

ANDREW LANG AND THE FAIRY TALE

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(M.Phil. Mode A)



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Chapter I Introduction

Perhaps only a few writers might be paralleled to Andrew Lang with his immensely wide range of knowledge and learning, which won him a reputation as classical scholar, anthropologist, mythologist and historian as well as poet, essayist, journalist, critic and writer of romances and fairy tales. Of all his multifarious writings, the most widely accepted today are his fairy stories. They really set a literary landmark and a standard in the method of selecting and retelling fairy stories for juvenile readers. In fact, the coloured Fairy Books have taken their place among the classics of children's books.

In the latest edition of Blue Fairy Book (1975), its editor, Brian Alderson, said that 'there had been no collection quite like it for many years, and it brought fairy tales back into popularity as a natural (and necessary) part of children's reading'. When Lang compiled the collection he might have been aware that 'he was introducing both a new fashion and a new tone of authority in the presentation of traditional stories to children'.⁽¹⁾ Lang opened the door to the realm of fairy tales, till then seldom trodden by the masses of children under the rigid and austere Victorian discipline.

Andrew Lang, however, has been undeservedly less ^{recognised} and his name has been eclipsed in oblivion as is often the fate of a pioneer who is one step or more ahead of his or her own contemporaries. The criteria by which he collected and edited these fairy tales have been generally accepted today but they were not in accord with the ruling trend of children's books of his time. Against the didacticism dominant throughout the Victorian period, Lang declared that children should not be submitted to boredom and he edited the fairy books for their delight and enjoyment.

Frenzied condemnation of fairy stories came under the strong influence of didacticism and rationalism which emphasised 'useful'

knowledge as opposed to superstitious and supernatural elements. Mrs Sarah Trimmer, an influential writer of children's books, in an essay in 1802⁽²⁾ attributed the rise of children's book trade in the mid-eighteenth century to the influence of John Locke whose idea of uniting amusement with instruction⁽³⁾ prompted the publication of various juvenile books — fables, spelling books and picture books to incite children's learning. Writers, educators and parents gave children such books with a utilitarian idea. Thus, imagination was discouraged as nonsense.

Since religious societies, such as the Religious Tract Society and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge as well as Sunday Schools, launched in the mid-nineteenth century the publication and diffusion of books for the illiterate children of the poor, moral teaching was emphasised hand in hand with cultivation of knowledge. The religious societies' contribution to the development of the book publication and enhancement of literacy is undeniable. It is also undeniable that they sternly opposed what they called 'undesirable books'. Trimmer says that 'mere children's books were we believe in general of a very harmless nature; but they were mostly calculated to entertain the imagination, rather than to improve the heart, or cultivate the understanding.' In words of condemnation she says: 'books of a different tendency have also been written, expressly designed to sow the seeds of infidelity, and of every bad principle, in the minds of the rising generation ... many of those which have the most plausible titles, are replete with hidden mischief'.⁽⁴⁾

Indeed, the contribution made by tract writers to the early cultivation of children's reading habits through religious books was an outstanding characteristic of the nineteenth century. Among them, Mrs Trimmer, Hannah More, Maria Edgeworth and Mrs Mary Sherwood were most influential in evangelical education. Under their hidden supervision, fairy tales were altered and rewritten into Christian versions. Their

influence can be best described by quoting Lord Byron's verse.

In the first canto of Don Juan (1819-24), Byron ridiculed morally obsessed Donna Inez by referring to ^{Mrs} Trimmer's books on education, ^{Miss} Edgeworth's books, and [^]More's immensely successful book, Coelebs in Search of a Wife (Ref: p.31).

Some women use their tongues, --- she looked a lecturer,
Each eye a sermon, and her brow a homily,
An all-in-all sufficient self-director,
Like the lamented late Sir Samuel Romilly;

In short, she was a walking calculation ---
Miss Edgeworth's novels stepping from their covers,
Or Mrs Trimmer's books on education,
Or 'Coelebs' Wife' set out in quest of lovers,
Morality's prim personification,
In which not Envy's self a flaw discovers,
To others' share let 'female errors fall',
For she had not even one, --- the worst of all.

[/Stanzas 15, 16 and 17/

Leading men of letters such as Sir Walter Scott, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Dickens and John Ruskin deplored the tendency that children's books altered the texts of old fairy tales to convert them to moral-teaching stories and that they put so much emphasis on knowledge as to deny imagination and fantasy. Charles Lamb, for example, in his letter to Coleridge, dated 23 October 1802, expressed his indignation that all the old classics of the nursery and Newbery⁽⁵⁾ were driven away from the bookstore shelf and that Mrs Anne Laetitia Barbauld's (1748-1825) and Mrs Sarah Trimmer's (1741-1810) 'nonsense lay in piles about'.⁽⁶⁾

Cornelia Meigs writes: 'Surely no type of literature has suffered such persecution as have the folk and fairy tales, nor has any other shown such indomitable and irrepressible vitality. Considered worldly and immoral in the Puritan period, impractical and frivolous in the didactic age, it has lived from generation to generation in the memories of the common people'.⁽⁷⁾

The condition for the survival of fairy tales was improved with

the introduction of the Grimm brothers' fairy stories, German Popular Stories (two volumes, 1823 and 1826), and then Hans Andersen's fairy stories, Wonderful Stories of Children (1846). However, children's books with the theme of moral-teaching were still dominant. Frederick Joseph Harvey Darton writes that 'though "Grimm" was popular at once, it was not really till twenty years or so later that the fairy-tale, and with it romance and fantasy in general, emerged unassailable'.⁽⁸⁾

The idea of moral teaching was noticeable not only in the works of those Christian education writers but also in those of such representative and more liberally-thinking writers as Catherine Sinclair (1800-1864) and Charlotte Mary Yonge (1823-1901). For example, Miss Sinclair declared in the preface to her book, Holiday House (1839), her intention of painting 'that species of noisy, frolicsome, mischievous children, now almost extinct'.⁽⁹⁾ She describes the boisterous children of a wealthy upper-class family and also a good boy as counterbalance — the entire story seasoned with the evangelical touch. Miss Yonge, known as a 'Victorian best-seller', combined 'goodness and romance' in her works. Those who modified a didactic tale 'with the addition of much tearful sentiment', in particular, enjoyed popularity. Jessica's First Prayer (1867), by 'Hesba Stretton' (Sarah Smith, 1832-1911), for example, marked a record sale of 1,500,000 copies between 1867 and 1869.⁽¹⁰⁾

Dr Henry Steele Commager, in the introduction to A Critical History of Children's Literature (1953), says: 'And so, too, is Andrew Lang, who made fairy tales live again and who is surely one of the greatest of all benefactors to the children of the world'.⁽¹¹⁾ In fact, Lang did a great deal in defence of fairy tales. He opposed the opinions of educators, parents and writers who felt fairy tales were undesirable and harmful to children because there were no fairies nor talking beasts in the nature of things and because there were cruel elements in them. He refuted that the denial of fairies was 'negative

which nobody can prove'. About cruelty, he said that he never heard of a child who killed 'a very tall man merely because Jack killed the giant'. Lang, who loved the vigorous, robust and savage elements of old fairy tales, denounced the distortion and alteration of original tales but the general public, being afraid of the influence of fairy tales, welcomed this tendency. Against the didactic and utilitarian trend of the Victorian age, Lang fought for the survival of old fairy tales. Agnes Repplier, an American writer, wrote in 1893 in an article, 'Battle of the Babies', that a warfare over fairy tales 'has been raging in our midst, the echoes of which have hardly yet died sullenly away upon either side of the Atlantic' and that 'this serious protest against nursery lore fell into the hands of Mr Andrew Lang.'⁽¹²⁾

The publication of Lang's Blue Fairy Book, the first of the series of twelve coloured Fairy Books, in 1889 changed the trend of the children's books as Roger Lancelyn Green pointed out. He wrote that it would be no exaggeration to say that Lang was responsible for the change in public taste from realism to fairy tales. Green based his assertion on The Child and his Books, the first recognised book on children's book history, written by Mrs E.M. Field in 1891. Early in 1889 she wrote: 'At the present moment the fairy-tale seems to have given way entirely in popularity to the child's story of real life, the novel of childhood, in which no effort is spared to make children appear as they are'. Mrs Field added a footnote just before the publication of the book that 'since the above was written eighteen months ago, the tide of popularity seems to have set strongly in the direction of the old fairy stories'.⁽¹³⁾

Although ^{Mrs} Field did not mention Lang by name it is apparent that his book, issued during this period, was responsible for the change in trend. This can be proved by the lists of most popular children's books of the time. The lists of ten 'actually most demanded and purchased' books for children, made in 1898 by The Pall Mall Gazette and The Academy with the cooperation of leading book-sellers and readers, indicated the great

popularity of Lang's coloured Fairy Books — the third in the best-ten list. One of the book-sellers, giving the name of Lang, said 'we need hardly state that fairy tales ever have, and will, command a great and ready demand'. (14)

Despite the critical view expressed by the Folk-Lore Society President, G. Lawrence Gomme, who expected the Fairy Books to be folk-lore records, the overwhelming success of The Blue Fairy Book, with the sale of nearly 10,000 copies in the initial year, encouraged the publisher (Longman's, Green and Co.) to continue the venture. With the last one, The Lilac Fairy Book, in 1910, a total of twelve coloured Fairy Books were published as sequels. Existing records of Longman's Financial Accounts, kept in the Archive and Manuscript Department, Reading University Library, show the constant sales of the coloured Fairy Books, each totalling more or less 10,000 copies in initial year. These figures alone exhibit their great popularity and success especially when the average sale of a literary book in the Victorian age was usually less than a thousand or 1,250 copies. (15)

The great success was beyond what was expected by Lang himself. He wrote more than once in the prefaces to the coloured Fairy Books that it would be the last book. He says with misgiving in the preface to The Green Fairy Book (1892): 'This is the third, and probably the last, of the Fairy Books of many colours. First there was The Blue Fairy Book; then, children, you asked for more, and we made up The Red Fairy Book [1890]; and, when you wanted more still, The Green Fairy Book was put together'.

In editing the coloured Fairy Books, Lang maintained a scholarly attitude by:

- 1.) collecting a total of four hundred and thirty-six stories drawn from all over the world in his serious work as anthropologist and folklorist;

- 2) refusing to remove and modernise folk elements; and
- 3) giving notes on the sources from which the stories were taken.

Consequently, Lang was the first to give a touch of scholarly authority to fairy books.

As a result of his researches, Lang believed in the universality of folklore. He writes in the preface to The Pink Fairy Book (1897): 'We see that black, white, and yellow peoples are fond of just the same kinds of adventures'. Based on both his profound knowledge and his wide collections of stories in different areas, Lang maintained his theory that folk tales were universal due to diffusion through various channels and the similarity of the work of the human mind.

In editing the coloured Fairy Books, localised details were left and were not removed. For example, a total of thirteen Japanese fairy tales, all of them translated from the German versions, were introduced. His selection and retelling prove his understanding of the characteristics of Japanese tales and particularly of their aesthetic sense of beauty. Although most of the actual writing was done by Mrs Lang and her assistants, 'Lang's touch is apparent throughout',⁽¹⁶⁾ and so is his deep appreciation of the essence of the Japanese fairy tales.

Another characteristic of his works was his attempt to introduce a tale as a grandmother would tell it to her grandchildren. He writes: '... as the world became grown-up, the fairy tales which were not written down would have been quite forgotten but that the old grannies remembered them, and told them to the little grandchildren: and when they, in their turn, became grannies, they remembered them, and told them also'.⁽¹⁷⁾ He, therefore, broke the narrative into conversations.

A similar attitude could be found in the method of collecting and editing fairy tales of Joseph Jacobs (1854-1916), scholar and folklorist. Though he met with the disapproval of the Folk-Lore Society, his books such as English Fairy Tales (two volumes, 1892 and 1894) and Celtic

Fairy Tales (two volumes, 1893 and 1895) are widely read today as outstanding classics for children. On his editing principle, Jacobs says that 'it has been my ambition to write as a good old nurse will speak when she tells Fairy Tales'. In his books, stories were taken from a wide range of sources and scholarly notes about variations and sources were given. He left 'a few vulgarisms in the mouths of vulgar people. Children appreciate the dramatic propriety of this as much as their elders'. (18)

The role of fairy tales that Andrew Lang saw about a hundred years ago has been discussed in such books as Once Upon a Time — on the Nature of Fairy Tales (1962) by Prof Max Lüthi and in The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales (1976) by Dr Bruno Bettelheim. The universality of human experiences and the meaning of life, the fundamental experience of life in birth and death — these and others implied in fairy tales are taken up in the books. Their interpretations, highly appreciated among writers, teachers, scholars and librarians on children's books for their clear-cut analysis on the importance of fairy tales, were in some way identical to Lang's opinions.

Psychological analysis of folk tales has been one of the widely-accepted methods today. Though Lang did not employ this method, he was interested in psychological and psychical approaches. Structuralistic analysis is another contemporary popular and established method. Lang analysed forms of fairy tale and pointed out common themes such as the namelessness of ^{the} hero and location of the story; no specification of period; the ultimate success of the youngest child; and the hero's departure from home on a quest. These elements are known today as archetypes of fairy tales as a result of the form analysis. Prof Lüthi said in his book that characters in folk tales are usually nameless and neither location nor time are mentioned. Vladimir Propp in his acclaimed morphological study of folklore stated that 'a tale often attributes identical actions to various personages'. (19) This means the name of

the hero is not significant and can be substituted by any other name.

