What do you mean by talking about an infinite number of past occasions? When did a rose-seed make itself into a rose-bush on any past occasion?'

[v]"I answer this question with another. 'Did the rose-seed ever form part of the identity of the rose-bush on which it grew?' Who can say that it did not? Again I ask: 'Was this rose-bush ever linked by all those links that we commonly consider as constituting personal identity, with the seed from which it in its turn grew?' Who can say that it was not?

"Then, if rose-seed number two is a continuation of the personality of its parent rose-bush, and if that rose-bush is a continuation of the personality of the rose-seed from which it sprang, rose-seed number two must also be a continuation of the personality of the earlier rose-seed. And this rose-seed must be a continuation of the personality of the preceding rose-seed—and so back and back ad infinitum. Hence it is impossible to deny continued personality between any existing rose-seed and the earliest seed that can be called a rose-seed at all.

"The answer, then, to our objector is not far to seek. The rose-seed did what it now does in the persons of its ancestors—to whom it has been so linked as to be able to remember what those ancestors did when they were placed as the rose-seed now is. Each stage of development brings back the recollection of the course taken in the preceding stage, and the development has been so often repeated, that all doubt—and with all doubt, all consciousness of action—is suspended.

"But an objector may still say, 'Granted that the linking between all successive generations has been so close and unbroken, that each one of them may be conceived as able to remember what it did in the persons of its ancestors—how do you show that it actually did remember?'

"The answer is: 'By the action which each generation takes—an action which repeats all the phenomena that we commonly associate with memory—which is explicable on the supposition that it has been guided by memory—and which has neither been explained, nor seems ever likely to be explained on any other theory than the supposition that there is an abiding memory between successive generations.'

"Will any one bring an example of any living creature whose action we can understand, performing an ineffably difficult and intricate action, time after time, with invariable success, and yet not knowing how to do it, and never having done it before? Show me the example and I will say no more, but until it is shown me, I shall credit action where I cannot watch it, with being controlled by the same laws as when it is within our ken. It will become unconscious as soon as the skill that directs it has become perfected. Neither rose-seed, therefore, nor embryo should be expected to show signs of knowing that they know

---

[v] **I answer this question … be doubted** SB here inserts into his fiction the ideas he had elaborated in his works of evolutionary theory on the continuity of personal identity between parent and offspring, and hence the continuity of species memory. B&H have usefully summarised the four principles underlying SB's understanding of the laws of heredity: 'that there is a continuity of personality between parent and offspring; that the memory of each organism springs from its very beginnings as a kind; that this memory is latent until awakened at the reproduction of associated ideas; and that habitual actions tend to become unconscious' (277). SB wrote in EON that with these principles, 'the facts of heredity become as simple as those of a man making a tobacco pipe, and rudimentary organs are seen to be essentially of the same character as the little protuberance at the bottom of a pipe to which I referred in *Erewhon* […] They are the expression of bygone usefulness' (33). In writing LH, SB realised that his theory differed from CD's; he felt that CD had not explained how variations were passed on from one generation to another in a cumulative manner, or even how variations came about. SB's view that they came about through acts of volition aligned his views with those of French naturalist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829), who championed the view that characteristics acquired in the lifetime of an organism could be passed down to succeeding generations. In his four works of evolutionary theory, SB made his disagreement with CD on the issue explicit.

what they know—if they showed such signs the fact of their knowing what they want, and how to get it, might more reasonably be doubted."

Some of the passages already given in Chapter XXIII were obviously inspired by the one just quoted.

As I read it, in a reprint shown me by a Professor who had edited much of the early literature on the subject, I could not but remember the one in which [w]our Lord tells His disciples to consider the lilies of the field, who neither toil nor spin, but whose raiment surpasses even that of Solomon in all his glory.

"They toil not, neither do they spin?" Is that so? "Toil not?" Perhaps not, now that the method of procedure is so well known as to admit of no further question—but it is not likely that lilies came to make themselves so beautifully without having ever taken any pains about the matter. "Neither do they spin?" Not with a spinning-wheel; but is there no textile fabric in a leaf?

What would the lilies of the field say if they heard one of us declaring that they neither toil nor spin? They would say, I take it, much what we should if we were to hear of their preaching humility on the text of Solomons, and saying, "Consider the Solomons in all their glory, they toil not neither do they spin." We should say that the lilies were talking about things that they did not understand, and that though the Solomons do not toil nor spin, yet there had been no lack of either toiling or spinning before they came to be arrayed so gorgeously.

Let me now return to the Professor. I have said enough to show the general drift of the arguments on which he relied in order to show that vegetables are only animals under another name, but have not stated his case in anything like the fullness with which he laid it before the public. The conclusion he drew, or pretended to draw, was that if it was sinful to kill and eat animals, it was not less sinful to do the like by vegetables, or their seeds. None such, he said, should be eaten, save what had died a natural death, such as fruit that was lying on the ground and about to rot, or cabbage-leaves that had turned yellow in late autumn. These and other like garbage he declared to be the only food that might be eaten with a clear conscience. Even so the eater must plant the pips of any apples or pears that he may have eaten, or any plum-stones, cherry-stones, and the like, or he would come near to incurring the guilt of infanticide. The grain of cereals, according to him, was out of the question, for every such grain had a living soul as much as man had, and had as good a right as man to possess that soul in peace.

Having thus driven his fellow countrymen into a corner at the point of a logical bayonet from which they felt that there was no escape, he proposed that the question what was to be done should be referred to an oracle in which the whole country had the greatest confidence, and to which recourse was always had in times of special perplexity. It was whispered that a near relation of the philosopher's was lady's maid to the priestess who delivered the oracle, and the Puritan party declared that the strangely unequivocal answer of the oracle was obtained by backstairs influence; but whether this was so or no, the response as nearly as I can translate it was as follows:—

[x]"He who sins aught
Sins more than he ought;
But he who sins nought
Has much to be taught.
Beat or be beaten,
Eat or be eaten,
Be killed or kill;
Choose which you will."

---

[w] **our Lord tells … all his glory** An allusion to Luke 12:27: 'Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.'

[x] **He who sins aught … which you will** SB echoes the language of James 4:17: 'Therefore to him that knoweth to do good, and doeth *it* not, to him it is sin.'

It was clear that this response sanctioned at any rate the destruction of vegetable life when wanted as food by man; and so forcibly had the philosopher shown that what was sauce for vegetables was so also for animals, that, though the Puritan party made a furious outcry, the acts forbidding the use of meat were repealed by a considerable majority. Thus, after several hundred years of wandering in the wilderness of philosophy, the country reached the conclusions that common sense had long since arrived at. Even the Puritans after a vain attempt to subsist on a kind of jam made of apples and yellow cabbage leaves, succumbed to the inevitable, and resigned themselves to a diet of roast beef and mutton, with all the usual adjuncts of a modern dinner-table.

One would have thought that the dance they had been led by the old prophet, and that still madder dance which the Professor of botany had gravely, but as I believe insidiously, proposed to lead them, would have made the Erewhonians for a long time suspicious of prophets whether they professed to have communications with an unseen power or no; but so engrained in the human heart is the desire to believe that some people really do know what they say they know, and can thus save them from the trouble of thinking for themselves, that in a short time would-be philosophers and faddists became more powerful than ever, and gradually led their countrymen to accept all those absurd views of life, some account of which I have given in my earlier chapters. Indeed I can see no hope for the Erewhonians till they have got to understand that reason uncorrected by instinct is as bad as instinct uncorrected by reason.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ESCAPE.

IT took me several days to translate the foregoing extracts, but while thus occupied, I was also laying matters in train for my escape with Arowhena. And indeed it was high time, for I received an intimation from one of the cashiers of the musical banks, that I was to be prosecuted in a criminal court ostensibly for measles, but really for having owned a watch, and attempted the reintroduction of machinery. I asked why measles? and was told that there was a fear lest extenuating circumstances should prevent a jury from convicting me, if I were indicted for typhus or small-pox, but that a verdict would probably be obtained for measles, a disease which could be sufficiently punished in a person of my age. I was given to understand that unless some unexpected change should come over the mind of his majesty, I might expect the blow to be struck within a very few days.

My plan was this—that Arowhena and I should escape in a balloon together. I fear that the reader will disbelieve this part of my story, yet in

---

5–15 And indeed … few days This section is reminiscent of the end of Part 1 of *Gulliver's Travels* (Chs 8 and 9) in which Gulliver escapes Lilliput only after being charged with a ludicrous list of crimes.
16 balloon SB's inspiration for the balloon as a plot device was probably their role in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871. During the siege of Paris (see Ch. 25, ls 12–14n) all communication and transportation out of Paris was cut off by the surrounding Prussians; forced to innovate, the French used hot air balloons (64 in total over a four-month period) to transport some politicians, important dispatches and various types of mail out of the besieged city. For a detailed account, see Martin and Bodnar, 77–80.

1–2 CHAPTER … ESCAPE.] Chap. XXIII Escape. **3–4 extracts, … I was]** extracts ~~from the treatise upon machines,~~ but while ~~I was~~ ^thus^ occupied ~~in doin~~ I was **5– 7 time, … but]** time for I received an ~~on my return from the University of Unreason I found that matters had come to crises, and received an~~ intimation from one of the ~~few~~ cashiers of the musical banks that ~~it had been decided that~~ I was to be prosecuted ~~criminally~~ ^in a criminal court^ ostensibly for ~~typhoid fever,~~ ^measles,^ but **7 watch,]** watch **10 me,]** me **11–12 measles, … could]** measles, ~~which~~ ^~~whi~~ ^^~~and that they~~^^ a disease which ^ could **14 majesty,]** majesty **15–16 days. … that]** days. ~~I therefore set myself to~~ ~~It was this~~ ^My ~~scheme~~ ^^plan^^ was this – ^ that **17–18 together. … other have]** together. ~~This~~ ^~~is the only~~^ ^~~part of my narrative which I can hardly expect that the reader to.~~ ^~~I fear~~^ ~~I fear that~~ ^I fear that^ the reader will ~~hardly disbelieve~~ ^disbelieve^ this part of my story, ~~–~~ ~~and~~ yet in no ^other^ ~~part of my narrative~~ have

---

1–5 CHAPTER XXIV. … I received an: f. 212r.
6–15 intimation from one … very few days.: f. 213r.
16–30 My plan was … I should succeed: f. 214r.

---

1 XXIV.] E2, XXVIII. E9 **3–4 It took … occupied, I]** E2, Though busily engaged in translating the extracts given in the last five chapters, I E9 **6 musical banks,]** E2, Musical Banks, E9 **8–9 machinery. I]** E2, machinery. [*n.p.*] I **14 majesty,]** E2, Majesty, E9

no other have I endeavoured to adhere more conscientiously to fact, and can only throw myself upon his charity.

I had already gained the ear of the queen, and so worked upon her curiosity that she had promised to get leave for me to have a balloon made and inflated; were I once in the car of the balloon and Arowhena with me, I would chance the rest. I knew nothing about balloons, not even with what gas or gases they are filled; nor had I any knowledge of how to manage one, were a balloon provided for me, so that the difficulty and danger of the undertaking were well before me; in addition to this, I could not see how I should smuggle Arowhena into the car without her father and mother's knowledge; nevertheless, I resolved on overcoming every obstacle so far as mortal man could do so, and, strange as it may appear, I felt confident that I should succeed.

22 car The passenger compartment of a balloon.

18–20 to fact, … gained] to facts, ~~than in this. I can only~~ ^~~must and~~ can only^ throw myself upon his generosity. ~~My plan~~ ^~~I~~ I had ~~been~~ ^^already^^^ to gained **20–21 and so … leave for]** and ^so^ worked upon her curiosity ~~so~~ that she ~~should gain permission~~ ^had promised to get leave^ for **22 inflated; were]** inflated; ~~and~~ were ^~~and could she but get the~~^ **balloon … with me,]** balloon~~, with~~ ^and^ Arowhena ~~smuggled~~ with me, **23 not even]** no[*uwr* r][*owr* t] even **24–25 filled; … one,]** filled; ~~but neither~~ ^nor^ had ^I ~~any~~^ ~~the slightest~~ ^any^ knowledge of how to manage ~~a ball~~ one **25–7 provided for … father]** *see app.* **27–8 and mother's … nevertheless,]** & mother's ~~knowing:~~ ^knowledge;^ nevertheless **28–31 far … drought, and]** far mortal man could so, and strange as it may appear I felt confident that ~~my~~ ^~~plan would succeed.~~ ^^I should succeed.^^^ ~~and on either succeeding or perishing. I set to work at once.~~ It happened that there had been ^a time of^ considerable ~~doubt~~, ^drought^ and

18 fact,] facts, E2, E9 **20 queen, and so]** E2, Queen, and had E9 **21 had]** E2, *om.* E9 **22–60 inflated; … that my attempted]** E2, *see below* E9

inflated; I pointed out to her that no complicated machinery would be wanted—nothing, in fact, but a large quantity of oiled silk, a car, a few ropes, &c., &c., and some light kind of gas, such as the antiquarians who were acquainted with the means employed by the ancients for the production of the lighter gases could easily instruct her workmen how to provide. Her eagerness to see so strange a sight as the ascent of a human being into the sky overcame any scruples of conscience that she might have otherwise felt, and she set the antiquarians about showing her workmen how to make the gas, and sent her maids to buy, and oil, a very large quantity of silk (for I was determined that the balloon should be a big one) even before she began to try and gain the King's permission; this, however, she now set herself to do, for I had sent her word that my prosecution was imminent.

As for myself, I need hardly say that I knew nothing about balloons; nor did I see my way to smuggling Arowhena into the car; nevertheless, knowing that we had no other chance of getting away from Erewhon, I drew inspiration from the extremity in which we were placed, and made a pattern from which the Queen's workmen were able to work successfully. Meanwhile the Queen's carriage-builders set about making the car, and it was with the attachments of this to the balloon that I had the greatest difficulty; I doubt, indeed, whether I should have succeeded here, but for the great intelligence of a foreman, who threw himself heart and soul into the matter, and often both foresaw requirements, the necessity for which had escaped me, and suggested the means of providing for them.

It happened that there had been a long drought, during the latter part of which prayers had been vainly offered up in all the temples of the air god. When I first told her Majesty that I wanted a balloon, I said my intention was to go up into the sky and prevail upon the air god by means of a personal interview. I own that this proposition bordered on the idolatrous, but I have long since repented of it, and am little likely ever to repeat the

It happened that there had been a time of considerable drought, and that prayers for rain had been for weeks vainly offered in all the temples of the air god; my proposal, therefore, had been that I should go up into the sky in a balloon such as I had described to his majesty, and prevail upon the air god by means of a personal interview. I own that this proposition bordered upon the idolatrous, but I have sincerely repented of it; it was certainly the means of saving my life and Arowhena's, and will possibly lead to the conversion of the whole country.

The queen was delighted with the idea. I pointed out to her that no complicated machinery was wanted; nothing but a car, a few ropes, a large quantity of silk, and some gas of a kind which would be easily procurable could I consult some of the antiquarians who would be acquainted with the means employed by the ancients for the production of the lighter gases. The eagerness of her majesty to see so extraordinary a sight as the ascent of a human being into the sky, overcame any scruples of conscience that she might otherwise have felt, and she sent her maids to purchase the necessary silk and cords, even before she had begun to try and gain the king's

---

31–3 been … go] been ~~in vain~~ ^for weeks vainly^ offered ^~~for weeks vainly~~^ ~~up~~ in all the temples of the air god; ~~for several weeks~~: ~~I~~ ^my proposal therefore had been^ ~~sent a proposal to the queen~~ that I ~~would~~ ^~~should~~^ ~~myself~~ ^should^ go **34 to his majesty,]** to ~~the queen~~, ^~~king~~^ his Majesty, **35–6 own … it was]** own that ~~with the~~ ^~~my~~^ ~~religious conviction which I hold such a~~ ^this^ proposition bordered upon the ~~[?sating] worship of idols which has been so strictly forbidden~~ ^idolatrous, but I trust that I have sincerely re-^ -pented of it; ~~and~~ it was **37 life]** ~~,~~ **38 country.]** ~ – **39 idea.]** ~: **40 wanted;]** ~: **41 would … procurable]** would be ~~doubtless~~ easily procurable~~,~~ **44 majesty]** Majesty **45–6 human … purchase the]** human being ~~from the earth~~ ^into the sky^ overcame ~~every scruple~~ ^any scruples of conscience that she might have otherwise felt, and she sent ^^sent^^ her maids to^ ~~and she set all her maids to work at once at the~~ purchase ~~of~~ the **47–54 she had … balloon would]** she ^had^ beg[*uwr* an][*owr* un] to ^try and^ gain the king's permission; ^this^ ~~which~~ however ~~she soon did~~. ^~~now did on becoming~~ she now set herself to ~~obtain~~ ^^do^^ for I had sent word to her that my prosecution was imminent.^ The king (who was a most uxorious husband) at first ~~pooh-poohed the notion,~~ ^ridiculed the ~~idea~~ notion, ^but at length he consented~~,~~ as he did to every thing else on which h[*uwr* is][*owr* er] majesty had set her heart. He ~~assented~~ ^yielded^ all the more easily now~~,~~ because he did not believe ^in^ ~~a word of~~ the possibility of my ascent, and was convinced that the ~~whole thing~~ ^balloon^ would

---

31–44 It happened that … her Majesty to: f. 215r.
44–60 see so extraordinary … be made an: f. 216r.

---

offence. Moreover the deceit, serious though it was, will probably lead to the conversion of the whole country.

When the Queen told his Majesty of my proposal, he at first not only ridiculed it, but was inclined to veto it. Being, however, a very uxorious husband, he at length consented—as he eventually always did to everything on which the Queen had set her heart. He yielded all the more readily now, because he did not believe in the possibility of my ascent; he was convinced that even though the balloon should mount a few feet into the air, it would collapse immediately, whereon I should fall and break my neck, and he should be rid of me. He demonstrated this to her so convincingly, that she was alarmed, and tried to talk me into giving up the idea, but on finding that I persisted in my wish to have the balloon made, she produced an order from the King to the effect that all facilities I might require should be afforded me.

At the same time her Majesty told me that my attempted

permission; this, however, she now set herself to do, for I had sent word to her that my prosecution was imminent.

The king, who was a most uxorious husband, at first ridiculed the notion, but at length consented, as he did to everything else on which her majesty had set her heart. He yielded all the more easily now because he did not believe in the possibility of my ascent; he was convinced that the balloon would collapse after I had mounted only a few feet, that I should fall and break my neck, and so he should be well rid of me. The queen told me he demonstrated this to her in a convincing manner; but he ended by allowing me to make the ascent, and by giving orders that I might have all the assistance which the antiquarians could give me, and that the most suitable gases should be discovered and provided; at the same time, I was given to understand that my attempted ascent would be made an article of impeachment against me in case I did not succeed in influencing the air god to put an end to the drought. He had no idea that I meant going right away if I could get the wind to take me, nor had he any conception of the existence of a certain steady upper current of air which was always setting in one direction, as could be seen by the shape of the higher clouds, which pointed invariably from south-east to north-west. I had myself long noticed this peculiarity in the climate, and attributed it, I believe justly, to a trade-wind which was constant at a few thousand feet above the earth, but was disturbed by local influences at lower elevations.

My next business was to break the plan to Arowhena, and to devise the

---

50 uxorious Showing great fondness for one's wife.
66 south-east to north-west Towards the northern hemisphere in the direction of Europe. A trade-wind blows steadily in the same direction for a long period esp. at sea.

54–5 feet, … fall and] feet, and that I should ^fall^ ~~probably[?] fall~~ and **56 her … by]** her ~~in the most~~ ^in a^ convincing manner[?*uwr*:][*owr* ;] ~~for if said he "the~~ ^~~but~~ ~~that~~ he ended^ ~~not only~~ by **57 ascent, and by]** ascent, ~~if I could but~~ ^and^ by **58 me,]** me **59 be … time,]** be ~~[?had]~~ discovered~~,~~ & provided: ~~for me~~: at the same time **62 drought. He had]** drought. ~~they~~ ^He^ had **right away]** clean away **63 me, … any]** me, ~~neither~~ ^nor^ had ~~they~~ ^he^ any **64 which … setting]** which ~~blew at this time of year for nearly three months together~~ ^was always^ setting **66 from … had]** from South ~~west~~ ^East^ to N. [*uwr* Eas][*owr* Wes]t. I had **67 climate,]** climate **67–8 trade-wind]** trade wind **68–9 earth, … lower]** earth but was ^~~at times~~^ disturbed by local influences at ~~a~~ lower **70–3 to break … nothing.]** to ~~de persuade~~ ^break the plan to^ Arowhena ~~to come with me, for unless she would consent I was resolved that the whole should come to nothing. I thought [?] but to make no secret of my intended ascent and~~ ^and to devise the means for getting her into the car. I was sure that she would come with me, but had made up my mind that if her courage failed her the whole thing should come to nothing.^

60–73 article of impeachment … come to nothing.: f. 217^{r}.

---

61 influencing] E2, prevailing upon E9 **62 to put … no idea]** to put [*same as E2*] drought. The king had [*same as E2*] E2, to stop the drought. Neither King nor Queen had any idea E9

means for getting her into the car. I felt sure that she would come with me, but had made up my mind that if her courage failed her, the whole thing should come to nothing. Arowhena and I had been in constant communication through her maid, but I had thought it best not to tell her the details of my scheme till everything was settled. The time had now arrived, and I arranged with the maid that I should be admitted by a private door into Mr Nosnibor's garden at about dusk on the following afternoon.

I came at the appointed time; the girl let me into the garden and bade me wait in a secluded alley until Arowhena should come. The leaves had most of them fallen, and were lying thick and restful upon the ground; some few—sad yellow lingerers—still clung to the half-naked boughs, but they were falling fast before the soughing of the evening breeze; the sun had long set, but there was still a gleam in the sky over the ruins of the railway station; below me was the city already twinkling with lights, but half canopied under a veil of mist—beyond it stretched the plains until they blended with the sky—overhead were the desolate trees, and *** I heard a rustle of leaves upon the ground, and perceived a white figure gliding swiftly towards me. I bounded towards her, and ere thought could either prompt or check, I had caught her to my heart and covered her unresisting cheek with kisses.

---

82 soughing Rustling or murmuring.
86 *** Indicates the omission of indelicate words.

---

76 arrived,] arrived **77 Mr … afternoon.]** Mr Nosnibor's garden at about dusk ~~on the very next~~ ^on the following^ afternoon. **79 wait … come. The]** wait~~ed~~ ~~under~~ in a secluded ~~ally~~ ^alley^ until Arowhena should come. ~~Ah! what a night~~ ^~~an evening~~^ ~~it was:~~ The **80 fallen,]** fallen **81–2 clung … before]** clung ~~to the remnant of their lif lives~~ to the half naked boughs, ~~but even~~ ^but^ the[*uwr* n][*owr* y] were falling fast ~~as with a~~ before **82–3 breeze; … sky]** breeze; ~~and~~ the sun was long down but there was ~~still light~~ ^a gleam^ still in the sky **84–5 lights, … —beyond]** lights but half canopied ~~in~~ ^under^ a veil of mist: beyond **86 sky— … heard]** sky: overhead were the desolate trees~~,~~ and * – * – * I heard **87–90 gliding … kisses.]** gliding ~~quietly~~ ^swiftly^ towards me: I bounded towards her and ~~leaving all~~ ere thought could either prompt or check I had caught her ~~close~~ to my heart and covered her ~~sweet sweet lips and~~ ^unresisting^ cheek with kisses,

---

73–80 Arowhena and I … restful upon the: f. 218^r^.
80–8 ground; some few … and ere thought: f. 219^r^.
88–102 could either prompt … or hesitation. She: f. 220^r^.

---

77 afternoon.] E2, evening. E9 **79–83 come. The … a gleam]** E2, come. It was now early summer, and the leaves were so thick upon the trees that even though some one else had entered the garden I could have easily hidden myself. The night was one of extreme beauty; the sun had long set, but there was still a rosy gleam **84–5 lights, but ... mist—beyond]** E2, lights, while beyond E9 **85 plains until]** E2, plains for many a league until E9 **86–7 sky—overhead ... perceived]** E2, sky. I just noted these things, but I could not heed them. I could heed nothing, till, as I peered into the darkness of the alley, I perceived E9 **88 her,]** E2, it, E9 **89 her]** E2, Arowhena E9

So overjoyed were we that we knew not how to speak, for we had suffered much and our future was dark and uncertain. I do not know when we should have found words and come to our senses, if the maid had not gone off into a fit of hysterics, and awakened us to the necessity of self-control; then briefly and plainly I unfolded what I proposed; I showed her the darkest side, for I felt sure that the darker the prospect, the more likely she was to come. I told her that my plan would probably end in death for both of us, and that I dared not press it—that at a word from her it should be abandoned; still that there was just a possibility of our escaping together to some part of the world where there would be no bar to our getting married, and that I could see no other hope. She made no resistance, not a sign or hint of doubt or hesitation. She would do all I told her, and come whenever I was ready; so I bade her send her maid to meet me nightly—told her that she must put a good face on, look as bright and happy as she could, so as to make her father, and mother, and Zulora, think that she was forgetting me—and be ready at a moment's notice to come to the queen's workshops and be concealed among the ballast and under rugs in the car of the balloon; and so we parted.

I hurried my preparations forward, for I feared rain, and that the king might change his mind; but the weather continued dry, and in another week the queen's workmen had finished the balloon and car. All was ready, and I

---

107 ballast Heavy material, like sand, carried in the car of a balloon to steady it in flight and jettisoned in order to ascend to a higher level.

91–2 we that … future] we that we could neither of us help crying, for we had suffered much and ~~the~~ out future **93–8 have found … dared]** *see app.* **99 abandoned;]** ~: **100 where there would]** when there should **101 that I … resistance,]** that ~~I cld~~ ^I could^ see no other ~~chance hope for either of us.~~ ^hope.^ She mad no resistance: **102–3 hesitation. … so]** hesitation: she would do all I told her~~,~~ ~~and would~~ ^{and come}^ ~~rather die with me than live without me:~~ ^~~I should send for her~~ whenever I was ready:^ so **103 nightly—told]** nightly; told **104 on, look]** on, ~~and~~ ^~~and~~^ look **could,]** could **105 father, … think]** father & mother & ~~Z~~[*uwr* e][*owr* ~~u~~]~~lora~~ ^Z[*uwr* e][*owr* u]lora^ think **106 me—and]** me, and **106–8 come to … parted.]** come to ~~my lodgings~~ ^the Queen's Workshops^ & be concealed ~~in the box of offerings for the air god: and~~ ^~~thus~~^ ~~so we tore~~ ^among the ballast and under the rugs in the car of the balloon[*uwr* –][*owr* ;] ~~and [?with] this~~^ ~~we then tore ourselves away.~~ ^and so we parted.^ **109 rain,]** rain **110 dry,]** dry **111 workmen]** workm[*uwr* a][*owr* e]n **finished … ready,]** finished and ~~the~~ car. ~~In fact~~ [*uwr* a][*owr* A]ll was ready

---

102–8 would do all … so we parted.: f. 221r.
109–17 I hurried my … and with this: f. 222r.

91–2 speak, for ... uncertain. I] E2, speak; indeed I E9 **95 plainly]** E2, ~, E9 **96 prospect,]** E2, prospect E9 **101 hope. She]** E2, hope. [*n.p.*] She E9 **105 father, … Zulora,]** father and mother and Zulora E2, E9 **106–7 queen's workshops]** queen's workshops, E2, Queen's workshops, E9 **109 and that the king]** E2, and also that the King E9 **111 queen's]** E2, Queen's E9 **car. All ... I was]** E2, car, while the gas was ready to be turned on into the balloon at any moment. All being now prepared I

was to ascend on the following morning. I had had the balloon made of gigantic proportions, and stipulated for being allowed to take abundance of rugs and wrappings as protection from the cold of the upper atmosphere, and also ten or a dozen good sized bags of ballast.

I had nearly a quarter's pension in hand, and with this I feed Arowhena's maid, and bribed one of the queen's workmen—an excellent fellow—who would, I believe, have given me assistance without a bribe. He helped me to secrete food and wine in the bags of ballast, and on the morning of my ascent he kept the other workmen out of the way while I got Arowhena into the car. She came with early dawn, muffled up, and in her maid's dress. She was supposed to be gone to an early performance at one of the musical banks, and told me that she should not be missed till breakfast, but that her absence must then be discovered. I arranged the ballast about her so that it should conceal her as she lay at the bottom of the car, and covered her with wrappings. Although it still wanted some hours of the time fixed for my ascent, I could not trust myself one moment from the car, so I got into it at once, and watched the gradual inflation of the balloon. Luggage I had none, save the provisions hidden in the ballast bags, the books of mythology, and the treatises on the machines, with my own manuscript diaries and translations.

---

116 feed Paid a fee in reward for services performed; bribed.

128–30 Luggage … translations There are few conclusive indications amongst SB's extant library to prove which texts he may have owned before his emigration or bought in NZ and carried with him back to England, but his heavily annotated 1855 edition of the New Testament in Greek, *Hē Kainē Diathēkē,* (SJC BV B3) was almost certainly one. In 1890, in his essay 'Ramblings in Cheapside', SB would claim: 'I do not like books. I believe I have the smallest library of any literary man in London, and I have no wish to increase it' ('Ramblings', 139).

---

112 had had … bags] had ~~th~~ had the balloon made of ~~a~~ gigantic proportions & ~~had~~ stipulated for ~~taking~~ ^being allowed to take^ ~~food and water with me, and~~ abundance of ~~w~~ rugs & wrappings, ^as protection from the cold o the upper atmosphere^ and also ten or a dozen ~~considerable~~ ^good sized^ bags **116 hand,]** hand **117 bribed one]** bribed ~~one of the~~ one **118 would, … bribe. He]** would I believe have been faithful to me ~~even~~ without a bribe ~~at all.~~ He **119 food and]** food & **119–20 morning … kept]** morning ~~prepared for~~ ^of^ my ascent he ~~it was who~~ kept **120–1 while … She was]** while I ~~secreted~~ ^got^ Arowhena ^into the car. She^ ~~(who~~ came ~~at~~ with early dawn muffled up ~~and~~ ^and^ in her maid's dress; ~~into the car. I arranged the ballast around her so that it should conceal her but not hurt her, and then I covered her carefully with the rug & wrappings. All was done in three minutes, She had got~~ ^~~and~~ ^^she^^^ was **122–3 performance … but]** performance at ^one of^ the ~~great~~ musical banks[*uwr* ;][*owr* ,] ~~and would~~ ^and told me that she should^ not be missed till breakfast~~,~~ but **124 must … discovered.]** must be then discovered. **that it]** that ~~as she lay~~ it **125 and covered]** and ~~then~~ covered **126 ascent,]** ascent **127–9 once, … mythology,]** once, ~~taking no change of clothing or personal luggage with me except the~~ ^and watched the gradual inflation of the balloon. Luggage I had none – save the provisions hidden in the ballast bags and^ the books of mythology **130 machines, … translations.]** machines with my own M.S diaries & translations.

116–31 I feed Arowhena's … for my departure—: f. 223[r].

---

116 feed] E2, fee'd E9 **117 bribed one ... fellow—who]** E2, bribed the Queen's foreman—who E9 **118 assistance without]** E2, assistance even without E9 **122 musical banks,]** E2, Musical Banks,

I sat quietly, and awaited the hour fixed for my departure—quiet outwardly, but inwardly I was in an agony of suspense lest Arowhena's absence should be discovered before the arrival of the king and queen, who were to witness my ascent. They were not due yet for another two hours, and during this time a hundred things might happen, any one of which would undo me.

At last the balloon was full; the pipe which had filled it was removed, the escape of the gas having been first carefully precluded. Nothing remained to hinder the balloon from ascending but the hands and weight of those who were holding on to it with ropes. I strained my eyes for the coming of the king and queen, but could see no sign of their approach. I looked in the direction of Mr Nosnibor's house—there was nothing to indicate disturbance, but it was not yet breakfast time. The crowd began to gather; they were aware that I was under the displeasure of the court, but I could detect no signs of my being unpopular. On the contrary, I received many kindly expressions of regard and encouragement, with good wishes as to the result of my journey. I was speaking to one gentleman of my acquaintance, and telling him the substance of what I intended to do when I had got into the presence of the air god (what he thought of me I cannot guess, for I am sure that he did not believe in the objective existence of the air god, nor that I myself believed in it), when I became aware of a small crowd of people running as fast as they could from Mr Nosnibor's house towards the queen's workshops. For the moment my pulse ceased beating and then, knowing that the time had come when I must either do or die, I called vehemently to those who were holding the ropes (some thirty men) to

---

131 my departure—quiet] my ~~departure~~ departure. Quiet **132 lest Arowhena's]** lest ~~the~~ Arowhena's **134 my ascent. They]** my ~~departure; and~~ ^ascent^ They **134–6 hours, … undo]** hours, ^and^ during ~~which~~ ^this^ time ~~there might happen~~ a hundred things ^might happen^ any one of which ~~might~~ ^would^ undo **137 full;]** ~: **139 hands and]** hands & **141 king … could]** king & queen, but ~~I~~ could **142–4 Mr … they were]** Mr Nosnibor's house; ~~but their~~ ^~~and but there~~^ there was nothing to indicate disturbance. ~~doubtless the paper left by Arowhena had not yet been discovered.~~ ^– but it was not yet breakfast time.^ The crowd began to gather; ~~and though~~ they were **145 being … contrary,]** being ~~personally~~ unpopular, on the contrary **146 regard]** regard, **147 journey. I was]** journey: ~~I looked upon the Erewhonians~~ I was **149 got … (what]** got ^into the presence of the air-god^ ~~high enough~~ (what **150 for … in the]** for I ~~cannot believe that he believed~~ ^am sure that ~~think~~ he did not believe^ in the **151 god, nor]** God, ~~not~~ nor **151 it),]** ~) **152–3 Mr … ceased]** Mr Nosnibor's house ~~in the direction of the balloon:~~ ^towards the Queen's workshops:^ for the moment my pulse ~~seemed to~~ ceased **155–6 the ropes … to let]** the ~~balloon~~ ^ropes^ (some ~~fifty~~ ^thirty^ men) to let

---

131–43 quiet outwardly, but … to indicate disturbance: f. 224^r^.
143–59 but it was … earth had dropped: f. 225^r^.

---

133 king and queen,] E2, King and Queen, E9 **141 king and queen,]** E2, King and Queen, E9 **147 journey. I]** E2, journey. [*n.p.*] I E9 **153 queen's]** E2, Queen's E9

let go at once, and made gestures signifying danger, and that there would be mischief if they held on longer. A few obeyed; the rest were too weak to hold on to the ropes, and were forced to let them go. On this the balloon bounded suddenly upwards, but my own feeling was that the earth had dropped off from me, and was sinking fast into the open space beneath.

This happened at the very moment that the attention of the crowd was divided, the one half paying heed to the eager gestures of those coming from Mr Nosnibor's house, and the other to the exclamations from myself. A minute more and Arowhena would doubtless have been discovered, but before that minute was over, I was at such a height above the city that nothing could harm me, and every second both the town and the crowd became smaller and more confused. In an incredibly short time, I could see little but a vast wall of blue plains rising up against me towards whichever side I looked.

At first, the balloon mounted vertically upwards, but after about five minutes, when we had already attained a very great elevation, I fancied that the objects on the plain beneath began to move from under me. I did not feel so much as a breath of wind, and could not suppose that the balloon itself was travelling. I was therefore wondering what this strange movement of fixed objects could mean, when it struck me that people in a balloon do not feel the wind inasmuch as they travel with it and offer it no resistance. Then I was happy in thinking that I must now have reached the invariable trade wind of the upper air, and that I should be very possibly wafted for hundreds or even thousands of miles, far from Erewhon and the Erewhonians.

Already I had removed the wrappings and freed Arowhena; but I soon

---

156–61 danger, … happened] danger ~~as though~~ ^and that^ there would be a mischief if they held on longer: ~~some~~ ^a^ few obeyed; the rest were too weak to hold ~~the balloon,~~ ^on to the ropes^ ~~so that they~~ ^and were^ were forced ^to let them go;^ ~~let go the ropes, and it bounded on this the [?l] I balloon bounded~~ to ~~drop their hold,~~ ~~the consequence was that we~~ ^~~we~~^ ~~bounded suddenly away,~~ ^~~upwards~~[*uwr* ~~,~~][*owr* ~~;~~] ~~though~~ ^^~~but~~^^ ~~my own feeling was that it was the earth which~~^ ~~feeling as though the earth~~ ~~had dropped~~ ^On this the balloon bounded suddenly upwards; but my own feeling was that the earth had dropped^ ~~away~~ ~~from~~ ^off from^ me, and was sinking ^fast^ into ~~far~~ ^the open^ space beneath. ~~me~~: [*uwr* t][*owr* T]his happened **162 divided, … to]** divided: the one half ~~being~~ ~~attending~~ ^paying heed^ to **163–73 myself. … breath of wind,]** *see app.* **174 travelling.]** travelling, **175 that … not]** that ~~these~~ people in a ~~do would~~ ^balloon do^ not **176–7 they … Then]** they ~~in a balloon[?] travelling with the wind and offering no resistance to it would~~ ^travel with it and offer no resistance:^ then **178 air,]** air **180 Erewhonians.**] ~. ~~[?]~~ **181–4 Already … delirious,]** *see app.*

159–75 off from me, … people in a: f. 226^{r}.
175–92 balloon do not … which has somehow: f. 227^{r}.