Lang's deep understanding of fairy tales and attachment to the tales of 'our country' were cultivated by the rich Scottish heritage of legends with their magic and enchantment. His works are ~~are~~ ^{indebted} to them. In particular, those works concerning fairy tales would not be fully appreciated without understanding of Scottish tradition, landscape and folks who were traditionally befriended by fairies. Like Walter Scott, Lang, too, never denied the existence of fairies and longed for 'meeting' them. He was inspired by The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies (1692), a treatise written by Robert Kirk, a Scottish minister who studied at both Edinburgh and St. Andrews universities. In this detailed record of fairies, Kirk spoke of them in friendly terms and regarded them as 'neighbours' or 'good people' in accordance with the Scottish tradition before the Reformation. Lang dedicated his edition of this book (1893) to Robert Louis Stevenson in a gesture of sympathy that his friend in the South Sea was away from the Brownies, fairies and banshees of the Scotland he loved in his youth.

It is said that Lang never wrote a generally-accepted masterpiece because of his encyclopedic knowledge and marvellous memory. Rider Haggard says: 'Lang never claimed to be a creator, and whenever he sets to work to create ... his wide knowledge and his marvellous memory of everything he has read --- and little worth studying in ancient or modern literature has escaped him --- prove positive stumbling-blocks in his path'.⁽²⁰⁾ Green pointed out Lang's super-sensitiveness prevented him from revealing his emotions in fear of 'what might come to the surface rather than any lack of depth'.⁽²¹⁾ He was extremely shy and was so easily hurt that he tended to avoid any cause of mental and emotional sufferings, turning himself away from realistic and psychological novels.

Such traits might have hampered him from writing a masterpiece in the novel genre but his inclination to escapism toward the realm of romance and fairy tales, which deepened more and more in the latter part

of his career, bore him a masterpiece in this particular field — The Gold of Fairnilee (1888). Though it might not generally be accepted as such, being less well-known than Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island or Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventure in Wonderland, it is a strange but beautiful story. It might not appeal to everyone but it should appeal to those children who are able to appreciate a delicate story of high literary quality.

Despite the happy ending of the story, Lang's narration of the life of the war-torn Border people has an undertone of melancholy and sadness. Perhaps because of this, the story has been received by some critics as being unsuitable for juvenile readers. It is a literary fairy story, based on the Scottish ballad of Thomas the Rhymer and folklore about Tam Lin (or Tamlane). Scottish fairy beliefs such as carrying away of people to fairyland, transforming of mortals to fairies when they are kidnapped, and a girl summoning a fairy lover by plucking a rose or flower are put in a literary form with enough excitement to hold children.

One of its great charms lies in his beautiful writing style. Lang was 'the man who is (or has been during the past 10 years) the master of the best style in English prose. His style is accurate, lucid, simple in the best sense; happy in illustration and allusion; familiar without a trace of vulgarity, for while not disdaining the full vocabulary and even the colloquialisms of his own age, it exercises its freedom on a basis of scholarship and within limits of good taste derived from scholarship',⁽²²⁾ wrote A.T. Quiller-Couch. R.L. Green said in his Andrew Lang Lecture delivered before the University of St. Andrews in 1968 that 'there is something more than style. There is an individuality peculiar to Lang'.⁽²³⁾

Indeed, Lang's writing style is simple, and the words rarely exceed two syllables. The sentences and stories are much shorter than those of his contemporary writers for young people. Besides, the characteristics of his style can be recognised more clearly when the stories are

read aloud — the rhythmical tone with a touch of melancholy lingers in the mind of the audience. The repetition of adjectives and words makes the scenes impressive. His conscious use of repetition of a syllable for the sound effect, and of alliteration are the most distinguishable characteristics of his writing style. The effect of a story when being read aloud is considered today most important for children. Lang practised the idea and exhibited its effect a century ago.

The Gold of Fairmilee is set in the period of James IV of Scotland with historical events such as the Battle of Flodden in 1513 and Border disputes between the English and Scots in the background. The story does not come into the category of a 'new' fairy tale — the stories of diminutive flower-fairies and fluttering winged sprites of a rather sentimental fairyland. These 'new' fairy tales became fashionable after Shakespeare had 'invented' the fairies in A Midsummer Night's Dream presenting them as small and airy people. 'New' fairy stories flourished throughout the Victorian age. Lang felt no favour toward the 'new' fairy stories written by his contemporaries. He said in an essay, 'Modern Fairy Tales' that they had no human interest, contained no adventures, and dealt in preaching and sermons. (24)

His other original stories, Prince Prigio (1889) and Prince Ricardo (1893) as well as the combined edition of The Chronicles of Pantouflia (1932 and 1943), are much more widely accepted and are popular as undisputed classics for young readers. The popularity lies in the richness of adventures and of entertainment elements, presented with a comical touch. In particular, Prince Prigio follows an archetype of old fairy tales with an assortment of magical properties like shoes of swiftness and an invisible cap. As Mrs Margery Fisher, a critic of children's books, writes in her review of the 1982 edition of The Chronicles of Pantouflia that it 'offers to yet another generation of readers the chance to enjoy the authority of a fine story-teller and

the skill of a stylist',⁽²⁵⁾ the story appeals to children of today.

His theories on fairy tales were given scholarly form in the introductions to Grimm's Household Tales (1884), Perrault's Popular Tales (1888) and Frederik van Eeden's Little Johannes (1895) as well as in his article, 'Mythology and Fairy Tales' (1873). He, however, showed weakness and inconsistency in logic in some of the prefaces to the coloured Fairy Books. They were subjected to criticism, the sharpest of which was made by J.R.R. Tolkien in his Andrew Lang Lecture, delivered before the University of St. Andrews in 1938 under the title of 'On Fairy-Stories' and it was later published in a book, Tree and Leaf (1964). It has been regarded as a text book on the idea of fairy tales.

Lang's opinion in The Violet Fairy Book (1901) that children's tastes remain like 'the tastes of their naked ancestors, thousands of years ago, and they seem to like fairy tales better than history, poetry, geography, or arithmetic' came under Tolkien's criticism. It is obviously an oversimplified opinion to say that children's taste is similar to that of their primitive ancestors. Besides, Tolkien argued that 'if it is assumed that we have fairy-stories because they did, then probably we have history, geography, poetry, and arithmetic because they liked these things too'.⁽²⁶⁾ Tolkien's philological criticism is acceptable, yet his penetrating opinion was too fastidious in pointing out Lang's weakness in logic. Indeed, he put so much emphasis on taking up Lang's weakness in logic as to ignore the true meaning in the depth.

Obviously Lang meant that children, who were not affected by the rational and science-oriented way of thinking in the fashion of the time, were more capable of having a sensitive response to wonder like primitive people and of enabling themselves to appreciate supernatural beliefs and impossible things — the very qualities of old folklore. Lang also knew that children loved ^{the} robust wild and savage elements of old

fairy tales in preference to school subjects such as history, geography and so forth.

Tolkien thought that Lang did not construct an imaginary world of his own in writing his original fairy stories but either developed a story from events and facts that he had read in books or relied on 'secondary use of an ancient and very widespread folk-lore notion, which does occur in fairy-stories'. Tolkien's conception of the Fairy story is that it is not a story 'about' fairies but 'upon the nature of Faërie: the Perilous Realm itself, and the air that blows in that country'. He also said 'most good 'fairy-stories' are about the adventures of men in the Perilous Realm.

His theory is based on the idea that an essential quality of fairy-stories is Fantasy, which embraces 'both the Sub-creative Art in itself and a quality of strangeness and wonder in the Expression, derived from the Image'.⁽²⁷⁾ In a word, a fairy-story is a Fantasy about a Secondary World or the Other World created with an 'elfish craft (Enchantment)' and with 'inner consistency' that would command Secondary Belief. He did not explain about the word 'Perilous' but it might be interpreted as 'strangeness and wonder'. Yet, his theory does not fully explain the differences between the Primary World, where we live, and the Secondary World, the imaginary world.

Since all the worlds, illustrated in stories and novels, are not the exact replicas of the Primary World where we actually live but of a sort of a secondary world, constructed with writer's imaginations and images to explain them then the Secondary World is not exclusive to a fairy story. His opinion about fairy-stories, written on the motifs of old folk tales such as those of Andersen, was not made clear. Even characters, including elves, wizards and half-elves, and events of Secondary Worlds as in Tolkien's The Hobbit (1937) and The Lord of the Rings (1954-55) remind us of the people and events of the Primary World in commanding the Primary Belief. He, too, drew materials from legends

and medieval romances including Sigurd and King Arthur.

In addition, Tolkien's opinion that Lang might have mistaken the children he knew is less defensible. On the contrary, Lang knew the taste of children. It is quite understandable how children of the later Victorian age might have been delighted to find stories full of 'human interest, romantic adventure' and such wonders as speaking beasts, the magical power of witches as well as 'the oldest ideas of ages when science did not exist, and magic took the place of science'.⁽²⁸⁾ He was certain that children enjoyed the toughness of folk tales and trusted their judgement in reading. He suggested that children should be allowed to choose their own books because 'they know their own tastes, and if the children are born bookish, while their dear parents are the reverse, (and this does occur!), then the children make the better choice'.⁽²⁹⁾

Lang's attitude would be acceptable without objection today but it was not shared by Victorian adults when the custom was that children were given books chosen by their parents, guardians and tutors with emphasis on improvement and educational elements. His attitude was far ahead of the general standard. In fact, against this tendency, he edited the coloured Fairy Books for the enjoyment of reading and thus opened the door to the realm of fairy tales to the masses of children.

Lastly, yet another of Andrew Lang's great contributions to children's literature lies in his deep understanding of the works of a younger generation. He was actually the first person to admire and recognise the greatness of the then new writers, including Rider Haggard, R.L. Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, Edith Nesbit and Kenneth Grahame. Had he not offered encouragement, some of these writers might have had little chance of introducing their works.

His loyalty to his friends was unanimously admitted by them, particularly his friendship with Stevenson which lasted until the end. Dr Eleanor de Selms Langstaff, however, calls their friendship 'love-hate'. Her assertion might have been based on the unfavourable first

impression on both sides. Shortly after this meeting, at Mentone on the French Riviera in 1874, Lang admired Stevenson's Ordered South, saying that 'here was a new writer, a writer indeed'.

Ever after Lang never spared his support for and help of his younger friend. As Lang admitted that he, himself, was 'sealed of the tribe of Louis, an admirer, a devotee, a fanatic', he never failed to extend his highest tributes to any of Stevenson's works. Lang as a devoted admirer is best summarised in an essay by W.M. Parker: '... these causeries ['At the sign of the Ship' written for Longman's Magazine for nineteen years] are used by Lang as a kind of rostrum from which, with the far-reaching influence of a literary dictator, he lectured his audience on what fiction they ought to read, and on what they ought not to read. Thus he was able to promote the interests of his favourite novelists and pour scorn upon those he disliked. The novelist who is the first to be recommended in the "Ship" is R.L.S., whose books were always to be given first-rate advertisement in Lang's laudatory reviews'.⁽³⁰⁾

Lang's devotion to Stevenson resulted from their common background and sentiment as Scotsmen, having a 'vague family connection'. Lang says: '... unlike each other, opposites in a dozen ways, we always were united by the love of letters, and of Scotland, our dear country'.⁽³¹⁾ But their unlikeness in personality and the way of living was a magnetic power to make Lang seek his lost cause in Stevenson. Lang admired Stevenson's gay courage, optimism and spiritual vitality, all which were shown even when Stevenson was so near death. Lang, indeed, admired these qualities because he did not possess them, being so easily discouraged, hurt and depressed. He found in Stevenson 'chivalry', a virtue to which he gave the highest tribute.

Above all, nothing was dearer to Lang than the survival of the child he recognised in Stevenson. Despite his dazzling success as literary critic and his fame as a scholar, nostalgic feeling toward his boyhood in the Border country seems to have grown more and more strong in his

later years. In his melancholy and depression, Lang must have loved exciting adventure stories full of real courage, justice and loyalty as well as villains, assassins, treasures and so on.

His fastidious, shy and reserved traits prevented him from revealing his inner feelings. However, Andrew Lang, himself, retained the child in him. Therefore, he was the first person to recognise H. Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885) as a literary work when its manuscript was brought to him after none of the publishers had thought it worth printing. Although Haggard was not his acquaintance at that time, Lang offered his assistance in finding out the best way to publish it. In the same manner, Lang admired the works of Mark Twain though 'men of Culture' of the time called Twain a 'Barbarian'.

Time and criticism have dimmed the name of Andrew Lang. Only in the field of fairy tales has he remained immortal. His coloured Fairy Books and original fairy stories have been in print in one form or another since the first publication of The Blue Fairy Book in 1889. While most of the works of the galaxy of Victorian writers of children's books are seldom found on bookstore shelves, Lang's books have been continuously reprinted and read by children.

Whatever weakness there might have been in Lang's works, his role in bringing scholarly authority to fairy books is undeniable. His contribution to the survival of fairy tales against the ruling trend of didactic literature for Victorian children should be remembered. Lang's 'single-handed fight' in defence of traditional fairy tales was extended to the United States, where vehement protests against them were made by parents and educators. Agnes Repplier appreciatively writes: '... this serious protest against nursery lore fell into the hands of Mr Andrew Lang ... Mr Lang could but indifferently sympathize with those anxious parents who think the stories of Bluebeard and Jack the Giant Killer too shocking for infant ears to hear. Our grandmothers, he declared, were not ferocious old ladies, yet they told us these tales, and many more

which we were none the worse for hearing. "Not to know them is to be sadly ignorant, and to miss that which all people have relished in all ages",⁽³²⁾ His immense and varied contribution to juvenile literature is taken up in this thesis: Chapter II discusses the general background of children's books and of fairy tales under the attack from the utilitarian and evangelical education dominant in the Victorian age; Chapter III deals with Scottish background that cultivated Lang's taste and enthusiasm in fairy tales and his opinions on them; Chapter IV describes his coloured Fairy Books and their overwhelming popularity and success as well as criticism on them; Chapter V concentrates on Lang's original stories and criticism; Chapter VI focusses on Lang's early recognition of young writers, particularly his friendship with Robert Louis Stevenson; and Chapter VII states the 'Mystery of Andrew Lang' and the conclusion. In Chapters IV, V and VI Tolkien's criticism of Lang's Fairy Books will be discussed.

Notes to Chapter I

- 1) Brian Alderson, Blue Fairy Book, collected by Andrew Lang, edited by Alderson (Middlesex, 1975), pp. ix, 359.
- 2) Sarah Trimmer, 'Observations on the Changes Which Have Taken Place in Books for Children and Young Persons', Guardian of Education (May-December 1802), reprinted in A Peculiar Gift — Nineteenth Century Writings on Books for Children, selected and edited by Lance Salway (Middlesex, 1976), p.20.
- 3) John Locke, 'Some Thoughts concerning Education', The Works of John Locke — Some Thoughts on Education (1695), two or more vols (London, n.d.), p.510. Locke's essay gives instructions about diet for children, the hours of sleep, clothes and others down to the smallest practical detail. He advises that as soon as a child knows the alphabet, he should be led to read for pleasure, but in doing so, not to 'fill his head with perfectly useless trumpery'.
- 4) Trimmer, Guardian of Education, reprinted in A Peculiar Gift, p.21.
- 5) John Newbery (1713-1767), a bookseller-publisher who started his publishing business with the juvenile book, A Little Pretty Pocket-Book, in 1744 and set the first example in the field. He employed Oliver Goldsmith and other writers to write for his periodicals and books for children. The authorship of The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes (1766) has been the subject of controversy. It is not clear whether Newbery himself or Goldsmith wrote it — or another writer did. This book, which was mentioned in Lamb's letter to Coleridge, is said to be the first piece of original English fiction deliberately written to amuse children.
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Chapter II Fairy Tales under Accusation

General background of children's books in the nineteenth century

Section 1: Publication and diffusion of books for children by religious institutions

The development of children's literature during the nineteenth century was initiated mainly by religious education activities such as Sunday school teaching and publication of evangelical tales. When Andrew Lang wrote and edited fairy stories during the last two decades of the century, the literary climate for young readers was still not in favour of fairy tales. Didacticism was not dead even after the successful introduction of Grimm's Household Tales in the 1820s. Fairy tales were condemned as superstitious nonsense and harmful to children. Educators, writers and disciples of the Rousseau school of thought persuaded the public that 'works of the imagination could only stunt the growth of the child's mind, and that his leisure reading should be used to absorb knowledge and to improve his nature'.⁽¹⁾

F.J. Harvey Darton described the trend of the period between Waterloo and Queen Victoria's accession as follows: 'There was a curious numbness of imagination and also of impetus. The English people ... seem to have been like Mrs Gamp in regard to children's books — in a kind of "walking swoon"; persisting in their perfunctory course, with recollections of old things, and aware of a world active all round them and acting upon them, indeed, but producing no promise of new inspiration or real wakefulness except in a sustained routine. It is difficult to square this rigid frame of mind with the movement of things in their greater world'.⁽²⁾

This 'numbness of imagination and of impetus' and 'rigid frame of mind' might have been fostered by the ruling trend among publishers to publish moral-teaching tales 'persisting in their perfunctory course'. With the motivation of the religious education and utilitarian evaluation

of practical knowledge, institutional publishers, including the Religious Tract Society, issued millions of books which flourished throughout the century. Many of them in later years tended to publish books of no religious and literary value but rubbishy works with moral coating. They avoided the risk of inviting criticism and the religion-oriented motifs became conventional.

This tendency stemmed from the social and cultural background of the nineteenth century, the period developed under the influence of the major factors --- evangelical religion and utilitarianism. The cultivation of the reading habit was indispensable because illiteracy, particularly among the poor, was a hindrance to Bible and prayer book reading. For the majority of the people, reading was not intended for enjoyment and entertainment but for serious purposes. Books of imaginative literature that would stir emotion and feeling were regarded as useless and even condemned as dangerous publications. This general trend echoed in the business of children's books until the end of the century.

Against this social background, the distribution and publication of religious books thus became a most imperative task for religious organizations. The Religious Tract Society (RTS), founded in 1799 by a group of Evangelical Society members, supplied Bibles, tracts, prayer books and primers for elementary institutions. In the 1820s, the RTS started to publish story books for children, including Christian versions of Jack the Giant-Killer, Little Red Riding Hood and other old fairy tales. The great need to supply books to Sunday schools and day schools made the Religious Tract Society the greatest institutional publisher of the nineteenth century.

From the earliest days of Sunday schools, books were distributed for teaching the art of reading and writing to children of the poor and the working class. To enhance literacy was the first important mission of Sunday schools. Books were also given at schools run by the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the

Principles of the Established Church which had taken over the charity schools of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1811. The Bible and other religious books were used as textbooks at schools managed by various voluntary organizations including the British and Foreign School Society, founded in 1812. The number of Sunday school children by the end of the century may be suggested from the account that 'when Queen Victoria died "2 millions of Sunday Scholars" sent a wreath to her funeral'.⁽³⁾

Many of the children attending Sunday schools, which were initiated by Robert Raikes, the Gloucester printer and newspaper proprietor with his sch^e there in 1780, had jobs at factories and shops or worked as servants. For them, once a week lessons on Sundays, their only free time, were not enjoyable and were not sufficient to learn reading and writing. The Sunday school education with the religious conviction of 'evangelising the mind of the rising generation',⁽⁴⁾ should not be overestimated. Nevertheless, their great contribution to the increase of literates and to the stimulation of the reading habit is undeniable.

After the 1850s, it became customary to give children prize books at Sunday schools and other schools. They were the rewards for good attendance, satisfactory achievement of learning and good behaviour. In addition to the Religious Tract Society, The Cheap Repository Tracts (1795-1800) and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), founded in 1699, joined in the publication and distribution of religious books. Cheap Repository Tracts were published by Hannah More and her cooperators, alarmed by the effects of 'unsuitable' publication among the poor now learning to read. When launched, '300,000 of the tracts were sold within the first six weeks'.⁽⁵⁾ Its success was so enormous that even the Religious Tract Society had to learn from the writing of this new tract group, though it was discontinued five years later. The SPCK, on the other hand, developed into the second largest publisher of religious books.

By 1861, the Religious Tract Society's annual production was nearly twenty million tracts as well as thirteen million copies of periodicals. In 1897 they distributed from the 'home depot' alone over 38,720,000 pieces of literature including 18,320,000 tracts.⁽⁶⁾ The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge recorded its yearly output of over eight millions in 1867 and published in 1897 a total of 12,500,000 pieces.⁽⁷⁾ Of them, however, only about a fourth were tracts and the rest secular books. The figure showed a change in the trend in the mid-century.

Scotland, where the zeal for education was particularly fervent, greatly contributed to the expansion of the reading habit in Britain. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, education in Scotland was 'in some respects far in advance of that of every other country in Europe' and education was 'within the reach of almost every child in Scotland'.⁽⁸⁾ The reading habit was 'democratized above the border long before it was farther south, thanks to the strong Calvinist tradition of Bible study and the consequent emphasis upon schooling for all'.⁽⁹⁾ Literacy and the reading habit were greater in Scotland than in England.

Scotland's contribution was especially striking in the introduction of libraries and cheap-priced publications. The first 'circulating library' in Britain was started by Allan Ramsay, poet and bookseller of Edinburgh, who began to lend books at his shop in 1725. Similar libraries appeared in London in the early 1740s and in Glasgow in 1753. The practice of lending books on a subscription basis developed into two types of library ----- the non-profit proprietary library and the commercial library ----- in the second half of the century. Meanwhile, another important new scheme was introduced by Samuel Brown, a Scottish merchant, who started in 1817 'itinerating libraries' in East Lothian. The libraries, in five divisions, each with a set of 50 volumes, were stationed in a place for two years and afterwards the set was passed

on to another town or village to be replaced by another set. Brown's scheme was imitated by various people.

Yet another Scotsman, Henry Brougham, an enlightened advocate and statesman, made history by establishing the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1826 with the intention of introducing cheap non-fiction for skilled workers and their families. Brougham also laid the foundation for the setup of the Mechanics' Institutes aiming at the cultivation of scientific knowledge among workers in classes, lectures and libraries. Mechanics' Libraries, along with the above-mentioned libraries, were the forerunner of the public rate-supported libraries. These Mechanics' libraries might be said to be the forerunner of children's libraries as they made limited provision for children. The Society's periodical, The Library of Useful Knowledge inaugurated in 1827, together with Constable's Miscellany, stimulated the publishing of cheap publications with popular appeal, marking a landmark in British publishing history.

The set-up of public libraries was initiated in Scotland and where these public facilities advanced in number by the time of the enactment of the Public Libraries Bill in 1850. Scotland, then, had 'more than one library in almost every burgh',⁽¹⁰⁾ said W.R. Aitken in A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955 (1971). The tradition culminated in the immense contribution of Andrew Carnegie and after his death, the Carnegie Foundation, to the establishment of a great many public libraries in Britain and the United States from the late nineteenth century through this century.

Archibald Constable, a Scottish publisher, must be remembered for having ushered in a new era of cheap-cost book publication. He mentioned his intention of low-priced books to Walter Scott when he visited Abbotsford in May, 1825. Two years later, the first volume of the Miscellany appeared. It is said to be the first notable attempt to produce cheap publication for the benefit of lower class readers.

Constable also helped the establishment of the Edinburgh Mechanics' Subscription Library in 1825 by presenting books. The brothers, William and Robert Chambers, publisher and bookseller of Edinburgh, launched Chambers's Edinburgh Journal early in 1832 for the purpose of supplying cheap 'wholesome' literature to the mass readers. The introduction of cheap-priced books and periodicals, initiated by Scottish publishers, pulled down the prices in the English book market, thus leading the way to the expansion of reading in Britain.

Section 2: Writers of religious books and their attitudes

The contribution that juvenile literature made to the early cultivation of taste for reading through religious books was a remarkable characteristic of the Victorian age. The great demand for children's books brought out hundreds of writers of tracts, treatises and books of religious stories. The great majority of those writers who were famous at that time are no more remembered today. Only a handful of them marked their names in the history of juvenile literature for significant roles, favourable or unfavourable, they took in its development. They included Hannah More (1745-1833), Sarah Trimmer (1741-1810), Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), Mary Butt Sherwood (1775-1851), Catherine Sinclair (1800-1864), Juliana Horatia Ewing (1841-1885), Charlotte Yonge (1823-1901) and Mary Louisa Molesworth (1839-1921).

It is also characteristic that writing of books for Victorian children was mainly undertaken by women, who were closer to children by a natural right and were deeply concerned with the education of their own children or children at their private schools. It encouraged self-supporting women to make their living by writing for young readers. These female writers of the early days were all well-meant and enthusiastic but, unfortunately, they tended to emphasise the importance of morals.

As described above, books were written and published as 'tools' of propagation of Christianity, practical instructions and moral education,

aimed at the masses of illiterate children of the poor and later, readers of 'every class'. What, then, were writers' ideas and attitudes that motivated them to write for children? At the beginning of the century, writers who wrote with utilitarian thought 'stood distinct from the evangelical attitudes and sometimes opposed to them'. It is further explained in The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction (1981) by J.S. Bratton: 'Rousseau was one of the foreign infidels roundly condemned by English evangelicals, but his educative system of experimental learning under direct adult supervision had something in common with theirs, and was similarly aimed at reforming society through the children'.⁽¹¹⁾

The fusion of these antagonistic elements --- rationalism and utilitarianism against religion --- was justified by such opinion as that of Henry Brougham (ref: p24). He insisted that 'a knowledge of science would strengthen religious belief, it would make him [a mechanic] a better and a happier, as well as a wiser man'.⁽¹²⁾

A striking feature was the influence of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Emile (1762) upon children's books in Britain. His works had 'a very direct effect' on books for Victorian children and many writers acknowledged their debt to Emile.⁽¹³⁾ Rousseau's principles on education emphasised that a child, under the guidance of an enlightened ^{ne}_^ tutor, learns through exercise of body and mind and that this great tutor should always be close at hand to see that the right experience comes at the right moment. Another idea that appealed to British writers for children was to bring up a child in rural environment secluded from the artificialities of civilisation and fashionable society. These principles were modified in books to suit the taste of a writer.

Most faithful to Rousseau's doctrines was Thomas Day in his own life and in his book for children, The History of Sandford and Merton (1783-1789). He demonstrated in it Rousseau's principles, among others, of return to nature, of learning through bodily activity and empirical

experiences in the company of an ideal person and of simplicities of life free from luxurious clothes and food. The story describes the ideal and devoted training of Harry Sandford, a rugged and sensitive farmer's son, and Tommy Merton, an over-indulged and spoilt son of a rich West Indian planter, by Mr Barlow, a clergyman of the neighbourhood. The methods of Mr Barlow, who with useful information is always on hand to answer any of the boys' questions, enhance good qualities of Harry and discourage the bad habits of Tommy. Harry, a somewhat English version of Emile, is described as a little boy who is ready to share his food with a poor man and who at the age of six protests against luxurious dinner at Merton's house, where he is a guest.

Thomas Day's influence inspired Maria Edgeworth in her writing for young readers. Maria, under the influence of Day, a close friend of her father, Richard Edgeworth, started writing for her father who was educating his younger children himself. Later, her works extended beyond the family audience. Rousseau's idea that children should not be led but be accompanied by a wise preceptor in the search for knowledge was transformed into moral teaching and 'the child of nature is thus entrapped in the toils of utilitarian materialism'.⁽¹⁴⁾ The idea of learning by guidance set a pattern to introduce a literary character --- the parent, relative and tutor ---- who could answer all the questions when asked by children and who was always ready to offer profitable lessons such as the consequences of indulgence in things luxurious and of vanity. Rational and utilitarian ideas integrated with Christian doctrines in the writing for children's books, varied in contents from practical instructions to ideal womanhood.