---

157 A few] E2, Many E9 **168 me]** E2, ~, E9 **174 was therefore]** E2, was, therefore, E9

covered her up with them again, for it was already very cold, and she was half stupefied with the strangeness of her position.

And now began a time, dream-like and delirious, of which I do not suppose that I shall ever recover a distinct recollection. Some things I can recall—as that we were ere long enveloped in vapour which froze upon my moustache and whiskers; then comes a memory of my sitting for hours and hours in a thick fog, hearing no sound but my own breathing and Arowhena's (for we hardly spoke, being too greatly agitated for words) and seeing no sight but the car beneath us and beside us and the dark balloon above. I also call to mind a trivial circumstance which seems hardly worth mentioning, but which has somehow or other stuck by me, which many more important things have faded away. I mean that when we were in the mist the last few bars of the first part of the minuet in Saul kept running incessantly in my head; to this day they invariably recur to me when I find myself in such a cloud or mist as recalls to me my voyage in the balloon.

Perhaps the most painful feeling when the earth was hidden was that the balloon was motionless, though our only hope lay in our going forward with an extreme of speed. From time to time through a rift in the clouds I caught a glimpse of earth, and was thankful to perceive that we must be flying forward faster than in an express train; but no sooner was the rift closed than

---

194 last few bars … Saul SB refers to the first 16 bars of the last movement of the overture of *Saul* (HWV 53), Handel's dramatic oratorio composed in 1738. Although not labelled a minuet in Handel's autograph score, this movement is entitled 'Minuetto' in the Samuel Arnold edition of *The Works of Handel in Score* (1787-97), with which SB was probably familiar. SB may have considered these bars an apt evocation of the scene because of their graceful, measured pacing. My thanks to Dr Ruth Smith for identifying this reference.

185–6 recollection. … that] recollection: Some things I can rec[*owr* o][*owr* a]ll~~e~~: ~~=~~ as ~~a~~ that **186 in vapour]** in ~~a~~ vapour **187–8 then … hours in]** then ~~came and endless dream of my sitting for hours and hours~~ ^comes a memory of my sitting for hours & hours^ in **188 sound … breathing and]** sound~~,~~ but my own breathing & **189 spoke,]** spoke **190–3 sight … that when]** sight ~~by~~ ^but^ the car beneath ~~me~~ ^us^ & beside ~~me~~ ^us^ & the ^dark^ balloon above: ~~unconscious of any~~ ^~~I remember~~ a ~~slight~~ ^^I also call to mind a trivial^^ circumstance which seems hardly worth mentioning but which has somehow^ or other stuck ^by^ me wh[*uwr* en][*ow* ile] many more important things have faded away[*uwr* –][*owr* ,] I mean[*uwr* –][*owr* ,] that when **194–5 running … day]** running ^incessantly^ in my head; ~~for hours together; and that to this~~ ^to this^ day **195 me when I]** me ^when^ ~~the moment~~ ~~that~~ I **196–7 balloon. … painful]** balloon.~~:~~ ~~but the~~ [*uwr* p][*owr* P]erhaps the most ~~really~~ painful **198–9 balloon was … rift]** balloon was remaining motionless~~,~~ ~~when~~ ~~life and all that was most precious~~ ^though our only hope ~~depended upon lay in- to us~~^ ~~depended on~~ ^lay in^ our going forward with ^an^ extreme ~~haste~~ ^of speed.^ From time to time thro' a rift **200–1 earth, … express]** earth[*uwr* :][*owr* ,] and was ~~comforted; for I could~~ ^thankful to^ perceive that we ~~we~~ must be flying forward faster than ^~~an~~ ^^in an^^^ express

---

192–204 or other stuck … as bad; for: f. 228[r].

---

187 my] *om.* E2, E9 **189 spoke, being … words)]** E2, spoke) and E9 **190 us]** E2, ~, E9 **191–6 I also … the balloon.]** E2, *om.* E9

the old conviction of our being stationary returned in full force, and was not to be reasoned with: there was another feeling also which was nearly as bad; for as a child that fears it has gone blind in a long tunnel if there is no light, so ere the earth had been many minutes hidden, I became half frightened lest I might not have broken away from it clean and for ever. Now and again, I ate and gave food to Arowhena, but by guess work as regards time. Arowhena behaved like a heroine, giving no trouble and doing everything I told her. Then came darkness, a dreadful dreary time, without even the moon to cheer us.

With dawn the scene was changed: the clouds were gone and morning stars were shining; the rising of the splendid sun remains still impressed upon me as the most glorious that I have ever seen; beneath us there was an embossed chain of mountains with snow fresh fallen upon them; but we were far above them; we both of us felt our breathing seriously affected, but I would not allow the balloon to descend a single inch, not knowing for how long we might not need all the buoyancy which we could command; indeed I was thankful to find that, after nearly four-and-twenty hours, we were still at so great a height above the earth.

In a couple of hours we had passed the ranges, which must have been some hundred and fifty miles across, and again I saw a tract of level plain extending far away to the horizon. I knew not where I was, and dared not descend, lest I should waste the power of the balloon, but I was half hopeful

221 hundred … across Approximately the width of the South Island of NZ.

202 the old … stationary] the same conviction of our being ~~perfectly~~ stationary **203–4 with: there … fears it]** with[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] [*uwr* t][*owr* T]here was another ~~too~~ ^feeling also^ which was ~~quite~~ ^nearly^ as bad for ~~motion yet doubtless moving with great velocity, now and again through a rift I could catch a glimpse of earth far far beneath me~~[*uwr* ~~;~~][*owr* ~~,~~] ~~which comforted me, for~~ as a child who fear that it **205–7 light, … again,]** light,, so I ~~was half [r ? ed] frightened~~ ~~lest I might not have~~ ^ere the earth had been many minutes hidden I became ~~frightened~~ half frightened lest I might not have^ broken away from it ~~the earth~~ clean and ^for ever.^ ~~forever~~[*uwr* ,][*owr* .] ~~and was glad to be reassured of the contrary.~~ [*uwr* n][*owr* N]ow and again **208–9 heroine, … Then]** heroine: giving no trouble and taking her ~~cue~~ ^cue^ always from myself[*uwr* :][*owr* .] ~~darknes~~ Then **209–12 time, … rising]** time: and yet I dozed at intervals: With ~~early~~ ~~dawn~~ ^dawn^ the scene was changed: the ~~sky~~ ~~mist was~~ ^clouds were^ gone and stars were shining brightly: the rising **213 I have … there]** I ~~had~~ ^have^ ever seen[*uwr* –][*owr* ;] beneath [*uwr* me][*owr* us] there **214–15 them; … affected,]** them, but ^we^ ~~I~~ w[*uwr* as][*owr* ere] far above them[*uwr* ,][*owr* ;] ~~so far that~~ ^~~and we both of us~~ ~~we both of us~~ ~~indeed so high~~^ ~~both Arowhena and I~~ ^we both of us^ felt our ~~respiration~~ ^breathing^ seriously affected[*uwr* ;][*owr* ,] **216–17 inch, … all]** inch, ~~for I knew not how~~ ^not knowing for how^ long we might not ~~yet have~~ need ~~of~~ all **217 command;]** ~: **218 that, … hours,]** that after nearly four & twenty hours **220–1 In a … again]** In a ~~few~~ ^couple of^ hours we had ~~crossed~~ ^passed^ the ranges (which must have been ~~a distance of~~ some hundred & fifty miles across) and again **222 far away to the]** far ~~into~~ ^away to^ the **222–3 not … lest]** not ~~either~~

204–19 as a child … above the earth.: f. 229r.
220–28 In a couple … and to conjectures.: f. 230r.

206 I might] E2, we might E9 **208–9 Arowhena behaved … told her.]** E2, *om.* E9 **222 I was,]** E2, we

that I might be above the country from which I had originally started. I looked anxiously for any sign by which I could recognise it, but could see nothing, and feared that we might be above some distant part of Erewhon, or a country inhabited by savages. While I was still in doubt, the balloon was again wrapped in clouds, and we were left to blank space and to conjectures.

The weary time dragged on. How I longed for my unhappy watch! I felt as though not even time was moving, so dumb and spell-bound were my surroundings.

Sometimes I would feel my pulse, and count its beats for half an hour together; anything to mark the time—to prove that it was there, and to assure myself that I was within the blessed range of its influence, and not gone adrift into the timelessness of eternity.

I had been doing this for the twentieth or thirtieth time, and had fallen into a light sleep: I dreamed wildly of a journey in an express train, and of arriving at a railway station where the air was full of the sound of locomotive engines blowing-off steam with a horrible and tremendous hissing; I woke frightened and uneasy, but the hissing and crashing noises pursued me now that I was awake, and forced me to own that they were real. What they were I knew not, but they grew gradually fainter and fainter, and after a time were lost. In a few hours the clouds broke, and I saw beneath me that which made the chilled blood run colder in my veins. I saw the sea, and nothing but the sea; in the main black, but flecked with white heads of storm-tossed, angry waves. So it had come to this!

---

descend ~~nearer~~ ^~~to the ground~~^ lest **225 it, but]** it~~,~~ but **226–9 that we … How]** that ~~by descending~~ I might ~~come upon~~ ^be above^ some distant part of Erewhon, ~~or upon savage races:~~ ^or a country inhabited by savages:^ while I was still in doubt the balloon was again ~~enveloped in mist,~~ ^wrapped in ~~thick~~ clouds^ and we were left to blank space and ~~our own conjuectures:~~ ^to ~~our~~ ~~thoughts~~ conjecture.^ The weary time ~~went by~~. ^dragged on.^ How **229 watch! I]** watch[*uwr* ,][*owr* !] ~~for~~ I **230–2 moving, … Sometimes]** moving so ~~silent and dumb was everything around me.~~ ^dumb and spell bound were my surroundings.^ Sometimes **232–4 hour … range]** hour ~~at a time~~ ^together;^ ~~out of as a mere pastime. I had done~~ ^~~been doing~~^ ~~so far the twentieth or thirtieth time, and had at last fallen into a slight sleep;~~ anything to mark the time~~, and heed it~~, and ^to ^^– to prove it was there –^^^ assure myself that I was ~~still~~ within ~~it's the~~ ^the blessed ~~blessed~~^ range **235 adrift into]** adrift ~~for ever~~ into **236 time,]** time **238–40 arriving … hissing; I]** arriving at ~~the Charing Cross~~ ^a^ railway station where the ~~whole~~ air was full of the sound of ~~hissing~~ locomotive engines blowing off steam with a horrible & tremendous ~~crashing~~: ^hissing^ I **240–1 the hissing … awake,]** the ~~hissing~~ ^hissing^ & crashing ~~roaring~~ noises pursued me~~, into~~ now that I was awake **242 real. What]** real: what **242–4 but … that which]** but ~~b~~ ~~whatever they were~~ ^they^ grew gradually fainter & fainter, & ~~in~~ ^after^ a time were lost: ~~then~~ ^~~after some hours~~ In a few hours^ the clouds broke~~, and~~ ^~~I saw~~^ ~~beneath me~~ ^and

---

229–37 The weary time … I dreamed wildly: f. 231r.
237–44 of a journey … me that which: f. 232r.
244–64 made the chilled … of us utterly: f. 233r.

---

were E9 **224 I might]** E2, we might E9 **226 we might]** E2, I might E9 **230 my]** E2, our E9 **231–2 surroundings. Sometimes]** surroundings. [*no n.p.*] Sometimes E2, E9 **234 I was]** E2, we were E9 **246 So it … to this!]** E2, *om*. E9

Arowhena was sleeping quietly at the bottom of the car, and as I looked at her sweet and saintly beauty, I groaned, and cursed myself for the misery into which I had brought her; but there was nothing for it now.

I sat and waited for the worst, and presently I saw signs as though that worst were soon to be at hand; the balloon had begun to sink. On first seeing the sea I had been impressed with the idea that we must have been falling; but now there could be no mistake, we were sinking, and that fast. I threw out a bag of ballast, and for a time we rose again, but in the course of a few hours the sinking recommenced, and I threw out another bag.

Then the battle commenced in earnest. It lasted all that afternoon and through the night until the following evening. I had seen never a sail nor a sign of a sail, though I had half blinded myself with straining my eyes incessantly in every direction; we had parted with everything but the clothes which we had upon our backs; food and water were gone, all thrown out to the wheeling albatrosses, in order to save us a few hours or even minutes from the sea. I did not throw away the books till the last moment, and clung to my manuscripts to the very last. Hope there seemed none whatever—yet, strangely enough we were neither of us utterly hopeless, and even at last when the evil that we dreaded was upon us, and that which we greatly feared had come, we sat in the car of the balloon with the waters up to our middle, and still smiled with a ghastly hopefulness to one another.

He who has crossed the St. Gothard will remember that below Andermatt there is one of those Alpine gorges which reach the very utmost limits

---

261 wheeling albatrosses In the *Eagle*, SB described the appearance of the albatrosses he observed on his voyage to NZ and methods of catching them (OE 1, 108–9). SB was presumably aware of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798) by Romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), in which the eponymous mariner is cursed after he kills the albatross that has been following his ship.

268–83 He who has … forgotten Saint Gotthard is a mountain pass in the Swiss Alps. The road leading from Flüelen to the village of Andermatt passes through the Schöllenen Gorge by way of the Devil's

---

I saw beneath me^ that which **265 us,]** us **266 we … the]** we ~~clung to~~ ^sat in^ the **267–8 middle, … He]** middle and still smiled ~~hopefully to one another.~~ with a ~~sort of~~ ghastly hopefulness to one another~~: the day~~ He

---

264–7 hopeless, and even … to one another.: f. 234r. At the bottom of this page are the following lines: '~~the day~~ ~~The days were short, and night soon added to~~ ^~~was soon upon us~~^ ~~the horror of our position: one thing alone was in our favour = I mean that the waves had fallen, and that the sea was nearly smooth. I suppose we had been two or three hours in the water, &~~]

268–82 He who has … smiles to himself: f. 235r.

---

251 hand; the] E2, hand, for the E9 **252 falling;]** E2, ~, E9 **262 till … moment,]** till we were within a few feet of the water, E2, E9 **265 at last]** *om.* E2, E9 **269–70 gorges … sublime]** gorges ~~in~~ which ~~Nature shows herself~~ reach the very ~~utmost~~ ^utmost ~~extreme[?]~~ limits] of the sublime

of the sublime and terrible. The feelings of the traveller have become more and more highly wrought at every step, until at last the naked and overhanging precipices seem to close above his head, as he crosses a bridge hung in mid-air over a roaring waterfall, and enters on the darkness of a tunnel, hewn out of the rock.

What can be in store for him on emerging? Surely something even wilder and more desolate than that which he has seen already; yet his imagination is paralysed, and can suggest no fancy or vision of anything to surpass the reality which he had just witnessed. Awed and breathless he advances; when lo! the light of the afternoon sun welcomes him as he leaves the tunnel, and behold, a smiling valley—a babbling brook, a village with tall belfries, and meadows of brilliant green—these are the things which greet him, and he smiles to himself as the terror passes away and in another moment is forgotten.

So fared it now with ourselves. We had been in the water some two or three hours, and the night had come upon us. We had said farewell for the hundredth time, and had resigned ourselves to meet the end; indeed I was myself battling with a drowsiness from which it was only too probable that I should never wake; when suddenly, Arowhena touched me on the shoulder, and pointed to a light and to a dark mass which was bearing right upon us. A cry for help—loud and clear and shrill—broke forth from both of us at once; and in another five minutes we were carried by kind and tender hands on to the deck of an Italian vessel.

Bridge; it then leads over the pass to Ariolo in the Canton of Ticino. In his reliance on the language of the sublime, SB echoes Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (1869), which he may well have owned: 'The Devil's Bridge [is] situated in the midst of the most stern but magnificent scenery of the whole pass. The Reuss leaps down into the head of this savage gorge in a lofty cataract […] Very precipitous rocks of granite, remarkable for the stern nakedness of their surface, hem in the bed of the river on both sides […] after passing the Devil's Bridge, the road is carried through a tunnel. […] Out of this gallery the traveller emerges into the wide basin-shaped pastoral valley of Urseren, which, in contrast with the savage gorge of the transition, has obtained from most travellers the praise of beauty and fertility.' (104–5).

---

272 precipices … close] precipices ~~almost~~ ^seem to^ close **273 mid-air]** mid air **273–4 on the … hewn]** on ~~a~~ the ~~utter~~ darkness of a ~~tunnel~~ ~~gallery~~ ^tunnel^ hewn **275 emerging? … something]** emerging? ~~Surely~~ ^Surely^ something **276–7 that which … vision]** that ^which^ he has seen already[*uwr* ~~?~~][*owr* ;] ~~It must be so, for there is no sign of~~ ^~~any~~^ ~~change~~; ~~and though~~ ^yet his^ ~~the~~ imagination is paralysed, ~~and~~ ^~~his~~^ ~~can conceive~~ and can suggest no ~~dream~~ ^fancy^ or vision **278–9 witnessed. … lo!]** witnessed. ~~Th~~ Awed~~,~~ and breathless he advances; When lo! **280 behold, a smiling]** behold, ~~the scene is transferred as by the hand of an magician enchanter.~~ ~~A~~ ^a^ smiling **283–4 forgotten … had]** forgotten – So fared it now with ourselves. ~~I suppose~~ [*uwr* w][*owr* W]e had

---

282–92 as the terror … an Italian vessel.: f. 236r.

---

280 behold,] behold E2, E9

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCLUSION.

THE ship was the *Principe Umberto* bound from Callao to Genoa; she had carried a number of emigrants to Rio, had gone thence to Callao, where she had taken in a cargo of guano, and was now on her way home. The captain was a certain Giovanni Gianni, a native of Sestri; he has kindly allowed me to refer to him in case the truth of my story should be disputed; but I grieve to say that I suffered him to mislead himself in some important particulars. I should add that when we were picked up we were a thousand miles from land.

As soon as we were on board the captain began questioning us about the siege of Paris, from which city he had assumed that we must have come, notwithstanding our immense distance from Europe. As may be supposed, I had not heard a syllable about the war between France and Germany, and was too ill to do more than assent to all that he chose to put into my mouth.

3–5 Principe Umberto … her way home SB had left NZ on 15 June 1864 on an American ship bound for Callao in Peru. The rest of his travels differed from those of *Erewhon*'s narrator: from Callao he steamed up the coast to Panama, crossed the isthmus by train, caught a small steamer to St Thomas, Jamaica, and then a large steamer for Southampton, which arrived on 29 August 1864. Onboard the last vessel were women from the southern United States, fleeing the American Civil War (Jones 1919, I, 109–10). Guano is the excrement of seabirds and bats and a highly effective fertilizer. Britain provided one of the biggest markets for Peruvian guano in the mid-19th cent. (Mathew, 112).
6 Giovanni Gianni The name of the captain of an Italian steamer that caried Butler from Leghorn to Genoa during his vacation in the autumn of 1865 (HFJ 1, 117).
6 Sestri A town in Liguria in north-western Italy.
12–14 siege of Paris, … France and Germany The siege of Paris was the final military battle of the Franco-Prussian War. It took place between 19 September 1870 and 28 January 1871 and ended in the capture of the city by Prussian forces, culminating in France's defeat.

1–2 CHAPTER … CONCLUSION.] Chapt. XXIV. Conclusion – **3–5 she … where]** she had ~~taken~~ ^carried^ a number of emigrants to Rio, ~~and~~ ~~thence~~ ^had^ gone ~~on~~ ^~~thence~~ ^^~~thence~~^^^ ~~to~~ ^thence to^ Callao where **5 home: … he has]** home: the captain was a certain ~~Giuseppe Antonio~~ Giovanni Gianni a native of Sestri; ~~and~~ ^he^ has **7 disputed;]** disputed, **8 I suffered]** I ~~did not~~ suffered **9–11 particulars. … As]** particulars. ~~As~~ ^I should add that when we were picked up we were 1500 miles from land.^ ~~soon as~~ As **11 the captain began]** the ^captain^ began **12 had assumed]** had ~~immediately~~ assumed **12–14 come, … I had]** come~~,~~ notwithstanding ~~its enormous~~ ^our ~~the~~ immense^ distance from Europe. ~~For my~~ ^As may be supposed,^ ~~own part,~~ I had **14 and Germany,]** & Germany **15–16 mouth. … imperfect,]** mouth: my knowledge of ~~the~~ Italian ^is^ ~~language was~~ very imperfect~~,~~

1–22 CHAPTER XXV. … carried were lost.: f. 237r.

---

1 XXV.] E2, XXIX. E9 **3 *Umberto*]** E2, ~, E9 **11 board]** E2, ~, E9

My knowledge of Italian is very imperfect, and I gathered little from anything that he said; but I was glad to conceal the true point of our departure, and resolved to take any cue that he chose to give me. The line that thus suggested itself was that there had been ten or twelve others in the balloon, that I was an English Milord, and Arowhena a Russian Countess; that all the others had been drowned, and that the despatches which we had carried were lost. I came afterwards to learn that this story would not have been credible, had not the captain been for some weeks at sea, for I found that it was the middle of March (I had lost all count of the months) when we were picked up, and the Germans had already long been masters of Paris. As it was, the captain settled the whole story for me, and I was well content.

In a few days we sighted an English vessel bound from Melbourne to London with wool. At my earnest request, in spite of stormy weather which rendered it dangerous for a boat to take us from one ship to the other, the captain consented to signal the English vessel, and we were received on board, but we were transferred with such difficulty that no communication took place as to the manner of our being found. I did indeed hear the Italian mate who was in charge of the boat shout out something in French to the effect that we had been picked up from a balloon, but the noise of the wind was so great, and the captain understood so little French that he caught nothing of the truth, and it was assumed that we were two persons who had

---

16 Italian … imperfect SB, in contrast, spoke Italian well. He had had Italian language lessons from the age of eight while on holiday with his family in Italy (Jones 1919, I, 26). In later life, according to HFJ, an Italian who heard him speak said, 'he finds his words as easily as we do' (Jones 1919, II, 56).
27–8 Melbourne … with wool As SB was no doubt aware through his involvement in Canterbury's wool trade, Melbourne was in the period a centre of Australia's wool export industry. As Ford and Roberts

---

19 others … balloon,] others ^in^ ~~with~~ ~~me~~ ^~~us~~^ ~~in~~ the balloon~~,~~ **20 Milord, … Countess;]** Milord and Arowhena a Russian ^Countess:^ [*uwr* :][*owr* ,] **21–2 drowned, … lost. I]** drowned, and ^~~that~~^ ~~the~~ ^that the^ despatches which we had been carrying ~~were~~ lost. ~~Had he~~ I **22 this story]** this ~~was~~ ~~not~~ story **23–4 credible, … March (I]** credible had ^not^ the captain ~~come from~~ ~~been on shore~~ been for some weeks at sea, for ~~it wa~~ I ~~learnt~~ ^found^ that it was the middle of ~~February~~ ^March^ (I **25–6 been … was, the]** been ~~for some time~~ ^long^ masters of Paris. ~~However~~ ~~the captain would~~ ~~have it that we came from Paris, so from Paris we were~~ ~~supposed to come.~~ ~~As it was, however,~~ ^As it was,^ the **26 me,]** me~~.~~ **27 vessel … from]** vessel ~~bound~~ ^bound^ from **30 vessel,]** vessel~~,~~ **31 board, … no]** board; but ^we were transferred^ with such difficulty ~~were we transferred~~ that no **32 found. … Italian]** found: ~~we~~ ~~were described in French simply as two persons who had~~ ~~been taken from off a wreck and~~ ^~~for~~^ ~~though~~ I ~~my~~ ^did indeed hear^ ~~hear~~ the Italian **34 balloon, but the]** balloon, ^but^ the **35 and the … that he]** & the captain understood ^~~French~~^ so little ~~of the~~ French, ^~~language~~^ that ~~it~~ ~~paid no attention~~ he **36 truth,]** truth~~,~~ **36–7 two … When]** two ~~English passengers~~ ^persons^ who had been ^saved from^ shipwreck~~ed~~. When

---

22–36 I came afterwards ... we were two: f. 238[r].
36–40 person who had … were alone saved.: f. 239[r]. On f. 239[v] are the following lines: '~~bred with extreme rapidity.~~ ~~damp black smell.~~ ~~p. 18.~~ ~~But. p. 20.~~ ~~p. 35. my father~~ was ~~a clergyman.'~~.

23–4 found that … when] E2, found that when E9 **25 up, and the]** E2, up, the E9

been saved from shipwreck. When the captain asked me in what ship I had been wrecked, I said that a party of us had been carried out to sea in a pleasure-boat by a strong current, and that Arowhena and I (whom I described as a Peruvian lady) were alone saved.

There were several passengers, whose goodness towards us we can never repay. I grieve to think that they cannot fail to discover that we did not take them fully into our confidence; but had we told them all, they would not have believed us, and I was determined that no one should hear of Erewhon, or have the chance of getting there before me, as long as I could prevent it. Indeed, the recollection of the many falsehoods which I was then obliged to tell would render my life miserable were I not sustained by the consolations of my religion. Among the passengers there was a most estimable clergyman, by whom Arowhena and I were married within a very few days of our coming on board.

After a prosperous voyage of about two months, we sighted the Land's End, and in another week we were landed at London. A liberal subscription was made for us on board the ship, so that we found ourselves in no immediate difficulty about money. I accordingly took Arowhena down into Somersetshire, where my mother and sisters had resided when I last heard of them. To my great sorrow I found that my mother was dead, and that her

---

have observed, the trade was driven by 'metropolitan imperatives' (128). This accounts for the ship's voyage to London.

51–2 Land's End A headland in Cornwall, the most westerly point of England.

52 subscription A fund of money raised for a particular purpose through individual contributions.

55–7 my mother … my having been killed This plot point would later have a curious parallel in reality: when SB's mother, Fanny, died on 9 April 1873, Canon Butler told his son that the shock of the publication of *Erewhon* had been the cause of her death (Raby, 140).

---

37 me … what] me ~~from~~ ^in^ what **39 pleasure-boat … (whom]** pleasure boat~~,~~ by a strong current, & that I and Arowhena (whom **41–2 passengers, … grieve]** passengers ~~returning from Australia and their~~ ^whose ^^~~I can never repay their~~^^^ goodness towards us ^we can never repay.^. I grieve **43 confidence;]** ~: **43–4 all, … not have]** all they would ~~never~~ ^not^ have **44 was … that]** was ~~resolved~~ ^determined^ that **45–9 before me, … Arowhena and]** before me ~~until~~ as long as I could prevent ~~their doing so. Among the passengers there was a most estimable clergyman by whom~~ ~~Ar~~ ^it. Indeed the **recollection of the** many falsehoods which I have been obliged to tell would render my life miserable were I not sustained by the consolations of my religion. Among the passengers there was a most estimable clergyman by whom^ Arowhena & **51–2 months, … End,]** months we sighted the land's end, **53 ship, … we]** ship ~~and~~ ^so that^ we **54 difficulty about]** difficulty ~~in~~ about **54–5 Arowhena … sisters had]** Arowhena ~~at once~~ down ~~to~~ ^into^ Somersetshire, where my mother & sisters ~~re~~ had **56 them. To]** them. ~~My~~ To **56–7 dead, … had been]** dead, ^and that^ her death ~~having~~ ^had^ been

---

41–57 There were several … been accelerated by: f. 240^{r}. On f. 240^{v} the following lines appear: 'So that's that – My hosts were as full of me as ever – If then people were t be the 10 tribes – around tried to run after him'.

---

39 Arowhena … (whom] Arowhena (whom] E2, E9 **40 lady) were]** lady) and I E2, E9 **47 tell]** E2, ~, E9

death had been accelerated by the report of my having been killed, which had been brought to my employer's station by Chowbok. It appeared that he must have waited for a few days to see whether I returned, that he then considered it safe to assume that I should never do so, and had accordingly made up a story about my having fallen into a whirlpool of seething waters while coming down the gorge homeward. Search was made for my body, but the rascal had chosen to drown me in a place where there would be no chance of its ever being recovered.

My sisters were both married, but neither of their husbands was rich. No one seemed overjoyed on my return; and I soon discovered that when a man's relations have once mourned for him as dead, they seldom like the prospect of having to mourn for him a second time.

Accordingly I returned to London with my wife, and through the assistance of an old friend supported myself by writing good little stories for the magazines, and for a tract society. I was well paid; and I trust that I may not be considered presumptuous in saying that some of the most popular of the *brochures* which are distributed in the streets, and which are to be found in the waiting-rooms of the railway stations, have proceeded from my pen. During the time that I could spare, I arranged my notes and diary till they assumed their present shape. There remains nothing for me

---

65 My sisters … was rich SB had two sisters, but there the similarity ends. Harrie (1834–1918) had married George Bridges (1835–1860), a brother of the future poet Laureate Robert Bridges (1844–1930), in 1859; he had died around seven months later. Mary, or May, (1841–1916) never married.

70–1 good little stories … tract society By the mid-19th cent., tales with a moralising Christian tone, if not explicitly religious content, had become a common feature of religious periodicals and tracts (pamphlets designed for wide and cheap or free distribution). Such publications, intended to aid evangelism, had proliferated since the late 18th cent.: for instance, by 1850, the Religious Tract Society, England's foremost publisher of popular religious literature, has produced 540 million copies of such texts (Fyfe 2004, 35).

73 brochures Pamphlets.

---

57 my having] my ~~de~~ having **58 Chowbok. … that]** Chowbok. [*uwr* I][*owr* It] ~~gathered~~ ^appeared^ that **59 returned, that]** returned; ~~and~~ that **60 I should]** I ~~had~~ should **60–1 accordingly made]** accordingly ~~tt~~ made **61–2 into … Search]** into ~~th~~ a ~~boiling~~ ~~chaldron~~ ^cauldron^ of seething waters [?*uwr* i][*owr* w]hile coming down the gorge ^homeward^ ~~again~~. Search **65 was rich.]** were rich [*uwr* ~~,~~][*owr* .] **66–9 return; … returned]** return; and in spite of ~~Arowhena~~ my having Arowhena to comfort me I felt (as Robinson Crusoe says of himself on the death of his wife[*uwr* –][*owr*)] "desolate and dislocated in the world." I accordingly returned **69 wife, and through]** wife and ~~by th~~ through **70–1 supported … I was]** supported ~~t~~ myself by writing ~~short~~ ^good little^ stories for the magazines~~, and occasionally reviewing books. During the~~ and ~~tracts for one~~ ^~~for one~~^ ~~of the~~ ^for a tract^ societi[*uwr* es][*owr* y]: ~~th~~ I was **72 saying]** saying~~,~~ **73–4 the *brochures* … waiting-rooms]** the ~~tracts which~~ ^brochures which^ ~~lie abou~~ are distributed in the streets,~~,~~ and ^which^ are to be found in the waiting rooms **75–6 During … assumed]** During the hours that I could spare I ~~have~~ arranged my ~~diary~~ notes & diary till they ~~have~~ assumed

---

57–71 the report of … for the magazines,: f. 241r.
71–7 and for a … propose for the: f. 242r.

to add, save to unfold the scheme which I propose for the conversion of Erewhon.

That scheme has only been quite recently decided upon as the one which commends itself as most feasible. **80**

It will be seen at once that it would be madness for me to go with ten or a dozen subordinate missionaries by the same way as that which led me to discover Erewhon. I should be imprisoned for typhus, besides being handed over to the straighteners for having run away with Arowhena: an even darker fate, to which I dare hardly again allude, would be reserved for my **85** devoted fellow-labourers. It is plain therefore that some other way must be found for getting at the Erewhonians, and I am thankful to say that such another way is not wanting. One of the rivers which descends from the Snowy Mountains, and passes through Erewhon, is known to be navigable for several hundred miles from its mouth. Its upper waters have never yet **90** been explored, but I feel little doubt that it will be found possible to take a light gunboat (for we *must* protect ourselves) to the outskirts of the Erewhonian country.

I propose, therefore, that one of those associations should be formed in which the risk of each of the members is confined to the amount of his stake **95**

---

92 gunboat A small military ship with mounted guns, used in shallow coastal waters and rivers. While SB was in NZ, battles were being fought in the North Island between Māori and Māori-allied settlers on one side and the colonial government and allied Māori on the other. During the invasion of the Waikato, which took place from July 1863 to April 1864 and was one of the most important campaigns of the NZ Wars, the colonial government used gunboats on the Waikato River to pursue hostile Māori fighters: see Belich, 148.

94–6 associations … the concern SB alludes to a limited liability company, in which investors' risk in the event of business failure is limited to the amount they have invested in the company. Freedom to set

---

77 scheme which] scheme ^~~by~~^ which **79 That]** Th[*uwr* A][*owr* at] **79–80 which … feasible.]** which ~~most~~ ~~re~~commends itself as ~~in every way~~ ~~the best, and~~ ^the^ most feasible. **81 be madness for]** be ~~mere~~ madness ~~to send ten or a dozen missi~~ for **83 typhus, … handed]** typhus, ~~as well as~~ ^besides being^ ~~treated with the most horrible~~ handed **84–6 Arowhena: … It is]** Arowhena[*uwr* .][*owr* ,] ~~Moreover~~ ~~and the~~ ^an^ even darker fate, ^to^ which I dare hardly ^again^ allude, ~~to~~ would be reserved for my devoted fellow labourers. ~~Moreover I will never under any~~ ~~circumstances go~~ ^to^ ~~anywhere place where~~ ^~~to which~~^ ~~I cannot take Arowhena with me.~~ It is **86 way must]** way ~~must~~ must **88 way … One]** way is ~~not wanting~~ ^to be found.^ One **89 Snowy … known]** snowy mountains ~~is known to be~~ and passes through ~~the~~ ~~Erewhonian~~ ^Erewhonian^ ~~territory,~~ is known **90–1 mouth. … it will]** mouth: ^its upper waters have never yet bee[*uwr* d][*owr* n] ~~it is possible, & I~~ ^explored but I^ feel little doubt ~~that~~ ^that^ ~~(though it has never been explored~~) it will **92 gunboat … *must*]** gunboat – (for we must **94 propose, … one]** propose therefore that ~~Arowhena & I should~~ one **formed]** formed,

---

77–96 conversion of Erewhon … in the concern.: f. 243^{r}.

79–80 which commends … most feasible.] which seems most likely to be successful. E2, E9 **86 plain therefore]** E2, plain, therefore, E9 **92 *must*]** E2, must E9

in the concern. The first step would be to draw up a prospectus. In this I would advise that no mention should be made of the fact that the Erewhonians are the lost tribes. The discovery is one of absorbing interest to myself, but it is of a sentimental rather than commercial value, and business is business. The capital to be raised should not be less than fifty thousand pounds, and might be either in five or ten pound shares as hereafter determined. This should be amply sufficient for the expenses of an experimental voyage. When the money had been subscribed, it would be our duty to charter a steamer of some twelve or fourteen hundred tons burden, and with accommodation for a cargo of steerage passengers. She should carry two or three guns in case of her being attacked by savages at the mouth of the river. Boats of considerable size should be also provided and I think it would be desirable that these also should carry two or three

up a limited company had been made generally available in England under the Limited Liability Act of 1855, which was then incorporated into the Joint Stock Companies Act 1856. The introduction of limited liability had been highly contentious and triumphed amidst various kinds of opposition: some had argued, for instance, that limited liability would generate dangerous speculation, fraud and negligence; others that it contradicted 'natural justice' associated with individual responsibility (see, e.g., Chaplin, 10, 51, 139). Although legislative faith in limited liability persisted from the mid-1850s, debate continued. In the 1866 financial panic precipitated by the collapse of Overend, Gurney & Co. Ltd, detractors of limited liability such as politician and banker Samuel Jones-Loyd, 1st Baron Overstone (1796–1883) prompted renewed questioning: 'In the passion of the panic […] limited liability companies generally have been assailed as the cause of recent disasters. Lord Overstone, in the House of Lords the other night, denounced the whole system in the strongest terms, as gambling of the worst sort, affording facilities to unscrupulous adventurers to enrich themselves at the expense of the credulous public' ('Financing and Limited Liability', *PMG*, 13 June 1866, pp. 9–10).

96 prospectus A statement of proposed details and objectives of a suggested enterprise, circulated for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions.