Mrs Mary Sherwood wrote most of her books originally for her private school for the children of British soldiers stationed in India. During her fifty years of prolific writing career, she produced some four hundred books including The History of the Fairchild Family (1818, 1840 and 1847). In the story, Mr Fairchild runs a school for

boys and his wife one for girls. Their own three children are taught obedience, patience and good temper; moral lessons are presented through the situation. In its most famous passage, though omitted in later editions, Mr Fairchild takes his children to see the body of a man hanging from a gibbet because of murdering his brother with whom he was in the habit of quarrelling.

The story introduces a cottager's child, Charles Trueman, as the ideal child and 'one of the most pious little boys in all that country'. Henry, one of the Fairchild children, wanders out into the country after he was whipped by his father for disobeying of his father's order to learn his Latin. He meets Charles, who leads him to the way of righteousness. Charles tells him about hell and of his own conversion, how he became aware of his own sinful nature by going to the funeral of a child who had been burnt to death because of disobedience. Soon after this episode, Charles lies on his deathbed to which Henry and his family are led. They watch the agonies of death. Finally, Charles dies a pious death by answering to a clergyman by extracting passages from the Bible (Job, 19) that 'I know that my Redeemer liveth; and though after my skin worms shall destroy this body, yet in my flesh I shall see God'.

Emphasis on death, through realistic descriptions of children's agony and suffering from illness on deathbeds, deathbed conversions, pious, holy deaths and funerals, was moulded into a leading pattern of evangelical child stories for decades. It is conceivable that inspiring awareness of death in Victorian children might have been justified by the high rate of infant mortality. In the 1850s, nearly half of the children died before they reached their fifth year.⁽¹⁵⁾ It was probably an immediate need for the parents, educators and religious writers, to save the soul of a little child whose life was so ephemeral and to help them be prepared for possible early death.

It is, however, no wonder that Victorian children read such gruesome deathbed stories with horror and bitterness. Charlotte Yonge, best-selling writer of children's books in the later years of the century, remembered her childhood in the late 1820s: 'All the little Sunday books in those days were Mrs Sherwood's, Mrs Cameron's and Charlotte Elizabeth's, and little did my mother guess how much Calvinism one could suck out of them, even while diligently reading the story and avoiding the lesson'.⁽¹⁶⁾

Another example of a pious little child is the hero in The Little Woodman and his Dog Caesar (1828), written for younger children by Mrs Sherwood. It is the story of five-year-old William, the youngest son of a woodcutter. His father, critically injured by a falling tree while he was cutting it, repents his sins, running away from his widowed and pious mother years ago and neglecting teaching his sons to serve God. The dying father begins to remind his sons of their duty to God. But his elder sons ignore his teaching and are interested only in material pleasure. Only little William devotedly looks after his father and prays to God with him. After the father's death, the wicked brothers take William on a three-day journey and abandon him deep in the forest.

Little William weeps as he is frightened by the darkness of the forest and howling of wolves but he does not forget to pray. God answers his earnest prayer in his finding of some food and water as well as in his dog's arrival in time to rescue him from a wolf. His trust in God eventually leads him to find his grandmother's cottage. They live together happily as the grandmother teaches him to read the Bible and he works for her. One day, the elder brothers, now poverty-stricken and homeless, happen to come to the home of William to beg for food and shelter. Recognising them as his cruel brothers, now remorseful, William forgives them.

The story stresses faith and prayer as well as obedience and thankfulness. Mrs Sherwood concludes the story again with a religious message: 'And now, my dear children, I would have you learn from this story to make God your friend: for such as be blessed of Him shall inherit the earth: while they that be cursed of Him shall be cut off. (Psalm xxxvii. 22)'.⁽¹⁷⁾ William's escape from the forest reminds readers of Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress and the forgiving of the brothers of the stories of Joseph in the Bible. The dramatic narration with thrilling suspense and the vivid picturesque description of the forest, however, indicate the effective mixture of tract and fiction appeals. Mrs Sherwood, in her versatile styles, wrote some nice stories with appeal, especially short stories. Though unyielding to didacticism, she is said to have set a decisive step forward in tracts for children.

Early childhood piety was taken up in many stories. For early nineteenth-century writers it was not premature to achieve piety for a child at the age of five or seven. In evangelical magazines, there were many illustrations of three- or four-years-old children who spend their time in prayer, weeping over their sins and who urge the people around them to greater holiness. Toward the middle of the century, the ideal image of evangelical children underwent a change. Gillian Avery in her Childhood's Pattern (1975) says: 'The earlier writers had thought of him [evangelical child] as achieving salvation and then dying. Later books became less exclusively concerned with the inward child, and the message was gentler. The ministering child began to replace the dying child, and good works were more stressed, though these were always subordinate to the gospel message'.⁽¹⁸⁾ The ideal image of a ministering child caught the heart of later Victorian children. Among them was Robert Louis Stevenson, who aspired to be and followed the pattern of a ministering child in his childhood.

Besides pious death and the evangelical child, other patterns of stories were established by influential writers including Mrs Trimmer, Mrs Sherwood and Hannah More, suited to their evangelical education and to be followed by hundreds of their successors. In the early days, tract stories were intended to teach social subordination. Mrs Trimmer, who, in particular, felt uneasiness about possible influence upon Britain of the French Revolution, took the attitude that education of the poor was urgent but dangerous. She advocated that the children of the poor should not be given education in such a way to set them above the 'occupations of humble life'.

Books for lower class children detailed practical instructions to child servants with a distinct notion of class differences between employers and servants. For example, a maid's attitude toward her employer was instructed with an emphasis on honesty, loyalty, obedience and self-denial. It was taught that servants exist to serve. Such stories, at the same time, encouraged working children to overcome the hardship of poverty and to be diligent on the assumption that hard work was the only way to success for a child of the poor. The ideal poor boy in early Victorian books was the child truthful and ready to take orders from his boss whereas the ideal poor girl was to be modest and submissive.

Self-improvement, self-discipline and self-made individualism were the virtues emphasised in children's books. In early books, children were excessively impatient to be turned into miniature adults. For example, Kate Stanley in Hannah More's Coelebs in Search of a Wife declares with excitement at her eighth birthday party: 'I am eight years old today. I gave up all my gilt books, with pictures, this day twelve-month, and to-day I give up all my little story books, and I am now going to read such books as men and women read'. The ideal womanhood was the core for a happy family life which alone could protect children from corruption and evils. The ideal mother in books was

expected to give all the religious instructions to her children herself. Girls were expected 'not to be giddy and gay, and thoughtless and wild, and rude and bold, and free and easy, and smirking and smiling, and laughing and joking'.⁽¹⁹⁾ The lessons of meekness, love, charity and thankfulness were given with practical messages.

Section 3: Fairy tales under accusation

Even if a writer had shown originality in her work, no change could be made in the essential lesson of the tract. Church authorities, under whose influence all schools were before the enforcement of the 1870 Act of Education, considered that education should subserve religion. Mrs Trimmer made it the core of her work. The most fierce attack on fairy tales came from her. She wrote articles on moral subjects in every edition of The Guardian of Education, a periodical which she founded in 1802. The periodical was intended to protect the 'innocent from the dangers which threaten them in the form of infantine and juvenile literature', and 'to assist their Young Mothers and others of the Female Sex Endeavours for the Cultivation of Religion in the Minds of Children, upon the Basis of Christianity'.⁽²⁰⁾

Mrs Trimmer, for example, condemned Cinderella because 'it paints some of the worst passions that can enter into the human breast, and of which sic little children should, if possible, be totally ignorant; such as envy, jealousy, a dislike to mothers-in-law and half-sisters, vanity, a love of dress, etc., etc'.⁽²¹⁾ 'All Mother Goose's and Mother Bunch's tales tales by Madame d'Aulnoy were only fit to fill the heads of children with confused notions of wonderful and supernatural events, brought about by the agency of imaginary beings'.⁽²²⁾

Although imagination was condemned, it is impossible to banish it completely. It is, in particular, impossible to write a book for children without involvement of imagination. Even the work of Mrs Trimmer was not an exception. Her book, The History of the Robins (1786)

tells morals such as consequences of selfishness, of intolerance of other people's feeling and of disobedience as well as the importance of kindness to animals through the description of the family life and everyday experiences of the personified robins. Mrs Trimmer found herself in the embarrassing situation of having introduced a personified family of birds. Therefore, she apologetically instructed, in the preface, to this widely-read story: 'they (young readers) should be taught to consider them, not as containing the real conversation of Birds (for that it is impossible we should ever understand) but as a series of FABLES, intended to convey moral instructions'. The preface was also intended to be an explanation of the general belief of the time that talking beasts and birds were totally nonsense.

Being a fairy tale proved to be enough to bring condemnation upon a story even from such a writer as Mrs Sherwood. She rewrote Sarah Fielding's Governess (1749) and changed fairy tales in the book on the ground that fanciful production was not useful. She explained in the introduction to her version (1820): 'Fairy tales ... are in general an improper medium of instruction because it would be absurd in such tales to introduce Christian principles as motives of action'.⁽²³⁾

The influence of these writers, so immense and tenacious, banished children's classics and Newbery's Goody Two-Shoes from the shelves of John Newbery's (1713-1767) bookstore (ref. Chap. 1. Notes, Number 5, p18) in London. Charles Lamb in a letter to S.T. Coleridge resented the trend: 'Mrs Barbauld's staff has banished all the old classics of the nursery; and the shopman at Newbery's hardly deigned to reach them off an old exploded corner of a shelf, when Mary asked for them. Mrs B's and Mrs Trimmer's nonsense lay in piles about ... Damn them! ... I mean the cursed Barbauld Crew, those Blights and Blasts of all that is Human in man and child ... Is there no possibility of averting this sore evil? Think what you would have been now, if instead of being fed with Tales and old wives' fables in childhood, you had been crammed with

geography and natural history?' (24) Lamb deplored that he and his sister Mary had been to Newbery's bookstore to buy some books for Coleridge's children and that they could not get a copy of Goody Two-Shoes.

Even after secular books were on the increase, few books omitted religion totally before the end of the century. In the same vein, the accusation made against fairy tales tremendously discouraged their publication and reading of them, affecting two later generations. Miss Yonge wrote in 1887 that she 'had found village children who were totally ignorant of Cinderella and the sort of story that in the old days had been told to them by the grandmothers'. (25)

Walter Scott's opinion represented writers' concern. He told Catherine Sinclair, a Scottish writer for children's books, that 'in the rising generation there would be no poets, wits, or orators, because all play of imagination is now carefully discouraged, and books written for young persons are generally a mere dry record of facts, unenlivened by any appeal to the heart, or any excitement to the fancy'. (26)

Scott's critical opinion was directed to the so-called Peter Parleyism which placed importance on the acquisition of knowledge. Parley's books were widely read both in Britain and in the United States at that time.

Great writers such ^{as} Wordsworth, Lamb, Coleridge and Dickens opposed moral teaching and utilitarianism in education but the age paid little attention to them. Charles Dickens never ceased to attack the utilitarian and evangelical distrust of imagination that discouraged the public to read books of poems by Byron or of romances by Scott. He strongly attacked his friend George Cruikshank, great illustrator of the first English version of Grimm and of novels of that time, when he turned moralist in his later years and in his Fairy Library (1853-64) he altered the fairy tales into 'temperance tracts'. For example, in his version of Cinderella, the king celebrates his son's wedding to Cinderella by

destroying all the strong drink in the kingdom and in his Hop O' My Thumb, Hop's father loses his money through drink; later he becomes a reformed character; is appointed prime minister and introduces Prohibition. Dickens, in an article written for his own periodical, Household Words, (October 1853) denounced the alteration as the 'frauds on the fairies' and 'the intrusion of a Whole Hog of unwieldy dimensions into the fairy flower garden'. (27)

John Ruskin, in his introduction to Grimm's German Popular Stories, translated by Edgar Taylor (1868), criticised 'errors' involved in children's fictions, more precisely moral fairy tales, and urged that children be allowed to know ^a real fairy tale and have 'perfect joy or awe in the conception of it'. He denounced fairies 'resplendent chiefly in millinery and satin slippers, and appalling more by their airs than their enchantments' and solemn thoughts that 'restrained modern children into the hieroglyph of an evil mystery, troubling the sweet peace of youth with premature gleams of uncomprehended passion and flitting shadows of unrecognised sin ... the effect of the endeavour to make stories moral upon the literary merit of the work itself, is as harmful as the motive of the effort is false'. He urged that 'a child should not need to choose between right and wrong'.

Edgar Taylor himself in the earlier edition of his translation (1824), one of the first English versions of Grimm's stories, writes in the preface about the unfavourable situation for fairy tales in Britain: 'The popular tales of England have been too much neglected. They are nearly discarded from the libraries of childhood. Philosophy is made the companion of the nursery: we have lisping chemists and leading-string mathematicians: this is the age of reason, not of imagination; and the loveliest dreams of fairy innocence are considered as vain and frivolous'. (28)

Section 4: Children's books by commercial publishers
and a change in trend

As commercial publishers joined their forces in the development of book-making technique and publication of juvenile books, motifs and patterns of books for children underwent a change, eventually branching out into books for boys, for girls and for young children towards the end of the century. Particularly two Scottish publishers were quick to respond to the change. James Nisbet, son of a Scottish farmer, engaged in evangelical activities in London and opened a Sunday school, where he taught children and read the books he gave them. In 1809 he began his book publishing business, at first selling religious books. Nisbet founded the Select Theological Circulating Library in 1824 'to promote the cause of pure and undefiled religion, so that Christian Parents may, with safety, allow their Children to select any Book from the catalogue'.⁽²⁹⁾

Even Nisbet's stock, acclaimed to be most safe to the scrutinising eyes of educational and religious societies, was gradually to contain fictional books. According to J.S. Bratton, 'between the slight tracts and books for small children, and the carefully-selected novels, there are more than a hundred titles which represent the growing area of fiction for older children and young persons, including examples of the several varieties of story that were to develop into the genres of the 1860s'.⁽³⁰⁾ Nisbet's catalogue of 1832 shows, according to Bratton, how commercial publishers were far ahead of the religious societies. Nisbet expanded his business by importing popular romances from the United States where religion was less influential on children's books than in Britain.

Outside the circle of religious publishers, juvenile books in the 1860s and the following decade culminated in such memorable works as The Water Babies (1863) by Charles Kingsley, At the Back of the North Wind (1871) and The Princess and the Goblin (1872) by George Macdonald

and Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865) and Through the Looking Glass (1872) by Lewis Carroll. They, however, were not written for the majority of children of the time.

Thomas Nelson, Scottish evangelical bookseller, was another pioneer in making a great success as commercial publisher. Nelson started the business of second-hand bookselling and, as publisher, opened his first London office in 1843 and New York office in 1854. His son invented the first rotary printing machine and it was installed at their factory in Scotland in 1850. Their list of publications ranged from cheap paper-covered tract stories to more elaborate books 'for the family library' with gilded bindings as well as picture books. The firm started their own magazine, The Family Treasure, in 1869 and, like Nisbet, introduced American juvenile stories. The firm secured Charlotte Tucker and Robert Ballantyne, who were the most popular writers for young readers of the 1860s.

Ballantyne wrote about the beginning of his association with Nelson that Nelson, who had read his first story, asked him to write a story saying 'do so, and go to work at once'.⁽³¹⁾ Nelson was first to publish in 1849 the English version of the most popular and most often reprinted German story, The Basket of Flowers, that became one of the archetypes of the Sunday school books.

Another regular writer for Nelson, Charlotte Tucker (1821-1893), was a forerunner of a new wave of writers who produced allegorical stories, beast fables and stories of moral fairies during the mid-century. This didactic transformation of fantastic and fairy stories flourished and set a tradition to be followed by many didactic writers. Tucker, a daughter of a wealthy upper-middle class family, began her writing for her family magazine, a customary practice of women writers at the outset of their career. Her conversion turned her away from frivolous society life and she worked for the poor. At the age of 54 she went to India as a missionary and devoted the rest of her eighteen years of

life for the benefit of the people there. She wrote stories of conventional subjects including servants, deathbed conversion and graveyard meditation but her didactic intention was thoroughly coated with fictionalised plots. Her evangelical allegories 'have a strong imaginative appeal and yet offer her opportunities for direct and unmistakable moralising and preaching'.⁽³²⁾

Commercial firms like Nisbet and Nelson were more and more pressed hard to discover new writers to meet the increasing demand for fictional books, with higher literary quality rather than with religious moral-teaching. Such change was represented by the works of Sara Smith, another memorable writer of the time, who wrote under the pseudonym of Hesba Stretton. She worked among poor people and was one of the founders of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. From her experiences, she depicted the real life of slum children. The story of gamins was a leading subject in the 1860s as writers were becoming interested in social conditions.

Three books by Stretton especially won enormous popularity. Jessica's First Prayer (1867) sold 1,500,000 copies and Little Meg's Children (1868) and Alone In London (1869) together 750,000 copies, according to the Victorian best-sellers list by Richard D. Altick.⁽³³⁾ Although Stretton, with strong religious conviction, wrote them within the frame of tract-writing, children in her stories are as human as living children. She described servants as autonomous individuals.

Jessica's First Prayer is the story of a little vagabond child, whose innocent belief in God finally converts a money-conscious undutiful church caretaker. Daniel Standring, the caretaker, who is greedily accumulating money by running a side-job coffee-stall, spots rag-clad barefooted Jessica, eagerly looking at his coffee-stall. He drives her away. But, seeing the poor child obediently going away, he calls her back to give her coffee and a few crusts of buns left by his customers. Until then, Standring has never been interested in other

people but only in money. Jessica's great pleasure and thankfulness over stale left-over buns and her innocent belief that he is a good man gradually evoke affectionate feeling inside this solitary man.

The story has ^a didactic purpose. For example, Jessica, who is driven away from her home by her cruel drunken mother, finds no other place but a church as paradise. The warmth, music and tender voice of the minister comfort her and she is eager to know about prayer, the Bible and God. When she suffers from serious illness, Standring earnestly prays to God to save her life, pledging to offer his most valuable possession, the money he has saved. His prayer is answered. Religious education, however, is not given in a direct way such as by preaching and long quotation from the Bible --- the most common practice among writers of children's books at that time.

The book became a million seller, perhaps owing to the well-organised distribution network of the Religious Tract Society. It was, however, positively made possible by its great appeal to Children. The description of Jessica as an innocent, tender-hearted child is convincing and has realistic touches which invite the sympathy of young readers. Her childish and straightforward conversations with Standring and the minister are easy for them to understand. Jessica is depicted as a real child and not as pious child-saint like little William in The Little Woodman and his Dog Caesar. Stretton's writing skill and sharp observation of people and social life ^{are} said to have owed something to Dickens, who, as an editor of All The Year Round, a periodical for young people, trained his young writers.

An extensive survey on children's books which appeared in the June 1844 edition of The Quarterly Review anonymously written by Elizabeth Rigby, can be said to be the first attempt to set a standard in the field from a critical viewpoint. It denounced 'the interdict laid on the imagination' and 'mania for explanation' with 'little tenderness for the sensitive feeling of childhood'. Children were given

'indiscriminately' second and third rate publications with 'religion ostensibly as their theme' and were compelled to reflect on illustrations of vices and miseries as consequence of 'ignorance or disregard of the lessons of Christianity'. Instead of trivial informations about truth, the writer called for a 'sphere of fictitious or allegorical life' and books 'less dry and less difficult, but more rich in interest --- more true to nature --- more exquisite in art' which were needed for juvenile readers. Among others, the article recommended Robinson Crusoe, Tales of a Grandfather (Scott) Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare and The House Treasury (Felix Summerly). The writer had insight. She writes: 'we should be happy if, by calling attention to the real excellence and beauty of a genuine child's book, we could assist in raising the standard of the art itself --- the only effectual way, it seems to us, of checking the torrent of dressed-up trumpery which is now poured out upon the public'.⁽³⁴⁾

This article
 ^ was followed by another extensive series of three critical essays on children's books by Charlotte Yonge written for Macmillan Magazines from July to September 1869. Criticising didactic stories by Richard and Maria Edgeworth, and Mrs Sherwood, for introducing 'pious slaughter', she writes that 'moral fairy only spoils the taste of the real article; and the burlesque fairyland is still worse, for its broad fun, slang, and modern allusion destroy the real poetry and romance of childhood, and foster that unnatural appetite for the facetious which is the bane of the young'.⁽³⁵⁾ Even Miss Yonge, a prolific and most popular Victorian writer for children, in her writing of delightful Victorian family life did not escape from such criticism as that her Daisy Chain (1856) 'became one of the most important pieces of propaganda in directing the thoughts of the younger generation of Tractarians to the mission field'.⁽³⁶⁾

It can hardly be said that moral teaching ceased to be a matter of importance in children's books. 'The history of fairy-tales and

nursery rhymes, in their progress towards becoming the true natural staple of the juvenile library, is a record of strong self-preservation under neglect and deliberate persecution',⁽³⁷⁾ said Harvey Darton. In fact, fairy tales were preserved in the minds and speech of common folk, as Andrew Lang pointed out in the preface to The Green Fairy Book: the old grandmother remembered the fairy tales, though they were not written down and without the oral tale tradition they would have been forgotten altogether.

Fear or dislike of fairy tales has not been confined to any one particular period. Under different circumstances fairy tales have been discouraged --- even today --- due to the adult's hygienic precautions against 'cruel' and 'superstitious' elements. But, never has there been such powerfully organised social sanction against them as was in the Victorian age. The characteristic of the latter half of the Victorian age, during which Andrew Lang started his career and produced most of his major works, is explained in England 1870-1914 (1936) by R.C.K. Ensor as 'the most religious that the world has known'.⁽³⁸⁾ He saw its peculiar type of Christianity in the nature that 'laid a peculiarly direct emphasis upon conduct ... it was in practice also very largely a doctrine of salvation by works'. This evangelicalism 'gripped all ranks and conditions of society'. Three essentials of evangelicalism, according to Ensor, were 1) its literal stress on the Bible, 2) its certainty about the existence of an after-life of rewards and punishments and 3) its corollary that the present life is only important as a preparation for eternity. As a result, the teaching of Bible reading, death and consequences of good and evil became most important practice as we saw in this chapter. As a by-product, evangelical practices 'made the English the "people of a book"'.⁽³⁹⁾

Another reform movement which sprang from Evangelicalism was known as the Tractarian Movement or the Oxford Movement, as it began in Oxford in 1833, embracing mainly academic circles through writing

materials. At the time when its influence upon Britain was reaching its peak, Lang started his reading at Oxford in 1864. He was interested in the movement not from a religious aspect but as a cultural movement. It is difficult to trace his attitude toward religion. It, however, can be presumed from his writing that he maintained a rather detached attitude toward religious influences. He writes: 'In these bookish memories I have said nothing about religion and religious books, for various reasons'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In this semi-autobiographical book, Adventures Among Books (1905), he further touches on the subject of religion: 'Unlike other Scots of the pen, [he meant Stevenson] I got no harm from The Shorter Catechism, of which I remember little, and neither then nor now was or am able to understand a single sentence. Some precocious metaphysicians comprehended and stood aghast at justification, sanctification, adoption, and effectual calling. These, apparently, were necessary processes in the Scottish spiritual life. But we were not told what they meant, nor were we distressed by a sense that we had not passed through them. From most children, one trusts, Calvinism ran like water off a duck's back; unlucky were they who first absorbed, and later were compelled to get rid of The Shorter Catechism'.⁽⁴¹⁾

Perhaps because of his attitude toward religion, he strongly disliked the didactic takeover of fairy tales. Because of his profound knowledge and understanding of folklore, he was critical of the situation described above. Above all, his love of fairy tales, nourished by the rich heritage of Scotland in his childhood, made him the crusader in defence of and for the survival of fairy tales throughout his writing career. At the earliest when he was a student at the University of St. Andrews he wrote an essay for St. Leonard's Magazine (reprinted in St. Andrews University Magazine in 1863), deploring that old nursery tales including Cinderella 'have almost passed away'.

Lang also writes in the introductory preface to Charles and Mary Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare (1899 edition) that most children's books in 1807 were 'little moral or pseudo-scientific treatises. Fairies were under the ban of "common sense" ... I know middle-aged people who, in childhood, were not allowed to read fairy tales, on the specious pretence that there are no fairies in the nature of things; a negative which nobody can prove. This was one objection, rooted in nonsense about "fact"'.⁽⁴²⁾

The acceptance of fairy tales in such a moral-oriented and utilitarianistic age as the Victorian era was made possible in later years by the development of the art of book-making and an increasing variety of books for children. It was more positively made possible by the success of Andrew Lang's Blue Fairy Book, the first of a series of twelve coloured books. It was such an overwhelming success that Lang was entirely responsible for the change in the public taste from realism to fairy-tales.⁽⁴³⁾ His essays, written persistently in support of fairy tales, though some were regarded as hackwork, should not be ignored either. In the following chapter, Lang's ideas about fairy tales, his Scottish background that cultivated his enthusiasm for tales and his attitude toward fairy tales will be discussed.

Notes to Chapter II

- 1) Gillian Avery, Childhood's Pattern --- A study of the heroes and heroines of children's fiction 1770-1950 (London, 1975), p.14. Reference to Avery hereafter refers to this work.
- 2) F.J. Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England --- Five Centuries of Social Life, third edition (Cambridge Univ. Press, London, New York, 1982), p.215. Reference to Darton hereafter refers to this work.
- 3) J.S. Bratton, The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction (London and Totowa, New Jersey, 1981), p.15. Bratton, a lecturer in English at Bedford College, University of London, extensively describes and evaluates in this book the characteristics of children's fiction in the Victorian age. Reference to Bratton hereafter refers to this work.
- 4) The Sunday School Union Report (1861), quoted by Bratton, p.15.
- 5) M.F. Thwaite, From Primer to Pleasure (London, 1963), p.59.
- 6) Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader --- A social history of the mass reading public 1800-1900 (Chicago and London, 1957), p.102. Reference to Altick hereafter refers to this work.
- 7) Altick, p.102.
- 8) R.L. Mackie, Scotland (London, 1916), p.529.
- 9) Altick, p.9.
- 10) W.R. Aitken, A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955 (Glasgow, 1971), p.1.
- 11) Bratton, p.42.
- 12) Altick, p.189.
- 13) Charlotte Yonge, in her essay, 'Children's Literature of the Last Century', Macmillan's Magazine (July 1869), XX, p.231. writes: 'For the didactic age of youthful literature was fast setting in. Mrs Trimmer was its parent in England, and her impulse probably came far more than she knew from Rousseau ... Rousseau, indeed, did not personally write for the young, but his "Emile" set many pens going in France, Germany, and England, such as Berquin ... Day, and Edgeworth school'.
- 14) Bratton, p.43.
- 15) Antony and Peter Miall, The Victorian Nursery Book (London, 1980), p.9.
- 16) Quoted by Avery, p.93.
- 17) Mary Butt Sherwood, The Little Woodman and his Dog Caesar, reprinted in Mrs Sherwood and Her Books for Children with an introduction by M. Nancy Cutt (Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p.106.