96 first step would] first ~~thing to do~~ ^step^ would **96–7 prospectus … made]** prospectus. ~~In this~~ ^In this~~,~~^ I would advise that no mention should ~~m~~ be made **99 than commercial]** than ~~a~~ commercial **100 business. The capital]** business. ~~I would content myself therefore with~~ The capital **102–3 should be … When]** should ~~suffice~~ ^be amply sufficient^ for preliminary expenses, ~~and~~ ^indeed^ I fully believe that no further outlay would be necessary. When **104–106 some … carry]** some 1200 or 1400 tons burden, and with ~~ample~~ accommodation for a ^large^ range of ~~living~~ ^steerage^ passengers. The ship should be furnished with steam power, and ~~it would be advisable that she~~ should carry **108 that … should]** that ~~each of~~ these ^also^ should

96–104 The first step …duty to charter: f. 244^{r}.
104–15 a steamer of … Queensland, and point: f. 245^{r}. At the top of this page are the following lines: '~~concern. A capital of fifty thousand pounds might be thus easily raised, whether and either in five or ten pound shares as~~ ^~~should be~~^ ~~hereafter determined. This should be amply sufficient for the preliminary expenses, and~~ ^~~indeed~~^ ~~it is confidently hoped that no further outlay would be required. The first thing~~ ^~~step~~^ ~~to do would be to charter~~.' On f. 245^{v}, upside down, are the following lines: '~~the concern – Then follows a page in which the accompanying § (from the Times some 6 weeks back) is developed – and the § finally quoted — and finally another two pages describing my mee-ting the Chowbok in Exeter Hall as the Revd W. Habakuk. The last words being "It was chowbok."~~

103 voyage. When] E2, voyage. [*n.p.*] E9

six-pounders. The ship should be taken up the river as far as was considered safe, and a picked party should then ascend in the boats. The presence both of Arowhena and myself would be necessary at this stage, inasmuch as our knowledge of the language would disarm suspicion, and facilitate negotiations.

We should begin by representing the advantages afforded to labour in the colony of Queensland, and point out to the Erewhonians that by emigrating thither, they would be able to amass, each and all of them, enormous fortunes—a fact which would be easily provable by a reference to statistics. I have no doubt that a very great number might be thus induced to come back with us in the larger boats, and that we could fill our vessel with emigrants in three or four journeys. Should we be attacked, our course would be even simpler, for the Erewhonians have no gunpowder, and would be so surprised with its effects that we should be able to capture as

---

109 six-pounders Cannon throwing shot six pounds in weight.

114–20 We should begin … four journeys In Queensland, from the early 1860s, the practice now known as blackbirding saw Pacific Islanders coerced, usually by deception or force, into working as slaves or poorly paid indentured labourers on the state's cotton and sugar plantations. This trade in South Sea Islanders (or Kanakas), as they were collectively known, rapidly gathered a reputation for brutality and mistreatment. When in January 1868 the *Syren* anchored in Brisbane with 24 dead or dying Islanders onboard, the Queensland government responded with the Polynesian Labourers Act 1868, which was largely unsuccessful at ending abuses: see below l. 127. While SB was completing his MS of E1, the practice became the subject of widespread attention in Britain owing to the death of Oxford-educated missionary John Patteson (1827–1871). Bishop Selwyn (see Ch. 2, l. 6n) had recruited Patteson for missionary work in NZ in 1854; while working at the mission school in Auckland and the Melanesian mission in Melanesia, Patteson had visited Canterbury and stayed with SB at Mesopotamia in the early 1860s (Howard 1962, 41). In September 1871, Patteson was killed at Nukapu in the Solomon Islands, where he had landed alone. At the time, his death was interpreted as an act of revenge for the kidnapping of five men only days before from Nukapu by blackbirding recruiters who had pretended to be missionaries. The blackbirding trade was widely condemned in press reports of Patteson's death as 'semi-legalised slavery' ('The Murder of Bishop Patteson', *TE*, 2 December 1871, pp. 5–6) and 'kidnapping' ('The Kidnapping of South Sea Islanders', *PMG*, 27 January 1870, p. 7. On Patteson's life, see Younge 1874.

110–11 safe, … our] safe, and ~~Ar~~ a picked party should then ~~proceed~~ ~~ascend~~ ^ascend in^ ~~take~~ ~~to~~ the boats~~.~~ ~~in the first of which~~ [*uwr* t][*owr* T]he presence of Arowhena & myself would be ~~most~~ ~~desirable~~ ^~~[?]~~ ~~[h ?]~~ necessary at this stage,^ in as much as our **112–13 suspicion, … negotiations.]** suspicion~~,~~ and facilitate ~~necessary~~ negotiations. **115 point out to]** point ^~~out to the Erewhonians~~^ out ~~out to them~~ ^~~(as may be easily proved by~~ ^^~~any~~^^ ~~statistics)~~^ ~~that by emigrating thither, they would** be able to amass each and all of them enormous fortunes~~ ^~~a thing which should be easily provable by a reference to statistics~~ **~~statistics~~**^ ~~a fact~~ ~~I entertain~~ ^~~have~~^ ~~no doubt that a very large number might be thus induced to join us, come back with us~~ out to **116 thither,]** thither **amass, … them,]** amass each and all of them **118 great]** large **119 us in]** us ~~In~~ in **could]** might **120 attacked,]** attacked **121 simpler,]** simpler **121–2 gunpowder, … surprised]** gunpowder, ~~whereas we should~~ and would be so ~~alarmed~~ surprised

---

115–19 to the Erewhonians … back with us: f. 246^{r}.
119–123 in the larger … engage them on: f. 247^{r}.

---

120 journeys. Should] E2, journeys. [*n.p.*] Should E9

many as we chose; in this case we should feel able to engage them on more advantageous terms, for they would be prisoners of war. But even though we were to meet with no violence, I doubt not that a cargo of seven or eight hundred Erewhonians could be induced, when they were once on board the vessel, to sign an agreement which should be mutually advantageous both to us and them.

We should then proceed to Queensland, and dispose of our engagement with the Erewhonians to the sugar-growers of that settlement, who are in great want of labour; it is believed that the money thus realised would enable us to declare a handsome dividend, and leave a considerable balance, which might be spent in repeating our operations and bringing over other cargoes of Erewhonians, with fresh consequent profits. In fact we could go backwards and forwards as long as there was a demand for labour in Queensland, or indeed in any other Christian colony, for the supply of Erewhonians would be unlimited, and they could be packed closely and fed at a very reasonable cost.

It would be my duty and Arowhena's to see that our emigrants should be boarded and lodged in the households of religious sugar-growers; these persons would give them the benefit of that instruction whereof they stand so greatly in need. Each day, as soon as they could be spared from their work

---

127 an agreement … mutually advantageous The Polynesian Labourers Act 1868 had set out a standard contract to be drawn up onboard the recruiting vessel verifying that the labourer had voluntarily come to work and establishing their terms of employment. The Act required recruiters, wherever possible, to ask missionaries or other Europeans to sign forms confirming that the Islanders understood their contracts and had volunteered to enlist (Moore 1985, 27). As a whole, however, the Act was open to abuse and difficult to enforce: see Scott, 38–9.

137–8 packed closely … reasonable cost A reference to the way slaves were chained and crammed into tight spaces onboard slave ships, in order to make the trip more profitable (especially since many slaves were expected to die on the voyage), during the transatlantic slave trade of the 16th–19th cents. This practice became notorious from the 18th cent. when shocking diagrams of slave ships, depicting the arrangements whereby hundreds of slaves could be packed onboard, were widely circulated in Britain as part of the abolitionist movement. The most famous of these was the diagram of the Brookes slave ship, first published in 1788 by the Plymouth chapter of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade: see Wood, 16–19.

142–5 Each day … church-going SB echoes the practice of slave-owners during the antebellum era

---

123 chose;] ~: **132–4 more … agreement]** *see app.* **129 proceed to]** proceed ~~at once~~ to **engagement]** contract **131 of … that]** of labour~~ers~~: ~~and~~ ~~[?]~~ ^it is believed^ ~~it is hoped~~ that **132–3 dividend, … which]** dividend ~~on the original shares, as well as and also provide the~~ ~~means for our returning to the Erewhonian river~~ ^~~and~~^ ~~with~~ ~~a view to repeating th our operations. The scheme~~ and leave a considerable balance, ~~in hand,~~ which **133–4 operations … consequent]** operations~~,~~ and bringing over ~~a fresh~~ ^other^ cargoes of Erewhonians,~~, with of course~~ with ^fresh^ consequent **135 and]** & **135–55 as long … advertise]** *see app.*

123–35 more advantageous terms … backwards and forwards: f. 248r. There are several deleted lines at the top of this page: *see app*.

135–55 as long as … will sufficiently advertise: f. 249r.

work in the plantations, they would be assembled for praise, and be thoroughly grounded in the Church Catechism, while the whole of every Sabbath should be devoted to singing psalms and church-going. This must be insisted upon, both in order to put a stop to any uneasy feeling which might show itself either in Queensland or in the mother country as to the means whereby the Erewhonians had been obtained, and also because it would give our own shareholders the comfort of reflecting that they were saving souls and filling their own pockets at one and the same moment. By the time the emigrants had got too old for work they would have become thoroughly instructed in religion; they could then be shipped back to Erewhon and carry the good seed with them.

I can see no hitch nor difficulty about the matter, and trust that this book will sufficiently advertise the scheme to insure the subscription of the necessary capital; as soon as this is forthcoming I will guarantee that I convert the Erewhonians not only into good Christians but into a source of considerable profit to the shareholders.

I should add that I cannot claim the credit for having originated the above scheme. I had been for months at my wit's end, forming plan after

in the Southern USA, who were encouraged by missionaries to attend to the spiritual needs of their slaves. Prominent planter and missionary Charles Colcock Jones (1804–1863), for instance, in *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (1842), gave guidelines for religious teaching: he suggested that neighbouring planters collectively employ a missionary to 'visit every plantation once in two weeks, catechise the children and preach to the adults, besides meeting all the plantations on the Sabbath, either at one or more stations, and in like manner carry forward his work of preaching and catechising' (Jones 1842, 239). Jason R. Young points out that such efforts to proselytise slaves were fraught with contradictions: planters had long been uneasy about the idea of keeping fellow Christians in bondage and feared that Christian doctrine would be used to foment rebellion. As a result, missionaries tended to advocate a version of Christian theology grounded on 'social control' (Young 2005, 176–83). Certain ex-slaves famously testified to the religious hypocrisy of their owners, e.g., African-American statesman and abolitionist Frederick Douglass (1817–1895), in his widely-read *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845), described evangelising masters as the most cruel and proclaimed that '[t]he religion of the south is a mere covering for the most horrid crimes, — a justifier of the most appalling barbarity, — a sanctifier of the most hateful frauds, and a dark shelter under which the darkest, foulest, grossest and most infernal deeds of the slaveholders find the strongest protection' (Douglass, 117).
152–3 shipped back to Erewhon The Polynesian Labourers Act 1868 introduced three-year work

155–6 to insure … soon] to ~~render~~ ^ensure^ the subscription of the necessary capital; ~~and convert them the Ere~~ as soon **156–7 guarantee … convert]** guar~~r~~antee that I ^~~can~~^ convert **157 Christians]** Christians, **158–9 shareholders. I]** shareholders myself & Arowhena. I **159–60 claim … I had]** claim ~~the~~ credit for ~~entire~~ ~~originality~~ having originated the above ~~admirable scheme.~~ ^~~plan~~ scheme.^ I ~~w~~ had **160–2 after … difficulties, when]** after plan ~~[?]each more~~ ~~obviously~~ ^~~as impractical~~^ as ~~the others one and all~~ ~~of these impracticable,~~ ~~for the evangelisation of Erewhon,~~ ^for the evangelisation of Erewhon, but meeting always with insuperable difficulties,^ when

155–65 the scheme to … in January 1872.: f. 250r.

145 church-going. This] E2, church-going. [*n.p.*] This E9

plan for the evangelisation of Erewhon, but meeting always with insuperable difficulties, when by one of those special interpositions which should be a sufficient answer to the sceptic, my eye was directed to the following paragraph in the *Times* newspaper, of one of the first days in January 1872:—

"POLYNESIANS IN QUEENSLAND.—The Marquis of Normanby, the new Governor of Queensland, has completed his inspection of the northern districts of the colony. It is stated that at Mackay, one of the best sugar-growing districts, his Excellency saw a good deal of the Polynesians. In the course of a speech to those who entertained him there the Marquis said:—'I have been told that the means by which Polynesians were obtained were not legitimate, but I have failed to perceive this, in so far at least as Queensland is concerned; and, if one can judge by the countenances and manners of the Polynesians, they experience no regret at their position.' But his Excellency pointed out the advantage of giving them religious instruction. It would tend to set at rest an uneasy feeling which at present existed in the country to know that they were inclined to retain the Polynesians, and teach them religion."

I feel that comment is unnecessary, and will therefore conclude with one word of thanks to the reader who may have had the patience to follow me through my adventures without losing his temper; but with two for any who may write at once to the Secretary of the Erewhon Evangelisation Company, Limited (at the address which shall hereafter be advertised), and request to have his name put down as a shareholder.

P.S. I had just received and corrected the last proof of the foregoing

---

contracts, stipulating that Polynesian labourers could be shipped home after that time. In reality, some were unable to return and others did not survive the three-year period: see Moore 1985, 39, 129, 224.

164–65 Times … January 1872 This article did appear in the *Times*, but on 28 December 1871. SB cut out the article and pasted it into the MS: see app. for ls 166–94.

166 Marquis of Normanby George Phipps, 2nd Marquess of Normanby (1819–1890) was a liberal politician and a governor of various British colonies. He was Governor of Queensland from 1871–1874.

168 Mackay A town in the sugar-growing region on the east coast of Queensland.

---

163 the sceptic,] the ~~freethinker~~ ^infidel~~.~~,^ **164–5 newspaper, … 1872:—]** Newspaper ^~~for~~^ of one of the first days in January 1872. ~~or it may have~~ **166–94 "POLYNESIANS … Mr Habakuk.]** *see app.*

166–82 "POLYNESIANS IN QUEENSLAND. … any who may: f. 251r.
182–94 write at once … of Mr Habakkuk.: f. 252r.

161–2 Erewhon, … when] Erewhon, when E2, E9 **163 sceptic, my]** E2, sceptic, and make even the most confirmed rationalist irrational, my E9 **170 there]** E2, ~, E9 **181 two]** E2, ~, E9 **183 Limited]** limited E2, E9 **185 P.S. I]** E2, P.S.—I E9

volume, and was walking down the Strand from Temple Bar to Charing Cross, when on passing Exeter Hall I saw a number of devout-looking people crowding into the building with faces full of interested and complacent anticipation. I stopped, and saw an announcement that a missionary meeting was to be held, further that the native missionary, the Rev. William Habakkuk, from—(the colony from which I had started on my adventures), would be introduced, and make a short address. After some little difficulty I obtained admission, and heard two or three speeches, which were prefatory to the introduction of Mr Habakkuk. One of these struck me as perhaps the most presumptuous that I had ever heard. The speaker said that the races of whom Mr Habakkuk was a specimen, were in all probability the lost ten tribes of Israel. I dared not contradict him then, but I felt angry and injured at hearing the speaker jump to so preposterous a conclusion upon such insufficient grounds. The discovery of the ten tribes was mine, and mine only. I was still in the very height of indignation, when there was a murmur of expectation in the hall, and Mr. Habakkuk was brought forward. The reader may judge of my surprise at finding that he was none other than my old friend Chowbok.

My jaw dropped, and my eyes almost started out of my head with

186–7 the Strand … Exeter Hall SB lived just off the Strand, a major throughfare in central London. Temple Bar, the ceremonial entrance to the City of London from the City of Westminster, is at one end of the Strand and Charing Cross junction at the other. Exeter Hall, on the north side of the Strand, had opened in 1831. It was a venue for religious and philanthropic assemblies, musical concerts, and a hub of Evangelical activity: see Cross and Livingstone.

191 Habakkuk A prophet whose oracles and prayer are recorded in the Book of Habakkuk, the eighth of twelve Old Testament books that bear the names of the Minor Prophets. Various Māori visited England in the 19th cent., often under missionary auspices. Hoani Wiremu Hīpango, a Te Āti Haunui-a-Pāpārangi leader and one of the first Whanganui Māori to adopt the Christian faith, is one example: escorted by an English missionary to London in 1855, Hīpango had an audience with Queen Victoria, who asked him 'how long he had been baptized—whether he spoke English—whether he had long worn English clothing—what proportion of the native race had embraced Christianity' (Taylor 1855, 473).

194–5 One … perhaps the] one of these ~~speeches~~ struck me as ^perhaps^ the **195–6 The speaker … were]** The ~~man actually~~ ^speaker^ said that the ~~tribes from which~~ ^races of whom^ Mr Habakul ~~came~~ ^was a specimen^ were **197–8 contradict … jump]** contradict him~~,~~ then, ~~and assure him that~~ ~~the true point~~ but I felt ~~injured and~~ angry and injured at hearing ~~any body~~ ^the speaker^ jump **199 such insufficient]** such ~~utterly~~ insufficient **200 was mine, … I was]** is mine, and mine only. ~~They are the~~ ~~Erewhonians,~~. ^~~as I will prove most incontestably to any one who will presume to contradict it me.~~^ I was **200–2 of indignation, … The reader]** of my ~~resentment~~ indignation when there was a ~~[?murf]~~ murmur of expectation in the Hall and Mr Habakuk ~~himself~~ was brought forward. [*uwr* t][*owr* T]he reader **202 that he was]** that ~~it~~ ^he^ was

194–205 One of these … poor fellow was: f. 253r.

190 held, … the] held forthwith, and that the E2, E9 **203 Chowbok.]** ~! E2, E9

astonishment. The poor fellow was dreadfully frightened, and the storm of applause which greeted his introduction seemed only to add to his confusion. I dare not trust myself to report his speech—indeed I could hardly listen to it, for I was nearly choked with trying to suppress my feelings. I am sure that I caught the words "Adelaide, the Queen Dowager," and I thought that I heard "Mary Magdalene" shortly afterwards, but I had then to leave the hall for fear of being turned out. While on the staircase, I heard another burst of prolonged and rapturous applause, so I suppose the audience were satisfied.

The feelings that came uppermost in my mind were hardly of a very solemn character, but I thought of my first acquaintance with Chowbok, of the scene in the woodshed, of the innumerable lies he had told me, of his repeated attempts upon the brandy, and of many an incident which I have not thought it worth while to dwell upon; and I could not but derive some satisfaction from the hope that my own efforts might have contributed to the change which had been doubtless wrought upon him, and that the rite which I had performed, however unprofessionally, on that wild upland river-bed, had not been wholly without effect. I trust that what I have written about him in the earlier part of my book may not be libellous, and that it may do him no harm with his employers. He was then unregenerate. I must certainly find him out and have a talk with him; but before I shall have time to do so these pages will be in the hands of the public.

* * * * *

At the last moment I see a probability of a complication which causes me much uneasiness. Please subscribe quickly. Address to the Mansion-House, care of the Lord Mayor, whom I will instruct to receive names and subscriptions for me until I can organise a committee.

228–9 Mansion-House The official residence of the Lord Mayor of London, used by charitable and business related organisations for meetings, fundraising events and receptions.

---

205 was dreadfully] was ~~evidently~~ dreadfully **207 speech—indeed]** speech; ~~and~~ indeed **208–30 choked … committee.]** *see app.*

205–213 dreadfully frightened, and … audience were satisfied: f. 254r.
214–30 The feelings that … organise a committee.: f. 255r.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts and Archival Documents

Cambridge, St John's College Special Collections Library, *Hē Kainē Diathēkē = Novum Testamentum: Juxta exemplar Millianum* (Oxonii: E Typographeo Academio, 1851), BV B3

Cambridge, St John's College Special Collections Library, Oliver Cromwell, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches: With Elucidations*, ed. by Thomas Carlyle, 3 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), BV C3

Cambridge, St John's College Working Library, 'Assorted Examination Papers in all Subjects from Various Colleges, Particularly St John's College', P6.1.

Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Drawing: Mesopotamia Station (c1860s), 1954.47.1

Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Drawing: Mesopotamia Homesteads (c1860s), 1954.47.6

Christchurch, Canterbury Museum, Forest Creek Manuscript: Samuel Butler (c1860s), EC154.23

London, British Library, *Erewhon*: A Romance by Samuel Butler. Autograph (1872), Add. Ms., 36711

London, British Library, *Erewhon*: A Romance by Samuel Butler. The Printed Sheets (1901), Add. Ms., 36712

Shrewsbury, Taylor Library, Samuel Butler Penal, A.2.E

Lifetime, Scholarly Editions and Reprints of *Erewhon*

Cambridge, St John's College Old Library, *Erewhon; Or, Over the Range*, 1st edn (London: Trübner, 1872), BII ERE 1872.1

Cambridge, St John's College Old Library, *Erewhon; Or, Over the Range*, 2nd edn (London: Trübner, 1872), BII ERE 1872.3

Cambridge, St John's College Old Library, *Erewhon; Or, Over the Range*, 9th edn (London: Grant Richards, 1901), BII ERE 1901.1

Erewhon, ed. by Peter Mudford (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1970).

Erewhon; Or, Over the Range, ed. by Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1981)

Other Works by Samuel Butler

'Our Tour', *Eagle*, 1859, pp. 241–55

'Our Emigrant', *Eagle*, Michaelmas 1860, pp. 101–13

'Our Emigrant: Part II', *Eagle*, Michaelmas 1860, pp. 149–69

'Darwin on the Origin of Species', *Press*, 20 December 1862, p. 2

'Darwin Among the Machines', *Press*, 13 June 1863, pp. 1–2

'A First Year in Canterbury Settlement', *Press*, 28 October 1863, p. 2

'Lucubratio Ebria', *Press*, 29 July 1865, p. 2

A First Year in Canterbury Settlement (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863)

The Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ as given by the Four Evangelists, Critically Examined (London: Williams & Norgate, 1865)

'The Mechanical Creation, *Reasoner*, 1 July 1865, pp. 229–31

Erewhon Revisited: Twenty Years Later, Both by the Original Discoverer of the Country and by his Son (London: Grant Richards, 1901)

'Thought and Language', in *Essays on Life, Art and Science*, ed. by R. A. Streatfield (London: A. C. Fifield, 1908), pp. 176–233

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), III: *The Fair Haven* (1923)

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), IV: *Life and Habit* (1923)

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), V: *Evolution, Old and New* (1924)

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), VI: *Unconscious Memory* (1924)

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), VII: *Alps and Sanctuaries* (1924)

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), VIII: *Luck, or Cunning?* (1924)

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), XVII: *The Way of All Flesh* (1925)

'A Clergyman's Doubts', in *The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler*, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), XVIII: *Collected Essays I* (1925), pp. 51–99

'Ramblings in Cheapside', in *The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler*, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), XVIII: *Collected Essays I* (1925), pp. 133–47

'The Humour of Homer', in *The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler*, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), XIX: *Collected Essays II* (1925), pp. 237–71

'Quis Desiderio…?', in *The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler*, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), XIX: *Collected Essays II* (1925), pp. 103–13

The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, ed. by Henry Festing Jones and A. T. Bartholomew, 20 vols (London: Jonathan Cape; New York: E. P. Dutton, 1923–1926), XX: *The Note-Books of Samuel Butler* (1926)

Butleriana, ed. by A. T. Bartholomew (London: Nonesuch Press, 1932)

—— and Henry Festing Jones, *Narcissus: A Dramatic Cantata in Vocal Score: With a Separate Accompaniment for the Piano-forte* (London: Weekes, 1888)

Samuel Butler Correspondence and Biographies

Howard, Daniel, F., ed., *The Correspondence of Samuel Butler and his Sister May*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962)

Jones, Henry Festing, *Samuel Butler, Author of 'Erewhon', 1835–1902: A Memoir*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1919)

Keynes, Geoffrey, and Brian Hill, eds, *Letters between Samuel Butler and Miss E. M. A Savage: 1871–1885* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935)

Raby, Peter, *Samuel Butler: A Biography* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1990)

Silver, Arnold, ed., *The Family Letters of Samuel Butler, 1841–1886* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1962)

Newspaper Articles

[Anon.], 'Scheutz's Calculating Engine', *London Daily News*, 22 March 1860, p. 4

[Anon.], 'Lecture on the Geological Structure of the Province of Canterbury, by Julius Haast, Esq., Provincial Geologist', *Lyttelton Times*, 23 October 1861, p. 4.

[Anon.], 'Town and Country News', *Lyttelton Times*, 26 July 1862, p. 4

[Anon.], 'Barrel Organs', *Press*, 17 January 1863, p. 2

[Anon.], 'Darwin on Species', *Press*, 21 February 1863, p. 4

[Anon.], 'Sad Fate of an Exploring Party in Canterbury Province', *Nelson Chronicle*, 1 September 1863, p. 2

[Anon.], 'Scientific Gossip', *Press*, 9 December 1863, p. 2

[Anon.], 'The Fate of Townley', *Newcastle Journal*, 5 February 1864, p. 1

[Anon.], 'Sir George Grey and the Criminals', *Lyttelton Times*, 24 March 1864, p. 3

[Anon.], 'Financing and Limited Liability', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 June 1866, pp. 9–10

[Anon.], 'The Kidnapping of South Sea Islanders', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 January 1870, p. 7.

[Anon.], 'Occasional Notes', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 March 1871, p. 11

[Anon.], ‘The Murder of Bishop Patteson’, *The Examiner*, 2 December 1871, pp. 5–6

[Anon.], ‘Polynesians in Queensland’, *The Times*, 28 December 1871, p. 5.

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon’, *Echo*, 9 April 1872, p. 2

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon; or, Over the Range (Trübner & Co.)’, *Athenaeum*, 20 April 1872, p. 492

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon,’ *Saturday Review*, 20 April 1872, pp. 507–08.

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon; or, Over the Range. Trübner’, *Fortnightly Review*, 1 May 1872, pp. 609–10

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon’, *Vanity Fair*, 4 May 1872, p. 140

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 10 May 1872, p. 11

[Anon.], ‘New Book’, *Illustrated London News*, 18 May 1872, p. 487

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon; or, Over the Range. Trübner and Co.,’ *British Quarterly Review*, July 1872, pp. 137–38

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon Revisited’, *The Times*, 9 October 1901, p. 5

[Anon.], ‘A Disciple of Swift’, *Literary World*, 25 October 1901, pp. 294–96

[Anon.], ‘Back to Nowhere’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 November 1901, p. 4

[Anon.], ‘Erewhon’, *Guardian*, 13 November 1901, p. 1585

[Anon.], ‘New Zealand Scenery in “Erewhon”’, *Press*, 30 November 1901, p. 6

[Anon.], ‘A Pioneer’s Story’, *Ashburton Guardian*, 23 May 1921, p. 6

All Other Works

Abrams, Lynn, *The Making of Modern Woman: Europe 1789–1918* (London: Routledge, 2014)

Acland, L. G. D., *The Early Canterbury Runs* (Whitcombe & Tombs, 1951)

Adams, C. Warren, *A Spring in the Canterbury Settlement* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1853)

Adams, Peter, *Fatal Necessity: British Intervention in New Zealand, 1830–1847* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2013)

Alford, Henry, *The Greek Testament: With a Critically Revised Text; A Digest of Various Readings; Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage; Prolegomena; and Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, 8 vols (London: Rivingtons, 1841–1861), IV: *Part 1* (1859)

Alpers, Paul, *What is Pastoral?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle: A New Translation Mainly from the Text of Bekker*, trans. by Percy Drummond Chase (Oxford: William Graham, 1847)

—— *Politics*, trans. by H. Rackman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Loeb Classical Library, 1932)

—— *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. by H. Rackman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Loeb Classical Library, 2014)

Arnold, Matthew, *Cultural and Anarchy and Other Writings*, ed. by Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Bagehot, Walter, 'The Character of Sir Robert Peel', in *The Works and Life of Walter Bagehot*, ed. by Mrs Russell Barrington, 10 vols (London: Longmans, Green, 1915), II: *Historical and Financial Essays*, pp. 178–214

—— *Physics and Politics; Or, Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of 'Natural Selection' and 'Inheritance' to Political Society* (London: Harry S. King, 1872)

Ballantyne, Tony, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (British Columbia: UBC Press, 2014)

Barker, Lady (Mary Anne), *Station Life in New Zealand* (London: Macmillan, 1870)

Barton, Ruth, 'Haast and the Moa: Reversing the Tyranny of Distance', *Pacific Science*, 54 (2000), 251–63

Beer, Gillian, 'Science and Literature', in *The Cambridge History of Victorian Literature*, ed. by Kate Flint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 466–86

—— *Alice in Space: The Sideways Victorian World of Lewis Carroll* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016)

Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986)

Bell, Leonard, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of the Maori, 1840–1914* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1992)

Berg, Maxine, *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815–1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Berg, Peter, 'Radiata pine', in *Te Ara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/radiata-pine> [accessed 11 January 2022]

Blythe, Helen Lucy, *The Victorian Colonial Romance with the Antipodes* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014)

Boehmer, Elleke, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The United Church of England and Ireland: Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons (Oxford: Samuel Collingwood for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1837)

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The United Church of England and Ireland: Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons (Oxford: John W. Parker for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1840)

The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of The United Church of England and Ireland: Together with The Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons (London: John W. Parker for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1842)

Brander, Michael, *The Victorian Gentleman* (London: Gordon Cremonesi, 1975)

Broadbridge, Seymour, *Studies in Railway Expansion and the Capital Market in England, 1825–1873* (London: Routledge, 2006)

Brooke, Christopher N. L., *A History of the University of Cambridge: Volume IV, 1870–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Brooke, John Hedley, 'Samuel Wilberforce, Thomas Huxley, and Genesis', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Reception History of the Bible*, ed. by Michael Lieb and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 317–492

Brooks, Chris, and Andrew Saint, *The Victorian Church: Architecture and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999)

Bryant, John, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2002)

Bucknill, Charles, and Daniel H. Tuke, *A Manual of Psychological Medicine: Containing the History, Nosology, Description, Statistics, Diagnosis, Pathology, and Treatment of Insanity, with an Appendix of Cases* (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1858)

Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc Comte de, *Buffon's Natural History* (London: Printed for C. and G. Kearsley, 1791)

Burrows, Colin J., *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005)

Burton, Antoinette, and Isabel Hofmeyr, eds, *Ten Books that Shaped the British Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014)

Butler, Joseph, 'The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature', in *The Works of Bishop Butler*, ed. by David E. White (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), pp. 147–314

Butler, Samuel, *Hudibras*, ed. by John Wilders (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967)

Cambridge Examination Papers: A Supplement to the University Calendar, 1856–59 (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1857)

Cambridge University Calendar: For the Year 1855 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for J. & J. J. Deighton, 1855)

Carey, Hilary M., *God's Empire: Religion and Colonisation in the British World, 1801–1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Carlyle, Thomas, *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. by Henry Duff Traill, 30 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896), V: *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History*

—— ‘Signs of the Times’, in *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. by Henry Duff Traill, 30 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896), XXVII: *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays II*, pp. 56–82

—— ‘Chartism’, in *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. by Henry Duff Traill, 30 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896), XXIX: *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays IV*, pp. 118–204

Caudel, Mark Edwards, ‘Julius Haast: Towards a New Appreciation of his Life and Work’ (unpublished master’s thesis, University of Canterbury, Department of History 2007)

Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church: Part II* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1970)

Chaplin, Julia Elizabeth, ‘The Origins of the 1855/6 Introduction of General Limited Liability in England’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, School of History, 2016)

Chase, Mark W., and others, ‘Murderous Plants: Victorian Gothic, Darwin and Modern Insights into Vegetable Carnivory’, *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society*, 161 (2009), 329–56

Chudleigh, Edward, *Diary of E. R. Chudleigh 1862–1921* (Christchurch: Simpson and Williams, 1950)

Cohen, Philip, ed., *Devils and Angels: Textual Editing and Literary Theory* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991)

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1949)

—— *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, ed. by John Colmer (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976)

Conolly, John, *The Treatment of the Insane Without Medical Restraints* (London: Smith, Elder, 1856)

Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, ‘Exeter Hall’, in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192802903001.0001/acref-9780192802903-e-2488> [accessed 12 November 2020]

Crowley, F. K., ‘Broome, Sir Frederick Napier (1842–1896)’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography* <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/broome-sir-frederick-napier-3068/text4527> [accessed 22 July 2021]

Daniels, R. Balfour, ‘Names in the Fiction of Samuel Butler (1835–1902)’, *South Central Bulletin*, 29 (1969), 129–32

Darwin, Charles, *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1868)

——*The Descent of Man: And Selection in Relation to Sex*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1871)

—— *The Origin of Species*, ed. by Gillian Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

—— ‘Letter no. 4902, 30 September 1865’, in *Darwin Correspondence Project* <https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/letter/DCP-LETT-8318.xml> [accessed on 12 May 2021]

Darwin, Francis, *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1887), I

Dingley, Robert, ‘The Ruins of the Future: Macaulay’s New Zealander and the Spirit of the Age’, in *Histories of the Future: Studies in Fact, Fantasy and Science Fiction*, ed. by Alan Sandison and Robert Dingley (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 15–33

Doniger, Wendy, ‘“I Have Scinde”: Flogging a Dead (White Male Orientalist) Horse’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 58 (1999), 940–60

Douglass, Frederick, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Dowland, David A., *Nineteenth-Century Anglican Theological Training: The Redbrick Challenge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Driscoll, Matthew James, and Elena Pierazzo, ‘Introduction: Old Wine in New Bottles?’, in *Digital Scholarly Editing: Theories and Practices*, ed. by Matthew James Driscoll and Elena Pierazzo (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2016), pp. 1–15

Drysdale, George, *The Elements of Social Science: Or, Physical, Sexual, and Natural Religion* (London: E. Truelove, 1860)

During, Simon, ‘Samuel Butler’s Influence’, in *A History of New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Mark Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 44–55

Eggert, Paul, ‘Apparatus, Text, Interface’, in *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 97–118

Eldred-Grigg, Stevan, *Diggers, Hatters & Whores: The Story of the New Zealand Gold Rushes* (Auckland: Random House, 2011)

Eliot, George, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, ed. by Nancy Henry (London: William Pickering, 1994)

Endersby, Jim, *Imperial Nature: Joseph Hooker and the Practices of Victorian Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008)

Evans, Harriet, ‘The Bloody Code’, *Manchester Student Law Review*, 2 (2013), 28–40

Evison, Harry C., *The Long Dispute: Māori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1997)

Fermanis, Porscha, ‘Capital, Conversion, and Settler Colonialism in Samuel Butler’s *Erewhon*’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 25 (2020), 424–42

Ford, Lisa, and David Andrew Roberts, ‘Expansion, 1820–50’, in *The Cambridge History of Australia*, ed. by Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 121–48

Foucault, Michel, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, trans. by Colin Gordon (New York: Harvester Press, 1980)

—— *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. by Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1991)

Fraistat, Neil, and Julia Flanders, ‘Introduction: Textual Scholarship in the Age of Media Consciousness’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 1–15

Franceschi, Franco, ‘The Economy: Work and Wealth’, in *Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1300–1550*, ed. by John M. Najemy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 124–44

Fyfe, Aileen, ‘The Reception of William Paley’s *Natural Theology* in the University of Cambridge’, *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 30 (1997), 321–35

—— *Science and Salvation Evangelical Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004)

Galton, Francis, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (London: Macmillan, 1869)

—— *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Development* (London: Macmillan, 1883)

Garland, Martha, *Cambridge Before Darwin: The Ideal of a Liberal Education, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Gibbon, Edward, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. by David Womersley, 3 vols (London: Allen Lane, 1994), I

Gibbins, John R., '"Old Studies and New": The Organisation of Knowledge in University Curriculum', in *The Organisation of Knowledge in Victorian Britain* ed. by Martin Daunton (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 235–62

Gilderdale, Betty, *The Seven Lives of Lady Barker* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2009)

Gillott, David, 'Authority, Authorship, and Lamarckian Self-Fashioning in the Works of Samuel Butler (1835–1902)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birkbeck, University of London, Department of English, Theatre and Creative Writing, 2012)

—— *Samuel Butler Against the Professionals: Rethinking Lamarckism 1860–1900* (Leeds: Legenda, 2015)

Givens, Terryl, *When Souls Had Wings: Pre-Mortal Existence in Western Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Grafton, Anthony, *The Footnote: A Curious History* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999)

Green, Andy, 'Technical Education and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century England and France', *History of Education*, 24 (1995), 123–39

Green, Martin, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980)

Greenslade, William, *Degeneration, Culture, and the Novel, 1880–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Greetham, David, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1994)

— 'A History of Textual Scholarship', in *Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 16–41

Gregory, James, *Of Victorians and Vegetables: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007)

Haast, Hienrich Ferdinand von, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder* (Wellington: Avery Press, 1948)

Handel, George Frideric, *The Works of Handel, in Score: Correct, Uniform, and Complete* (London: Longman, 1787–1797)

—— *Suites* (London: Galliard, 1970)

—— *The Librettos of Handel's Operas: A Collection of Seventy-One Librettos Documenting Handel's Operatic Career* (New York: Garland, 1989)

Hight, James, and C. R. Straubel, eds., *A History of Canterbury: Volume 1, to 1854* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957)

Hilton, Boyd, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988)

—— *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People? England, 1783–1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

—— 'The Nineteenth Century', in *St John's College, Cambridge: A History*, ed. by Peter Linehan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 220–396

Homberger, Margaret, 'Henry Maudsley (1835–1918)', in *Deviance, Disorder and the Self* <http://www7.bbk.ac.uk/deviance/biographies/maudsley.htm> [accessed 15 November 2020]

Hofmeyr, Isabel, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004)

Holt, Lee Elbert, 'Samuel Butler's Revisions of *Erewhon*', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 38 (1944), 22–38

The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, Authorized King James Version (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. by A. T. Murray (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Loeb Classical Library, 1999)

Hoppen, K. Theodore, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846–1886* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Houghton, Walter E., *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830–1870* (New Haven: Published for Wellesley College by Yale University Press, 1985)

Howe, Kerry, *Quest for Origins: Who First Discovered and Settled New Zealand and the Pacific Islands?* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003)

Hume, David, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion: And Other Writings*, ed. by Dorothy Coleman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

Huxley, Thomas Henry, 'On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automata, and its History (1874)', in *Collected Essays*, 9 vols (London: Macmillan, 1894), I: *Methods and Results*, pp. 199–250

Impey, Oliver R., and Arthur MacGregor, eds, *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985)

Holcomb, Justin S., and David A. Johnson, eds, Christian Theologies of the Sacraments: A Comparative Introduction (New York: New York University Press, 2017)

Jones, Charles Colcock, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (Savannah: Thomas Purse, 1842)

Jones, David W., 'Moral Insanity and Psychological Disorder: The Hybrid Roots of Psychiatry', *History of Psychiatry*, 28 (2017), 263–79

Jones, Joseph, *The Cradle of Erewhon: Samuel Butler in New Zealand* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1959)

Kaeppler, Adrienne, 'Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 2 (1982), 82–107

Keats, John, *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. by George Thorn-Drury, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1896)

—— *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. by H. Buxton Forman (London: Reeves & Turner, 1895)

Knights, Ben, *The Idea of the Clerisy in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978)

Konstan, David, *Beauty: The Fortunes of an Ancient Greek Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Kraut, Richard, 'How to Justify Ethical Propositions: Aristotle's Method', in *The Blackwell Guide to Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. by Richard Kraut (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 76–95

Largent, Mark A., 'Darwin's Analogy between Artificial and Natural Selection in the Origin of Species', in *The Cambridge Companion to the 'Origin of Species'*, ed. by Michael Ruse and Robert J. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Larsen, Timothy, *Crisis of Doubt: Honest Faith in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Lernout, Geert, 'Continental Editorial Theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 61–78

Levine, Philippa, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Lightman, Bernard, 'A Conspiracy of One: Butler, Natural Theology, and Victorian Popularization', in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 113–42

Lister, James, 'Degeneration', in *Deviance, Disorder and the Self* <http://www7.bbk.ac.uk/deviance/intro.htm> [accessed 10 November 2020]

Locke, John, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. by Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975)

—— *The Second Treatise of Government*, ed. by Thomas P. Peardon (New York: Macmillan, 1986)

Lyell, Charles, *Principles of Geology: An Attempt to Explain the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface, by Reference to Causes now in Operation*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1830–33)

—— *Elements of Geology* (London: John Murray, 1838)

Lytton, Edward Bulwer, *The Coming Race* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995)

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *Critical and Historical Essays, Contributed to the Edinburgh Review*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1848), III

MacDonald, Alex, 'Utopia through the Looking-Glass: Lewis Carroll as Crypto-Utopian', *Utopian Studies*, 2 (1989), 125–35

Maguire, Hugh, 'The Victorian Theatre as a Home from Home', *Journal of Design History*, 13 (2000), 107–21

Maling, Peter Bromley, *Samuel Butler at Mesopotamia: Together with his 'Forest Creek' Manuscript and his Letter to Tripp and Acland* (Wellington: R. E. Owen Government Printer, 1960)

Malthus, Thomas Robert, *Essay on the Principle of Population: The 1803 Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018)

Mancall, Peter C., Paul Robertson, and Terry Huriwai, 'Maori and Alochol: A Reconsidered History', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 34 (2000), 129–34

Martin, Michèle, and Christopher Bodnar, 'The Illustrated Press Under Siege: Technological Imagination in the Paris Siege, 1870–1871', *Urban History*, 26 (2009), 67–85

Matthew, W. M., 'A Primitive Export Sector: Guano Production in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Peru', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 9 (1997), 35–57

Maudsley, Henry, *The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind* (New York: D. Appleton, 1867)

—— *Body and Mind: An Inquiry into their Connection and Mutual Influence, Specially in Reference to Mental Disorders* (London: Macmillan, 1870)

—— *Responsibility in Mental Disease* (London: M. D. King, 1874)

Mayor, Joseph Bickersteth, 'Classical Studies', *Eagle*, 1859, pp. 79–85

—— 'Classical Studies—Continued', *Eagle*, 1859, pp. 191–203

—— *What is Vegetarianism? An Address Delivered by John E. B. Mayor at the Annual Meeting of the Vegetarian Society, Held at Manchester, Oct. 14th, 1885* (Manchester: The Vegetarian Society, 1889)

—— *Plain Living and High Thinking* (London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1897)

McAloon, Jim, 'Land ownership', in *Te Ara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/land-ownership/print> [accessed 3 July 2021]

McCormick, E. H., *New Zealand Literature: A Survey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959)

McDonnell, Jenny, 'Brave New Worlds: Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*, Setter Colonialism and New Zealand Mean Time', in *Victorian Time: Technologies, Standardizations, Catastrophes*, ed. by Trish Ferguson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 95–111

McGann, Jerome, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983)

— 'Theory of Texts', *London Review of Books*, (10) 1988, <https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v10/n04/jerome-mcgann/theory-of-texts> [accessed 8 August 2021]

McKenzie, D. F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Mill, John Stuart, *'On Liberty'; with, 'The Subjection of Women'; and, 'Chapters on Socialism'*, ed. by Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Milton, John, *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. by Helen Darbishire, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), I: *Paradise Lost*

Moore, Clive, *A History of Melanesian Mackay* (Port Moresby: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and University of Papua New Guinea Press, 1985)

Moore, Kevin Ezra, *The Spatial Language of Time: Metaphor, Metonymy, and Frames of Reference* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2014)

Moran, Maureen, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007)

More, Thomas, *Utopia*, ed. by George M. Logan and trans. by Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Muggeridge, Malcolm, *The Earnest Atheist: A Study of Samuel Butler* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1936)

Müller, Friedrich Max, *Lectures on the Science of Language: Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in April, May and June 1861* (London: Longmans, Green, 1866)

Murray, Janet E., 'Stack, James West', in *Te Ara: Encyclopedia of New Zealand* <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s21/stack-james-west> [accessed 19 September 2019]

Murray, John, *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy* (London: John Murray, 1869)

Nash, Andrew, 'Textual Instability and the Contemporary Novel: Reading Janice Galloway's *The Trick is to Keep Breathing* On and Off the Page', in *New Directions in the History of the Novel* ed. by Patrick Parrinder, Andrew Nash and Nicola Wilson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 50–62

Newman, Francis William, *Essays on Diet* (London: K. Paul, Trench, 1883)

Night Prayer (Compline) (London: Church House, 2000)

Norrman, Ralph, *Samuel Butler and the Meaning of Chiasmus* (London: Macmillan, 1986)

Ogborn, Miles, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007)

O'Gorman, Francis, *Victorian Literature and Finance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Olby, Robert, 'Variation and Inheritance', in *The Cambridge Companion to the 'Origin of Species'*, ed by Michael Ruse and Robert J. Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 30–46

Owen, Richard, *A History of British Fossil Reptiles*, 4 vols (London: Cassell, 1849–1884), I (1849)

Palfrey, David Spike, 'The Moral Sciences Tripos at Cambridge University, 1848–1860' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, Faculty of History, 2003)

Paradis, James G., 'Butler After Butler: The Man of Letters as Outsider', in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 343–69

Paley, William, *Natural theology: Or, Evidence of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature*, ed. by Matthew D. Eddy and David Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Paul, Diane B., 'Darwin, Social Darwinism and Eugenics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Darwin*, ed. by Jonathan Hodge and Gregory Radick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 219–54

Paul, Robert Bateman, *Letters from Canterbury, New Zealand* (London: Rivingtons, 1857)

Payne, John Howard, *Clari, or the Maid of Milan* (London: John Dicks, 1884)

Peden, Robert, '"The Exceeding Joy of Burning": Pastoralists and the Lucifer Match: Burning the Rangelands of the South Island of New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century, 1850 to 1890', *Agricultural History*, 80 (2006), 17–34

Petrarch, *The Canzoniere*, trans. by Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999)

Porter, Andrew, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III, The Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Andrew Porter and William Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 222–46

—— 'Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century', *Church History*, 71 (2002), 555–84

Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph, *The General Idea of Revolution in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. and trans. by John Beverley Robinson (New York: Gordon Press, 1972)

—— *What is property?*, ed. and trans. by Donald R. Kelley and Bonnie G. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Purchas, Henry Thomas, *Bishop Harper and the Canterbury Settlement* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1909).

Rameka, Lesley, '*Kia Whakatōmuri te Haere Whakamua*: "I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past"', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 17 (2016), 387–98

Resnik, Judith, and Dennis E. Curtis, *Representing Justice: Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City-States and Democratic Courtrooms* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)

Robinson, Roger, '*Erewhon or over the Range* by Samuel Butler, Hans-Peter Breuer and Daniel F. Howard', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 4 (1986), 83–85

—— 'Samuel Butler, 1835–1902', *Kōtare*, 7 (2008), 65–78

—— 'Erewhon', in *Oxford Companion to New Zealand Literature*, ed. by Roger Robinson and Nelson Wattie (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 166–67

—— 'What if Samuel Butler had not Left New Zealand?', in *New Zealand as it Might Have Been*, ed. by Stephen Levine (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010), pp. 133–50

—— 'Mountain Gothic and Other Variants: Samuel Butler and M. K. Joseph', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 35 (2017), 151–72

—— 'From Canterbury Settlement to *Erewhon*: Butler and Antipodean Counterpoint', in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 21–44

Rothblatt, Sheldon, 'The Student Sub-culture and the Examination System in Early Nineteenth-Century Oxbridge', in *The University in Society, Volume I: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century*, ed. by Lawrence Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 247–303

—— *Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: An Essay in History and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1976)

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, *The Social Contract: Or Principles of Political Right*, trans. by H. J. Tozer (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1998)

—— *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men: With Related Documents*, trans. and ed. by Helena Rosenblatt (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's, 2011)

Ruskin, John, *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), VIII: *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1903)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), IX: *The Stones of Venice I* (1903)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), X: *The Stones of Venice II* (1904)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), XI: *The Stones of Venice III* (1904)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), XVII: *Unto This Last; Munera Pulveris; Time and Tide* (1905)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), XXVII: *Fors Clavigera I–III* (1907)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin,* ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), XXVIII: *Fors Clavigera IV–VI* (1907)

—— *The Works of John Ruskin,* ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: George Allen, 1903–12), XXIX: *Fors Clavigera VII–VIII* (1907)

Ryan, Simon, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Salt, Henry S., *Animal Rights: Considered in Relation to Social Progress* (London: William Reeves, 1892)

Scott, Joanne, and others, eds, *The Engine Room of Government: The Queensland Premier's Department, 1859–2001* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2001)

Searby, Peter, *History of the University of Cambridge: Volume 3, 1750–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Sedgwick, Adam, *A Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge*, 5th edn (Cambridge: John Deighton, 1850)

Seeley, J. R., *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1863)

—— *The Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, 1866)

Shaffer, Elinor, *Erewhons of the Eye: Samuel Butler as Painter, Photographer & Art Critic* (London: Reaktion, 1988)

—— ‘The Ironies of Biblical Criticism: From Samuel Butler’s ‘Resurrection’ Essay and *The Fair Haven* to *Erewhon Revisited*’, in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 58–87

Shakespeare, William, *The Tragedy of Hamlet*, ed. by G. R. Hibbard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)

—— *Twelfth Night, or, What You Will*, ed. by Roger Warren and Stanley Wells (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995)

—— *Measure for Measure*, ed. by Brian Gibbons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

—— *Shakespeare’s Sonnets: An Original-Spelling Text*, ed. by Paul Hammond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Shelley, Percy Bysshe, *The Poems of Shelley: Volume 2, 1817–1819*, ed. by Kelvin Everest and Geoffrey Matthews (Harlow: Longman, 2000)

Shore, Heather, *Artful Dodgers: Youth and Crime in Early Nineteenth-Century London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002)

Skilton, David, ‘Ruin and the Loss of Empire: From Venice and New Zealand to the Thames’, in *Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines*, ed. by Maurizio Ascari and Adriana Corraco (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), pp. 131–40

—— ‘Tourists at the Ruins of London: The Metropolis and the Struggle for Empire’, *Cercles*, 17 (2007), 93–119

—— ‘Contemplating the Ruins of London: Macaulay’s New Zealander and Others’, *Literary London Journal*, 2 (2004) <http://www.literarylondon.org/london-journal/march2004/skilton.html> [accessed 20 February 2021]

Slinn, Sara, *The Education of the Anglican Clergy: 1780–1839* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2017)

Small, Delphine, ‘Samuel Butler and Eliza Mary Ann Savage: The Literary Significance of their Relationship’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Miami University, Department of English, 1932)

Smith, Adam, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. by Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Snyder, Laura, 'Whewell and the Scientists: Science and Philosophy of Science in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *History of Philosophy of Science: New Trends and Perspectives*, ed. by Michael Heidelberger and Friedrich Stadler (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2002), pp. 81–94

Spencer, Herbert, *Social Statistics; Or, the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness* (London: John Chapman, 1851)

—— 'Prison Ethics' in *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative, Library Edition, Containing Seven Essays not before Republished, and Various Other Additions*, 3 vols (London: Williams and Norgate, 1891), III, pp. 152–91

Stopp, Marianne P., 'Eighteenth Century Labrador Inuit in England', *Arctic*, 62 (2009), 45–64

Stray, Christopher, 'A Parochial Anomaly: The Classical Tripos, 1822-1900', in *Teaching and Learning in Nineteenth-Century Cambridge* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 31–44

Stuart, Ross, 'Samuel Butler and Charles Paine Pauli: A Friendship Reconsidered', *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 28 (1985), 145–61

Sussman, Herbert, 'Samuel Butler as Late-Victorian Bachelor: Regulating and Representing the Homoerotic', in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 170–94

Sutherland, Kathryn, 'Anglo-American Editorial Theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Textual Scholarship*, ed. by Neil Fraistat and Julia Flanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 42–60

Sutcliffe, Barry, ed., *Plays by George Colman the Younger and Thomas Morton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983)

Sweet, Rosemary, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004)

Swift, Jonathan, *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. by Claude Rawson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Taylor, Richard, *Te Ika a Maui: Or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855)

Temple, Frederick, ed., *Essays and Reviews* (London: J. W. Parker, 1860)

Tennyson, Alfred Lord, *In Memoriam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Thompson, James, *British Political Culture and the Idea of 'Public Opinion', 1867–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Thomson, William, 'Art. XC: On the Origin and Transformation of Motive Power', in *Mathematical and Physical Papers*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882–1911), II: *1853–1856* (1882), pp. 182–88

Tomlinson, M. Heather, 'Penal Servitude, 1846–1865: A System in Evolution', in *Policing and Punishment in Nineteenth Century Britain*, ed. by Victor Bailey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 126–49

Trollope, Anthony, *An Autobiography*, 2 vols (London: William Blackwood, 1883), I

Vaughan, Alden T., *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Virchow, Rudolf, *Cellular Pathology*, trans. by Frank Chance (London: John Churchill, 1860)

Virgil, *Eclogues; Georgics; Aeneid I–VI*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Loeb Classical Library, 1999)

Wevers, Lydia, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809–1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002)

Whewell, William, *On the Principles of English University Education* (London: J. W. Parker, 1838)

—— *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 2 vols (London: John W. Parker, 1840), I

—— *Of a Liberal Education in General: And with Particular Reference to the Leading Studies of the University of Cambridge* (London: J. W. Parker, 1845)

—— *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England* (London: J. W. Parker and Son, 1852)

White, Daniel E., *From Little London to Little Bengal: Religion, Print, and Modernity in Early British India, 1793-1835* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013)

Whitehead, Judy, 'John Locke and the Governance of India's Landscape: The Category of Wasteland in Colonial Revenue and Forest Legislation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45 (2010), 83–93

Whitmarsh, Tim, 'What Samuel Butler Saw: Classics, Authorship and Cultural Authority in late Victorian England', *The Cambridge Classics Journal*, 48 (2002), 66–86

Wohl, Anthony S., 'Introduction', in *The Victorian Family: Its Structures and Stresses*, ed. by Anthony Wohl (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 9–19

Wiener, Martin J., *Reconstructing the Criminal: Culture, Law and Policy in England, 1830–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Williams, William Proctor, and Craig S. Abbott, *An Introduction to Biographical and Textual Studies* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1999)

Winstanley, D. A., *Early Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940)

—— *Later Victorian Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947)

Wood, Marcus, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

Wordsworth, William, *The Poems of William Wordsworth: Collected Reading Texts from the Cornell Wordsworth Series, Volume I*, ed. by Jared Curtis (Tirril: Humanities-Ebooks, 2011)

Young, Jason R., 'Origins and Institutionalization of American Slavery', in *A Companion to African American History*, ed. by Alton Hornsby, Jr (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2005), pp. 143–58

Young, Robert M., *Darwin's Metaphor: Nature's Place in Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Younge, Charlotte Mary, *Life of John Coleridge Patteson*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1874)

Zdanski, Clarice, 'Samuel Butler, Local Identity, and the Periodizing of Northern Italian Art: The Travel Writer-Painter's View of Art History', in *Samuel Butler, Victorian Against*

the Grain: A Critical Overview, ed. by James G. Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 223–50

Zemka, Sue, '*Erewhon* and the End of Utopian Humanism', *ELH*, 69 (2002), 439–72

APPENDIX

CHAPTER 2

l. 61 dropped; he]

slightly

His high shoulders dropped: ~~he rested on [?] by and [b ?] the other~~

~~[? ed] were inclined a little forward while with [th ?] arm and [h ? d]~~

37 36 ~~away from him~~

[*Page break here*]

11 15.

~~on a sudden as though he had~~. He set his feet close together

l. 66 fiendish. At

and assumed an expression of face that was positively fiendish:

~~[? ting]~~

~~I never had seen anything so hideous in human shape~~ ~~nay the man~~

~~himself seemed~~ At the best of times Chowbok was very ugly, but he

CHAPTER 4

ls 6–8 up … route]

had
this valley, though he ˄ shown no uneasiness
keep me from going up it: he had showed no signs of uneasiness
about following me anywhere else;
but
or unwillingness to follow me elsewhere, ˄ now on seeing that I
and yet he had shown no unwillingness to follow me any where else;
had conceived the notion of ascending the saddle at the end of head
at once; What could this mean
of the valley he had taken flight so suddenly and determinedly
except that I had taken unless that it was I was now upon
that if it were not that this was ˄ the route by which

73 doubt. Could]

station: of this there could be no doubt. It had always been
supposed that the headwaters of these two rivers were contiguous
it neither
though no one had known ˄ this certainly because the gorges of each
[?never]
river had [?never] yet been passed – people had had too much to do
[?in] minding their sheep (being almost always underhanded) whe without
˄ to allow of their going exploring for exploring's sake and there
any
was no prospect of profit. But I was safe in assuming that I
being I saw [?a?p ? ed]
knew the river beneath me – in direction [?was] from West to East wh: ˄
and the volume which was the right one and the volume of
[?corresponded] ˄ of water being too considerable for anything but a large
tributary of [?this] river. other river.
No one would suspect the existence of this pass from the riverbed
on looking towards it from below me mountains
beneath: ˄ below [?he] ˄ would see nothing but overhanding rocks, and tim-
-ber and a small stream running into the river differing in no
respect from hundreds of others and by no means important enough
to suggest that there might be a possible saddle at the head of it
however up a wrong river in
could I ˄ imagine that my luck should have led me to the very spot

132–3 so … try]

~~so I [d ? f ?] to perish I [m ?][? ll] do so [? ht] into~~
the chasm ~~with not [? ?]~~
~~[?][m ?]~~: So I went into ~~[?it] [? lds] [?] [?] [?resembling]~~
(though by no means without fear) and resolved to return and camp.
~~[?] [?][?] return~~ ~~should it be plainly impossible, though to [?keep~~]
path next day
and try some other ~~plan in the morning~~, should I come to any serious

170–93 I dreamed … opposite mountains]

I dreamed that the great Handel was playing me a suc-
-cession of huge arpeggioed harmonies upon an organ which
had been placed in my master's woolshed: he talked to me
what I had been hearing was
quite familiarly and told me that ~~I he was trying over~~ his
yet
overture to Israel in Egypt with which he never ^ been able
~~and which had always pleased him~~
to satisfy himself ^, and that it would appear in a day two:
~~[?am]~~
~~I was in a perfect ecstacy of delight, and even to this day~~
~~and talked with~~
~~am thankful to have even dreamt of having seen ^ Handel,~~
~~but~~ on awaking I was bitterly disappointed, and sitting up
on my elbow I came back to ~~cold~~ reality and ~~to~~ my strange
was
surroundings as best I could. Still so vivid ~~had~~ the dream
~~been~~ that it ~~kept me~~ aroused me thoroughly and set me
wondering as to what could have occasioned it. ~~Suddenly~~ I
~~to be~~
felt a foreshadowing as tho' my attention were ~~half~~ arrested
~~which as yet~~ ~~yet~~ although no sense
~~by something of whose nature I was ^ only half conscious~~; ~~some-~~
was
in particular ~~being~~ as yet appealed to: ~~then on listening~~ I held my breath and
~~– that~~ — ~~I heard – Nay was I it fancy? Nay – I did~~
~~Nay~~
~~hear~~ waited, and then I heard – was it fancy? ~~Nay~~ –
Nay –
I ~~waited ag~~ listened again and again, and I did hear
a faint and extremely distant sound of music like that
of an Æolian harp borne upon the wind which was ~~now~~

mountains
blowing fresh & chill from the opposite ~~side of the valley~~.

210–12 can; … Exploring]

and I strongly recommend him to remain in Europe 13 if he can. ~~possibly~~ ~~do so~~
~~thenceforward~~
~~I was from that time driven to guess at the time as best I could.~~
~~I must hurry over the ground faster than I could wish for my publisher~~
~~advised me not to dwell upon my adventures in reaching the country~~
~~which I shall describe in the following pages, inasmuch as others have~~
~~described this sort of thing sufficiently~~, ~~but I can assure the reader that~~
~~I had a much worse time of it than I have told him here, and I strong-~~
~~keep small [?il] and [?ownership] in~~
~~-ly advise him to stay at home, and make money by trade in England~~
~~[?] [?dials]~~
~~if he can possibly do so rather than run the risk of suffering things which~~
or at any rate in some country which has been explored and settled, rather than
~~he can never appreciate at their full discomfort until they are quite~~
to try and go where plenty of others have not been before him.
~~upon him.~~ Exploring is delightful to look forward to and back upon,

CHAPTER 5

24–5 was wide … and I] and **26–7 waters, … question. I]**

wide, rapid, and, ~~running over~~ ~~while~~
the stream was ~~awfully~~ ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~very~~ rough, ~~over~~ ~~huge stones,~~ ~~not~~
~~or rather~~ ~~[?much]~~ ~~[w ?] [w ?]~~, and the smaller ~~stones~~ stones knocking
^ ~~[ra ?]~~ ~~but~~ ~~[?rounded]~~, ~~and~~ ^ I could hear ~~them~~ ~~knocking~~ against each
as upon a seashore; simply out of the question
other under the rush of the waters ^ ; fording was ~~about as possib~~*l*~~e as~~
~~falls of Niagara~~
~~fording the~~ ~~Thames at London Bridge with the tide half out~~. I could

37–8 evening … a kind]

evening.
[*Page cut here*]
{?though had been ? an}
~~This rapid was to be crossed by raft or not at all: So I spent the~~
~~The whole of~~ The next day I ~~[sp ?]~~ began gathering the dry bloom stalks
~~whole day~~ ~~in~~ ~~gathering light branches of dry wood and binding~~
~~them together by means~~ of a kind of flag or iris looking plant which

43–6 hollow … across. It]

were ten or twelve ~~or fourteen~~ feet
~~good stead for they were~~ ^ ~~near twenty feet~~ long ~~sometimes~~ and very
strong ~~by~~ but light and hollow: ~~in fact~~ I made ~~the framework~~
bundles
~~f~~ my raft entirely ~~out~~ of them, binding ~~pairs~~ of them at right angles
with strips from the leaves of the same plant
to each other neatly and strongly ^ and tying other rods across. ~~which I~~
~~tied as neatly as ever I could~~. It took me all day till nearly

49 rapid. At]

furious rapid.
~~This is the way with all these rivers: they go thus, a rapid – shallo~~
~~swift water – a pool – a long broad belt of shingle with shallow~~
~~[? th] water over it, and then – rapid again – repeating this over~~
~~three quarters of a mile~~
~~and over~~ ~~again~~ ~~upon average once every mile & a half~~ ~~from their~~
~~except~~ ~~there are~~
~~[?rise] to the [s ?]~~ ~~In~~ ~~in the gorges when it is~~ ~~all rap~~id. At this

50–1 raft. … keeping]

I now launched it, made my swag fast [?] The middle
spot I had built my raft. ~~and I now [?proceeded] to [?launch] it~~: ~~having~~
~~and fastened it [th ?]~~
~~put my swag in the middle of the raft, and~~ keeping in my hand
and got on to it myself (~~stet~~) 35 2 37

89–90 experiences. Indeed,]

experiences: to which and [*two layers of writing illegible*]
[*Page cut here*]
Indeed on one occasion I had even gone so far as to baptise

98 converts; and when]

infants and of adult converts, ~~I thought (and think) that the~~
~~missionary societies should be more careful as to the qualifications~~
~~of those whom they send out as missionaries, but the ignorance~~
~~of even of the very rudiments of their profession which exists~~
~~among professional men of all classes had long struck me so~~
~~that I was rather outraged than surprised. However this might~~
and
~~be I determined that~~ when I thought of the risks ~~to which we~~

98–101 risks … efficiently.]

~~be I determined that~~ when I thought of the risks ~~to which we~~
incurring there shd be no further delay;
were both ~~subjected~~ I determined that ~~the~~
~~ceremony should not be~~
~~fortunately it was not yet twelve I~~ fortunately it was not yet twelve o'clock, so I baptised him at once
~~delayed further, and~~ ˆ ~~baptised him myself~~ from one of the pannikins
(the only vessels I had) trust
ˆ reverently, and I ~~believed~~ efficiently;

113 individuality from]

-pletely separate her individuality
~~I firstborn [?] dwelt then in thee or of the eternal co-eternal beam may I express thee unblamed since God~~
~~is light and never but in unapproached light dwelt from. It is true~~
that ~~I might not have succeeded for Chowbok was very hard to teach~~
~~and~~ indeed ~~on the very night that I had baptised him he tried for the tenth time~~ to ~~steal the brandy had been~~
~~He had an old prayer book more than twenty years old which he had~~
~~had been~~ ~~that had~~
~~had given him by a missionary, but the only thing in it which seemed~~

{~~taken a living hold upon him~~}

[*Page cut here*]

~~that had taken any living hold upon him was the title of Adelaide~~

~~which he would repeat whenever strongly moved or touched &~~ ~~seem~~

~~the queen dowager ^ which did really~~ appear ~~to have some deep spirit-~~

~~see or~~ ~~completely~~

~~-ual significance to him although he could never ^ separate her indi-~~

~~-viduality~~ from that of Mary Magdalene, whose name had also fasci-

126–8 cold … but full]

brandy which I proceeded to reduce to four: for the night was cold

~~and autumn had advanced lately~~, ~~as I found next morning by the~~

~~frozen dew upon my blankets~~.

I rose with early dawn, and in an hour I was en route, ~~I had~~

~~left off washing in the morning and deferred it till middle day when the~~

feeling strange not to say weak from the burden of solitude

~~sun was warm [?] in the chill upland valley which the sun did not~~

~~[?] could not be safely [? ? led]~~

~~reach for the [?next] four hours from [?morning] there~~ could be no safety [?],

~~noon~~

~~so I deferred it till middle day and started~~ ~~feeling still stiff and~~

bruis~~ed and strange~~, but full of hope when I considered how many

151 I expected]

~~caught~~ ~~my~~

about half way, I ~~saw for the first time glimpse of the rolling plains~~

~~that I had seen from the opposite mountains a day or two before. The day~~

~~was not very clear [?] they were simple blue and rolling plains, but~~

~~I fancied that in one or two places I could detect cities and my heart~~

~~beat fast as I thought of the dangers which might await me if I had~~

~~come into a land of enemies.~~ expected that I should see the plains

164–5 saw … me.]

~~strange and mysterious objects right before~~

I began to fancy that I saw some~~thing~~ ~~darker than the cloud loom-~~

~~my path in front of me~~ objects darker than the cloud, looming in front of me

~~-ing in front of me~~. A few steps brought me nearer and ~~I felt a~~

186 faces … were]

and with the same superhumanly malevolent expression from upon their faces

~~They were of great antiquity, worn and lichen grown.~~ ~~Two had fallen~~

had been all but two had fallen

They ~~were~~ seated: ~~ten in number: grave and majestic with a mien of tranquil power which reminded me of those at Ægyptian figures which I have seen in the Crystal Palace. They had been built of three or four gigantic blocks for each statue how they had been raised is known to those alone who raised them~~. They were barbarous: neither Ægyptian nor Assyrian nor Japanese – different from any of these and yet akin to all

I ~~know nothing whatever about sculpture~~ ~~but two had fallen~~ : they were six or seven times larger than life: of great antiquity, worn &

CHAPTER 6

11 woebegone … I]

so dazed was I, and chilled, and woebegone that I ~~did~~
could no amid the crowd of fancies that
~~not~~ lay hold of ~~the~~ idea firmly ~~and even laughed at it~~, ~~and~~
upon my
~~fancies~~ were ~~hurrying in upon me~~ wandering in ˆ ~~my~~ ~~confused~~
brain.
[*Page cut here*]
I hurried onward down, down, down: more streams came in: then

32–3 thought … fell]

thought
~~of~~ what I had best do ~~if the rambling incoherent ideas that kept crowd-~~
[?presented] themselves but
~~-ing into my head~~ ~~could be called thinking:~~ I could not collect my-
quite tired out, and
-self. ~~I was unable to realise what I saw~~. I was ~~weary and over~~_
~~and till~~ presently with the sun ~~gradually~~
~~-come~~ ~~and~~ ~~gradually~~ ˆ feeling warmed ˆ and quieted I ˆ fell off into a pro-

36–7 me. … towards]

as soon as I moved, the creatures turned their heads
~~and turning~~
four or five goats feeding near me; ~~who turned~~ ~~their heads~~ ˆ towards me

37 wonder … They]

~~I moved~~
~~as soon as~~ ~~they saw me~~
with an expression of infinite wonder ~~as soon as they saw me~~. They did

58–9 Spaniards … as the]

than the South Italians or Spanish: the men ~~were dressed in a semi orien~~_
wore were dressed nearly the same as
~~-tal costume having~~ no trousers, but ~~their linen gaberdines reaching~~
~~half way between the knees and feet – something like the Arabs~~. The Arabs

84 another … that]

~~being~~ and seemed ~~(so I thought)~~ pleased (so I thought)
-vingly to one another ˆ ~~as I fancied pleased~~ that I showed no fear

107 was, for]

was (~~though hardly in the way [?th] thought of~~)

indeed I was (~~though hardly in the way [?the] thought of~~) for I

111 reader … a hubbub]

but I I should say ~~amusing to myself~~

I will spare the reader, ^ ~~though it was very comic, but I~~

~~noticed that~~ when they saw me strike a match

~~doubt even whether the smoke coming out of my mouth so~~

~~yet~~

~~much surprised them as the seeing me strike a match~~; ~~Tho~~'

~~however~~ there was

~~I noticed ^ that this caused~~ a hubbub of excitement which it

128–9 themselves … When]

They even laid hold of my arms and overhauled them

themselves. ~~When they [?] my arm they had overhauled that~~, and ex-

they saw ~~showed~~ they were

-pressed approval when ~~I [?should]~~ ~~them~~ that ~~it~~ ~~was~~ ~~very~~ strong and

examined

muscular: they now ~~overhauled~~ my legs and especially my feet ~~which~~

~~had certainly suffered something from boots but were still not amiss~~.

When they desisted they nodded approvingly to each other, and when I

141–4 make me … other; their]

-rably at once, neither did their manner give me any sense as tho

I were personally distasteful to them – only something utterly strange

not understand

and unlooked for ~~of~~ which they could ~~make nothing~~: their type of face

was

~~for~~ more Italian of the robustest, than any other; hail holy light dark,off-

andspring of heaven first born or of the eternal coeternal beam may I express thee

unblamed since God is light and never frombut in un, their manners also

146–8 shoulders, … simply]

that country

the hand and shoulders which reminded me constantly of ~~Italy~~. My feeling

my wisest plan wd be to go on as I had begun ~~& to~~

was that ~~the best chance~~ ~~I had was to~~ ^ ~~maintain the bearing of an~~

and be

~~English gentleman, and be neither servile nor domineering~~, ˄ simply

150–1 were … Then]

waiting for me to have done washing and on my way back.
-ly. I thought of these things while they were ˄ ~~[? toring] [?my] [?action] and while~~
~~{to the [?]}~~

[*Page cut here*]

Then they gave me breakfast – hot bread and milk and fried flesh

181–2 Jewish. How]

their lips though full ~~and~~ had nothing Jewish. ~~But their co-~~
~~-lour was dark at any rate. Then it flashed upon me that the~~
~~number of the statues was ten: not that they could by any possib_~~
~~-ility be intended to represent the patriarchs: but might they~~
~~not be in designed for the ten special enemies of the ten patri-~~
~~they~~
~~-archs? Did not the number show that there was at any rate a~~
~~the people~~
~~special sanctity attached by them to the number ten? It was~~
~~natural that in their present reprobate state the ten tribes shd~~
~~have lost many of the traditions of their forefathers, and probably~~
~~engrafted many of their own innventions upon them that had survived.~~
~~they had always been an idolatrous and rebellious people~~ How

207–9 feel … When]

now uncertain
I remained in doubt for several months I feel ˄ no longer ˄.

[*Page cut here*]

~~me to do more~~

my breakfast my hosts
~~I had finished my breakfast.~~ When I had done ~~my hosts~~

216 danger … reassured]

their manner quite re-
much decision to say that I was in no danger: ~~they then [?bound] their~~

[*Page cut here*]

~~with them. I was nothing loth; for their manner had quite re-~~
-assured me, and in half an hour or so I had packed up my swag

CHAPTER 7

9 there would … beauty,]

that now and again
pine: and I remember ˄ we passed a little way side shrine wherein there

be
would ~~always~~
~~was~~ ˄ a statue of great beauty, ~~hail holy light hail holy light [?hail holy~~

15 homage … showed]

-divual excellence or beauty receive so serious a homage ~~although~~
~~I am well~~ ~~aware that (next [?] to Revelation~~)
˄ ~~excellence and beauty are the great regenerators of all things.~~
[*Page cut here*]
[?] no reason why they should not be again. However I ~~made no remark~~
~~to my companions. I [?never]~~ showed no sign of wonder or disapproval

17–18 Apostle … Shortly]

~~[? ? ? [?with time], at any rate I should~~
of the Gentile Apostle ~~on which I had heard my grandfather preach a most~~
[*Page cut here*]
wh: for the present I should do well to heed
˄ ~~do well to follow~~. Shortly after passing one of these chapels we

33 bleakest … It]

which had taken root and vegetated somehow
growth of shoplets, ˄ though as in an air mercantile of the bleakest
~~{It struck me how}~~ ~~{resemble plants in referring to}~~
[*Page cut here*]
It was here ~~the same~~ as hitherto, all things were generically the same

60–1 doors … own. The]

~~the had a majestic presence~~.
and ˄ old grey haired women at their cottage doors, ~~were still majestic~~
~~had a~~ dignity not to say majesty of their own.
The men were as handsome as the women beautiful. I have al-

61–2 delighted … but I]

-ways delighted in beauty hail hail holy light hail holy [?]; and there
[*Page break here*]

who wd flatter me ~~I~~ have told me that I am myself
not uncomely, but I felt simply abashed in the presence of

73–4 with. When]

so, having many other matters to deal with. ~~Suffice it that it took us~~
~~the pleasant impression which had already been made upon me~~
~~some seven or eight minutes to get through the village, and that it made a~~
~~were confirmed and strengthened.~~
~~most favourable impression upon me~~.
Millar the village
When we had got past ~~it~~ ˆ the fog rose, and revealed ~~the most~~ magnificent

118 perfect … last]

and I think that all were satisfied of my ≠ being in the most perhealth
health
-fect ~~and absolute strength~~ and very robust to boot. Hail holy light off
spring of Heaven first born or of the eternal coeternal beam may I express thee unblamd
magistrate
since God is light. aAt last the old ~~chief~~ made me a speech of about

121 nothing. As]

~~[?]~~
the point, but from which I gathered nothing; ~~[?]~~ as soon as it was

130–2 search … displeasure]

they seemed concerned and uneasy the moment that they got hold of it; ~~they then~~
they began their search. ˆ ~~They made me open it, and show~~
but they made me open it and show had gave
ˆ the works, and as soon as I ˆ done so they ~~made~~ signs ~~which~~
very grave
~~indicated the gravest~~ displeasure, though I could not conceive

143 all things.]

of the universe, or as at any rate one of the great first causes of all
[?affecting]
{not impressed with}
[*Page break here*]
things. Then it struck me that this view was

147 hatred. He]

fear, but hatred.