- 18) Avery, p.112.
- 19) Avery, pp.87-88.
- 20) Sarah Trimmer, Guardian of Education, quoted by Darton, p.96, and Avery, p.45.
- 21) Trimmer, quoted by Darton, p.96.
- 22) Darton, p.97.
- 23) Mrs Sherwood's preface to her version of The Governess, quoted in A Peculiar Gift, p.109.
- 24) The Letters of Charles Lamb, edited by E.V. Lucas, 3 vols (London, 1935), I, p.326.
- 25) Yonge, quoted by Avery, p.32.
- 26) Catherine Sinclair, preface to Holiday House (London, n.d.), p.6.
- 27) Charles Dickens, 'Frauds on the Fairies', Household Words (1 October 1853), VIII, p.97.
- 28) Edgar Taylor, German Popular Stories Translated from the Kinder und Haus Märchen collected by M.M. Grimm From Oral Tradition (London, 1824), p.iv.
- 29) Bratton, p.58.
- 30) Bratton, pp.58-59.
- 31) Robert Ballantyne, Personal Reminiscences in Book-Making (London, 1893), p.10.
- 32) Bratton, p.74.
- 33) Altick, Appendix, p.389.
- 34) Elizabeth Rigby, 'Children's Books', Quarterly Review (June 1844), No. 147, pp.1-25 (p.25).
- 35) Charlotte Yonge, 'Children's Literature of the Last Century', Macmillan's Magazine (August 1869), p.306.
- 36) Margaret Mare and Alicia C. Percival, Victorian Best-Seller --- The World of Charlotte M. Yonge (London, 1947), p.147.
- 37) Darton, p.85.
- 38) R.C.K. Ensor, England 1870-1914, eighth edition (Oxford, 1960), p.137.
- 39) Ensor, p.138.
- 40) Lang, Adventures Among Books (London, 1905), pp.22-23.
- 41) *ibid.*, p.23.
- 42) Lang, preface to Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare, 1899 edition (London), pp.ix-x.
- 43) R.L. Green, Andrew Lang (Leicester, 1946), p.82.

Chapter III Andrew Lang and Fairy Tales

Section 1: His Border boyhood and Scottish heritage

Andrew Lang, in his defence of fairy tales, never deployed his assertions in a sentimental appeal but maintained a scholarly attitude, giving many examples taken from his accumulation of anthropological and other sources. For example, on the question about the existence of the brownie, Lang tried to prove his existence by introducing the accounts on brownies from John Major, a Scottish scholar of about 1500-1550, and other writers. He, with his romantic outlook, had a desire to believe in their existence but admitted that 'to restore the brownie to his place is the almost Quixotic effort'.⁽¹⁾ His everlasting interest in and enthusiasm for fairy tales was cultivated by the Scottish tradition with a rich heritage of legends and their magic and enchantment. His strong attachment to fairies, in particular, was nourished by the experiences of his Border boyhood.

He was born on 31st March, 1844, in the grey house of Viewfield on the hillside not far from the town centre of Selkirk. The long, flat one-story house is now called the Cottage Hospital. There is nothing to tell us of the reminiscences of Lang's childhood, except an engraving on one of the gate pillars reading 'VIEWFIELD, BIRTHPLACE OF ANDREW LANG, 1844-1912'. The Lang family had resided in Selkirk for many generations and at least more immediate ancestors are traced back to 'First' John Lang, Deacon of the Trades of Selkirk who was born in 1640. According to the genealogical tree of the Lang family, kept in the Border Regional Library Headquarters in Selkirk, the post of Sheriff-Clerk had been taken in generations since 'Fourth' John Lang who was born in 1744 down to 'Sixth' John Lang, Andrew's father. Lang's grandfather, also called Andrew, was Sheriff-Clerk during most of Walter Scott's term of office.

The old nurse of the Lang family knew a great deal of fairy tales and believed in fairy legends. From this nurse, called Nancy, Andrew

and the other Lang children heard Border legends and fairy tales. Later, Lang published the story he heard from her, Nicht, Nought, Nothing, in his book, Custom and Myth (1884). To be a boy living in the Border country itself offered many associations with romances and legends. He remembers: 'It was worth while to be a boy then in the south of Scotland, and to fish the waters haunted by old legends, musical with old songs ... Memory that has lost so much and would gladly lose so much more, brings vividly back the golden summer evenings by Tweedside, when trout began to splash in the stillness — brings back the long, lounging solitary days beneath the woods of Ashiestiel — days so lovely that they sometimes in the end begat a superstitious eeriness. One seemed forsaken in an enchanted world; one might see the two white fairy deer flit by, bringing to us, as to Thomas the Rhymer, the tidings that we must back to Fairy-land ...' (2)

Enchantment of Fairyland was also experienced through reading which he started about the age of four. He recollects: 'The first books which vividly impressed me were naturally fairy books and chap books about Robert Bruce, William Wallace and Rob Roy ... They did not awaken a precocious patriotism; a boy of five is more at home in Fairyland than in his own country'. (3) He was also enthralled by The Yellow Dwarf written by Madame d'Aulnoy and other stories — 'these things, all fresh and astonishing, but certainly to be credited, are my first memories of romance'. (4) In his introduction to Irene Maunder's The Plain Princess (1905), Lang tells us how he, as a boy, was associated with fairy tales: 'When I was a little boy, it is to be supposed that I was a little muff; for I read every fairy-tale I could lay my hands on, and knew all the fairies in A Midsummer Night's Dream, and all the ghosts in Sir Walter Scott, and I hated machinery of every description. These tastes and distastes I have never overcome, but I am pretty sure that they are unusual in little boys'. (5)

At the age of six, he went to the south of England to stay at the

home of his grandfather, on the mother's side, and found 'another paradise, a circulating library with brown, greasy ill-printed old volumes of Shakespeare and of the Arabian Nights'.⁽⁶⁾ He recalls the enjoyment of reading A Midsummer Night's Dream by firelight in a room where someone was playing a piano: '... the fairies seemed to come out of Shakespeare's dream into the music and the firelight. At that moment I think that I was happy; it seemed an enchanted glimpse of eternity in Paradise; nothing resembling it remains with me, out of all the years'.⁽⁷⁾

After a year in England he came back to Scotland at the age of seven and 'awake, as it were, to know the glories of our birth. We lived in Scott's country, within four miles of Abbotsford'. To Lang, 'Scott is not an author like another, but our earliest known friend in letters; ... Scott peopled for us the rivers and burn-sides with his reivers; the Fairy Queen came out of Eildon Hill and haunted Carterhaugh; at Newark Tower we saw "the embattled portal arch" ... we beheld the very roofless cottage whence Mungo Park went forth to trace the waters of the Niger, and at Oakwood the tower of the Wizard Michael Scott'.⁽⁸⁾

As Lang said about himself 'rather an industrious little boy', at the Edinburgh Academy, he buried himself in books. 'I was a young hermit, living with Scott in the Waverleys and the Border Minstrelsy with Pope, and Prior, and a translation of Ariosto, with Lever and Dickens, David Copperfield and Charles O'Malley, Longfellow and Mayne Reid, Dumas, and in brief, with every kind of light literatures that I could lay my hands upon'.⁽⁹⁾ During these days he discovered Homer and experienced 'the surge and thunder of the Odyssey', which eventually led him to life-time works on mythology and anthropology. From Adventures Among Books (1905), an autobiographical record of his literary pursuits, we learn Scott's great influence upon Lang and his future devotion to the discovery of the Scottish tradition.

Walter Scott took an interest in folk tales and was 'very much interested in phantasms and witchcraft, his library is rich in rare old

books full of ghostly narratives'.⁽¹⁰⁾ Scott wrote scenes of the appearances of ghosts and other supernatural phenomena in his novels including The Antiquary, Old Mortality, and Waverley. Lang considered that Scott did not know 'the precise frontiers of his belief and disbelief'. Scott was not sensible of fearing supernatural things but 'he says that he had only twice in his life felt "eery"' — once at Glamis Castle and the other occasion seeing the apparition of his friend near Ashestiel. 'Very many persons have either seen a ghost, or something like one, and I am myself among the number,' said Scott.⁽¹¹⁾ He experienced hearing a strange noise like the noise of moving heavy furniture at Abbotsford. It coincided with the death of a friend, a furniture maker. He was 'deeply affected' by this disturbance.⁽¹²⁾ Such strange phenomena, preceding or coincident with a death, were familiar to writers whom Scott knew well and persistent among the beliefs of Highlanders and Lowlanders in Scotland.

Dr Katherine M. Briggs, former president of the English Folklore Society, considers Walter Scott a 'folklorist of authority'. She says that 'the full romantic treatment of the fairy tradition is to be found in Walter Scott's verse', and he was a collector of 'folk tradition at first hand and from his earliest days'.⁽¹³⁾ Dr Briggs, who was an Honorary Member of both the English and American Folklore Societies until her death in 1980, recognised Scott's essay on the fairies which prefaces his Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border as 'still a source work' and his Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft as 'full of good material'.⁽¹⁴⁾

Scott, on the whole, did not believe in any special ghost story but did not disbelieve in ghost stories in general. Lang analyses Scott's attitude as follows: 'he persuaded himself to publish statements of the most thoroughly unbelieving kind, and throughout his life endeavoured to regard himself as a true unbeliever in the abnormal. The other way lay madness, he thought; for two of his friends, who had believed in ghostly experiences of their own, lost their reason many

years later'.⁽¹⁵⁾ Yet Scott was anxious to investigate airy matters and enjoyed 'the human thrill which is awakened by good stories of the "supernatural" and communicated the thrill in Wandering Willie's Tale'.⁽¹⁶⁾

In Scotland fairies were traditionally known as Good People who dwelt in the land long before the time of the Roman invasion. They were believed to have taken refuge in the hills like 'the little fellow' in Rudyard Kipling's Puck of Pook's Hill (1906). Mostly fairies were not evil. But some evil fairies demanded human victims and many legends of fairy changelings were based on this folk belief. The capture of a child or a bride or a lover, and a man's or woman's attempt to take back his or her beloved one from the hand of fairy became a main theme.

A Scottish version of the Orpheus legend tells that King Orfeo follows his queen Heurodis when she was taken by the fairies. His playing of the harp so delights the Fairy King that Heurodis is set free. Orfeo brings his queen safely home while Orpheus in the Greek legend attempts to lead Eurydice out only to loose her again. The Medieval English poem of Sir Orfeo makes Persephone queen of Fairyland under the ground to which, in the Border ballad, the Fairy Queen lures Thomas the Rhymer. Scottish poet, Robert Henryson, also wrote an Orpheus poem, although he used the story as a moral allegory.

Commenting on W.B. Yeats' book, The Celtic Twilight, Lang wrote in an article for The Illustrated London News⁽¹⁷⁾ that the Scottish people's unfavourable reaction to the fairies, as pointed by Yeats, was not their 'natural disposition' but that 'the Puritanism of the Reformers and the covenanters' was responsible. To prove Scottish people's friendly relationship with the fairies, he introduced the Rev Robert Kirk who spoke of the fairies 'just as he might of the Antipodes', and who never had a hard word for his 'occasional visitors'. In the same article, Lang also introduced the work by the Rev John Frazer, Dean of the Isles and an Episcopalian minister, to show Scottish people's belief in supernatural things. Frazer, writing about the second sight and other

island marvels in his book (published three years after his death in 1705), never used harsh remarks on them and 'this kind of minister sours the disposition of the local ghosts and fairies, for this kind of minister was no Puritan'. After the Reformation, however, 'the Calvinism of southern Scotland did not feel particularly anxious to keep on good terms'⁽¹⁸⁾ with their 'neighbours'.

Lang might have come to know Robert Kirk's The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies (1691) by Scott's Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft (1830). In this book Scott wrote that Kirk's book was reprinted in 1815 based on a manuscript in the Advocates' Library in a limited edition of 100 copies. Lang himself edited and reprinted it in 1893 on the basis of the 1815 edition with some minor emendations. His emendations, however, invited criticism because 'if, as seems almost beyond doubt, the original manuscript was missing from the Advocates' Library in 1893, these emendations can only be guess-work', said the editor of the 1976 edition.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Secret Common-Wealth is, today, regarded as the basic text for students of folklore for its significance of being historical evidence of belief in fairies and assorted supernatural phenomena.

Robert Kirk, a Minister of Aberfoyle, took his degree of Master of Arts at Edinburgh and read theology at the University of St. Andrews. He recognised that many of his parishioners believed in fairies, the second sight and other phenomena and recorded the evidences in this treatise in such a detailed description as follows: 'These sithe or Fairies, they call sluaghmaith or the good people: ... are said to be of a middle nature betwixt man and Angell (as were daemons thought to be of old); of intelligent Studious. Spirits, and light changable bodies ... best seen in twilight. These bodies be ... so plyable thorough the subtilty of the spirits, that agitate them, that they can make them appeare or disappear at pleasure. Some have bodies or vehicles so spungious, thin and defecate, that they are fed by only sucking into some

fine spirituous liquor that pierce like pure air and oyl ...'

The death of this Scottish minister invoked dispute as it is said that Kirk sunk down in a swoon while walking on a fairy-hill and the collapse was taken for death. He was buried in Aberfoyle's Kirkyard. Walter Scott, according to Lang, knew that there were 'no bones in the tomb' and found in his investigation of manuscripts that Dr Grahame, the next minister of Aberfoyle, had actually seen Kirk after his disappearance while walking on a fairy-hill. Lang in the comment of his 1893 edition of The Secret Commonwealth ... went on to introduce Scott's writing that 'After the ceremony of a seeming funeral, the form of the Rev Robert Kirk appeared to a relative', and told 'I am not dead, but a captive in Fairyland and one chance remains for my liberation'. Then Kirk gave him a message that at his child's christening, if his cousin Duchray 'shall throw over my head the knife or dirk which he holds in his hand, I may be restored to society; but if this be neglected, I am lost for ever'. Kirk appeared at the christening but Duchray was so astonished that he did not throw the knife. As a result, Kirk returned to Fairyland for ever.

It should be noted that Walter Scott never wrote this episode in a negative way, neither did Andrew Lang ridicule it as superstitious. Lang, on the contrary, wrote in the comment that 'Mr Kirk of Aberfoyle, living among Celtic people, treats the land of faery as a mere fact in nature, as world with its own laws, which he investigates without fear of the Accuser of the Brethren. We may thus regard him as an early student in folklore and in psychical research ... Firm in his belief, he treats his matter in a scientific spirit, as if he were dealing with generally recognised physical phenomena'.⁽²⁰⁾ And he prefaced his edition with dedicatory verses to Kirk himself and Robert Louis Stevenson, together with an essay in which he displayed his interest in telepathy and poltergeists introducing the current experiments of the Society for Psychical Research. The dedicatory verses are:

The Fairy Minister

In memory of The Rev ROBERT KIRK

Who went to his own herd, and entered into the land of the
people of peace, in the year of
Grace sixteen hundred and ninety-two, and of his age Fifty-two

People of peace! A peaceful man,
Well worthy of your love was he,
Who, while the roaring Garry ran
Red with the life-blood of Dundee,
While coats were turning, crowns were falling,
Wandered along his valley still,
And heard your mystic voices calling
From fairy knowe and haunted hill.

He heard, he saw, he knew too well
The secrets of your fairy clan;
You stole him from the haunted dell,
Who never more was seen of man,
Now far from heaven, and safe from hell,
Unknown of earth, he wanders free,
Would that he might return and tell
Of his mysterious company!

. . . .

Dedication to Robert Louis Stevenson

O LOUIS! You that like them maist,
Ye're far frae Kelpie, wraith, and ghaist,
And fairy dames, no unco chaste,
And haunted cell.
Among a heathen clan ye're place,
That kens na hell!

Ye hae nae heather, peat, not birks,
Nae troot in a' your burnies lurks,
There are nae bonny U.P. Kirks,
An awfu' place!
Nane kens the Covenant O' Works
Frae that of Grace!

. . . .

And ye might tell, ayont the faem,
Thae Hieland clashes O'oor hame.
To speak the truth, I tak' na shame
To half believe them;
And, stamped wi' TUSITALA's name,
They'll a' receive them.

And folk to come, ayont the sea,
 May hear the yowl of the Banshie,
 And frae the water-kelpie flee,
 Ere a' things cease,
 And island bairns may stolen be
 By the Folk o' Peace.

. . . .

His dedication to Stevenson was made in a gesture of sympathy that his exiled friend was away from the Brownies, fairies and banshies of Scotland he loved in his youth. Stevenson, to use Lang's words, 'appears to possess Lutins ... Brownies he calls them, and they work all night in the factory of his brain, as the old Brownie used to work in farmhouse and stable. One of the stories which they made for him Mr Stevenson gives, and it is wonderfully well constructed'.⁽²¹⁾ (Lang seems to have been delighted by Stevenson's kinship with brownies and disclosed that he himself sometimes had dreams with plots given by brownies.) This episode referred to Stevenson's well-known dream in which he got the idea and plot of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde (1886). At the same time, Lang showed his scientific attitude by noting that Stevenson's brain 'should work dramatically and conscientiously even in sleep. No doubt the matter of the vision is like the matter of all dreams — the confused impressions of waking hours; but the constructive intelligence must be unconsciously awake, watching and marshalling the host of fancies all the time'.⁽²²⁾

It is a striking feature of Walter Scott and Andrew Lang that neither of them dismissed supernatural things as nonsense. Lang found in Scott Scottish people's traditional attitude, sympathetic to the wonder of the nature. He took it as a well-authenticated example since Scott was 'insensible to fear in airy matters' and observed them with the rational way of thinking. To Lang, being a Scot was a vindication to prove that he had no disbelief in them. 'Kant [Immanuel], a Scot himself, by descent, ... dearly loved a ghost story', wrote Lang in The Making of Religion (1898).⁽²³⁾ Lang actually visited Ireland

once in the hope of meeting fairies. He did not see them in his life but met the Fairy Queen in a dream.

The Scottish people's preference for legends and fairies, in particular Lang's, can best be explained by quoting the words of 'an acute modern critic', who said that being brought up 'under grey skies and in a hostile atmosphere, the Scotch have realized that it is only against grey skies that flaming adventures stand bravely out. Realists in material things practical and "canny", they have reacted toward a strange pursuit of the mysterious'.⁽²⁴⁾ Lang's passion for fairy tales and mythology, awakened in his boyhood in the Border environment, was deepened by reading a great deal of Walter Scott's books in his youth.

His interest in these matters became the subject of serious studies while an undergraduate at St. Andrews and Oxford. At St. Andrews, he read George Dasent's Tales from the Norse and Burnt Njal, Charles Perrault's fairy tales, Grimm's, The Mabinogen and many others. Lang recollected his reading at St. Andrews in an essay, 'Old St. Leonards Days' (1887): 'Probably the greater part of the work one did was reading odd old books out of the library for oneself. I remember studying Paracelsus, and Petrus de Abano, and Cornelius Agrippa, and a few alchemists and the novels of Lord Lytton, and a good deal of English poetry'.⁽²⁵⁾ His reading of Greek tales gave him an impetus to study folklore as Salomon Reinach said as follows: 'His studies in Greek literature formed a second stimulus ... he did not approach Homer as a scholar and a poet only; he read him as a folklorist'.⁽²⁶⁾

After 1891, he frequented St. Andrews more and borrowed volumes of books from the university library shelves. Dr Maitland Anderson writes: 'He needed books on mythology, primitive religions and folk-lore; anthropology and ethnology; classical and modern literature; history (including records, state papers, and other source books), archaeology, biography, and so on. Obscure and out of the way books of all sorts were asked for, and he was continually digging among the bound volumes

of periodicals and among the publications of book-clubs and of literary and historical societies, home and foreign. He did not profess to be a great linguist, but he read Greek, Latin, and French with ease, German fairly well, and he had a working knowledge of Portugese and other tongues ... He used more of the Library books in the course of a year than any other individual reader'.⁽²⁷⁾

In his earlier years at Oxford, Lang studied the origin and diffusion of folktales more energetically under the influence, especially, of the works of J.B. Tylor and J.F. MacLennan. From Tylor, he learned the anthropological method which he first applied to theorise the diffusion of myths and folk-tales. Besides his experiences in childhood and youth, his romantic outlook drew him to anthropology. He writes: 'The natural people, the folk, has supplied us, in its unconscious way, with the stuff of all our poetry, law, ritual: and genius has selected from the mass, has turned customs into codes, nursery tales into romance, myth into science, ballad into epic, magic mummery into gorgeous ritual ... The student of this lore can look back and see the long trodden way behind him, the winding tracks through marsh and forest and over burning sands. He sees the caves, the camps, the villages, the towns where the race has tarried, for shorter times or longer, strange places many of them, and strangely haunted, desolate dwellings and inhospitable. But the scarce visible tracks converge at last on the beaten ways, the ways to that city whither mankind is wandering, and which it may never win. We have a foreboding of a purpose which we know not, a sense as of will, working, as we would not have worked, to a hidden end. This is the lesson, I think, of what we call folk-lore or anthropology'.⁽²⁸⁾

After leaving Merton in 1878, he became one of the early-members of the Folklore Society, founded in 1878 and one of its first chairmen, in the 1889-90 session. 'He became a master in folklore because he liked it, and a master in comparative mythology because it had been his early pleasure to compare', wrote Prof Salomon Reinach.⁽²⁹⁾ In addition, his

boyhood environment of the Scottish tradition and Walter Scott's influence upon him cannot be emphasised too much.

Section 2: Paranormal and Psychical Approaches

Lang was interested in man's experience with ghosts and other paranormal phenomena. He himself saw 'wraiths' (according to Lang, wraith denotes the phantasm of a living person and ghost means the phantasm of a dead person) more than once. He describes one of these experiences: 'My own experience was simply seeing, and speaking to, a relation who was crossing a large and brilliantly lighted hall. The figure, that of a girl, was dressed in dark-blue serge. She did not answer. I entered the room she had that moment left, and there she was, dressed for dinner, in white. By no conceivable possibility could there be a mistake in identity'.⁽³⁰⁾

He was by no means superstitious or a spiritualist. He, however, did not deny psychical and strange phenomena saying that 'I do firmly believe that there are human faculties, as yet unexplained, as yet inconsistent with popular scientific "materialism"'.⁽³¹⁾ His point of view was that no sources existed for these phenomena did not mean that phenomena themselves did not exist. In the preface to The Book of Dreams and Ghosts (1897) he says: 'The chief purpose of this book is, if fortune helps, to entertain people interested in the kind of narrative here collected'.⁽³²⁾ In this book, well-known ghost stories such as The Wesley Ghost and The Story of Glam were introduced, drawn chiefly from stories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

He disagreed with the current opinions of his time that ghosts were hallucinations, false perceptions, or perceptions of things which were not present. 'Without offending science, religion or common-sense', the doctrines of ghosts attributed these phenomena to hallucination. The common-sense of the eighteenth century, to use his words, 'dismissed all apparitions as "dreams" or hoaxes, or illusions caused by real

objects misinterpreted such as rats, cats, white posts, maniacs at large, sleep-walkers, thieves, and so forth'.⁽³³⁾ In The Book of Dreams and Ghosts, he admitted the difficulty of 'getting evidence at first hand' of hallucinatory appearances occurring in the experience of people 'healthy and sane'. He was critical of some sources due to the tendency that regarded the person having experience of hallucination as a lunatic and dupe or liar. Even eminent people 'like Lord Brougham kept their experience to themselves, or at most, nervously protested that they "were sure it was only a dream"',⁽³⁴⁾

In another book, Cock Lane and Common-Sense (1894), Lang relates the widely-known story of the Cock Lane ghost reported in 1726 by London newspapers, and the explanations which were given for it by 'Common-Sense'. The heroine is a certain Miss Fanny L. known as 'Scratching Fanny' after her death. A Mr K marries a Miss E.L. in Norfolk in 1756. The young wife dies in childbirth and eleven months later Miss Fanny, the younger sister of his deceased wife becomes his housekeeper. Mr K falls in love with Fanny and she 'shared his flame'. Church law makes marriage impossible. Mr K fled from Fanny but she followed him to town. So they live together in Cock Lane, Smithfield, in the house of a certain Mr Parsons. While Mr K goes to a wedding in the country Fanny stays at home and asks Elizabeth, a daughter of Mr Parsons, to share her bed. They both hear the first 'scratchings and rappings'. These noises recur frequently and make life a misery for the young couple. Fanny dies and eighteen months later noises return, seemingly from Elizabeth's bedroom. The spirit that produced these noises 'revealed' some secrets and among them was the murder of Fanny by Mr K.

Lang also introduced ghost stories with similar motifs and incidents drawn from other countries and demonstrated his theory of universality in ghost stories. He wrote that, concerning paranormal phenomena, there is 'uniform recurrent evidence from widely severed ages, from distant countries, from the Polar North, the American prairie, Neoplatonic

Egypt and Greece, England and New-England of the seventeenth century, and England and Germany of to-day'. (35)

His sense of fun sometimes overrode the scientific spirit. In an essay, 'Some Japanese Bogie-Books' in Books and Bookmen (1887), he writes: 'Now in China and Japan, certainly a ghost does not wait till people enter the haunted room; a ghost, like a person of fashion, "goes everywhere", moreover, he has this artistic excellence, that very often you don't know him from an embodied person. He counterfeits mortality so cleverly that he (the ghost) has been known to personate a candidate for honours, and pass an examination for him'. (36) Here, Lang might have taken a ghost for a kind of fairy or goblin which transforms itself into a human figure. Even so, however, his opinion that the ghost in disguise of a candidate takes an examination for honours is excessive of playful and mocking tone. A ghost in a Japanese story is usually the phantasm of a dead person and haunts a person or place.

In the same book, he went on to say that 'they [Oriental bogies] are everywhere: every man has his own ghost, every place has its peculiar haunting fiend, every natural phenomenon has its informing spirit; every quality, as hunger, greed, envy, malice, has an embodied visible shape ...'. (37) In Japanese tales, every man does not have his ghost but is capable of haunting for some reason just as ^{is} told in stories of most countries. Lang seemed to have formed this opinion from the impressions he got from the drawings of the Japanese bogie-books and to have taken sprite for ghost. In the old Japanese tradition, people with a polytheistic religious belief believed that all things had their sprites and that sprites dwelled in places like a kitchen, toilet and well, making it man's duty to maintain these places clean in the sense of purification.

His explanations of the illustrations of the Japanese bogie-books lack sufficient anthropological materials and information but merely show his imaginary fancies taken from the drawings. For example, he

writes about the drawing of a snow fairy: 'Where we see a storm of snow, their [Japanese] livelier fancy beholds a comic snow-ghost, a queer grinning old man under a vast umbrella'.⁽³⁸⁾ The snow fairy, usually in the shape of a beautiful young woman, is illustrated here as a wrinkled-faced old woman. It might be difficult for Lang to recognise the figure as woman but the snow fairy is not MAN and is one of the most popular motifs of folk tales in snowy northern Japan. Another illustration shows the sprite of the wind (drawn rather comically to Japanese eyes), blowing yellow wind whenever he spots a man on a street. Those people who are blown by the wind, the Japanese caption says, 'without fail, catch cold'. (The word, wind, in Japanese language is pronounced the same with the word, cold). Lang, however, explains: 'a terrible creation of fancy, I take to be a vampire.... the most awful Japanese vampire, caught red-handed in the act, a hideous, bestial incarnation of ghoulishness ... The vapour which flies and curls from the mouth is capable of assuming the form of some detestable supernatural animal, to destroy the life of a hated rival'.⁽³⁹⁾

To Lang, ghost stories provided a wealth of narratives and came into a sub-division of folk tales as he wrote that 'even ghost stories, as a rule, have some basis of fact, whether fact of hallucination, or illusion, or imposture. They are, at lowest, "human documents"'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ He gave the first authority to the serious study of these phenomena for the benefit of anthropology. Scientific interest in these phenomena led to the founding of the Society for Psychical Research in London in 1882, and Lang was among its founder-members. He was the chairman in 1911 and 1912. Both Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung were among its members in 1911, according to E. Langstaff.⁽⁴¹⁾ Roger L. Green in his Andrew Lang Lecture delivered before the University of St. Andrews in November, 1968, said that Jung considered Lang's novel, The World's Desire, written in collaboration with R. Haggard, 'a serious contribution to psychology and a remarkable expression of a truth about the human soul'.⁽⁴²⁾

His psychological approach in the portrayal of Jeanne d'Arc was 'highly suggestive', according to Prof Louis Cazamian in his Andrew Lang Lecture, entitled 'Andrew Lang and The Maid of France', delivered before St. Andrews University in 1931. He says: 'In his defence of Jeanne d'Arc, as he has done in his study of religious origins, he drew from the store of facts, incompletely established but highly suggestive, of a recently developed branch of knowledge, the psychology of the sub-conscious mind ... He followed the method of reason, but his rationalism, so to say, was psychological, not logical and dogmatic. Thus he avoided the errors of system; not only did he perceive more sympathetically the nature of the object to which his mind was applied, and give us a supple, concrete, and penetrating portrait of Jeanne d'Arc, but his book, instead of bearing the imprint of yesterday's thought, is in deep-reaching harmony with that of to-day'.⁽⁴³⁾

Section 3: Mythology and Fairy Tales

Lang's earliest essay on fairy tales was published in St. Andrews University Magazine, April, 1863, entitled 'Scottish Nursery Tales'. This essay, written while a student at St. Andrews, does not extensively deal with his ideas about fairy tales. It, however, is quite important as it states his future point of view; his disapproval of banishing of nursery tales from the nursery and giving children, instead, instructive picture books and books of geography, chemistry and other knowledge.