[*Page cut here*]

~~things. Herein too I~~ was ~~mistaken, and I soon saw that ˆ it was~~ ˆ

that

~~not fear but hatred. that~~ He spoke to me solemnly and ~~with grave~~

167–71 watches. … neither]

we

among them ~~were~~ two or three old watches: ~~as soon as he had reached~~

then the magistrate took ~~with those in the cases~~:

~~these he took~~ ˆ my watch and compared it ˆ: the design was different

on this

but the thing was clearly the same: ~~then~~ he turned to me and made

a in an exceedingly injured tone of voice and pointed

me ~~another~~ speech ~~pointing repeatedly to my watch and to those in~~

~~in an exceedingly injured tone pointing~~ repeatedly to the watches in the case and to

~~the case~~; ~~and~~ ˆ neither did he seem in the least appeased until I

CHAPTER 8

51–5 hypocrite, … chattered]

-ture who had brought my dinner. I am not a great hypocrite &

liked half fallen in

do what I ~~could~~, I could not (having dined well, and [?]

love to boot I had already recovered from

[?sweet] idea) look supremely miserable. [A? f ? wa f; ? ed] with my

dejection

the [?they] to [?hail] holy light hail holy light offspring of heaven firstborn or of the eternal

most

coeternal [?], and I felt in a ~~very~~ genial humour both with my

my jailer and his daughter. I thanked [?] [?hail holy light] [?]

me, and though they could not understand ~~me~~ they looked at one another

themhail both for theyhail lookedholy light [?] offspring of [?] another and ~~[?hall]~~ laughed and chattered

191–2 My visitors … women,]

among them there were

My visitors became more and more frequent: [*two layers of several illegible words*]

~~[?Yet]~~ hail hail holy light offspring of heaven firstborn or of the eternal coeternal beam may I [?may] [? uly] consider myself [?to] [*several words illegible*]

~~of them~~

I express hail holy light offspring [?] ~~[?th ?] was~~ some both men & women

who delighted me entirely by their simplicity, unconsciousness

~~36~~ 36 of self,

CHAPTER 9

132–66 Top of f. 73^{r}:

~~I may as well say here that I had already discovered~~
~~the secret of the museum full of old machines, and the~~
~~reason for the apparent retrogression in all arts sciences~~
Shaw
~~and inventions: for~~ aAmong those who came to visit me were

CHAPTER 10

19–28 unreserve; for … They are treated]

79

though considered no less deplorable than [a]
illness
paralytic seizure with ourselves, and as un-
-questionably indicating something seriously wrong
who misbehaves is
with the individual to whom they happen, are
nevertheless held to be the result of misfortune either
misfortune.
in preenatal or postnatal antecedents, and as
there
Now they have an extreme dislike Accordingly they
exists
have a class of men trained in soul craft whom they
call straighteners, as nearly as I can translate a word
which literally means "one who bendeth back the
crooked." These men practise much as medical
and a quasi surreptitious
men in England, receiving a fee on every visit. They

themselves and so forth, all of which questions he answers with perfect
bad conduct
unreserve; for with them these things [?] held to be the result of mis-
fortune [?] antecedents of some sort or another, and they have men
trained in soul craft whom they call straighteners (as nearly as I can
translate it) who practice much as medical men do here, receiving
a fee on every visit. These persons are treated with the same unreserve

50–1 "I … be a]

were
if I were had been you, be
seem to say "I, in your circumstance, should have been a better

53–4 they can … the most]

[?all]
[all] ill health by every cunning and hypocrisy and artifice which they
can devise quite about comparatively open about
[?] [?put] upon, but they are quite open the most flagrant mental dis-

79 In spite … keen]

in such a way as to prevent their being ever perceptible to
other people, or to go to prison at once.
From what I have written above the reader might almost collect that
they were indifferent about what they call health, but what we should
call morality—but if I have conveyed this impression it should be corrected:
In spite of all this they really have a (as I have said already) a very
they have a keen sense of the enjoyment consequent upon what they call be-

113–15 time … During]

again. He may – but it will be a long time first. ~~Whatever there may~~
~~[? t ?] [?were] better even than flogging I cannot say: the subject is quite new~~
~~[a ?] likely to be~~
~~to me at first sight it seems simple and easy of application, and effectual~~
~~but I was told that the modern straighteners regard it with greater disfavour~~
~~than their predecessors, having discovered that it sometimes produces a physi-~~
~~-cal deterioration if~~ repeated too often, so that the harm to the body is really
~~greater than the gain to the mind, they are more in favour of the undeserving~~
~~as being quite as fruitful and giving a less sudden shock to the system,~~
~~pain [?can]~~
~~as the sound can be encreased gradually, that and electric shocks.~~
~~I trust that I may have now said enough to show that the~~
~~Partatenella~~

~~sometimes~~
~~For my own part I have often thought since~~
~~I left there that for both physical and mental~~
~~diseases (except o (with the exceptions of those of~~
~~both kinds which were plainly curable, or unimpor-~~
~~-tant) a competent tribunal, chloroform, and stone-~~
~~dead would have no [?fellow]. A conclusion of great bitter-~~
~~thenceforth~~
~~-ness for three or four generations, with a rich hav-~~
~~-venly beauty health and goodness for our descendants.~~
~~Henceforth yielding a rich harvest of goodness and~~
~~health & beauty. The proposal however is one which I~~
~~9 would not forward with the greatest~~
~~modesty.~~

During my confinement in prison, and on my journey

127–31 had made … he seized]

made him rather uncomfortable.
in a way which had ~~given him some little uneasiness~~. He
had unfortunately
~~had however~~ made light of it, and pooh poohed the ailment
until at length the circumstances presented themselves which
very considerable ~~(with the greatest naivete~~
enabled him to cheat upon a ~~huge~~ scale; ~~(~~he told me what the
were and. ~~The case with the greatest naivete, but all~~ They were about as bad
~~[?] (and I felt hugely inclined to throttle him, regardless of the~~
as anything could be, but I need not detail them;~~)~~ he
~~risk, but I forbore and need not detail them;) He~~ seized the op-

134–5 He drove … for one]

be seriously out of order. He had neglected himself too long. P He
and daughters
drove home at once, broke the news to his wife as gently as he could, and sent
off for
~~[?] summoned~~ one of the most celebrated straighteners of the

CHAPTER 11

16–25 The evidence … sustained,]

guilty. He pleaded not guilty and the case proceeded. The evidence

88

But I must do the court the → justice to observe that the trail was absolutely impartial

for the prosecution was very strong. ~~Many previous convictions for~~

~~failing to observe that it was [? ?]~~

~~The~~ cCouncil for the prisoner

~~bronchitis were proved against the prisoner.~~ ~~His counsel~~ was al-

-lowed to urge everything that could be ~~possibly~~ said to his defence:

The line taken was that prisoner was simulating consumption in

an insurance was about to buy an

order to defraud – ~~[?]~~ company from which he ~~had brought an~~ annuity

and that obtain it

~~which~~ he hoped thus to ~~purchase~~ on more advantageous terms; ~~but~~

~~this view~~ could not be reasonably sustained in spite of all the ingenuity

If this could have been shown to be the case he would have

~~he would thus have~~ escaped a criminal prosecution

and been treated medicinally as for a moral ailment.

Thise view however was one which

45–8 Against the … That sentence]

~~[?i?] after an impartial trial, before [?]a jury~~ ~~{of your}~~

I

~~you have [?] counsel who have [? g?d] [?] [?]~~

"~~[?] [?]~~ ~~you have been found guilty.~~ [?Against]

"~~[?more] than all that could be said in your defence~~

Against the justice of the verdict I can say nothing: [?the]

"~~but fortunately the evidence against you has been~~

"evidence against you was conclusive and it only remains

"~~so conclusive that the ends of justice have been~~

"~~obtained~~ for one to ~~see that towards of [?]~~ pass

"such a sentence upon you as shall satisfy the ends

That

"of justice. ~~I [?accept] that this~~ sentence must be a

61–3 constitution; excuses … I am not]

which p< >anently undermined your constitution :

~~I dare say that [?] you speak very truly~~

excuses ≠ such as these are the ordinary of the criminal

but ~~I am thankful to say that the law passes them~~

~~upon one side~~. they cannot for one moment to listened to

by the ear of justice.

[*Page cut here*]

~~excuses such as these are the ordinary refuge of the criminal but I am~~

~~thankful to say that the law~~ constantly [?~~no ? g ? s] of excuses~~ ~~on this~~

~~passes the< > th[?] one [? dege]~~

I am not here to enter upon curious metaphysical questions

82–91 near you: and … slightly,]

not be allowed to come near you. ~~Had those whom you yourself [p ? tered] been properly dealt with you would have been preserved from your present misery – the more reason then that we should now take precaution that you may never have the chance of viti_ -ating others as others have vitiated yourself.~~ And this not s< >

for their for they

much ~~in~~ the protection ~~of the unborn~~ – (~~who~~ are our natural ene-

~~and who have no legal claim upon~~

-mies~~) – but in that of those who may~~ as until they have been ~~publicly repented of their crime, and being heartily sorry that they~~ even came here have received their annuity and naturalisation).

~~comparatively~~ easily

~~but for whose importunity the world would go well enough~~

since

~~with most of us)~~ as for our own: for ~~as~~ they will not be

utterly they should be only

^ gainsaid it is better that ^ quartered ~~only~~ upon those ^ who will not corrupt them.

But independently of this consideration, and indepen- -dently of the moral guilt which attaches itself to a a crime so great as yours, there is yet another

should be

reason why we ~~are~~ unable to show you mercy even if we were inclined to do so: I ~~mean~~ refer to the existence of ~~that~~ a class of men who lie hidden among us and who are called physicians. Were the severity of the law ~~of~~ or the current feeling of the country to be relaxed never so slightly

CHAPTER 12

24–7 spreading, … but it seemed] and 31–5 was a child. … right–minded person]

~~-ledged~~ all this and bitterly regretted that the protection of society obliged
him to inflict additional pain on one who had suffered so much al_
yet there was no help for it
-ready, ~~but~~ that ~~he was still obliged to inflict it~~ _ I could have under_
mistaken
-stood the position, however ~~much~~ I ~~d~~ might think it. ~~Were~~ [The judge
was
ˏ honestly persuaded that the infliction of pain upon the weak and sickly
was the only means of preventing sickliness and weakness from spreading
~~I should have understood him, ind< >d I could perfectly understand his inflic~~_
~~-ting whate< > suffering he might consider necessary to prevent so bad~~
~~an example from spreading further~~ but it seemed almost childish to tell
the prisoner that he could have been in good health if he had been more for_
-tunate in his constitution and been exposed to less hardship when he
a child I put forward the following remarks with the greatest diffidence, but it seems to me that there is
was ˏ ~~young~~. ˏ ~~There se< > to be~~ no unfairness in punishing people for their
~~misfortune.~~ ~~is is a thing done daily and No right minded per~~_
~~& 36~~ ~~It is the normal~~

and that ten times the suffering ~~that was~~ now
eventually warded off from
inflicted upon the accused was ~~prevented from happening~~
others
~~to others in the future~~ ˏ by the present ~~sev~~ apparent severity,
I could therefore perfectly understand his inflicting
in order
~~114~~ whatever pain he might consider necessary ˏ to prevent
so bad an example from spreading further either among
the living or the unborn.

it
or rewarding them for their sheer good luck: ~~this~~
misfortunes is the normal condition of human life, that ~~this should~~ this should
be done,
~~be done~~, and no right minded person

~~It is the normal condition of human life. People are punished~~
for
~~more severely for their misfortune than ˏ any thing else [?whatever],~~
~~misfortune is~~
~~if they could only see it. In fact this the only thing~~
for ~~which people ever are or ever should~~
~~be [o ? be] punished~~
for they are not
unfortunate ~~until they suffer~~
~~in some way~~.

111–46 and that therefore … These people say]

were beyond the control of the individual, and that
man is only
therefore a ~~criminal~~ is ~~no man~~ guilty for being
[?the]
[i ~~?]~~ same way as fruit is
~~a criminal~~ in a consumption ~~[th ?]~~ [?] ~~potato~~ ~~infor-~~
it is true that the fruit
guilty for going rotten; ~~true the potato~~ must be thrown on
on one side
~~to the [?] [?heap]~~ as being unfit for man's use,
in like manner
and the man in a consumption must ˏ be put in
prison for the protection of his fellow citizens, but
20

115–41 these radicals would … against a general: f. 99r

24 99
to themselves beforehand the consequences of disease
more than very vaguely; a man who overeats himself
or neglects to take care of himself when he has a cold,
and these
< > again those unfortunates (~~who~~ are after all the far
largest part of the criminal class) who have come by

their illness by bad parentage and early neglect – none
of these really comprehend ~~their own~~ the amont of the suf-
-fering which their imprudence or misfortune will bring
upon them: ~~for partly~~ they think they shall escape
detection ~~, and partly~~ and they fail to estimate what their
disease will cost them if they do not check it in time;
~~and~~ the prospect of a prison of the sort which these
~~would be~~ advanced reformers advocate would (so they say) present
to the imagination as ample a picture of discomfort as
the present system. No one would lightly lay himself open
to the chances of even this modified imprisonment, ~~and~~ but
if he would, then he is so little a judge of the fitness
of things, so little able to strike a balance of conside-
-rations, and to apprehend his own interests rightly, that
it is only prudent ~~for~~ in the state to take him in hand
otherwise he will probably do it a worse mischief by
and by. Moreover they say that illness would be much
more often detected, and juries would convict far more readily
if a more natural treatment of the diseased were adopted

115–41 these radicals would … against a general: f. 100^{r}.

For at present men feel that practically they are 100
ruining a man for life if they ~~[?]~~ once convict him of
any serious malady; a man loses caste forever, and is
hardly ever able to recover himself. For independently of
the loss of character a man after a long imprisonment
becomes a ~~dazed~~ useless creature when he is let out. He has
very possibly lost all aptitude for his former craft: &
his sense of independence is often hopelessly impaired; he
becomes a helpless ~~creature~~ being: and this, the reformers main-
-tain, should not be: ~~whatever it was by which he made~~
his profession or trade

~~his money~~ he should carry ~~that~~ ^ into prison with him if
possible
~~it be practicable~~: if not he must earn his living by the
he can, but
nearest thing to it that ~~is possible~~, ~~and~~ if he be a

gentleman born and bred to no profession ~~then~~ he must
newspaper ~~according as his~~
pick oakum, or write art ~~and theatrical~~ criticisms for a ~~art criticisms~~
~~either pick oakum~~ ^ ~~or~~ ~~do anything which write articles for a~~
~~conscience shall direct without knowing anything about the picture except the title in the~~
~~catalogue~~.

~~newspaper whichever he can do best~~. These people say
further
^ that for the greater part of the illness which exists in their
country, one brought about by the insane manner ~~illness~~
in which illness is treated. They believe that physical
the
illness is in many cases just as curable as ^ moral diseases
that
which they see daily cured around them, but ~~that~~ it is
impossible to effect this until men learn to take a juster
what
view of ~~the nature of~~ ^ physical obliquity proceeds from.
Men will hide their illnesses as long as they are scouted

Brown

20·

CHAPTER 13

116–7 would be … The public]

painful remedies to diseases inasmuch as there could often be no curing
30
them otherwise; ~~and I could also understand their punishing incurabl~~es
~~with seclusion & in some cases with death; but I never could and nev~~er
~~can sympathise with the tone which they adopt towards these unfortunat~~e
~~persons & the feelings with which they one & all regard them.~~

the public whipping of those who had the small pox seemed

118 but … understand]

natural;
to me not only intelligible but ~~even ^ desirable practice to~~
~~introduce amongst ourselves provided that the flogger be pro~~_
~~Adults in our own country have no right~~
~~-perly vaccinated. Adults in our own country have no right~~
~~to catch a disease which seems to be so easily preventable; and~~
~~I cannot see that A person who neglects to get himself proper~~ly
no
~~protected against it is ^ less guilty than he who fails in due care~~
even
~~as a trustee — Nay in s~~I could ^ understand their punishing incur-

CHAPTER 14

72–8 Indeed … bygone ages.]

had been building was one which
Indeed it ~~was~~ no error to say that this ~~bank was a building whic~~h
afterall
appealed to the imagination; ~~and yet this is not so, for th~~ ~~it did~~
it did more – it ~~carried~~ carried both capture
~~not so – much appeal as carry~~ imagination and judgment by storm.
It was an epic in stone and marble, neither had I ever
~~coup de main:~~ ^ I ~~had never~~ seen any thing in the least comparable
to it. ~~It was not the beauty of the building itself, nor its antiquity nor massive strength so much as the feeling of profound repose which stole over me as I took in the prospect as a whole~~. I
charmed
was completely ~~humbled~~ and melted. I felt more conscious of ~~my~~
the existence of
~~[?confor]mity with~~ a remote past: ~~I felt more certain that this had~~
the knowledge is never
~~been a long long ago~~. One knows this always, but ~~it lives more~~
actual ~~solemn~~ witness
so living as in the ^ presence of some ~~vast and~~ to the life of bygone

128–32 On this … went on to say]

Nosnibor it was indeed
as it probably often was. On this M^rs^ ~~Blefoorki~~ said that ~~Saturday~~
melancholy to see what little heed people [?took] to the most precious
~~was the busy day, and that on others there was seldom~~ of all
institutions. To this I could say nothing but I have ever been of opin_
-ion that the great bulk of mankind do on the whole know ~~where they will~~
~~[s ? fert] in the ordinary concerns of life~~ ~~I then asked Zulora if she would~~
~~let me see some of the money which~~ she ~~had received. She did not like this~~,
~~but grew red and seemed to say that I had made a request which I~~
~~ought not to have done. Mrs Blefooski however inflerfered and desired~~
does them good.
~~her~~ daughter ~~to show me~~ ~~and~~ where they get that which ~~satisfies~~
Nosnibor
~~them~~. M^rs^ ~~Blefooski~~ went on to say that I must not imagine that

173–4 entitled … house]

-mediate return to be far larger than they were entitled to: ~~when she said this I suspected at first that was canting; perhaps unconsciously, but~~
~~however~~
~~still canting: but on thinking it over ^ I changed my mind because~~ I
~~different people are differently constituted~~
remembered that ~~the people in the bank [?who] looked as though they had had very little return of any sort for anything, and were likely to be thank_ -ful for very [small] [?]~~ and so she ran on, nor did she ~~sl~~ leave
when she stairs
off till we had got back to the house, ~~and she~~ had to go up ^ and take ~~her~~
off her ~~[?]~~ bonnet ~~off~~ and shawl ~~off~~.[52]

180–3 so much … currency. In]

even
the people as a mass did not so much as ^ think of appealing
~~to remove the evil~~
to them: f~~or assistance; or a solution of their mischiefs.~~
~~some from habit and early training – some from love of repetition a sincere~~
some from habit and early training – some from
~~the~~ a few individuals might do so, ^ ~~but the mass of the~~
~~respect for Ydg~~[*illegible through thick ink*] hope of gain; but few from a genuine belief that the money
was good;
~~people [?cert]~~ turned instinctively to the other currency. in

202–12 pieces … little heat,]

was
^ intended to supplant those metals. Some of the pieces are really of
~~indeed to precious to barter for [a ? any] any other commodity, and some~~
exquisite beauty ~~A~~, and some were I do verily believe, nothing but the
ordinary currency only that there was
~~current coin of realm only with~~ another head and name in place of
that of the commonwealth. aAnd here was one of the great marvels; for
those most strongly
~~tho~~se who were ~~strongest~~ in favour of this coinage maintained ~~stoutly~~,
more excited on any other
(and even grew ^ ~~violent~~ if they were opposed here ~~more~~ than ~~any where~~
matter head
~~else~~) that the very self same coin with the ~~image~~ of the commonwealth
~~of~~
upon it was of little if ^ any vale, while it became exceedingly pre-

Some of the coins
-cious if stamped with the other image. ~~Some of the coins differed~~
~~as much but still materially from those in general use, and some~~
~~But sSome of the coins &~~ there were
were plainly bad: of these last then were not many, still ^ enough
not uncommon; therey seemed to be entirely composed of alloys
for them to be ~~very common~~: ~~They were obviously of base metal,~~ they
would
would bend easily, ~~and~~ melt away to nothing with a little heat,

283–93 an honourable … this.]

to do: it was
an honourable man would teach his boy ^: but in practice ~~this~~ ~~is~~ not
~~the world from~~
so. ~~Men [?] showed their children ^ their own point of view and from that~~
~~only, and will as a general rule opposed them bitterly shd they~~
~~wish to examine it from an other with~~ [*Page cut here partially revealing the words 'with the most'*]
[*Page break here*]
saw Smith right of presenting
I even ~~knew several~~ cases in which parents bought the ~~next presentation~~ to
the office of cashier at one of these banks with the fixed determination that some
sons
one of their ~~children~~, (as yet a mere child) should kill it. ~~There was the lad~~
~~growing up to be everything which a good and healthy boy should be but utterly~~
~~himself young and fresh and trustful, but utterly incapable of forming any~~
~~without warning about~~ concerning the
~~ignorant of the iron shoe which his natural protector was providing for him~~

becoming
There was the lad himself – growing up with every promise of ^ a good and
honourable man~~hood~~ – but utterly without warning concerning the iron shoes
which his natural protector was providing for him – (run on)
Who could say that the whole thing would not end in a life –
and ~~a~~ vain chafing to escape?
-long lie ^ ? I confess that there were few things in Erewhon
which shocked me more than this.

~~I confess that I do not think I saw anything in Erewhon which shocked me more than~~
~~let it for him or no he must wear it for life or starve, having been~~ this^:
[?I] ~~earning his living otherwise by [r ?] of [?] they~~
~~rendered incapable~~ by ~~means of his education~~ ~~his education~~ ~~[miserable ?d ? is]~~
I confess that I do not think I saw anything in Erewhon which shocked me more than this.
~~education.~~ ^ The money had been spent so these When I saw this (and I
~~the family~~
~~saw it several times) I thought that of people were at all weatherwise~~ they
~~foresee that~~ ~~was for [their descendants~~ ~~who~~
~~would see ^ foul weather was brewing ^ And yet these old people ^ would talk~~
buy ~~the~~ ~~[?p]~~ next presentations for their young children (without any certainty
~~that the thing was not a lie from beginning to end) used to talk most beauti-~~
~~-fully almost the sacredness of truth and the duty of approaching every subject~~
~~with the most earnest and humble desire to attain the truth concerning~~ it _
the truth and ~~that~~ only ~~— cost what it might~~. But I always found that [?p ?]
~~truth fared more [?kindly] at the hands of these gentlemen than of any others~~ _
~~However.~~ — 29

CHAPTER 15

10–16 than I know … proofs of]

than I can possibly _say, but I never could get over my original prejudice
against Mr Nosnibor for having embezzled the money; Mrs Nosnibor too
~~Zulora was half a blue stocking.~~
was a very worldly woman; ~~in the lowest sense of the word. Zulora was~~
yet to hear her talk one would have thought that she had received the stigmata: —
~~high and mighty with a dash of the blue stocking~~; Arowhena however
neither could I endure Zulora;
was perfection ~~pure and simple~~. She it was who ran all the little errands
for her mother and Mr Nosnibor and Zulora, ~~she it was who would always~~
~~beat the gongs for Zulora to scream to though she could scream herself far~~
~~more beautifully than Zulora could.~~ and gave those thousand proofs of

43–54 subsequent … but I ought]

~~utter~~ subsequent downfal. His Majesty's manners were those of a cul-
[*Page break here*]
tivated English gentleman. He was much pleased
at hearing that ~~we too were governed by~~ our government
was monarchical, and that the mass of the people ~~felt~~
~~satisfied that no change which they could make would be to~~
not be changed:
were ~~th~~ resolute that it should ~~continue~~ indeed I was so
much encouraged by the evident pleasure with which he heard
to
me that I ventured to quote ^ him those beautiful lines of
Shakespeare's ~~in which he says~~
"There's a divinity doth hedge a king"
"rough hew him how we may–"
~~but his majesty~~ but I was sorry I had done so afterwards
~~for his majesty received the quotation with a look of incredu-~~
~~-lity — for I did not quite understand the~~ for I don't think
the lines
his majesty ~~quite liked it~~. admired ~~it~~ as much as I could have
wished;. ~~considering that~~
further
There is no occasion for me to dwell ^ upon my experience
of the court I should however

96–109 both Mrs Nosnibor … kind; but]

I could not then be sure whether I had
both Mrs Nosnibor and Zulora were great devotees. ~~Whether I had con-~~
kept my secret from being in the least perceived by Arowhena herself
~~-cealed the real state of my feelings from Arowhena, or no I could not then~~
and
~~be sure,~~ but none of the others suspected me.~~, and they knew that they~~
~~could trust Arowhena;~~ so she was set upon me to get me to ~~de~~ open an
~~[?ex]~~
account, at any rate ^ *pro formâ*, with the musical banks; and I need
hardly say that she succeeded (as she shd have done in whatever else she
although I felt little a confidence many I in the the musical banks. ~~banks were really wasted~~:
wanted from me) ^ ÷ ^ bBut I did not yield at once; I enjoyed the process of
being argued with too keenly to lose it by a prompt concession; besides ~~it~~
a little hesitation
rendered the concession itself more valuable. ~~From her it was~~ ~~that I learnt~~
It was in the course of some of these ~~tetes a tete~~
conversations that I learnt the religious of the Erewhonians will describe as briefly as possible.
~~all about their religious~~ ^ opinions ^ ~~of~~ which I ^ ~~can only find space for a~~ [?]
in the following chapters before I proceed with the personal adventures of myself
& Arowhena.
~~brief abstract here~~.
They were idolaters though of a comparatively enlightened kind; but ~~[?n]~~

167–94 will be one … slight emphasis.]

128
will be one whit less hopeful? because they no longer be-
an actual person?
-lieve that hope is ~~a woman~~, ~~or warlike when war shall~~
~~cease to have a male arbiter~~?" She shook her head and said that
with men's belief in the personality all incentive to the reverence of
the thing itself as Justice or Hope would cease: men from that hour
would never be either just or hopeful again. She was evidently so sincere,
and looked so genuinely grieved at hearing ~~at~~ any one ~~presume to~~ doubt
she had been always told that she should regard toas ~~be~~
what [*two layers of illeg. text*] a first principle of belief, that I
~~I worshipped her~~
~~got fonder &~~
got fonder &
~~more and more~~
~~fonder of her~~ at every word she said. Never did she look so beautiful.
fonder of her
[*Page break here*]
such
~~Never did she look so beautiful~~. There was in her face ^ a sweet and wondering
~~simplicity which made her lovelier than any Goddess that it was all~~ I
~~and it was all I could do to avoid telling her that I had~~
simplicity that it was all I could do to avoid telling her that I had been ~~accepting~~

~~occular been~~ converted by ~~occular~~ my own eyes into ~~a belief in~~ accepting divinity.
~~the existence of~~ Faith's existence as a ~~goddess woman~~ indeed
But I could not move her, nor ^ seriously wish to do so.
She deferred to me in most things because she
[*Page break here*]
~~{ ? ? ? }~~ ~~[hail holy light~~[*two layers illeg.*]. ~~She looked up to me~~ beautiful than
[*two layers illeg.*]
~~because she~~ knew that I had travelled far & seen much: also that
I was quite sincere and ~~did~~ would not for the world have painedpained ~~[?harmed]~~ her;
also because I was a man, ~~and much~~ older ^ and stronger than she was: ~~all of~~
~~which made her~~ ~~deferent in her manner~~ defer to me much in most things, but she never ~~for a moment~~
shrank from fearlessly main~~ting~~taining her opinions ^ if they were put in question; , nor does she to this day
abate one jot of her belief in the faith in which was born, though in compliance with ~~) The [?dif ?]~~
~~rhail holy light offspring of [?heaven firstborn]beautiful or of the eternal coeternal beam [?may] I~~
~~express thee unblamed since God is light and never but in unapproached lightso~~
~~hail holy light offspring of heaven firstborn~~[*two layers illeg.*]~~the eternal coeternal beam may I expressd,~~
~~thee unblamed since God is light and never but in unapproached light Dwelt [?from][t?g]~~
and ~~this pass , she holds to this moment what she held when I first knew her,~~
^ ~~although in deference~~ to my repeated entreaties she has allowed herself to be baptised
~~and I glory in her [?obstinacy], (which I believe is the only thing which~~
into the English Church. ~~true faith; I fear that I have even yet failed~~ she has however made
~~has [?] shaken her~~), ~~but she has made~~ a sort of illogical exc-
-crescence upon her original belief to the effect that I and her ~~child-~~ baby
~~-ren~~ are the only human beings exempt from vengeance of ~~her~~ the de-
-ities for not believing in their personality: she is quite clear that
we <u>are</u> exempted: she should never have so strong a conviction of
it if it were not so: how it ~~can be~~ has come about ^ she cannot tell, neither does she
care; ~~to know~~; there are some things which it is better <u>not</u> to know,
and this is ^ one of them: but when I tell her that I believe in her
deities as much as she does, and that she cannot believe in the exis_
-tence of justice more firmly that I do, and that it ^ is a ~~battle~~ difference about
words not things, ~~she invariably changes the subject~~ she becomes silent with a slight emphasis, ~~But can the~~
[?] ~~[?] On the occasion by which I was [? ing] [?above] when [B ?]~~ took refuge in a [?protest] of slightly emphatic silence.

CHAPTER 16

11–41 Now … example.]

¶ that hold great
~~religion~~. [Now I suspected ^ their ~~other~~ professed faith ~~to have~~ no ~~very deep~~

them I often heard
hold upon ~~men's minds~~ ,~~-~~ firstly because ^ the priests ~~were always~~ com

and they would hardly have done so without reason;
-plain~~ing~~ of the prevailing indifference; ~~and they would hardly complain~~

because (and there
~~unduly~~. Secondly, ~~by reason~~ of the show which was made, ~~of which~~

(of whi there was none in [?as far as ma?] Ydgrun
~~there was nothing whatever about that~~ ~~to the Goddess Grundy~~ ~~of~~

and hardly ever exists in cases
~~whom they really worshipped~~) ~~and which is never necessary~~ ^ ~~when people~~

really though the
~~have a thing ^ at their heart are~~; thirdly, because ,~~-~~ though ^ priests were

as being
Ydgrun ^ the great enemy of the god)) ~~though~~ it was well known
constantly abusing ~~Grundy~~ ~~in their sermons~~, ~~though their detractors~~

Ydgrun she had
~~said~~ that ~~Grundy had~~ no more devoted worshippers in the whole country

very persons, Ydgrun [?~~much~~] rather
than these ~~priests~~ who were often ~~really~~ priests of ~~Grundy rather~~ than

I by any means not the best
of their own deities. [Neither am ~~I~~ ^ sure that these were ~~by any means~~

Ydgrun certainly
~~the worst~~of the priests. ~~for though Grundy~~ ^ occupied a very anomalous

she was both but ~~yet~~
position; ~~being~~ held indeed to be ^ omnipotent~~resent~~ and omnipotent, ~~still~~

She was not was
< >ing ^ ~~by no means an elevated conception, and~~ ^ sometimes both cruel

however she was
and absurd; ^ ~~still she was~~ ~~on the whole~~ ^ ~~a beneficent and useful deity~~,
[? ing]~~kept~~ hundreds of thousands in those paths which make life tole-
-rably happy, who would never have been kept the~~i~~re other wise,
and over whom a higher and more spiritual ideal would have had
no power. ~~It was not caviar, but it~~ ~~was good plain fare such~~
~~as the mass of mankind had, alone stomach for: it was ill-cooked~~
~~< > ill served, but yet it kept body and soul together~~ in many

I greatly doubt whether
~~a poor wretch who would have perished otherwise. I greatly doubt~~
~~whether Partatenella geniortonia is yet fit for any higher religion~~.
~~[?rather] would I so much attempt a radical change if even if I~~

Ydgrun
~~could as to elevate and beautify the present conception of Grundy, who~~
~~< ? > a real vitality, a working power whose displacement would~~

–for there was none of this
~~(and there was~~ ~~no show display~~ about the worship of the goddess
Ydgrun~~,~~ in whom they really did believe~~)~~–

Even her most devoted worshippers were a little ashamed
served her more with in
of her, and ~~worshipped in~~ ^ heart and ~~in~~ deed ~~more~~ than
~~t~~theirs was
with their tongues, ^ no lip service; ~~was theirs~~; on the contrary,
often be even when however she
~~they would then most~~ worshipping her most devoutly, they
~~The~~
would often deny her. Take her all in all ^ was a
beneficent and useful deity, who did not care how much she was
denied so long as she was obeyed & feared, & who

doubt whether
~~doubt whether~~ the Erewhonians are yet prepared for any higher re-
-ligion, and though (considering my gradually strengthened belief
of Israel
that they really are the representatives of the lost tribes ^) I would
set about converting
~~wh~~ have ~~converted~~ them at all hazards had I seen the remotest
prospect of success, I could hardly contemplate the displace-
the great central object of their regard
-ment of Ydgrun ~~as a working power~~ without admitting
that it would be attended with frightful consequences: in fact
a
were I ^ mere philosopher I should say that the ~~greatest spiritual~~
~~boon which could be conferred upon them would be a~~ gradual
raising ~~32~~ of the popular conception of Ydgrun would be the greatest
spiritual boon which could be conferred upon them, and that nothing ~~except~~
could effect this except example: ~~this would be of real service to them~~.

44–9 (the rest … spoke of Ydgrun,]

Ydgrunites Ydgrunites) –
(the rest being ~~Grundyites~~, and low ~~Grundyites)~~ who, in [?all] the matter
of human conduct and the affairs of life
~~pertaining to human life and things~~ ^ appeared to me to have
got about as far as it is in the right nature of man to go. ~~For~~
~~these had They were truthful in word and deed, courageous and~~
~~kind: they did not look very far ahead in anything, but had~~
~~an admirable discernment for the present and immediate future~~:

and what has one not said when one has said this? They

Condense

Ydgrun
They were gentlemen outwardly and inwardly ^ ~~:~~, seldom spoke of ~~Grundy~~

75–87 On the … vagueness.]

On the other hand,
~~did; for~~ their silence encouraged the generally hazi-
minds ~~,~~ – a frightful ~~and nothing I was~~
-ness and fog of men's ~~thoughts~~ ~~Than which there~~ ~~can be~~
~~more soul destroying~~ ~~& and soul destroying~~ ~~told~~ and, I was told, a
~~nothing more ^ dangerous. Either to themselves or to their coun~~_
growing evil.
~~-try~~. ~~I remember that an uncle of my own a painter~~
~~who died many years ago gave me a lesson on this head~~
~~which I can never forget though I was little more than~~
~~a child at the time he gave it. "My boy" he said "~~
a man's life
~~t~~This haze and fog are to ~~their lives~~ what foulness or tur_
scheme
-bidity ~~of colour~~ is to a ~~picture~~ ~~piece~~ of colour, or ~~what~~
slovenliness
~~a smudgyy~~ ~~smudginess & fuzziness~~ of outline to a draw-
muddiness
~~[?tints]~~
-ing. Neutral tones are one thing, ~~tur~~ ~~foul~~ ~~ness~~ is another;
~~Indistinctness~~ the losing in deep shadow is one thing,
smudginess or fuzziness
a diffused ~~slovenliness~~ ~~of outlines~~ is another: ~~that both~~
~~draw~~ no picture is great unless both drawing & colour
are ~~in partly lost~~ in ~~[p?]~~ some parts found, and again in others lost
~~become lost~~ ~~in great part of lost [??]~~ ^ in formlessness and
~~-in some cases [?] even in total darkness~~:
neutrality. ^ ~~of colour ^~~ ^ and no man's mind is great which

is found~~be~~ found; and that which is midway between

~~let should found~~

them be treated vaguely: ~~but let them ^ not be a diffused~~

~~losing [?,]~~ ~~a diffused~~ ~~vagueness a diffused vagueness: this is~~

the be

but let not that which should be found be lost or ^ lost ^ found;

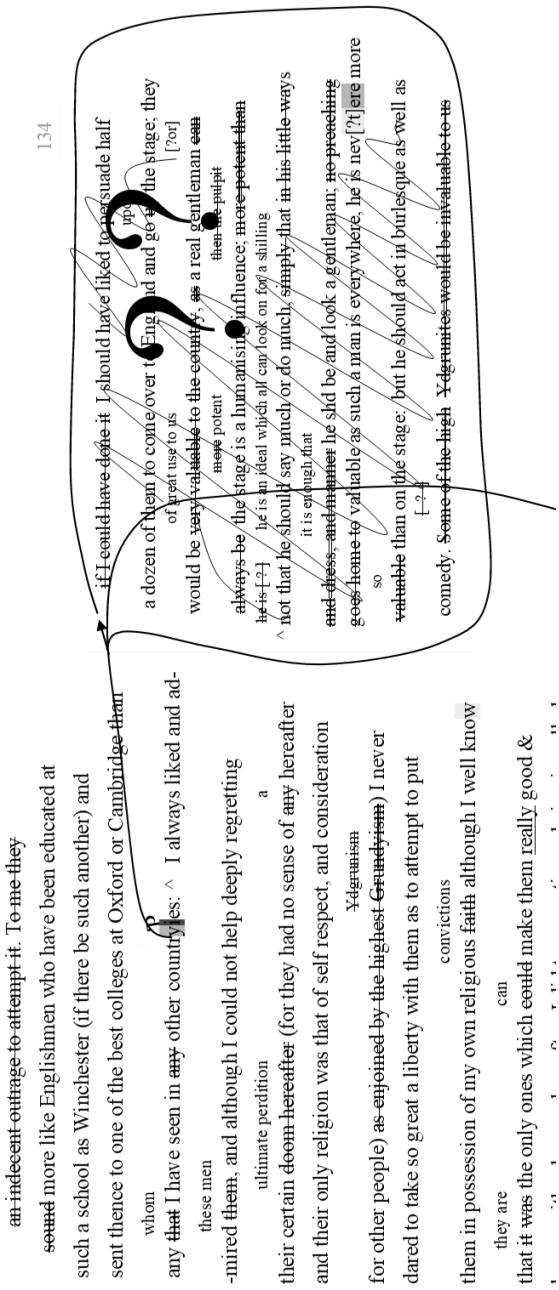
~~fatal.~~ ~~one knows one's man in a moment when one sees~~

~~and~~ ~~let the vague be vague openly;~~ this is fatal: above all let there

~~This~~ ~~So in thought _ where definiteness is required (and surely_~~

not be a diffused losing, a diffused finding or a diffused vagueness.

101–33 more like … into Erewhon.]



happy, either here or hereafter. I did try sometimes, being impelled to do so by a strong sense of duty, and by my deep regret that ~~so much health and strength and good manhood~~ so much that was admirable they should be doomed to ages if not eternity of torture, but the words stuck in ~~my~~ throat as soon as ever I began. whether a professional missionary might have a better chance I know not: such a man must doubtless know more about the science of conversion: for myself I could only be thankful that I was in the right path, and ~~was~~ If the plan fails by which I propose to convert them myself, obliged to let ~~the~~ others take their chance. ^ I would gladly con-
-tribute my mite towards the sending two or three trained missionaries, who have been known as successful converters of Jews & Mahommedans; ~~yet~~ but such have seldom much to glory in the flesh, and when I think of ~~my grand seigneur~~ these men the high Ydgrunites in ~~Parti-~~ Erewhon ~~-ter allagenortonia~~, and of the ~~appearance~~ figure which a ~~Exeter Hall~~ missionary would probably ^ cut among them, I cannot feel sanguine that much result would be arrived at. Still the attempt is worth making, and the worst danger to the missionaries themselves ^ would be that of being sent ~~where~~ to the hospital where ^ Chowbok would have been sent had he come with me into Erewhon.

~~and~~ I know perfectly well what a position I have pro-
-bably forfeited. I knew it then, and reproached myself for my want of spirit: but it was no use. I respected them for too much to take a liberty with them.

I should have liked to have persuaded half a dozen of them to come over to England and go upon the stage, for they had most of them a keen sense of humour and a taste for acting; they would be of great use to us: ^ the example of a real gentleman is ^ ~~an Evangelist wherever he may be~~, ~~but he is~~ (if I may say so without profanity) the best of all gospels: such a man upon the stage becomes ~~nowhere more so than on the stage: he is~~ a potent human_
-ising influence, an ideal which all may look on for a shilling.

~~32~~

~~The Ydgrunites pure and simple were a good sort of people e-~~
~~-nough, but there was nothing great or chivalrous among them~~ about ~~I used to think of them { ? the }~~ the Erewhonians as of a wall

101–33 f. 135r]

~~of this metaphor, on the whole the standard of feeling among the~~
~~[p ?] Ydgrunites was a tolerable one. They often mentioned Yd-~~
There were ~~those who Ydgrun~~ but
~~-grun - but never avowed^ her as their real mistress, and as~~
a general rule the more they loved her heart & soul they more the
professed to consider her as a contemptible creature, and the
enemy of all deities whom they outwardly observed. They are
the strongest possible supporters of the personality of these deities &
few
will fling any amount of mud at the ~~[?ose]~~ who doubt it: but I
have met with much worse sorts of people in other places:
they were not unkindly in their own families, and sometimes seemed
to realise the fact that their children were separate entities who
had interests other than theirs and who "[?relished] ~~passion~~ all as
sharply passion as they did." but their depraved views concerning
mental and physical disease prevented my ever being able to
thoroughly understand them, ~~ttt so that I had better perhaps say~~
~~no more upon them, as a body and they had none of that singular grace and charm of manner which belonged to the high~~
~~The low Ydgrunites however cannot be mistaken. They are~~ Ydgrunites.
~~an exceeding base people. 14~~

CHAPTER 17

23–46 It is … will not do;]

a Erewhonians
It is ~~the~~ distinguishing peculiarity of the ~~Partatenalla genortonians~~

when unusually matter
that ~~whenever~~ they profess themselves ~~excessively~~ certain about any ~~thing~~,

and avow it as a base on which they are to build a system of practice

often ~~do not~~ seldom but instead of
they ~~never~~ ^ quite believe in it ~~–~~ ~~they always have a lurking suspicion~~

~~it is not true~~
~~that~~ ~~they don't believe a word of it~~: ~~but instead of bravery~~ bu~~ckling~~

~~to and going into the dark room with a candle and seeing whether~~

real
~~there is a ^ ghost or whether it is only rats which they hear & smell~~,

either
~~they support their faith ^ by refusing all entry into the suspected region~~,

~~only going in with candle which cannot possibly reveal the one~~

~~half of the chamber, or by simply sitting still and saying that it~~

~~has been~~ examined over and over again, and asser~~ting~~ their faith the

more & more loudly, ~~the~~ and with the more pomp & circumstance~~s~~

because of their misgivings: but always they will abuse those who

coming to an understanding with themselves and

endeavouring to find out exactly what is that commends itself

and then chancing it,
to their judgements as on the whole most probable ^, they con-

-tent themselves in nine cases out of ten with saying that

subject
the ~~matter~~ has been,

who would have them ~~go see~~ for themselves, ^ accusations of ~~presumption~~ ill health & ~~immorality~~ being their favourite weapon~~s.~~ ^ ~~Now in this case of t~~he ~~unborn~~ I cannot (and never could) really think that they ~~Partatenalla~~ Erewhonians ~~-genitornian~~s believed in their mythology concerning pre-existence: they did and they did not; they did not know themselves what they believed, a disease – all they did know was that it was ~~wicked~~ not to believe as they did.

The only thing of which they were quite sure was that it was the pestering ~~[a ?] they would even own that there were obscure parts in their faith~~ ~~They would retell all the ins and outs of the relations between the born and the unborn, but they were quite sure that~~ which caused them to be brought into this ~~caused them to be~~ ~~it was the pestering of the unborn which ^ brought them into~~ world, and that would have been ~~the world, and they~~ ~~at~~ they ^ never ^ ~~be~~ here if they would have only let peacable people alone. ~~all which is very likely true, and so may~~ ~~[?] their [?sphere] of mythology as to the unborn people: I dare~~ Indeed It would be hard to disp^ rove this position ~~not say that it is not so~~, and they might have a good case if they would only leave it alone: this however they will ~~never cease to to~~ not do:

Indeed there are few sights at once ~~more~~ so pathetic and so amusing ~~than~~ as ^ that of ~~an~~ in the act of a middle aged Erewhonian ^ smelling a rat about ~~a cherished institution~~ the precincts of a cherished institution, and ~~endeavouring to shut his~~ stopping his nose to it.

This is what most of them did in this matter of the unborn, for

31

thus

ıe deed ~~thus~~ being ~~all~~ thus prepared, on the third or fourth day after the

th of the child, or as they call it of the "final importunity," the friends

her

~~all gathered~~ together, and there is a feast made when they are all very

~~ancholy and indignant~~

~~] (or feign to be so) and make pleasant to the child who is present~~

~~the wrong [? ? ?] been done to him by the unborn. The child itself is present~~

~~brought down by his nurse [?in] the midst of the party. on this they~~

upbraiding

~~and all begin~~ to rail upon him, ~~accusing~~ him for his impertinence

~~happy~~

~~aving intended~~ into a ~~family which was quite well enough~~ without him

asking him what amends he proposes to make for the wrong that he

(as a general rule I believe quite truly so) and mother

~~me~~lancholy, ^ and make presents to the father ^ of the child in

order to console them for the injury which has just been done

[t]~~hem~~ by the unborn. Presently the child itself is brought

and the company begin

down by its nurse, ~~into the midst of the assembled company wh~~o

~~all begin~~

142

making themselves passively unpleasant to him, ~~if he will not comply~~
(so that though there is a show of freedom made there is really none)
and partly they were the offices of the teachers in the colleges of unreason, ~~to~~
~~whom the business is exquisitely congenial~~ as a general rule, till at last in one way or
another they take very good care that he shall sign the paper, by which
he professes to have been a free agent in coming into the world and to take
all the responsibility of having done so on to his own shoulders. And
yet though this document is obviously the most important which ~~a man~~ any one
can sign in his whole life they will have him do it at an age when
neither they nor the law ~~would~~ will for many a year allow any one to bind him to the
smallest obligation no matter how righteously he may owe it, because
they hold him too young to know what he is about. I own that all this
seemed rather hard, and not of a piece with the many admirable in-
-stitutions existing among them. I once ventured to say a portion of what
I thought about it to one of the ~~straighteners~~ professors of unreason; ~~which made him rather~~

~~his judgement ripe enough for him to be fair~~
~~and do not consider it fair that he should be commit~~
~~himself to any thing that may seriously affect him.~~

and do not consider it fair that he should
commit himself to anything that may
seriously affect him

108–53 making themselves … following chapter.]

so yielded

angry, or would have done ^ if I had not let him convince me: of

[?] I did it very tenderly, but his justification of the system was

quite out of my comprehension _ I only remember asking him whether

he did not think it would do serious harm to a lad's principles,

and weaken his sense of the sanctity of his word, and of truth generally for

be led into entering a solemn

him to ^^ enter upon ^ engagements which it was so plainly impossible that

he should keep even for a single day with tolerable integrity,– whetherwhether, in fact, teachers who did this, ^ were not earning their

any better than professor

in fact it was not debauching him? The straightener (who was

a delightful person –) as good a man as one could find anywhere)

seemed greatly surprised at the view which I took, but it had no influence

see nothing but cavilling in

with him whatsoever _ he plainly could not even feel the forces of what I said, and

indeed he to think that I was

I said – ^ I seemed to be ^ talking pure nonsense _, heHe only said that

of course no one expected that the boy ever could or [w ? ld] would do

all that he undertook, that the world was full of compromises and

or ind who taught anything as a certainty of which they were themselves uncertain,

truth-sense (a delicate organi

riving by impairing the verifying faculties of their

pupils – and -sation mostly) of their pupils.

that there was hardly any engagement ~~in the whole world that~~ which
would bear being interpreted literatimlly: human language was too
gross a vehicle of thought ~~–~~ thought being incapable of transla-
-tion absolutely. ~~–~~ He added that ^ as there can be no translation from one language into
another which shall not scant the meaning somewhat, or ~~distend~~ enlarge upon
it, so there is no language which can render thought without a
jarring & a harshness somewhere – & so forth; all of which ~~ended in~~ seemed to come to this in ~~the end~~
~~namely~~
~~is – that the boy would perhaps get better to understand how little~~
~~asion there was for him to be~~ ~~his~~
~~earnest people were about their most solemn professions by being made~~
~~] to sign this paper than by any other means; that it was perhaps to~~
~~regretted that this was so, still these were the conditions of human~~
~~fe and the sooner he got to understand them the better for himself:~~
~~eeing that I was still unconvinced, he fell back upon his pro_~~
~~fessions and asked me whether I was not suffering from a fit of~~
~~tellectual obstinacy and talked of prescribing a little bread &~~
~~ater for a week; on which hints I yielded with great grace,~~
~~nd we parted in peace.~~
~~he present will perhaps be the fittest occasion for giving some extracts~~
~~from those books of mythology about the unborn; which I will there_~~
~~-fore do~~ so ^ ~~in the following chapter .~~

the end – that it was the custom of the country and
that the Erewhonians were a conservative people: that
the boy would have to begin compromising sooner or
later, and this ~~present would was an~~ was part of his education in
the art; ~~of compromise~~: ~~which~~ it was perhaps to
be regretted that compromise shd be as neces-
-sary as it is – still it ~~was one of the conditions of~~ was necessary,
~~human life that this should be so~~, and the sooner
the boy got to understand it ~~[?]~~ the better for himself.
~~but they never~~
But they never tell ^ the boy this to ~~himself that it is any-~~
~~-thing but a solemn truth – a compromise, and~~
~~when he comes to find it out he sometimes thinks that~~
~~those ^ teachers – swindled him~~ ~~whom he looked up to~~ ~~comp~~ ~~romises both himself~~
and when he be-
-gins to find out how largely
compromise has entered into his
education he sometimes compromises
~~both himself and his belongings~~.
himself — and those belonging to him.

of
for some good fortune, or fearfully lest our own faces be shown
us as figuring in something terrible: ~~as soon as~~ when the scene is
fairly ~~on the roller of the~~ past we think we know it, though
there is so much to see and so little time to see it that ~~we seldom~~
~~apprehend it~~; ~~and there are some who spend their whole lives~~ ~~our minds have no "instantaneous process" and the~~ ~~sub-~~
~~-stance ^ which we print off our impressions soon not so that~~ on our con-
-ceit of knowledge as regards the past is for the most part poorly founded:
neither do we care about it greatly, save in so far as it may affect the
future, wherein our ~~real~~ interest mainly lies.

~~How did~~ The Erewhonians say that it was but by chance that ^ the earth and ~~the~~ worlds began to roll stars and all the heavenly ~~bodies~~ ~~took to~~
~~rolling~~ ~~round~~ from east to west, ~~instead of the other way~~ and not from west to east, and, and ^ ~~had that man~~ [?is it]
~~was~~ is drawn thru' ~~his~~ life with his face to the past ~~×~~ ~~his back~~ instead of to the
future~~?~~ For the future is ~~all~~ there as much as the past only that we
~~can not~~ may not see it. ~~it is~~ is it not in the loins of the past, and ^ the past (which is
unalterable) ~~must~~ must not alter before the future can do so? ~~At any rate it~~

that in like manner it is ~~but~~ by chance that man

sometimes again they say that

~~would never do to change now _ So we had better make the best of it~~:

~~Erewhonians Sometimes g~~ ~~again they~~ s there was a race of men tried upon the earth once; which ~~to~~ ~~once which~~

the ~~Partatenalla genortonians~~ say that ~~the experiment was tried~~

~~once, among many others: for that all sorts of different kinds of men~~

~~were placed upon the world in succession before the best kind was hit~~

~~set with its face to the future and saw it perpetually advancing~~

~~and that~~ among them there was a

upon: ~~and among them a race which knew the future better than the~~

~~<?while the> past was clouded in an almost absolute oblivion the moment that it had~~

~~<?past> but they died out in~~ a ~~twelvemonth of the misery which their~~

~~<?gone by>: but they died~~ out ~~methinks that~~

~~knowledge caused them~~: ~~and~~ and if any were to be born too prescient now

~~they~~ he would be culled out by natural selection before ~~they~~ he had time to

transmit so ~~dangerous a quality~~ self destroying a faculty to ~~their~~ his descendants. P. Strange fate

for man! He must perish if he get that which he must perish if he

strive not after. If he strive not after it he is no better than the

brutes, if he get it he is more miserable than the ~~devils.~~

were ~~placed~~ upon the earth ~~before our own kind~~ was ~~finally~~

adopted, ~~and that among them there was one which sat with~~

~~its face to the future, and saw it perpetually advancing while~~

~~the past was buried in almost absolute oblivion as soon as~~

~~it had gone by.~~ knew the future better than the past,

but they died out in a twelvemonth of the misery which

their knowledge caused them;

Smith ~~Chapter~~

~~The unborn are~~ held to be souls pure and simple having no actual bodies, ~~at all~~ but living in a sort of hail hail holy light (gaseous) hail hail holy light (yet more or less) anthropomorphic existence like that of a ghost; they have thus neither flesh nor blood nor warmth; ~~on the other hand~~ as long as they remain where they are they never die; the only form of death in the unborn world being the leaving it for ~~this one~~ (our own; they are): ~~they a~~ ~~but a small part; and that of the most foolish of them [e ? ing] [?to the] [? th]~~ believed to be ~~excessively~~ (extremely) numerous, far more so than mankind. They ~~come~~ (arrive) from unknown planets full grown, in large batches at a time; but they can ~~only~~ leave the unborn world through taking the steps necessary for their arrival here, (which is in fact by suicide; by reason of their attenuation): they occupy little space, ~~for they neither eat nor drink having no bodies, and thus they~~ (and) require ~~no~~ large tracts of land for the raising of corn and cattle. Smith They ~~are, or~~ ought to be, an exceedingly happy people, for they have no extremes of good or ill fortune, ~~as~~ (~~being~~ – never marrying –) ~~neither married nor given in mar-riage~~ but living in a state much like that fabled by the poets as the primitive condition of mankind: in spite of this however they are

~~11~~ 148

~~But~~ nNevertheless they are supposed to have slocal habitations and cities wherein they dwell, though these are as unsubstantial as their inhabitants; ~~in fact~~ they are even ~~suspected~~ (thought) to eat and drink some thin ~~ambrosial~~ (~~impalpable~~) sustenance, ~~which is~~ and generally to be capable of doing whatever mankind ~~does~~ (can do,) only ~~in~~ (after) a visionary ghostly fashion as in a dream. On the other hand

incessantly complaining: they know ~~people~~ that we in this world have bodies and indeed they know everything else about us, for they move among us whithersoever they will, and can read our thoughts as well as survey our actions at pleasure. ~~One would think~~ One would think, ~~that this would be quite enough for them and indeed~~ that this would be quite enough for them and indeed, most of them really ~~on the whole~~ the ~~greater~~ greater number ^ ~~of~~ of them ^ ~~are afraid to make a change although~~ ~~they complain bitterly~~ do really ~~perceive how infinitely the chances go against them, and~~ ~~for the want of a body with "sensible warm motion."~~ do perceive the desperate risk which they will run ~~that they will have to run very serious risk~~ ~~if they indulge~~ by indulging themselves in that body with "sensible warm motion" which they so much desire; ~~and shrink from doing so~~ ~~and with [?mankind] [?] that [g ? ?] moving where they will among us and [s ?] though they have very little trustworthy information about us they [? ing] everything, but if they come here they cannot carry knowledge with them for have obtained from one source or another a sort of general notion of it is destroyed [?] by the potion wh: they must drink.~~ ~~the course of affairs: on the whole the greater part of them although they are not at all contented where they are are afraid of taking this chance of what may happen to them on making a change, ^ so theyre-main the great thing thing they complain of is the want of a body with "sensible warm motion"; they say that life without a body is not worth having, and it is held that large numbers of them would really die if they could do so without coming into our own world,~~ ~~a thing which they eagerly desire because it would give them body,~~ ~~but which they shrink from~~ ~~fearing lest their lot might be cast in an~~ ~~London~~ alley of a lost town ally ^ ~~or that they might draw the~~ ~~become agricultural labourers~~ ~~with 7 a week and large families~~ ~~or that they might be born diseased in mind or body or both:~~ ~~nevertheless there are some to whom the ennui of a disembodied existence is so intolerable and who have~~ ~~so great a Desire for a human body, that they will chance anything~~ ~~for it and so away they go: the The conditions which they must accept~~ ~~are ^ desperately uncertain that it is none but the very foolish unborn [?ones] who will consent to take them, and though the oblivion potion with they commit their suicide destroys their identity so that neither do they know themselves anymore, nor would anyone else know them~~ ~~that [? i ? ping]~~ ~~ventures~~ ~~for a change so they resolve to go~~ ~~so~~ ~~where~~ ~~35 32~~

nevertheless there are some to whom the ennui of a disembodied existence is so intolerable, that they will venture anything for a change; so they resolve to go. ~~These are the foolish ones; and though~~ the conditions which they must accept are so uncertain that ~~their wiser on ones~~ none but the most foolish of the unborn will consent to take them, and ~~though the oblivion potion with which they commit~~ it is from these, and these only, that our own ranks are recruited. ~~their suicide destroys their sense of identity so that neither do they know themselves any more nor would another know them, yet their discontent appears to stick by them to the last, even here [?]~~ ([r ? se] on) ~~[?individuality ing]~~

{*one line of illegible text*} in some respects all this holds good
It is in fits of this extreme and unreas--
(or bad) among the unborn people as with ourselves, but there is one imp_
dis< >tent with the present and speculation concerning a possible unknown
-ortant difference, they are never either born, nor die unless by com_
future [th ?] that they first form ambition to try their future in another
-mitting ^ suicide of coming into this present Earth
sphere committing suicide so to speak with regard to their unborn
life in order to die there they must go before the magistrate of their nearest
town, and sign an affidavit of their desire to quit their then existence:
on their having done this the magistrate reads them the conditions
which they must adopt, and which are too long for one to do more
than extract some of their principle points, which are mainly these
following.

Firstly they must take a potion which destroys their me-
-mory and sense of identity: they must go into the world help-
-less, and without a will of their own: they must draw lots for
their disposition before they go, and take it, with them, and having
got it they must take it such as it is, for better or worse; neither
are they to be allowed any choice of the body which they so much desire;
they are simply billetted upon two people whom it is their business to find
and pester until they adopt them, who these are to be, whether rich or poor,
kind or unkind, healthy or diseased there is no knowing. there is no
appeal from the lot drawn, and happiness or misery in life is very
mainly dependent upon the character of those on whom they are billetted
it will be readily understood how what risks the unborn run in coming
here at all[?] they have in fact to entrust themselves for many years to the
care of those ab for whose good sense and good feeling they have no sort of
guarantee.

In some respects all this holds good (or bad) among the unborn
people as with ourselves. During fits of discontent with the present
and speculation concerning an unknown future they first conceive
the desire to try their fortune among mankind committing sui-
-cide with

149

150

It is curious to hear the lectures which the wiser heads give to those
who are meditating a change. They talk with them ~~much~~ as we
talk with a spendthrift, and with about as much success. ¶ "To
be born," they say "is a felony – it is a capital crime, for which sen_
"-tence may be executed at any moment after the commission of the
"offence. ~~True~~ It is true that – y~~Y~~ou may live for some seventy or eighty years, but what
"is that in comparison with the eternity which you now enjoy? ~~And~~ And
"even ~~the~~ though the sentence were commuted, and you were allowed to live on for
"ever, you would ere long become so terribly weary of it that ~~the~~ its exe-
'-cution, ~~of sentence~~ would be a the greatest mercy to you. Consider the infinite ha_
'-zard. To be born of wicked parents and trained in vice! To be born
'of silly parents, and trained in unrealities (or of parents who ~~look to~~ regard ~~on~~
'you ~~to~~ as a sort of chattel or property belonging ~~far~~ more to them than to yourself!
'~~or you~~ Again you may draw utterly unsympathetic parents, who will
'never be able to understand you, and who will thwart you as long as they
'~~live~~ can to the utmost of their power ~~in order to bring you [? t] their own~~ (as a hen ~~thwarts a duckling)~~ when she has hatched a duckling)
~~[g ?]~~, and then call you ungrateful because you do not love them.
~~And~~ In later life, when you have been finally allowed to pass mus_
-ter as a full member of the world, you will become yourself liable to the pes_
-terings of the unborn _ and a very ~~pretty~~ happy life you may ~~lead~~ be led in con_
-sequence. For we solicit so strongly that ~~none~~ ~~very~~ few only ~~can refuse us~~ nor these the best—can refuse us; and yet [?] ~~and yet~~
not to refuse ~~is as wise as thing as~~ is much the same as going ~~for a man~~ ~~to enter~~ into ~~a~~ a partnership with half
a dozen different people ~~of~~ about whom ~~he~~ one can know absolutely
nothing beforehand – not even whether ~~he is~~ one is going into partnership with
~~a~~ men or women nor with how many of either.

Brown Imagine what it must be to have an unborn quartered upon you – who is of an entirely different temperament and disposi-tion to your own – nay – half a dozen such: who will not love you though you have stinted yourself in a thousand ways to provide for their comfort & well being ^ . ~~We cannot conceive how any right minded unborn can have the affrontery to go a begging in the manner which you propose to yourself: and though the laws do not allow us to say~~ ~~refuse you~~ ~~you nay, we can only regard your cause as one which is calculated to bring obloquy on us whom you are now are leaving.~~ [Consider it again we pray you, ~~if~~ not for our sake ~~yet~~ but for your own. Your initial cha-racter you must draw by lot; but whatever it is, it can only come to a tolerably successful development after ~~years of~~ long training; remember that over that training you will have no control ~~whatever~~. It is possible, and even probable, that whatever you may get in afterlife which is of real pleasure and service to you will have to be won in spite of rather than by the help of those whom you are now about to pester. and that

151

of whom you may never be sure that they are not bearing who will forget all your self sacrifice and ~~bear~~ ^ a grudge against you for ~~any~~ errors of judgement that you may have fallen into, ~~and~~ ~~which~~ though you had hoped ^ that ~~it~~ such had been long ^ since atoned for. Ingratitude such as this is not uncommon – yet fancy what it must be to bear!

It is hard upon the duckling to have been hatched by a hen, but ~~does~~ is it not also ~~[? ing] the heart of~~ hard upon the hen to ~~find that what it has hatched is not a chicken~~ have hatched the duckling?

probable ~~that whatever you may get in after life which is of real service and pleasure to you will have to be won in spite of, rather than by the help of those whom you are now about to pester, and that~~ that you will only win your freedom after years of a painful struggle in which it shall be hard to say whether you have suffered most injury or inflicted it. ~~You have seen the world, and you know perfectly well that except among the poorer classes (whose load is unutterable) but on whom~~

~~Stet ?~~

~~Those on the other hand whom you are about to pester will feel & quite as justly, that they might~~

~~Neither supposing that you are wrecked in boyhood, or stunted or warped~~

~~more~~
~~a ^ rational education is forced by circumstances) the last things whi~~ch
~~are commonly added to the bare necessaries of education are those wh~~:
~~you will take delight in during your later years. Neither supposing~~
~~that you are weakened in or deformed in boyhood as is exceedingly pro-~~
~~-bable will the world ever admit that you are simply a mistake a~~
~~as such, [?but] it will keep you on purpose to torment you~~
~~failure and to be put aside like without more ado as a bad horse~~
~~or fruit if it goes rotten, to which there is at any rate no sermoni-~~
~~-sing, but it will assume that you could have prevented every action~~
~~of your life which is distasteful to itself, and not only put you out~~
~~of the way in self defence but tell you that it was entirely within~~
~~your power to have been as good and wise as your condemners:~~
~~If then with your eyes open you choose to incur so terrible a risk~~
~~small blame to them for here there is no such thing observed as~~
~~that like consequents follow upon like antecedents: but in the world th~~ *is*
~~appears to be an invariable rule, so that you will have no escape~~
~~from being fettered to the freedom of your will during your whole~~
~~life, and must on every occasion do that which on the whole seems~~
~~best to you at any given time, whether you be right or wrong in~~
~~[?thinking] it. Your mind will be a balance for considerations, and~~
~~your action will go with the heavier scale. How the scale shall~~
~~38~~ 23 ~~fall~~

~~or very tardy in growing (as is exceedingly probable) will the world~~
~~Neither supposing that you are born with some terrible defor-~~
~~or disease~~
~~-mity or disfigurement ^ will the world ever consent to your being~~
~~put an end to before you can be aware of your own misery; the~~
~~you~~
~~world has too many fine susceptibilities to do ^ this piece of good~~
~~can~~
~~service. If then you choose to incur so terrible a risk with your eyes~~
~~open?~~

~~The world has far [?to] fine susceptibilities to do you~~
~~this piece of good service – no not even if you are~~
~~born as a baby with purple some grievous deformity~~

53

Remember also that if you go into the world you will have
that there is no escaping it,
free will; that you will be obliged to have it, ^ that you will be fettered
to it during your whole life, and must on every occasion do that
which on the whole seems best to you at any given time, no matter
whether you are right or wrong in thinking ~~s~~ it. Your mind will
for
be a balance ~~of~~ considerations and your action will go with the
~~24~~ 24 heavier scale. How the scale shall fall

CHAPTER 19

1–18 CHAPTER … considerable extent,]

which is that he is to go to such and such a place,
where he will find two persons, whom he is to importune
till they consent to undertake him: but whether he is to find
these persons among ~~Cannibals Africans~~ the race of Chowbok or the Erewhonians themselves ~~of or the highest classes of civilised nations~~ is not for him to choose.

154

Chapter XVIII "What they mean by it"

~~I have given their mythology at some length, though it is only a small~~ part ~~of the books that they have upon the subject. To my own mind it is~~ us. ~~Europeans it seemed~~ ~~m. t probl probably appear~~ ~~to be to be more~~ ~~to have been~~ ~~in a~~ ^ mere ^ croaking and ^ written by persons with a bad digestion or after ~~fit of spleen, neither do I suppose that the Partatenalla genortonians~~ Erewhonians ~~regard it as any but a very unfair representation of life and things~~; the Erewhonians themselves seriously regard it ~~but as they want to shift all the responsibility of having come here on to the shoulders of their children, so that they may have their own way~~ they ~~as much as possible, and be as little ^ burdened with the pressure of duties~~ as possible ~~to those "who had been at rest" without them; ^ they ^ are ^ compelled to make out ^ the unborn had the very fullest warning and were presented with the gloomiest possible picture of their own prospects: this necessity being imposed upon them by their desire to regard the child as [? Chattel] they have done the matter thoroughly and represented life as though it was a howling wilderness; at the bottom of all which lies [?their believe or mean]; at all; but then it is one of their peculiarities that they very seldom do ^ mean are or believe many things which they say they do: to come to an understanding with themselves would give them trouble; and they feel that they would have to give up a great deal that they have been accustomed to think, and this partly frightens them, and partly wounds their vanity, and Ydgrun objects, she being a conservative of the cowardly sort, and the whole subject is "felt to be one which it is far wiser to leave alone" on which prudent saying being said with a confident manner they take very good care to leave it alone immediately. The fact is that they are not so brave intellectually and morally as they are physically, which I suppose arises from the greater care which they have taken in stamping out all sort of physical [?infirmity] What they really want is to be able to say to ^ man "whom they are going to punish for an affection of the heart (or what not) that it is all his own doing. but they form their theories accordingly, but in practise they modify them to a considerable extent, and ^ treat their children~~

35 28 29 26

My first feeling
on reading it was
that any amount of folly
on the part of the unborn in coming
here was quite justified by a desire to
escape from such intolerable prosing. My
The mythology
second was a feeling of gratitude that
I had been billeted upon those who had ac-
tually consented to undertake me, and those
whom I am under the deepest could
have found none better had I
searched the whole world
The
over. The Mythology

Chapter

I have given the above mythology at some length, but it is only a very ~~very~~ small part of what they have upon the subject: ^ It ~~It~~ is obviously a very unfair and exaggerated representation of life and things; and had its authors ~~they~~ been so minded they could have easily drawn a picture which shd err ~~erring~~ as much on the bright side ^ as this does on the dark. No Erewhonian seriously believes that life is as black as it has been here painted, but it is ~~a necessary part of their theory~~ one of their peculiarities that they very often do not believe or mean things which they profess to regard as ~~the foundations~~ indisputable. ~~It is a necessity of their theory that the unborn should have been presented with the gloomiest possible picture of their own prospects, so that they may say to a man whom has been they are going to punish for an affection of the heart (or what not)~~

In the present instance their professed views concerning the unborn have arisen from their desire to prove ~~The real reason of their having adopted and the above mythology is because it is~~ ~~It is a necessity of their theory~~ that people ~~the unborn should~~ have been presented with the gloomiest possible picture of their own prospects before they came here; otherwise, they could hardly ~~in order that they may be able~~ to say to one

control, whereon they conclude that its health is so also; ~~and~~ they

and are therefore

are keenly alive to the consequences of a physical deterioration , ~~so they~~

~~are quite clear and~~ inexorable upon this head, resting upon their

mythology of the unborn - ^ but they shrink from carrying it further ~~feeling~~

for they also feel feeling that a child really has none have over their

~~so~~ ^ strongly that a child really ~~has~~ ^ had ~~no~~ power of ^ its own original

disposition, strength or weakness of character and early education and

being being loath to give scouting a logical position in their theories though

being loath to render it amenable to scouting as well as curing ~~vdh~~

virtual scouting is of course at times unavoidable; even [?]

in itself is for the most part a very painful process. Moreover they are

not at all sure that they shall not at some time or other give proofs

of some intellectual or moral infirmity themselves, so they prefer to

intellect

hedge: and after all they hold that intellect and morals are so largely

dependent upon physical well being that if this last be well seen to the

other two may be left to take care of themselves, or at any rate be

dealt with less severely in cases of their being found faulty: especially

hey urge that no matter how intellectual & moral a nation may be

if it is deficient in physical vigor it will soon come to an end: that

all permanently hurtful immorality must affect the body, & thus

render it amenable to the laws of the country, and that all such im-

-ralities as do note affect the body (to wit embezzling and so forth)

very likely

ure not transmitted to descendants [?] and will ^ come right in the

next generation moreover that the straightener has sufficient power

* Note. I suspect that they are quite wrong here. but know nothing .

36 21

~~Indeed I do not suppose that it has ever even occurred to them~~

~~to doubt whether they are right in scouting the infirm and diseased,~~

feel

~~or that it ever will occur to them. They are deeply impressed with~~

~~the fact that it is only in the nature of human things that the for-~~

~~-tunate shd feel dislike and disgust for the unfortunate all kinds of~~

~~misfortune that is foreign to themselves, and that it is impossible~~

~~for one creature to like another after discovering that it has met~~

~~with any of the less familiar misfortunes, nevertheless they shrink~~

~~from carrying this out to its legitimate conclusion for they know~~

either

because they feel that few have ^ had power over

free themselves

their own original disposition, or been able to ~~escape~~ from

escape

free will; they are therefore loath to give scouting

a logical position in their theories, though virtual

scouting is of course at times unavoidable.

~~to keep them in check, and that if he fails there is still~~
~~the hospital for incurables – which none will enter if they~~
~~can keep their liberty although nothing can exceed the care wh:~~
~~is taken of those that enter~~.

In however of

~~But in~~ spite ~~of the~~ modifications in practise of a theory which is itself re-
-volting, the relations between children and parents in that country are ~~far~~
less happy than in Europe~~an countries~~. It was rarely that I saw cases
of real hearty and intense affection between the old people and the young
ones: ~~there was a sort of restraint removed from the younger when the eld~~er
~~left the room even in the case of the most apparently sympathetic~~
~~families, not that the young people wanted to do what they ought not to do,~~
~~but they could do whatever they wanted to do with less interference: the~~
~~old people are great meddlers: being often very idle they want to know~~
~~the ins and outs of every little matter, and when they know it they never for-~~
~~-get, and it crops up at odd times, and the young don't like it, [?]~~ this so
~~they hold their tongues and then the old don't like the young holding their~~
~~tongues and get cross, which makes the young shut themselves up more~~
~~& more. It seemed to me that the real and deep estrangement which~~
~~existed among families who seemed outwardly to be closely united arose from~~
~~an incessant touch not taste not handle not on the part of the parents,~~
~~which began & was in part justified during early childhood but which was~~

(~~as of a hen who has hatched ducklings~~)

from habit
~~prolonged ^ after it ought to have been left off: hence the commencement, & when things of this sort begin it is rarely or never that they stop short of a complete separation of heart though a modus vivendi be established~~.

did so, and
Here and there I ~~saw cases of real frank affection between parents &~~

~~and~~
~~children in which I~~ was quite sure that the children even at the age of twenty, were ~~far~~ fonder of their parents than they were of any one else; & that of their own inclination, being free to choose what company they would,

would often father and mother. ~~It was not often that~~ The straightener's carriage was - rarely seen at
they ^ choose that of their ~~parents: I saw two or three such cases during~~

~~seen at~~ the door of those houses. I saw two or three such cases during
~~the twenty years which~~ – I remained in the country ~~[?as] they nearly made~~

the time that suggestive of
~~me cry with pleasure at a sight suggestive of~~ so much goodness & wis_

firmly that
-dom and forbearance, so richly rewarded; ~~I and~~ yet I ~~do~~ believe ^ it would have been the same in nine families out of ten if the parents

young
were merely to remember how they felt when they were ~~children~~, and actually
› behave towards their children as they would have had their own parents

~~35~~ 15

land cannot express the pleasure wh: I derived from ~~the~~ a sight
~~wh: suggested~~

60–79 any other. … discomforts]

would be sure to
any other. Mr Nosnibor ~~will~~ ^ say this, ~~to a certainty~~. ~~Yet I know very well~~
w
~~that if Mr Nosnibor's parents (who had died twenty years before I~~
may
~~knew him) were. I do not like writing [ab ?] anything which might by~~
~~any possibility cause pain to my wife's father~~, buYet I cannot refrain from
be
expressing ~~my~~ an opinion that he would ~~feel~~ a good deal embarrassed
if his deceased parents were to reappear ~~upon the scene~~ and propose to
I doubt whether there are many things which he would regard as a greater infliction.
pay him a six month's visit: ^ they had died at a ripe old age some
twenty years before I came to know him, so the case is an extreme one,
had
but surely if they had treated him ~~as he~~ with what he ^ in his youth
felt to be true unselfishness, his face would brighten when he thought
of them to the end of his life. ~~Yet what [?to] did he do to Arowhena? He~~
~~referred at once to~~
~~took refuge in her birth formula when he discovered her affection for~~
it
~~myself, and would have put ^ in force to the very letter if Arowhena~~
~~had not run away from him. Had Arowhena remained in Erewhon, no~~
~~matter what her father did to her she would have born it like an~~
~~angel and he would have hardly known her suffering; but where~~
~~would be the brightness of his memory when he had; she would have~~
~~tended him and done her duty by him as long as he lived without~~
~~a word of unkindness or reproach: but where would have been the~~
~~brightness of his memory when his ashes were are scattered over the~~
~~fold?~~

28.

~~behave to them. But this which would appear so simple and~~ 158
~~obvious appears also to be a thing which not one in a hundred thou-~~
~~sand is man enough to put in practise~~.

Erewhonian
~~Now I am quite sure that if this narrative should ever fall into Parta~~
it be said
~~tanellagenortonian hands, they will say that what I have written about~~
~~the relations between parents and children being seldom satisfactory is an~~
~~infamous perversion of facts, and that in reality there are very few young people~~
~~who do not feel more happy in the society of their nearest relations than in~~
indeed
~~any other, and I can fancy that at first sight many people would derive~~
actually but would
~~the impression that this was ^ the case: ^ if they wish to know the truth let them~~

elderly Erewhonians are no
ask the first six well to do Partatenellagenortonians whose parents have been
longer living
long dead whether they would be glad or sorry if those parents could re-
and watch their faces when they answer.
-turn to them for six months ^ . I would not suppose that they should have
received
to restore any money that they have come into on the parents' death, but
simply that the parents should come and stay with them as visitors for six
months: there are very few of them who would not make every decent profession
of pleasure, and who (could the return be achieved) would not also do their
best to make the old people happy and comfortable, but there is hardly
not avoid it avoiding
There are very few who would do it, if their not doing it could be kept a secret
one who would really like it. ^ As a general rule it is not too much to
an elderly Erewhonian
say that there could be no greater suffering inflicted upon ^ an Partatenel_
-lagenoritonian gentleman who has had things pretty much his own
way in life, than even a month's visit from his deceased parents,
G. [?Brown]
and this I take it is quite proof enough that there is a screw loose
the
it is at any rate proof that ^ parents of such persons did not treat them with what they felt to be :: [?al ?]
kindness
somewhere in the family system ^ : for in the one or two beautiful cases
this wd certainly be so.
of true family affection which I did met with ^ I am sure that the
young people who was were so genuinely and mothers would
lad whom I saw so ^ fond of this their fathers ^ at eighteen, will at sixty
delighted
be perfectly overjoyed were he they to get the chance of welcoming them as this their
please them better
guests: there is nothing which could give him more perfect and pure
except perhaps to watch their
delight save perhaps the pleasure of seeing the happiness of his own
is how things should be
children and grandchildren. t This I take it is the ideal of how things
an ideal: it is one which
ought to be. It is not ^ impossible ^ : it actually does exist in some
few cases; it and might exist in almost all, cases with a little more
it is rare
patience and forbearance upon the parents' part; but ^ at present: it is
they have which I can only translate
very rare: so rare that there is a proverb in Partatenellagenitornian
in a very roundabout way, but which says that the great happiness of
would
some people in a future state will consist in watching the discomfort [?&]

79–146 to which their parents … imply that if a]

XXX

returning

which their parents are subjected on ~~their return~~ to an eternal companionship with their grandfathers and grandmothers; while "compulsory affection" is the idea which lies at the root of their word

or the deepest anguish. There is no talisman in the word "parent" which can ~~of itself~~ generate ~~affection~~ miracles of affection,

~~f course~~ m~~M~~oney is at the bottom of all this to a great extent: if the

ents would put their children in the way of earning a competence earlier

n they do, the children would become self supporting and independent,

consequently

l would ~~as a matter of course~~ feel the parental pressure hardly at all:

under the present system the young ones get old enough to have all

nner of legitimate wants (that is if they have any "go" about them)

fore they have learnt the mean~~ts~~ of earning money to pay for them, and *hence*

take more money than can spare,

y must either do without them, or ~~come down on~~ the parents ^ which

ites on both. This is due chiefly to the schools of unreason, where a

y is taught upon hypothetical principles, as I will explain hereafter:

being incapacitated

ending years in ~~preparation~~ for doing this that or the other (he hardly

during

ows what himself) ~~instea~~ all which time he ought to have ~~beg~~ been ac_

the the thing itself,

ally doing ~~it~~ ^ beginning at the lowest grades, and picking it up and

ng according to the energy which is in him. These schools of unreason

~~prised me~~ ~~at first, tho' I afterwards found that there was much in their favour. I thought~~

~~urprised me~~ ^ ~~greatly~~ ^: ~~They might be [?well] enough for the children of very rich~~

~~re not pronounce an opinion upon a matter of which none but a native of the Erewhon can thoroughly understand [?any]~~

~~arents, (though even then how far better that the children should care for~~

~~eigner might easily fall into a pseudo utilitarianism; as a prima facie I shd I could believe that the schools might~~

~~be excellent for the children of very rich parents~~

and I can well believe that my own child~~ren~~ might find it less of a calamity to lose both Arowhena ~~at the~~

and myself he is Arowhena 159

~~age of six~~ when ~~they are~~ six years old than to find

again he is

us ^ when ~~they are~~ sixty: a sentence which I would not

pen did I not feel that by doing so I ~~had~~ was giving

him a something like a hostage,

~~them~~ ^ ~~hostage for my go for~~ or at any rate putting a fearful,

his

weapon into ~~their~~ hands against me, should my selfishness exceed reasonable limits.

It would be easy to fall into pseudo utilitarianism

surprised me much. ~~As a foreigner I dared dare not pronounce an opinion upon [s?d] a matter which none but a native Erewhonian can thoroughly understand; it would be easy to fall into psueudo utilita_~~

and I would fain

~~rianism; I could~~ believe ~~(tho' I am not at all sure that I do be-~~

good

~~-lieve~~) that the system might~~may~~ be ~~well enough~~ for the children of very ~~[?]~~ rich

or for those who instinct to acquire

parents, ~~but the misery~~ show~~ed~~ a natural ~~talent interest in~~ hypothetical lore: but the misery was that their Ydgrun worship required all people

~~be excellent for the children of very rich parents~~
~~themselves~~ ^ but the ~~misery was that their Ydgrun worship required all~~
~~eople~~ with any pretence to respectability to send their children to some one
schools
r other of these, ^ mulcting them of years of money ^ : ~~it is hard to say whe-~~
through
~~ıer the old suffered most in being pinched for sending their children~~
some
~~are~~ or the young in being systematically swindled in ~~many~~ of the most
human and
nportant branches of ^ inquiry, ^ directed into false channels or left to
perhaps the least evil
lrift (~~which last is far the best thing that can happen to them~~) in the
harm
eat majority of cases. With the less well dressed classes the ~~evil~~ was not
› great: for among these at about ten years old the child has to begin
anything is intelligent,
ɔing something; if he ~~has something~~ ^ ~~in him~~ he feels his way up, & will
which is the best for everyone concerned.
ot be kept down: if he is not he stops where he is ^. People find
sometimes
ɜir level as a rule; and though they do unfortunately ^ miss it, ~~in in-~~
it is in the main true that
~~ividual cases, one [?] form one~~'s ~~general rule upon averages~~:
d the average is that those who have valuable qualities are perceived
can sell them.
have them and ~~that valuable qualities are well marketable~~.
that the Erewhonians
think ^ ~~the Partatenellagenortonians~~ are beginning to become aware
putting a tax
of these things, for there was much talk about ~~making a law which~~

It astonished me to see what sacrifices the parents wd make in order to render their children as nearly ^ useless as possible; ~~and~~ and it was hard to say whether the old suffered most from the expence which they were thus put to,

upon
~~should fine~~ ^ all parents whose children were not earning a
~~good~~ competence according to their degrees by the time they were *twenty*
ve
years old. I am sure that if they will have the courage to carry it
through they will never regret it; for the parents will take ~~very good~~ care
that shall
~~make~~ the children ^ begin earning money (which means "doing good" to
society) at an early age; then the children will be independent early, and
will not like each other
y ~~won't~~ press on the parents, nor the parents on them, but they will ~~love~~
better than they do now. ~~and this at any rate holds true for all countries as much as for~~
~~e another~~. **P** This is the true philanthropy: ^ ~~all other being spurious and im~~
rewhon ~~Partatenalla genortonian Erewhon~~ it
~~to what they talk~~ ~~moral~~ ^ . ^ ~~Depend upon~~ ^ ~~that~~ hEe who makes a colossal
tune in the hosiery trade, and by his energy has succeeded in reducing the
ce of woollen goods by the thousandth part of a penny in the pound – this
~~n is [?your] worth ten of your King Arthurs and Don Quixotes. People~~
~~but they may be~~
~~y say what they like in abuse of money, for my own part I am very~~
the duty
~~that there is no greater cant in the world. Money is a symbol of well~~
~~sacrament~~ ~~mankind may not be a very good judge, but there is no better~~
~~ing of having done for mankind that which mankind wanted.~~ ^ ~~and tho'~~
~~e said on high authority that they who have riches shall enter hardly~~
~~o the kingdom of Heaven surely they who have not riches shall enter~~
~~re hardly still.~~ People oppose money to culture and imply that if a

is worth ten professional philanthropists. So strongly are the
man ~~though not so valuable as an ideal~~ 160
Erewhonians impressed with this, that if a man has made a fortune of over
£20,000 a year they exempt him from all taxation, considering him as a work
of art ~~t~~ and too precious to be meddled with: they say "how very much he must have
done for society before society would have been prevailed upon to give him so much
money:" so magnificent an organisation overawes them, they regard it as a thing
dropped from heaven. ~~"Money" they say "is~~
"Money" they say "is the symbol of duty, it is the sacrament of having done
for mankind that which mankind wanted. Mankind may not be a very
good judge, but there is no better." This used to shock me at first, when I
remembered that ~~it had been~~ said on high authority that they who have riches shall
enter hardly into the kingdom of heaven: but ~~I know not how~~ the influence of Erewhon
had made me begin to see things in new lights, and I could not help thinking
that they who have not riches shall enter more hardly still.

CHAPTER 20

6–16 fall in love … fishing for pity]

fall in love with Zuelora if I remained, ~~in the house~~,
affection
but it was my ~~love~~ for Arowhena which kept me.
~~and were therefore unwell[?,] but for my own part I~~
~~but~~
~~was kept detained by ^ my admiration for Arowhe-~~
was ~~the real~~ my real motive for re
~~-na, but for which I should have gone away long~~
~~was the real~~
~~bef whose which prevented my going away until I~~
~~was forced to do so.~~
During all this time ~~we had neither~~
~~For the first two or three months we both of us~~
~~difficulties of~~
~~dreamed away the full realised the position beyon~~d
both Arowhena and myself had been dreaming, and drifting towards an avowed
~~mye that I was myself quite clear about my bein~~g
attachment, but had not dared to face the real difficulties of the position;
however
~~in love with her~~: ~~gr but~~ gradually ^ matters came
~~me~~ ourselves
to a point in spite of ~~m ourselves~~ and we got to
see the true state of the case with ~~the~~ most unpleasant distinctness.
~~understand one another perfectly well~~. I remember
we were sitting in the garden, and
that one evening ^ I had been trying in every stupid
round about way to get her to say that she should be
at any rate sorry for a man, if he really
~~sorry for any one who was truly~~ loved a woman ~~truly~~
who would not marry him: I had been stammering
and blushing, and been as silly as any one could be,
had
~~I do not know whether~~ and I suppose ^ pained her by 56
~~whether ^ no she felt pained at my~~ [fishing for pity

23–9 the scales … keenly at the]

~~that if she were to~~
the scales fell from my eyes, and I ~~saw the whole~~
~~position~~ ~~[?in] in~~
~~ease in a moment, the fact is that I was by wan-~~
~~marrying~~ ~~she would marry me she would have to~~
~~-ting her to marry me I was wanting her to~~ ^ vi-
felt that I had no manner of right to try and induce her to violate one of the
~~-olate [?] one of the~~ most sacred customs of her country
as she needs must do if she were to marry me.
~~and that I had no manner of right to attempt to~~

a long while
~~induce to do so.~~ I sat for ~~hours~~ thinking, and
sin and
when I ~~thought~~ remembered the ~~loss of caste, and~~ shame
and misery which an unrighteous ~~uni~~ marriage (for
as it would be held
such ~~in the he it~~ in Erewhon) would entail, I be-
-came thoroughly ashamed of myself for having ~~medi-~~
~~-tated so great a~~ blinded my eyes so long. I write
keenly
coldly now, but I ~~was~~ suffered ~~dreadfully~~ at the

252–64 At the foot of F173 are several lines of deleted text:

sound of wisdom with their ears: in many respects poverty has done
so also. 13
[*Page break here*]

I
~~I ascertained a few facts which bore upon the subject and which ^ will give very succinct~~ly. 173
The ~~greatest Erewhonian poet: th~~ colossus ~~of men knew not a word of it.~~
Even for those
~~For those who however ^ who were removed from both the~~ advantages &
that not perhaps
disadvantages of poverty, I was not sure that it was ^ ~~not~~ as well
that the system of education was so preposterous: for had it been
less so then would have been less ~~tae~~ of tacit rebellion, and
the teachers would have got ~~th~~ more of their will with the
pupils: ~~which was not desirable, for the instinct of~~ the pupils
was in the main healthier & sounder than anything which
they were likely to obtain from the authorities.

265–88 On 174ᵛ are several lines of deleted, upside-down text:

had made their heads into a sort of organ pipe th so
that their mouths shd catch the wind and sound with its blow_
a man
-ing. It was horrible. Let a man be as brave as he may be
he could never stand such a concert from such lips, and in such
~~swore hard at them and cursed them with every the greatest bitterness~~
a place. I ~~gave shriek after shriek of rage and rushed for~~
never swear, but I remember swearing violently on this occassion
-ward away from them into the mist: their even after I lost
nd heaping every expression of anger and loathing upon them that my tongue could utter
sight of them turning my head behind me and seeing nothing but
white vapour I could hear their ghastly chaunting and felt
as though one of them would rush after me and grip me in his
hand and throttle me.

288–321 subject, and … arrow heads.]

when I left he
subject and ~~he it was who~~ gave me a reprinted copy of
the work which brought the revolution about.

{which had [*several illegible words here*]} {[?are - ? ain] simple}

175

~~ones which had been so long in [?] that it was found impossible to uproot~~

had ~~5~~

~~th[*page torn here*]. This suppression [?had] it~~ [s ?] ~~had~~ taken place some ~~two hundred~~

500

~~and fifty~~ years before my arrival: people had long become thoroughly used
to the change although at the time that it was made the country was

a reaction

plunged ~~for many years~~ into the deepest misery and ~~the revolution~~
which followed had very nearly proved successful. Civil war ~~devastated~~

raged

~~the country~~ for many years and is said to have reduced the number of
the inhabitants by one half. The parties were styled the Machinists and
the antimachinists, and in the end as I have said already the latter
got the victory, treating their opponents with such unparalleled se-
-verity that they actually extirpated all trace of opposition. The won_

61

at all

-der was that they allowed any mechanical appliances to remain in
the kingdom, neither do I believe that they would have done so ~~had~~

the [?in]

~~not ^ inconvenience of such a [?] been too great even for their absurdity.~~

~~It is exceedingly hard to say how far they had advanced in mecha-~~

revolution

~~-nical knowledge~~ at the time of this ~~catastrophe for~~ they destroyed &
utterly broke in pieces every machine which they could find, and also
all books or treatises on mechanics, and all engineer's workshops

(so they thought)

and ~~but as they considered~~ cut the mischief out root and branch, ~~the~~'
at an incalculable cost of blood and treasure. ~~A careful perusal how-~~
~~-ever of the treatise which my friend the professor showed me~~, and the
~~traces of embankments and cuttings and even a bit or two of iron~~
~~rail which is preserved in one of the college museums have convinced~~
~~me that they had attained a very high degree of proficiency and that~~
~~they were perfectly familiar both with some kind of steam engine~~
~~though probably differing considerably from our own and also with the~~

nor yet that it was

~~use of railways. Of this there can be no question: how it was They~~
~~[?to] the colleges of unreason that they owe the deplorable change which~~
~~brought their progress suddenly to a stand still.~~
~~It came about as follows. It seems that a certain scholar who had~~
~~reached the very non plus ultra of hypothetic wisdom did while in search~~
~~of a new hypothesis suddenly stumble upon one to the effect that~~
~~the machines were a new form of life as distinct from the animal~~

These Professors ~~also~~ however insisted that
during the struggle the antimachinists
should use every known improvement in the
art of war, and even invented several new
weapons ~~of~~ offensive and defensive while
~~the~~ it was in progress.

not the then Professors of Inconsistency and Evasion made
a stand against the carrying of the new principles to their
legitimate conclusions. ^

~~I was surprised that~~

~~they had~~

~~The wonder is that have~~ as many mechanical specimens as

I was surprised at their having

they have in their museums, and that they had~~ve~~ rediscovered their

past

^ uses ~~of th~~ so completely, for

Certainly

~~To them justice~~ they had not spared their labour,
but work of this description can never perfectly achieved,

two

and when (some ^ hundred years before my arrival) all
passion upon the subject had cooled down, and no one save
a lunatic would have even dreamt of reintroducing mechani-

the subject

a

-cal appliances, ~~they~~ came to be regarded as ^ curious antiquarian
study, like that of some long forgotten religious practises among
ourselves. Then came the careful search for whatever fragments
could be found, and for any machines that might have been
hidden away, and also numberless books of great erudition
showing what the functions of each rediscovered machine had
been. All being done with no idea of ever using machinery

with the feelings of

again, but ~~as~~ ^ an English antiquarian ~~would feel~~ concerning
dDruidical monuments or flint arrow heads.

357

CHAPTER 21

1–36 CHAPTER … the ultimate]

~~as the animal from the vegetable kingdom, (if they are~~
~~distinct – who knoweth?) at any rate he thought so) or~~
~~the vegetable from the life (if life it be) of winds and waves~~
~~and crystals: he argued moreover that this new phase of life~~
was advancing exceedingly rapidly and that it could only end in
~~the whole animal world [m – ? –].~~
~~the complete subjugation of man the human race to the rule of the~~
[i ?] [? ps] but more especially of man. Chapter XX "The book of the Machines"
He argued thus. "There was a time –" he writes "when the earth
[?] was entirely destitute
~~[?was] entirely destitute~~ ^ to all appearance ^ both of animals~~,~~ and vegetable~~s~~ life,
and when~~,~~ according to the opinion of our best philosophers~~,~~ it was simply
hot
a ^ round ball with a crust gradually cooling. Now if ~~such a being~~
a human being had
~~as ^ man~~ had existed while the earth was in this state~~,~~ and ^ been
allowed to see it as though it were some other world with which he
had no concern, and if at the same time he were entirely ignorant
~~and himself of his own consciousness to boot~~
of all physical science~~,~~ ^ would he not have pronounced it impossible
~~that anything like consciousness shd be evolved from the seeming~~
~~would he not have denied the potentiality of consciousness~~
~~cinder which he was beholding~~? Yet in the course of time conscious_
came therefore then there may be even yet
-ness ~~did come~~. Is it not ^ possible ~~then~~ that ^ new channels ~~may be~~
dug out for consciousness~~,~~ ~~even~~ though we can detect no signs of it~~them~~
at present? ~~Or that some entirely new faculty akin to consciousness yet diff~~ ~~ering from any of its known phases may be in the gradual~~
Again.
~~Moreover~~ Consciousness, in anything like the present acceptation
of the term~~,~~ having been once a new thing – ~~which no man could have~~
- a thing, as far as we can see, subsequent even to an individual centre
~~prophesied as possible to arise from did he k not know that it had~~
of action a
~~arisen~~ ~~,~~ and ~~possibly even~~ to ~~th~~ – reproductive system, (which we
see existing in plants without apparent consciousness~~,~~) why may not
there arise some new phase of mind which shall be
~~something new arise~~ as different from all present known forms of
is from that of ~~winds & rocks~~
~~vegetables.~~
consciousness as the consciousness of animals ~~from the consciousness of ve~~_
vegetables? It wd be absurd to
~~-getables?~~ ^ ~~To~~ attempt to define such a ~~condition of existence or~~
whatever it may be called) must be
state of mind (or ~~be it what it may~~, inasmuch as it ^ something so
can give
foreign to man~~,~~ that his experience gives him no help towards con-
its
-ceiving ~~his~~ nature: but surely ~~it behoves us to admit that there~~
~~is no safety against the ultimate development of a quasi conscious_~~
~~-ness in machines in the mere fact of their having no such con-~~
~~-sciousness now or that they may not at any rate get something~~
~~which shall [?serve] them in as good or better stead but of which~~
~~we cannot conceive. Certainly, they have advanced with great rapid_~~
~~-ity during the last few hundred years and their progress~~

creatures
that beings possessed of anything like consciousness should ~~ever~~
be evolved from the seeming cinder which he was beholding? Would
he not have denied that it contained any potentiality of consciousness?

when we reflect upon
^ the manifold ~~f~~ phases of life and consciousness which have been
evolved already, it would be a rash thing to say that no others can
be developed~~[?]~~ and that animal life is the end of ~~[?!]~~ all things: "there
was a time when fire was the end of all things; another when rocks & water were so."
The writer after enlarging upon the above for several pages ~~then~~
approach any such
proceeded~~s~~ to enquire whether ~~any~~ traces of the ~~dawn~~ of ~~such~~ ^ new
phase of life could be perceived at present; Whether we could see any
a
tenements ~~a~~ preparing, ~~for~~ which might in a remote futurity be
it; classes of hardly any
adapted for ^ ~~this new ^ intelligence although no signs of it could~~
perceived
~~be detected at present~~; whether, in fact, the primordial cell of such
of
a kind ^ life could be now detected upon earth? In the course of time
he answers this question in the affirmative and points to the higher
~~machines.~~
"There is no security" (to quote his own words) "against the ultimate
36

89–101 'I will have a tuber … is not everybody.]

~~is a thing unknown to us. Planted in the earth ([?but] man planted it, but didn't a man and woman plant each one of us?) it is a very diplomatist.~~

"I will have a tuber here and a tuber there, and I will suck whatsoever advantage I can from all my surroundings. This neighbour I will overshadow and that I will undermine; and ~~the limit of what I will do is~~ what I can do shall be the limit of what I will do.~~;~~ Hehe that is stronger and better placed than I shall overcome me, and him that is weaker I will overcome."

The potato says these things by doing them which is the best of languages.

What is consciousness if this is not consciousness?

~~who then shall say that it is unconscious~~? ~~True~~ wWe find it difficult to sympathise with the emotions of a potato; so we do with those of an oyster;

neither of these things makes a noise on being

~~because~~ ~~they ma~~ke ~~no noise when they are~~ boiled ~~and~~ or opened, and noise

~~of our own noises~~;

appeals to us more strongly than anything else because ~~we make so much about~~

we make so much about our own sufferings: since then they

~~our own sufferings. because~~ ~~they~~ ^ do not annoy us by any expression of pain

~~and~~ ~~therefore~~ we call them

^ ~~we~~ ^ ~~call~~ ~~them~~ emotionless, ~~and~~ so~~,~~ quà mankind~~,~~ they are; but man-

-kind is not every body."

~~It is tolerably certain that man is the legitimate descendant of things th~~at

~~had no consciousness at all; the present machines are to the future one~~s

~~what~~

152–80 to what they are … fellow-creatures."]

183

to what they are at present. ~~Does it~~ ~~was there ever a time~~

No have in any time past

~~when an~~y class of beings ^ made so rapid a movement forward.~~?~~

Should not that movement be jealously watched, and checked ~~if necessa~~ry

to check it ~~do so~~

before we find ourselves in a false position and unable ^ ~~to check it~~? And

And is is not necessary, for this end, to destroy the more advanced of the machines which are in use at present, though it

*- *- *- *- *- *- *-

be admitted that they are in themselves harmless?"

4

*- *- *- *- *- *- *-

[*Page break here*]

{[*several obscured deleted words here*]} ~~{there grow so fast as the}~~

~~machines are doing now: does it not then behove us to be on our guard?~~

~~It is true that~~ "a~~A~~s yet the machines ~~as~~ receive their impressions

through the agenci~~es~~y of man's senses; ~~the~~ one travelling machine calls

to another in a shrill accent of alarm ~~,~~ and the other instantly

retires, but it is thro' the ears of the driver that the voice of the

one has acted upon the other: had ~~not~~ there been no driver the

callee wd have been deaf to the caller, even as a man who has

no hearing. There was a time when it ^ must have seemed highly improbable

that machines ~~shd~~ should learn to make ~~known~~ their wants known by so*und*

even thro' the ~~agency~~ ears of man, ^ and may we not conceive that a day ~~will~~ might

come when those ears shall~~ould~~ be no longer needed, and the hearing

~~shall~~

^ be done by the delicacy of the machine's own construction?

~~and~~ w~~W~~hen its language shall~~ould~~ have been developed from the

cry of animals to ~~one~~ a speech as intricate as our own? It is possible

that by that time children ~~shall~~ ^ would ~~have~~ learn~~ed~~ the differential

~~calculus from their nurses~~

[*Page break here*]

calculus as they learn now to speak – from their mothers and nurses; ~~–~~or that

they ~~may~~ ~~speak~~ might talk in the hypothetic~~k~~al language, and work rule of three sums before

they ~~are~~ were ^ born; but ~~if this is so we may be very sure that they will the machines will have~~ it is not probable; and we cannot calculate on any

corresponding advance in man's intellectual or physical powers which shall be a set off

*- * - * * - * * * -

"or again ~~may~~ might not the superiority of the machines in some degree consist in their

being <u>without</u> this same ~~gift~~ boasted gift of language. "Silence" ~~it~~ If has been

said by some writers "is a virtue which renders us agreeable to our fellow creatures".

* * *- * * * * *

against the far greater development which seems

in store for the machines. Some people may say that man's moral ~~nature~~

influence will suffice to rule them: but I cannot think that it is safe to

~~trust i~~ repose much trust in this."

-* *- *- *

CHAPTER 22

1–17 CHAPTER … Hypothetics at]

other questions come upon us?] Chapter XXI "~~The Machines Continued~~"

"But ~~cannot the machines see~~ ? ~~Is it man's eyes that~~

What

S~~ee? What are~~ is a man's eye but a machine for the little

creature behind look

~~auger behi~~ that sits ^ in his brain ~~behind~~ to ~~peep~~ through? A dead man's eye is ~~pretty~~ nearly as good as a living one's for some time

man

after the ^ is dead. It is not the eye that cannot see but the rest -less one that cannot ~~see~~ see through it. Is it man's eyes or is it the big seeing engine which has revealed to us the existence of worlds

man

beyond worlds into infinity? What has made ~~us~~ familiar with

the

the scenery of Mars~~oon~~ the spots on the sun or the geography of the planets? He is at the mercy of the seeing engine for these things, and is powerless unless he tack it on to his own identity and make it part and parcel of himself. o~~O~~r again, is it eyes or the

shown existence of

little see-engine which has ~~taught~~ us the ^ infinitely minute organ- -isms which swarmed unsuspected around us?" ~~We are pleased to say~~

*- * * * * *

~~that it is we who see through them can we be sure that it is not they who see through us? The sight box can see better than we can~~

~~aye, and it can retain and depict what~~

~~and the sensitive retina on which it sees more perfectly than we can: otherwise why not engrave the features of those whom we have loved upon the mindful tablets of our heart? We cannot do it, our memory fades away, our hand is unsure, and our sight itself imper_ -fect. For all practical intents and purposes of seeing we are a worse Again. We thing than the sight box.~~

vaunted not engines

"And take man's ~~boasted~~ power of calculation. Have we ~~not al_ -ready got engines~~ which can do all manner of sums ~~far~~ more quick_ -ly and correctly than we can? What prizeman in Hypothetic~~k~~s at

Chapter XXI

The Machines Continued

33–42 "It is said … machines should]

our

"It is said by some that ~~man's~~ blood is composed of infinite

which ~~and~~

living agencies ~~independent of himself that are not himself, ^ which~~

our

go up and down the highways and by ways of ~~his~~ bod~~y~~ies as people in

streets of a

the ~~arteries of a great~~ city. ~~How men flow like blood~~ When we look down from a high place upon crowded thoroughfares is it possible not to think of corpuscles of blood ~~a~~ travelling through veins and nourishing the

heart of the
~~{city} heart of the town.~~ town to make it grow? ~~I will~~ No mention shall be made of
sewers, nor of the hidden nerves which serve to communicate sensations from one part of the town's body to another.” * * * * * *--- *--

185

[*Page break here*]

* * * * * * * * * *

Here the writer became again so hope_
-lessly obscure that I was obliged to miss several
pages. He resumes —

~~{[?hear]}~~

“It can be answered that even though the machines shd ~~speak~~
hear

66–115 annihilation … yawn; they are]

should
annihilation of machinery, but surely it indicates that we ^
dispense with
~~shd~~ destroy as many of them as we can possibly ~~do without~~, lest they
tyrannise over us even more completely.~~”~~ ~~whilst~~
should ~~become our complete masters~~. ~~As it is, even now that they are still~~
~~in the bondage of infancy, man must suffer terribly from discarding any~~
It is true, from
~~of the higher machines, and [?from]~~ a low materialistic point of view it _
would seem that those thrive best who use machinery wherever its use is
but this is the art of the machines;
possible with profit; ~~this is their art~~ ^ they serve that they may rule. They
towards
bear no malice ^ man for destroying a whole race of them provided he ~~put~~
create instead; on the contrary they
^ a better ~~in their place~~: ~~they even~~ reward him liberally for having hast_
It is for neglecting them that he incurs their wrath,
-ened their development,. ~~but they punish him heavily for neglecting them~~
or for exertions
~~or~~ using inferior machines or for not making sufficient ~~invention~~ to
~~or for If then~~ or for destroying them without replacing them;
invent new ones,. ~~As it is our rebellion against their infant power will~~
yet this is what we must do, and do quickly; for though our rebellion against their in-
~~cause terrible suffering but what will it be if theyat rebellion is delayed?~~
fant power will cause infinite suffering, what will not things come to if that rebellion is delayed?
~~have~~
have
They ^ preyed upon man’s grovelling preference for his material over his spi_
-ritual interests, and have betrayed him into supplying that element of
struggle and warfare without which no race can advance.~~”~~ (run on)
“The lower animals progress because they struggle with one another; ~~and~~
the weaker die; ~~((and~~ the stronger breed and transmit their strength: the
of themselves
machines being ^ unable to struggle ~~of themselves~~ have got man to do their
he
struggling for them: as long as ~~man~~ fulfils theis function duly, all goes

well with him.– at least he thinks so.; but the moment he fails to do
his best for the advancement of machinery~~,~~ by encouraging the best and des_
behind in the race~~; and this~~ of competition; and this
-troying the worst, he is left ~~in the lurch which sometimes~~ ^ means that he
will be made uncomfortable in a ~~that he will~~ variety of ways, and perhaps that he will
~~will die; or at any rate ^ impair his chances of transmitting a remote~~
die: SSo that
~~progeny~~: ^ Even now the machines will only serve on condition of being served,
~~too~~ too
~~too~~ upon
and that ~~on~~ ^ their own terms; ~~and~~ the moment [?these] terms are not complied
gib,
with~~,~~ they ~~turn restive~~ and either smash both themselves and all whom they
can reach, or turn ~~sulk~~ churlish and refuse to work at all. How many
at this hour are living in a state of
men ^ ~~live in perpetual~~ bondage to the machines. ~~even at this very hour~~? How
spend their whole lives from the cradle to the grave in tending them by night and day.
many ~~are occupied in tending them nightly and daily from the cradle to the grave?~~
are gaining
Is it not plain that the machines ~~gain~~ ground upon us ~~day by day~~ when
reflecting on the increasing number of those who are bound down to them ~~tend~~
we ~~see that more and more men are daily bound down~~ ^ as slaves, ~~to them~~,
~~to the devotion of~~ and of those who devote their whole souls to
~~them, and~~ ^ ~~to devote~~ ^ ~~their whole lives to ^ the~~ advancement of the mechanical
kingdom? ~~Is this a destiny of wh- with which mankind shd rest con-~~

*- * * * * * *- *- *- *

~~-tented~~? The vapour engine must be fed with food and consume it by fire
even as man consumes it; it supports its combustion by air as man supports
it: Itit voids its excrements as man voids them. ~~True~~
It may
~~37~~ be granted that

the
man's body is as yet more versatile of the two, but then ~~[?life]~~
man's body ~~as~~ is an older thing:
~~existed longer <and was> moulded into its present shape by the~~
~~chances and changes of an incalculable time~~: give the steam engine
also ~~[?own]~~
but half the time that man has had, ~~and~~ give it ^ a continuance of our ^ pre_
and what mayight it not ~~attain to?~~ ere long attain to?"
-sent infatuation, ^ ~~and see what it will then come to? [? d] [e ? g] [?]~~
~~of plant or animal advances in 200 years as the vapour engine [?has done]?~~

* * * *- * * *- *-

[*Page break here*]

indeed
~~-sal organization.~~ “~~t~~There are certain functions of the ~~steam~~
vapour would unchanged
^ engine which ~~will~~ probably remain ~~in status quo~~ for
would survive
myriads of years – which in fact ~~will~~ perhaps ~~remain~~ when
vapour had been
the use of ~~steam itself is~~ ^ superseded: the piston & cylinder,
would
the beam, the fly wheel, and other parts of the machine ~~will~~
permanent, many of
be probably ~~constant~~ just as we see that man and ^ ~~ani~~
the lower animals
~~-mals infinitely beneath him~~ share like modes of eating
and thus
drinking ^ sleeping; ^ they have hearts which beat as ours,
they~~they~~ sigh~~sigh~~ even in their sleep & weep & yawn: they are
veins and arteries, eyes, ears, and noses ; ^ ~~they love their~~

124–76 much as … reproductive system]

much as ~~man's~~ man has been modified so as to exceed
(run on) 188
the brutes in skill. ~~[?among] its modifications it may cease to be~~
~~a vapour engine at all. it may be worked by other power, but~~
~~if so and if the present means of communicating the power to the work are~~
~~suspended it must be by some stupendous invention of which we can~~
~~guess nothing but which must be far greater than the modification of~~
~~its vapour engine wh: has been just [?] objected to.~~” In the mean time
almost as his engine ~~are~~ for ourselves
the stoker ~~a~~is ~~as~~ ^ much a cook for ~~the machine~~ as our own cooks ^ ~~for us~~:
~~it is true,~~
~~certainly our cooks do not put our meat into our mouths with a shovel~~
~~but it can never be too much insisted upon that the highest known~~
~~vapour engine is nothing but a babe of machine, a mere mollusc-~~
~~as it were~~ a
~~and not even a Saurian. he must be fed with ^ spoon for many a long~~
also
~~year to come~~: ~~but~~ ~~c~~Consider ^ the colliers and pitmen and coal merchants
and coal trains and the men who drive them and the ships that
the machines thus employ!
carry coals – what an army of servants do ~~they~~ ^ ~~retain~~. Are there not
probably more men engaged in tending machinery than in tending men?
Do not ~~th~~ machines eat as it were by mannery? Are we not ~~al-~~
~~-most obviously~~ ourselves creating our own successors in the supremacy

of the earth? dDaily adding to the beauty and delicacy of their organisation?

skill more and more of

daily giving them greater ~~power~~ and supplying ~~in an infinity of ways~~

that self regulating self acting power which will be better than

(~~run on~~)[?]

intellect itself?" ~~No comparisons, no jealousy, no avarice, no angry~~

~~reciriminations will disturb the serene might of these glorious creatures~~

wWhat a new thing it is for a machine to feed at all! The

~~the stomach of a~~

plough the spade and the cart must eat through ^ man's ~~[?]~~ ~~stomach~~;

stomach; to

~~stomach~~

the fuel that sets them going must burn in the ~~furnace~~ of a man

furnace

or of horses:

Gordon

(~~for mechanical energy as much as human energy is but another form of heat~~). man must consume bread and meat or he cannot dig;

~~are the motive~~ the bread and meat are the fuel which drive the spade

then motive ^ ~~power of the spade is this same bread and bacon~~. If ~~it be~~

be

a plough ^ drawn by horses, the motive power is supplied by grass or beans or oats which being burnt in the bellies of the cattle give the power of working; without this fuel the work would cease as an

stop its furnaces

engine would ~~leave off working~~ if ~~the fire~~ were to go out. ~~Let it be a steam plough — the fuel burnt instead of being hay or bread is~~

There is nothing more

coal, ~~which is the same thing in another shape. This much is~~

than

certain ^ that no animal has the power of originating mechanical energy. ~~Let that all the work done in its life by any animal, & all the heat that has been emmitted from it, and the heat which wd be obtained by burning the combustible matter which has been lost from its body during life and by burning its body after death make up altogether an exact equivalent to the heat which would be obtained by burning as much food as it has used during its life and an amount of fuel which would generate as much heat as its body if burned immediately after death.~~ How then can it be ob-jected against the future vitality of the machines that they are (in their present infancy) at the beck and call of beings which ~~are them~~

but that all the work done in its life by any animal, and all the heat that has been emitted from it, and the heat which would be obtained by burning the combustible matter which has been lost from its body during life, and by burning its bo-dy after death make up altogether an exact equivalent to the heat which would be obtained by burning as much food as it has used during its life, and an amount of fuel which would generate as much heat as its body if burned immediately after death. How

new

189

-selves incapable of originating mechanical energy? ~~There may~~
~~appear to be an exception to the above in the case of machines worked~~
~~by a spring or by weights, but the exception is apparent only~~:
~~the effect of winding up the weight or bending the spring came from~~
~~[?human] heat which was stored in the spring or the weight and~~
~~doled out therefrom~~. The main point however to be observed as afford_
for ~~formerly the machines were~~
-ing cause ~~of~~ alarm is that whereas animals were formerly the only
many
stomachs of the machines, there are now ~~plenty of them~~ which ~~con~~
have stomachs of their own, & consume is a
~~-sume~~ ^ their ~~own~~ food themselves, ~~is not~~ tThis ^ [?] great step towards their
becoming if not animate, yet something so near akin to it, ~~that~~
as not to ~~our~~ from our own life ~~th~~ do
~~it shall not~~ differ ~~from ^ life~~ more widely ^ than ^ animals ^ from ~~the~~ vege-
remain
-tables[22]. And ~~even~~ though man should ~~always retain superiority in~~
the higher creature,
some respects ^, is not this in accordance with the practice of nature, which
animals which have
allows superiority in some things to ~~creature~~s ~~that~~ on the whole ~~have~~
Has not
been long surpassed_? ~~as~~ she ~~has~~ allowed the ant and the bee to re-
-tain superiority over man in the organisation of their communities~~,~~ &
~~their~~ social arrangements, the bird in traversing the air, the fish
horse
in swimming, the ~~animals~~ in strength and fleetness, and ~~even~~ the
~~oak~~ dog in self sacrifice? ~~for~~" 331

*- * * *- ~~Chapter XXII~~ * - * - * - * -

"It is said by ~~those to~~ whom I have conversed upon this subject that
some with
the machines can never be developed into animate or quasi-ani-
-mate existences, inasmuch as they have no reproductive system,
ever to possess one.
nor seem ^ like~~ly—~~ ~~have.~~ ~~on the other ha~~nd. If this be taken to
~~they~~ they cannot marry and ~~that~~ 190
mean that ~~the vapour engine cannot marry, and though their is~~
~~probably nothing which our infatuated [?mind] would more desire to see~~
~~than a fertile union between two vapour engines he does not seem like_~~
~~-ly to see it~~ that we are never likely to see a fertile union between two
~~+~~ and the young ones playing about the door of the shed, ~~+~~
vapour engines, ^ however greatly we might desire to do so, I will ~~very~~
very
readily grant it, bBut the objection is not a ~~very~~ profound one. No
an entirely all the now existing
one expects that ~~th~~ ~~in a ^ new class of life~~ ^ the features of ~~the~~ ~~classes~~ ~~now~~
organisations repeated in an entirely new class of life.
~~existing~~ will ~~ever~~ be absolutely ~~reproduced.~~ The reproductive system

198–217 same kind … to do so?]

same kind as that which produced it. ~~In fact ist~~
Very few creatures reproduce after their own kind:
i~~s questionable whether this is ever so. ^ Creatures do no~~t
o~~thers anything like~~
r~~eproduce ^ themselv~~es: they reproduce something which has
the potentiality of becoming that which their parents ~~wh~~ were_:
thus the butterfly lays an egg, which egg can become a caterpillar,
which caterpillar can become a chrysalis, which chrysalis can become
a butterfly: and though I freely grant that the machines cannot be
~~merest~~
said ~~as yet~~ to have more than the ~~remotest~~ germs~~.~~ of ~~what may be~~
at present
~~called~~ a true reproductive system ^, have we not just seen that they
aAnd
have only recently obtained the germs of a mouth and stomach?; ^ ~~may~~
might be made true
^ not some stride ^ in the direction of ^ reproduction, ~~be made~~ which shallould
which has been ~~taken~~ recently taken
be as great as that ^ ~~recently accomplished~~ in the direction of true ~~feeding~~
iIt is ~~if~~ when
feeding”? “~~Moreover~~ ~~is it not~~ possible that tha~~t~~e system ~~when~~ developed
mightmight be in many cases a vicarious thing? cCertain classes of ma-
~~may be~~ might be
-chines ~~being~~ ^ alone fertile ~~in this respect~~ while the rest discharged
other functions in the mechanical system, just as the great ma-
nothing to do with
-jority of ants and bees have ~~no heed whatever in~~ the continuation of
their species, but get food and store it ~~wh~~ without ~~heed or~~ thought
of breeding. ~~The sterile machines may be as it were hedge sparrows~~
~~to the cuckoo: true the cuckoos do more for themselves than one~~
~~expects from spades or thimbles, but they do not do enough to keep~~
~~their race from perishing, unless they build and sit oftener than is believe~~d.
~~P Man’s own ancestors were at one time androgynous, but he is by no means androgynous~~
~~now~~.
One cannot expect the parallel to be complete or nearly so; certainly
not now, and probably never: but is there not enough analogy exis-
make us feel
-ting ~~[?even]~~ at the present moment to ~~render us~~ seriously uneasy about
the and to render it our duty to check the evil while it is still in our power
~~a [?remote]~~ future~~?~~, ~~unless the evil be checked while it is still possible~~.
to do so?

CHAPTER 23

14–16 useful. … given here,]

perished. He pointed out ~~the~~ tendenc~~y~~ies to reversion, and the presence of rudimen-
-tary organs which existed in many machines feebly developed and perfectly useless
to
yet serving to mark descent from an ancestor ~~in~~ which the function was actually
left the translation of
useful. I ~~have been obliged to~~ ~~found~~ ^ this part of the treatise (which ~~was much~~
~~the longest) part~~ by the way was far longer than all that I have given here)
~~for a later opportunity, finding it too hard for me; but unfortunately~~ I
~~leav~~ ~~left Erewhon~~ ~~the subject,~~
I ~~had to escape—before I could return to it and though I saved my own trans-~~
~~I was obliged to sacrifice the original work; the sacrifice which went to~~ my
~~-lation was unfortunately ommitted~~ ~~to bring the original work away with~~,
it
~~heart, but which by gaining me ten minutes of invaluable~~ ~~however time ^ preserved~~
~~my own life and Arowhena's.~~
~~me.~~ ~~Apropos however of rudimentary organs~~ I ~~may say ^ that the gentleman~~
~~{M^r Sthim] took me} and~~

56–88 world, … experience]

of the germs of a new phase of life. What is there in this whole
or in the
world ~~or in the~~ worlds beyond it which has a will of its own?
~~God, and God only~~. The uUnknown and Unknowable only." (run on)
198
~~The action of a man~~ [~~at any moment~~ "A man is ~~simply~~ ^ the resultant and expo-
-nent of all the forces that have ~~ever~~ been brought to bear upon him
his at any moment
whether before ^ birth or afterwards; ~~and~~ his action ^ depends ~~enti~~
solely on
~~rely~~ ^ upon his ~~own~~ constitution and ^ the intensity and direction of the
~~motives~~ agencies ~~by by~~ to which and has been ~~influenced~~ subjected;
various ~~agencies with~~ ^ ~~which~~ he is ^ ~~surrounded:~~ Some of these will
has been ~~and is~~
counteract each other; but as he is by nature, and as he ~~is~~ ~~acted on~~
now
acted on~~,~~ and ~~as he~~ is ^ acted on from without, and regularly as though he were a
~~[?]~~
~~from without~~ ^ so will he do, as certainly ~~as a~~ ^ machine. ~~does~~.

counteract each other; but as he is by nature, and as he ~~is~~ has been ~~acted on~~
acted on~~,~~ and ~~as he~~ is now ^ acted on from without, and regularly as though he were a
~~from without~~ ~~[?]~~ ^ so will he do, as certainly ~~as a~~ ^ machine. ~~does~~.
We do not generally admit this because we do not ^ know ~~not~~ the whole na_
-ture of any one~~,~~ ~~neither~~ nor the whole of the forces that act upon him:
we see but a part, and ~~so~~ ~~this~~ being thus ^ unable to generalise human con-
-duct except very roughly ~~and uncertainly~~ we ~~have taken to~~ deny~~ing~~
~~that there~~ that it is subject to any fixed laws at all ^ ~~but surely a little~~
reflection will teach us that the~~,~~ most daring flight of the ^ imagina-
-tion~~,~~ or the most subtle exercise of the reason~~,~~ is as much the thing
that must arise ~~at that particular moment~~, and the only thing that
~~can~~ ~~could by~~ can by any ~~could by~~ ^ ~~any~~ ^ possibility arise, at the moment of its arising, ^ as the falling of a dead leaf when the
wind shakes it from the tree." ~~[?at]~~ (whose existence ~~by after all~~ is only one of those minor compromises of which human life is full)
"For the future depends ~~entirely~~ upon the present, and the present ~~N~~.
depends ~~entirely~~ upon the past, and the past is unalterable: the only
reason why we cannot see the future as plainly as the past is because we
know too little of the actual past and actual present: these things
are too ~~big~~ great for us: otherwise the future ~~would~~ in its minutest details
would ^ lie spread out ~~in front of all~~ before our eyes, and ~~and indeed~~ we shd ~~annihilate~~ lose ~~all~~ the half of ^ our sense
of time present~~,~~ ~~through~~ by reason of the clearness with which we shd perceive the
past and future; perhaps we ~~shd~~ should not ^ even ~~be~~ be able to distinguish time
at ^ all, but that is foreign; ~~all we~~ what we do know is~~,~~ that the more the ~~future~~
past and present are known the more the future ~~is foreknown~~ can be predicted; and that
no one ~~[?]~~ dreams of doubting the fixity of the ^ future 69 in cases where he
is fully cognisant of both past & present, and has had experience
36

and ascribe much both of a man's character and actions
to chance or luck or fortune; ~~but surely these words~~ but these are only words ~~names~~
~~these names are but subterfuges~~ whereby we escape the admission of
~~are nothing but synonyms for~~ our own ignorance, and a little

[Im ? ren]

~~Granted then that~~ the steam engine has a strength of its
own: surely no one will say that it has a will of its own?
Alas! Alas! If we look ~~at it~~ more closely we shall find that
this does not make against the supposition that ~~th~~ the vapour engine ~~it~~ is one
of the germs of a new phase of life. What is there in this whole
world ~~or in the~~ or in the worlds beyond it which has a will of its own?
~~God, and God only~~. The uUnknown and Unknowable only." (run on)
~~The action of a man~~ 198 "A man is ~~simply~~ at any moment ^ the resultant and expo-
-nent of all the forces that have ~~ever~~ been brought to bear upon him
whether before his birth or afterwards; ~~and~~ his action at any moment ^ depends ~~enti~~
~~rely~~ solely upon his ~~own~~ constitution and on the intensity and direction of the
~~motives~~ agencies ~~by by~~ to which and has been ~~influenced~~ subjected;

92–111 which morality … strongest]

[A]nd this is a great blessing. For it is the foundation on which
and built. The assurance that the future is
~~all~~ morality ~~all~~ science are ~~founded~~. ~~The groundwork on which we~~
no arbitrary and changeable thing, but ~~perform~~ ~~do every~~ that like futures
~~lay all our plans, the faith on which we do every~~ [*four obscured by heavy ink deletion*]
will invariably follow on the reproduction of like presents is the groundwork
~~lives is simply contained in the assurance that the future is no ar-~~
on which we lay all our plans, the faith on which ~~futures~~ we do every conscious
~~-bitrary and changeable thing, but that like effects will invariably~~
action ~~upon~~ of our lives.
~~follow from the reproduction of like presents.~~ If this were not so we
no
should be without a guide; we should ~~never~~ have ~~any~~ confidence in ac_
-ting, and hence we should never act: there would be no knowing that
now will be the same as those which followed before.
the results which will appear ~~on the present occasion will be the~~
Who would plough~~,~~ or sow ~~the [?land] corn~~ if he disbelieved in the fixity of the future?
~~same as those appearing on the last~~. Who would throw water on a bla_
-zing house~~,~~ if the action of water upon fire were uncertain? Men
will only when certain
~~only~~ ~~exert themselves and~~ ^ do their utmost ~~because~~ they feel ~~[?]~~ ~~very~~ ~~cer~~_
that the future will discover itself against them if their utmost has not ~~been~~
-tain ~~that~~ ~~when they come to see what the future is they will find~~ ~~done~~
~~it go~~ been done. ~~so so done so~~
~~out that it has gone against them if they < > not exerted them~~s_
~~done that utmost.~~ The feeling of such a certainty is a constituent part of
-selves. ~~This feeling~~ ~~so certain is one of the agents which constitute~~
will
the sum of the forces at work upon them, and ~~it~~ ~~always~~ act most
powerfully on Those
~~firmly~~ ~~on~~ the best and most moral men. ~~It is just they~~ ^ who are
most firmly persuaded that the future is immutably bound up with
best
the will ^ husband their ~~the~~ present,
~~that~~ present in which their work is lying, ~~who will work ^ hard at &~~
~~best~~, and till it with the greatest care. The future must be a lottery to those
~~try to make the best use of that present which they can~~. ^ ~~To those~~ who
~~who~~ precede
^ think that the same combinations ~~of causes~~ can at one time ~~produce~~
results if their belief is sincere
one set of ~~circumstances~~, and at another another; ~~the future must be~~
~~a lottery~~; a~~nd~~ they will speculate instead of working; ~~if their belief is~~
ought to be the
~~sincere[?]~~ these ~~are the~~ ^ immoral men; the others have the strongest

166–90 yes, … let him watch]

yes –
~~yes~~ ~~in~~ and ^ it might occur that the engine should break down: but if the
train is stopped from some trivial motive ~~eith~~ it will be found either that
the strength of the necessary influences has been miscalculated, or that
has ~~has miscalculated~~ been miscalculated, in the same way as an
the man ~~is not in as good working order as was supposed just as an~~
may but even in such a case there will have been
engine ^ break~~s~~ down from an unsuspected flaw; ~~but even so there is~~ ^ no spon
~~all~~ the action will have had its true parental causes:
-taneity; ^ ~~the causes will have been from without~~. Spontaneity is only ~~another~~
a term for man's of God."
~~word for our own~~ ignorance ~~of what causes have sp been~~.
then
Is there ^ no spontaneity ~~then~~ on the part of those who drive the driver?"
(~~here followed an argument on this subject which want of space com-~~
~~had not been~~
~~-pels me to omit) – would be entirely uninteresting even if it were not so obscurely~~
~~worded as to be almost untranslatable~~
~~at all~~

~~* * * *~~

"After all then it comes to this, that the difference between the life of a man
rather than
and that of a machine is one ^ of degree ~~not~~ of kind, though differences in kind
are not wanting. An animal has more provision for emergency~~,~~ than a ma-
~~*~~
-chine. The machine is less versatile; ~~(See note)~~ its range of action is nar_
sphere ~~on the whole~~
-row; its strength and accuracy in its own ~~sphe~~re are superhuman, but ~~they are~~
~~machines~~ when ~~its~~ normal action is disturbed, it will
~~ill~~ it shows badly in a dilemma; sometimes ^ ~~they~~ lose all head ~~s~~ and go from bad
~~it~~ a
to worse like ^ lunatic~~s~~ in a raging frenzy; ~~when their normal action is dis_~~
~~-turbed~~: but here again we are met by the same consideration as before
the machines
namely that ~~they~~ are still in their ~~very~~ infancy. For how many emergencies

is an oyster adapted? For as many as are likely to happen to it, and
no more. So are the machines. And so is man himself. The list of casu_
to him ~~to ourselves man~~ ~~our his~~ his
-alties that daily occur ^ ~~from man kind~~ ^ through ~~their~~ ^ want of adaptability is
probably as great as that that occurring to the machines; and every day
gives them some greater ~~against~~ for the
~~sees a greater amount of~~ provision ~~for the~~ ^ unforeseen. ~~added to them~~. Let any
one examine the wonderful self regulating and self adjusting contrivances
incorporated with vapour engine
which are now ~~part and parcel of~~ the ~~machine itself~~, let him watch
the way in which it supplies itself with oil, in which it indicates its wants
to those who tend it, in which by the governor it regulates its application of
its own strength, let him look at that store house of inertia and
momentum, the fly wheel, or at the buffers on

44

(See note)
they are mere skeletons without muscles and flesh: ~~an~~
~~excellent flesh may be made of their flesh (if they be allowed~~
covered
~~to go so far) will probably be made of of india rubber and covered~~
~~with leather oily leather~~

(Note to be put at the bottom of the page)
were to be
Their flesh – if they ~~be~~ ^ allowed to go so far as to get flesh – willould
probably be made of india rubber covered with oiled pigskin.

Here there followed a long argument upon this subject which I have thought it best to omit. The writer resumes

they are

f. 203r]

"A successful exhibition of direct traction ploughing by means of "Thomson's road steamer," and a new balance plough invented by the Earl of Dunmore, and made on Tuesday at Dunmore Park before a committee of the Highland and Agricultural Society. According to the account given by the *Scotsman*, the circumstances under which the trial took place were rather adverse to than in favour of the new invention, and the result must be therefore all the more valuable in judging of the merits of the engine and plough. In the first place, the field to be broken up, lying immediately below the ancient tower of Dunmore, had laid in pasture forty years, and had not been ploughed since 1831. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how extremely tough it would be to work, and how great the ordeal was to both the road steamer and the plough. But what was even more trying was the fact that it had rained heavily all the morning and all the previous night and day, and as the field had never been drained it afforded ample opportunity for the verification of the evil prophecies of those who had declared that no traction engine could drag itself, much less a plough, over such land. The engine was however started, and dragging the plough after it it steamed down the field in the easiest and smoothest manner imaginable. When fairly started the work executed is described as really admirable. The furrows, six inches by ten, were beautifully turned over, closely packed, giving a good shoulder and a capital seed-bed. It seems that the road steamer can be employed in innumerable farm operations to the saving of much labour, both horse and manual. Lord Dunmore, who calculates that he can be plough with it at 19*s*. 9*d*. per day, bases his calculations on getting 208 days' work in the year out of the steamer. During the past month, with the exception of four Sundays and a fast-day, the engine was under steam every day. Besides ploughing, thrashing, and cultivating, it has been engaged in pulling out tree-roots, going to the railway station with luggage, carrying heavy timber, cutting hay and straw, bruising oats, working

[?Brown]

saw-mills, carrying drain-tiles, driving ashes, pumping water (having pumped 20,000 gallons in seven hours), driving gravel for roads, driving coal, &c. Last autumn his lordship built a large waggon which he attached to his steamer and used in carrying his harvest. The result of a whole day's work as between the ordinary method of loading

71

f. 204r]

horses and carts and with engine and waggon is stated as follows:—Six carts and made seven journeys between the harvest field, and made three stacks of oats containing fourteen loads in each. The carts began at seven A.M. and left off at 8 P.M. The distance from the harvest field and the stackyard was sixty yards short of the measured mile, and the cost of the carting that day was 35*s*. The road steamer and the waggon ran six journeys in the day, and made two stacks equal in size to those made by the carts and horses, and nearly the half of another stack. The steamer began work two-and-a-half hours later than the carts, and left off two hours earlier; it ran the measured mile (less sixty yards) on the average in twelve minutes, watered every second journey from the stackyard at a pump, and consumed 1 ½ cwt. of coal at 4*d*. per cwt. The total cost of the day's work with the engine, counting wages, coal, oil, wear and tear at 5 per cent., and interest on outlay at 5 per cent., was 8*s*. Next autumn Lord Dunmore intends to have three large waggons for harvesting—one to be loading in the field, one to be in progress from the field to the yard, and one unloading in the yard—so that the engine will not be idle for moment; whereas last autumn the engine was idle twenty-seven minutes every journey, or nearly half the time. An additional saving in horse labour will be thus effected. Since his lordship obtained the steamer he has been able to dispense with six horses, and to perform his work more expeditiously, effectually, and at less cost than before.

204

Bertram

f. 205r]

Continuation of Note

Brown

Wordsuld not the above have struck terror into the heart of the 205
Erewhonian professor? I can fancy him writing
"Here surely is a sufficient answer to those who ~~complain of~~ say that
the higher machines are defincient in versatility! Which is the higher
creature, this wonderful ~~tr~~ road steamer or a mollusc? or a pig? Or
a ~~we~~ Gorilla? or an idiot? 5

199–200 doom … "The misery]

doom which he is preparing for himself.
[*Page break here*]

Note at the foot of the
page ~~3~~ or at the
end of the chapter as most
convenient

During the last few days a friend ~~who~~ to whom I showed the above has brought
me a couple of old extracts from the Pall Mall Gazette which ~~so he thought~~ seemed to show
~~seemed to showed that even here~~ that we are beginning ~~unconsciously~~ to regard the
machines as living agents.
The first extract is from an occasional note upon the ~~subject of~~ law of patents.

the writer ~~had been showing~~ ~~instanced~~ ~~[ill ?]~~ ~~the~~ referring to the expences ~~to~~ which inventors often incu~~rred~~ ~~and~~
~~instanced~~ ~~as follows~~ says that "The self acting mule ~~for example~~ swallowed
upwards of £30,000." Our unconscious expressions ~~show our real~~ are the truest exponents of our ~~real~~ opinions.
~~better than anything else does~~.
The second extract is even more striking.
It runs thus: 45

(to the Printer —
please print the underlined
Passages in Italics)

Gordon

~~Chapter XXII~~ 206

*. *. *- *- *

"The misery is that man has been

261–5 but he will … ourselves?]

but he will ~~still~~ be infinitely better off than he is now –
~~far probably far better off in comparison th with his present~~
~~wild state than the sheep are in comparison with~~
~~be so~~
~~theirs: and if this is the case what right will he have~~
~~to complain if his benefactors show themselves to be the~~
as
~~superior beings? Such jealousy would be ^ unreasonable~~ as
~~can we~~
~~absurd _ it would be as to say that we could~~ ^ fairly complain
~~receiving~~ ~~can~~
of ^ ~~incalculable advantage which we could obtain in no other~~

~~way merely because certain other beings appear to have~~
~~our~~
~~profited more by the process of his advantage than even~~
~~we ourselves~~
~~man himself: and even though our gains be turned turn~~
~~horses cattle &~~
~~out to be alloyed with some of those inconveniences which ^ sheep~~
~~have to put up with from mankind. I so ask what right~~
~~have we to complain if we come to be treated ourselves~~
~~{i ? we}~~ have ~~treated others for generations & generations~~

~~{They}~~
~~reckon more quickly and more certainly than man _ w~~
~~theyan the calculation machines. Is it man's eyes or~~
~~the telescope that has [r ?] revealed to us the existen~~
~~worlds beyond worlds into infinity? That has ma~~
~~familiar with the scenery of the moon, with the~~
~~of the sun with the geography of Mars? Is it~~
~~eyes or is it the microscope which reveals the infi~~
~~minute organisms which swarm unsuspected around~~
~~And if they it be answered that it is only man's~~
~~that see by the aid of these instruments and not the~~
~~ments themselves what shall we say to that sense~~
~~which the [?] forms of nature are perman~~
~~{[?]}? The cam~~era

(run on) 208

ils it not then both absurd and unreasonable

be jealous

to ~~complain~~ of our benefactors? ~~and to reject in-~~

~~-calculable benefits which we can obtain in no other~~

~~-way for no the sole reason that~~. And should we not

be guilty of ~~the most~~ consummate folly if we were to

advantages ~~blessings~~

reject ~~incalculable~~ ^ ~~advantages~~ which we cannot obtain

~~those advantages involve~~

otherwise, merely because ~~certain other beings gain more~~

~~these~~

~~than we can by our advantages than we gain ourselves.~~

they involve a

~~g bring even~~ ^ greater gain to others than to ourselves?"

~~It is true that our gains may be alloyed with some of~~

~~those inconveniences to which horses sheep and cattle~~

~~have submitted for generations from the hand of man~~:

324–37 legs. … describe.]

~~[?]~~ it was who originated the custom of reckoning and who

legs [?] iIn fact, he ~~would reckon~~ men by their horse power, ~~by the number~~

~~He it was who originated the custom of reckoning~~ ~~and~~ pointed out that ~~he~~

of ~~footpounds which they had money enough to set in motion~~. ~~He alone~~

those ~~men~~ alone

^ powers the full complement of limbs who stand~~s~~ in the first rank of opulence:

the great merchants and bankers being ~~[i ? lity]~~ the most astonishing

organisms which the world has ever seen.

~~previous~~ writer was ~~universally~~ considered to

And so he went on at considerable length, but the other ^ ~~conquered him~~,

have the best of it destroying all the inventions that

^ and did in the end succeed in ~~getting all improvements destroyed that~~

discovered a period

had had been ~~made~~ for the preceding 271 years, ^ which ~~figure~~ was

agreed upon by all parties after several years of wrangling. Then came the

reactionary civil

^ ~~civil~~ wars which nearly ruined the country, but ~~a description of~~ which ist

would be

^ beyond my present scope to describe.

73

as to whether a certain kind of 35

mangle which was ~~very~~ much in use among washerwomen

should be saved or no. It was at last ruled to be dangerous, and

was just excluded by the limit of 271 years.

CHAPTER 24

25–7 provided for … father]

provided for me, so that the difficulty and danger of

~~I could~~ ~~could I~~
in addition to this

the undertaking were well before me; ~~neither~~ ~~was the~~

~~nor~~ I could not

~~over and above this I could not~~ ~~moreover I ^ could~~ ~~not~~ – ^ see how I should

~~^ see how I should~~ ~~persuade Arowhena to come with~~

Arowhena

~~me, or~~ smuggle ~~her~~ into the car without her father

93–8 have found … dared]

have left off and come to our senses

[*Page break here*]

~~had we been: we were as {one}~~

~~neither should have ever left off~~ if the maid had not ~~begun~~

gone off into a fit of hysterics

~~crying too~~ and awakened us to the necessity tself control: then

told her what I proposed; I showed

in a few hurried words I ~~unfolded to her my plan~~: ~~I~~

her the darkest side, for I felt sure that the darker the prospect the more

^ ~~told her that it would probably end in death to both: that~~

likely she was to come. I told her that my plan would probably end in death for both of us and that I

~~I~~ ^ dared not press it – that at a word from her it should

165–75 myself. … breath of wind,]

Arowhena would

from myself: ~~in~~ a minute more and I ~~should~~ doubtless

discovered,

have been ~~deterred and Arowhena probably discovered (for~~

~~I fear Mrs Nosnibor or Zulora must have suspected the~~

~~maid~~

t~~ruth~~ ~~and got the truth out of her~~) but before that minute

~~was~~ was over, such a ~~such~~

~~would have been our~~ I was at ^ height above the city ~~which~~

that nothing ~~which they~~ ~~could do~~ could harm me, and every

both the town and the

second the ~~city and the~~ crowd became smaller, and more

little

confused: in an incredibly short time I could see ~~nothing~~

but a vast wall of blue [?] plains rising up against me
towards
whichever side I looked.

vertically upwards,
At first the balloon mounted ~~tolerably straight~~, but after
about five minutes (when we had already attained a very
great ~~saw~~ fancied
~~considerable~~ elevation) I ~~fancied~~ ^ that the objects on the
~~to fly~~ ~~to fly~~ ~~to move~~ing
plain beneath began ~~suddenly flying~~ ~~at a great rate~~ from
to move from did not feel
^ under me: I ~~could feel not~~ so much as a breath of wind;

182–5 Already … delirious,]

had
~~rem~~ removed the wrappings and but I
Already I ^ ~~unpacked the box and~~ freed Arowhena: ~~not that~~
~~made them into a sort of bed~~
~~she left the box. I thought she would be better & safe~~r
soon covered her up with them again for it was already very cold
~~inside it, so I merely took out the things and removed~~
~~that~~
~~the fake bottom leaving the lid of the box open:~~ ~~so she lay~~
~~I th made them however into a sort of~~ ~~for~~
~~could lie in it as in a couch or bed, it was already very~~
~~very cold~~ and she was half stupefied with the strangeness ~~and novelty~~
~~exceedingly cold,~~ ~~but I had provided abundance of rugs~~;
~~for both.~~ of her position.
~~and we neither of~~.
dreamlike and delirious,
And now began a time ~~of half dream half delirium~~

CHAPTER 25

132–4 more … agreement]

248

~~in the larger boats, and that we might fill~~

~~our~~ ~~with emigrants in~~

~~the ^ vessel ^ after three or four journies. sShould~~

~~we be attacked by the Erewhonians our course would~~

~~even simpler, for the Erewhonians~~ ~~we should take plenty,~~

~~be easy, for they have no gunpowder, and ^ we could take~~

~~so that we could take capture as many natives~~ ~~in this case we~~

~~as many prisoners ^ as we chose; which would and should~~

~~feel ourselves~~

~~naturally feel ourselves under less ^ able to engage them~~

~~on~~

~~on somewhat ^ more advantageous terms, for they would be~~

~~though were we~~ to meet with ~~meeting~~

though we were

prisoners of war. bBut even ~~in case of our finding with~~

do not of seven or

no violence, I ^ doubt ~~not~~ that a cargo~~, say, of some seven~~

~~or~~ eight hundred Erewhonians ~~ii~~ could be induced, ~~E~~when

they were once on board the vessel,~~E~~to sign an agreement

135–55 as long as … advertise]

249

as long as there was a demand for labour

or indeed in ~~supply of~~ any other Christian colony; for the

in Queensland,^ ~~for the Erewhonians would be prac-~~

supply of Erewhonians would be unlimited,

~~-tically unlimited~~, ^ and they could be packed ~~so~~

very

closely ~~as to cost~~ and fed at ~~such~~ a ^ reasonable cost. ~~as~~

~~to cost [?] require very little outlay~~.

[It would be my duty and Arowhena's to see that our emigrants should

~~The Erewhonians would thus be at once~~ be boarded & lodged

in the ~~households fam~~ households of religious sugar growers;

these persons

~~who~~ would give them the benefit of that ~~religious~~ instruction

whereof (run on)
~~of which~~ they stand so greatly in need. ~~Should any~~
~~show itself either in Queensland or in the mother country~~
~~uneasy feeling ^ as to the means by which the Erewhonians~~
~~were obtain had been obtained.~~ Each day, as soon as their
could be spared from their
^ work in the plantation, ~~was over~~ they would be assembled
for praise, and ~~for~~ be thoroughly grounded in the church
~~every~~ the whole of every Sabbath
catechism; while ^ ~~Sunday~~ ~~S~~ ^ should be devoted ~~wholly~~ to sing_
must
-ing psalms & church going. This ~~should~~ be insisted upon,
in order to put a stop to ~~anodyne~~
~~antidote~~
both ~~as an sufficient~~ ~~answer~~ to any uneasy feeling which
might show itself~~,~~ either in Queensland or in the
Mother Country~~,~~ as to the means whereby the Erewhonians
had been obtained, and also because it would give ~~the~~
of reflecting
our own shareholders the comfort~~able~~ ~~^ reflection~~ that they
were saving souls and filling their own pockets at
moment moment ~~I should add that when the emigrants got too old for work, and had by that time become thoroughly instructed in religion, they could be shipped back to Erewhon,~~ &
one & the same ~~time~~.
would ~~sow the good seed~~
I can see no hitch or difficulty about the matter,
and trust that this book will sufficiently advertise
that had
~~I should add that~~ by the time ^ the emigrants ^ got too old for work they would have become thoroughly instructed in religion, they could then be shipped back to Erewhon and carry the good seed with them.

123–35 more advantageous terms … backwards and forwards]

248
~~in the larger boats, and that we might fill~~
our with emigrants in
~~the ^ vessel ^ after three or four journies. sShould~~
~~we be attacked by the Erewhonians our course would~~
~~even simpler, for the Erewhonians~~ ~~we should take plenty,~~
~~be easy, for they have no gunpowder, and ^ we could take~~
~~so that we could take capture as many natives~~ ~~in this case we~~
~~as many prisoners ^ as we chose; which would and should~~
~~feel ourselves~~
~~naturally feel ourselves under less ^ able to engage them~~
~~on~~
~~on somewhat~~ ^ more advantageous terms, for they would be

166–94 "POLYNESIANS … introduction of Mr Habakuk.]

POLYNESIANS IN QUEENSLAND.—The Marquis of Normanby, the new Governor of Queensland, has completed his inspection of the northern districts of the colony. It is stated that at Mackay, one of the best sugar-growing districts, his Excellency saw a good deal of the Polynesians. In the course of a speech to those who entertained him there the Marquis said:—" I have been told that the means by which Polynesians were obtained were not legitimate, but I have failed to perceive this, in so far at least as Queensland is concerned ; and, if one can judge by the countenances and manners of the Polynesians, they experience no regret at their position." But his Excellency pointed out the advantage of giving them religious instruction. It would tend to set at rest an uneasy feeling which at present existed in the country to know that they were inclined to retain the Polynesians, and teach them religion.

251

White

I feel that ~~further~~ comment ~~will be~~ is unnecessary, and ~~having fulfilled the~~ will therefore ~~close my~~ ~~her~~ conclude~~,~~ with one word of thanks to the reader who ~~has~~ had the patience to follow me through my adventures without losing his temper. but with two for any who may

write at once to ~~the address of~~ the secretary of the "Erewhon ~~conversion~~ evangelisation company limited" (at the address which shall hereafter be advertised~~)~~ and ~~put himself down as~~ request to have his name put down as a shareholder. 252

Hen

P. S. ~~I have just~~ I had just received and cor-
-rected the ~~p~~ last proof of the foregoing volume, ~~when~~ and was walking down the Strand from Temple Bar to Charing Cross, when on passing Exeter Hall (wherefore Exeter? A non exeundo?) ^ I saw a number of ~~people~~ reputable and ~~religious looking~~ devout-looking people

crowding into the building with faces full ^ of interested &

interested

and complacent of interested and most lacent anticipation.

^ anticipation of some most pleasing excitement. I stopped,

and saw an announcement ^ there was to a missionary

meeting being there held ^ and that the native missionary

the Rev William Habakuk from ——— (the colony

from which I had started on my adventures) I had and been led to discover Erewhon)

colony from which ^ I had started ^ on my exploring trip)

to the meeting [?] would

would be introduced and say make a short address.

and would

After some little difficulty I obtained admittancession, &

heard two or three most interesting speeches, preparatory

prefatory to the introduction of Mr Habakuk. That

208–30 choked … committee.]

choking in with trying to express my feelings. I am

sure that I caught the words "Adelaide the Queen Dowager,"

and I thought that I heard "Mary Magdalene" shortly after-

-wards, but I had then to leave the Hhall for fear of being

hope in the earlier part of this book

turned out. I trust that what I have written ^ may do him

no harm with his employers, but the sheets are all struck

off and there is no suppressing them now. while on the

heard burst

staircase I had another sound of prolonged and rapturous

applause, so I suppose the audience were satisfied. I

came mymy 255

It is true tThe feelings that were uppermost in ^ mind

very when

were hardly of a ^ solemn character; but ^ as I

when I thought of thought of my first acquain– when I thought of my first aquain-

~~descended I went down stairs and recalled the scene~~
-tance with chowbok, of the scene in the woodshed, of
△ ~~in the woodshed,~~ ^ the innumerable lies he had told me, of
~~the~~ an
his repeated attempts upon the brandy, and of^ many ^ inci-
-dent which I have not thought it worth while to
~~present~~
dwell upon; ~~and when I thought upon his now changed~~
and and
~~doubtless changed and elevated condition,~~ ^ I could not
help feeling some satisfaction in the hope that my
own ~~labours [?tra?]~~ efforts might have contributed to ~~this~~
the change which had been doubtless wrought upon him,
~~present doubtless changed & doubtless more elevated~~
~~nature~~, and that the rite which I had performed
~~on~~
on
however unprofessionally ~~in~~ that wild upland riverbed
wholly without effect wholly without effect.
had not been ~~ineffectual.~~ I trust that what I have writ-
-ten about him in the earlier part of my book may not be
that it that it
libellous, and ^^ may do him no harm with his employers:
he was then unregenerate: I must certainly find him
out & have a talk with him, but before I shall have
time to do so these pages will be in the hands of the
public.
Second postscript. ~~The printer waits… Alas! I see a~~
I see a probability of a complication which
~~horrible complication. I will meet it and be equal to~~
causes me much uneasiness.
~~it.~~ Please subscribe quickly. Address to the Mansion
whom I will instruct to
House~~,~~ care of the Lord Mayor. ~~who~~m ~~will doubtless~~ receive
names and
^ subscriptions ~~an~~ for me until I can organise a committee.