Secondly, he already had at this point the opinion that 'a common supernatural machinery' such as the shoes of swiftness, the cap of darkness and the sword of sharpness, was found in 'all the traditions and mythology of the Aryan tribes in Europe'. He says: 'the German story of Rumpel-stilts-kin, the Irish Trit-a-Trot, and our own Scottish Whuppity Stoory were radically the same'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Lang, later, developed this theory and applied his idea of universality of fairy tales not only in Aryan but also in non-Aryan stories. His famous argument with Prof Max Müller, labelled as 'bloody battle' by The Saturday Review, had its

embryonic development in his days at St. Andrews. He knew Prof Müller's opinion as he says: 'I had only read Mr Max Müller, Perrault, Dasent and Chambers ...' (45) His other statement 'I very well remember the moment when it occurred to me, soon after taking my degree, that the usual ideas about some of these matters were the reverse of the truth, that the common theory had to be inverted', (46) most probably meant the theory by Müller and his followers.

Thirdly, he introduced in this essay, for the first time, Scottish fairy tales of Nicht, Nought, Nothing and Rashin Coatie. They have been recognised as Lang's own collections after he introduced them in a wider-circulated folklore periodical. The story of Nicht, Nought, Nothing is included in Joseph Jacobs' English Fairy Tales (1890) and Jacobs in the notes credited that the story was 'collected by Mr Andrew Lang in Morayshire, published by him first in Revue Celtique, t.iii.; then in his Custom and Myth, p.89; and again in Folk-Lore, Sept. 1890'. (47) The other story, Rashin Coatie, known as a version of Cinderella in Britain, was also discovered by Lang. Iona and Peter Opie in The Classic Fairy Tales (1974) say: 'Were it not for Perrault (father or son) the tale [Cinderella] might now be known in Britain in a form such as Andrew Lang found it being told a century ago in Morayshire, in the north-east of Scotland (Revue Celtique, vol.III, 1878)'. (48) Lang himself claimed in this essay that these two stories had never before been published and that he remembered Robert Chambers mentioning that he could not obtain Rashin Coatie for his printed collection. As described above, Lang first introduced these stories in St. Andrews University Magazine and not in Revue Celtique as generally accepted.

His second article, 'Mythology and Fairy Tales', published May 1, 1873 in The Fortnightly Review is a long and extensive discussion in which he introduced anthropological interpretations in the study of fairy tales as against the widely-accepted philological method of the time. Prof Salomon Reinach described it as 'the first full refutation

of Max Müller's mythological system based on the Veda, and the first full statement of anthropological method applied to the comparative study of myth ... He was the first anthropologist to give the attention to certain superior elements of savage creeds'. (49)

In this article, Lang stated his contention that the Märchen were extremely old of savage origin and existed prior to the heroic sagas. He says: 'the Mährchen are the remains of an earlier formation ... they preserve an older and more savage form of the same myth, containing more allusions to cannibalism, to magic, or Shamanism, to kinship with the beasts, and to bestial transformations'. (50) Lang's opinion was opposed to the established theory of Max Müller who considered that the Märchen were the detritus of the higher mythology and that 'the gods of ancient mythology were changed into the demigods and heroes of ancient epic poetry, and these demigods again became at a later age the principal characters in our nursery tales'. (51)

He also refuted Müller's 'Aryan theory' by introducing his viewpoint that the Märchen 'are not peculiar to Indo-European races, but are common to Finns, Samoyeds, Zulus' and that 'they must be attributed to an epoch prior to the rise of such distinctions as Aryans and Semitic'. (52) His other important statement made in this article was that the heroic sagas 'are said to have occurred in definite places', and that they must have been composed by 'persons who were acquainted with the names of these places. Mährchen, on the other hand, assign no particular locality to the events they record, and seldom any names to the actors'. (53) This opinion is identical with that of Max Lüthi, (to be discussed on p.68) whose definitions of fairy tales and epic sagas are generally accepted today.

His arguments with Max Müller, continued until his overall victory, were remarkable for presenting original angles against the orthodox method of the time. Max Müller, philological professor at Oxford and leader of the established philological method in the study of mythology and

folklore, based his method on the belief that myths were the result of 'a disease of language'. He traced the origins of myths to an early civilisation among the Aryans dwelling in the Himalayas, India, and described the personalisation of nature as having been caused by linguistic misunderstanding on the part of incomplete understanding of the transmitters — the 'disease of language'.

According to Müller, the old Aryan myths seem 'mirror-pictures on earth' of celestial and meteorological phenomena. Statements about natural phenomena such as dawn, thunder, wind and the like, owing to a 'disease of language' or 'forgetfulness' of the meaning of words, came to appear like statements about imaginary persons and so grew into myths. Therefore, the names of chief characters in Aryan myths were equations of names of the sun, the dawn and the cloud, etc. Every god or hero is a personification of the sunshine or the weather, Müller said.

Against this philological method, that was quite dominant at that time, Lang took the anthropological method. In attacking Müller's theory in his first book of mythological works, Custom and Myth (1884), he observes that myth is the result of the primitive people's mind to which all objects seemed equally endowed with human personality and which is unable to differentiate between human and natural phenomena. Studying myths and legends of savage people, Lang pointed out common incidents and sometimes plots both in Aryan and non-Aryan myths. Based on these evidences, he asserts that man at the same level of culture explains the phenomena in much the same way and that the myths of civilised races represent the savage ideas out of which civilisation has been evolved. (54)

From the fact that names in myths (tales — term 'myth' used by Lang includes what is today meant by folktale) are quite different although incidents and plots are almost identical, the analysis of tales by the 'disease of language' theory could not be sustained. The other difference in opinion between them is that Müller maintained that myths developed at a relatively later date while Lang believed that myths

represented the survival of an old stage of thought, not caused by language. The tale is common property of the tribes before the separation into Aryan and Semitic and the universality of tales resulted from the diffusion of tales by tradesmen, slaves, mariners, missionaries and brides from other races. Similarity of the working of the human mind, especially in the earlier stage, is another cause of the universality, said Lang in Custom and Myth.

Prof Müller repeated his attacks on the anthropological method in his book, Contribution to the Science of Mythology but 'most anthropologists, and even many philologists, having long made up their minds as to the merits of the rival systems. Such, indeed, is the strength of Mr Lang's position,' said The Academy.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The Saturday Review also declared Lang's victory in the 'bloody battle and feud' with Müller as follows: 'Mr Lang's lightness of movements, his quickness of eye, and his readiness to gain an advantage by the relinquishment of a position, stand him in excellent stead ... we do not suppose that Professor Max Müller will be silenced, and we wait his reply with interest. But it is not possible that Mr Lang should have failed to gain a good many points, and put his favourite science of anthropology in a more advantageous position than it held before he fought for it'.⁽⁵⁶⁾

Lang was dissatisfied with Max Müller's opinions about Grimm's frog story, in which a frog marries the daughter of a queen. Müller considered the story 'too absurd to believe', and that the frog was an ancient name of the sun at dawn but was changed to the frog as a result of a 'disease of language' or 'forgetfulness' of the meaning of the word.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Lang observed that a Frog, as a member of the Frog tribe — the tribe which owned the Frog as totem — once had been a very marriageable person.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Intermarriage with animals was nothing unnatural to savage people as it seems to the modern civilised people. Lang explained that they believed in human descent from animals, in kinship with animals and also believed that the human soul passes into animal shapes at death and

that women may bear animal children. (59)

Lang's opinion is more persuasive than Müller's. He, however, did not investigate the Frog tribe but assumed its existence from a report that the Toad tribe existed in Canada. In his presidential address to the 1889-90 session of the Folk-Lore Society, Lang mentioned 'the existence in old England of stocks called by the names of plants and animals'. In his book, Myth, Ritual, and Religion (1887), he gives an example of Celtic traditions of descent from seals, wolves, and so forth. (60)

C.G. Jung and his followers who regarded folk tales as the description of the process of development and maturation of a man take the view that intermarriage with animals symbolises the images for the union of disparities in the human soul, for the awareness of a hitherto unrecognised spiritual strength and for the maturation into a complete human personality. (61)

More recently, Dr Bruno Bettelheim with a Freudian interpretation said in The Uses of Enchantment — The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales (1976) that tales about intermarriage with animals depict the process of sexual maturation of children. These tales, known as the cycle of 'animal groom' or 'animal husband', 'without any reference to repression which causes a negative attitude to sex — simply teach that for love, a radical change in previously held attitude about sex is absolutely necessary. What must happens is expressed, as always in fairy tales, through a most impressive image: a beast is turned into a magnificent person'. (62) About the frog story, his interpretation is as follows: 'Children have a natural affinity to animals and often feel closer to them than to adults, wishing to share what seems like an animal's easy life of instinctual freedom and enjoyment. But with this affinity also comes the child's anxiety that he might not be quite as human as he ought to be. These fairy tales counteract this fear, by making the animal existence a chrysalis from which a most attractive

person emerges'. (63)

Lang's opinions about folk tales are demonstrated in his book, Myth, Ritual and Religion (1887) as well as in the lengthy, scholarly introductions to Grimm's Household Tales (1884), Perrault's Popular Tales (1888), Kirk's Secret Commonwealth ... (1893), Frederik van Eeden's Little Johannes (1895) and Marian Cox's CINDERELLA (1893). They are summarised as follows: 1) the fairy tale is 'a form of literature primevally old, but with infinite capacity of renewing its Youth'; 2) the primitive and savage elements survived in the 'civilised' mythology of Egypt, Greece, Scandinavia and so on as 'civilised' people elaborated these elements into romantic myths like the Ship Argo and sagas of Hercules and Odysseus; 3) the hero, location and time are not identified in the folk tale while the heroic sagas occur in specific places, their characters are named and are national heroes, and events are localised; and 4) similar incidents and plots are found among tales of most people ancient and modern, of distant countries, due to the similarity of minds in a primitive stage and diffusion through trade, slaves, capturing brides from alien races, missionary and so forth.

He analysed the common themes, shared by folk tales, as follows:

- 1) ill-treated youngest daughter or son is usually the ultimate successor with the help of a Fairy Godmother or a friendly beast, usually a connection by blood-kindred of the hero or heroine;
- 2) usually a tale ends with a happy-ending and with punishment of wicked people;
- 3) intermarriage or proposal to intermarry between human beings and beasts and birds are frequent as are mutual aid between them;
- 4) all animate and inanimate nature is on an intellectual level with man;
- 5) a heroine is substituted by a false bride but the substitution is discovered;
- 6) curiosity in forbidden matters is punished;
- 7) to avoid Fate is impossible; and
- 8) the hero or heroine has wanderings or is a wanderer.

Leading contemporaries who favoured the analysis of names of the characters in interpreting myths were critical of Lang's viewpoint. Against Lang's opinion about no identification of character's names, locality and time in folk tales, Bradley observed that tales were told of a known and named character as a very common original hero of myth, because it would require a greater effort to invent a story concerning a 'nameless somebody' than to imagine some known and named person going through a series of adventure. Lang insists in a correspondence written for The Academy that 'all interpretations of myth based on analysis of names must be precarious, for (a) the story may be older than the names; (b) the story may have been transferred, as happens daily, from one named person to another'.⁽⁶⁴⁾ He explained that 'clearly it is possible to retain hundreds of tales in which the characters are nameless. The daily efforts of children tend to show that it is easier for them to invent a story concerning a nameless than a named somebody'.

Lang's 'nameless somebody' and 'no particular locality' theory is identical with today's widely-accepted opinions such as that of Prof Max Lüthi. He explains in The European Folktale — Form and Essence that characters of traditional folk tales are usually nameless and described simply as 'an old woman', 'a prince' or 'an evil witch'. Neither location nor time are mentioned but are merely suggested as 'a forest', 'a certain country' or 'once upon a time'. These three anonymous elements are requisite for the abstracted style of the folk tale and for the self sufficiency of the individual scene, Lüthi says. He also says that 'the fairy-tale hero is essentially a wanderer'. This opinion is also identical with that of Lang.

The change of characters' names in folk tales 'from one named person to another' as described by Lang is also pointed out by Vladimir Propp in his acclaimed structural study of folklore, Morphology of the Folktale (1928), by giving an example:

- 1) A tsar gives an eagle to a hero. The eagle carries the hero away to another kingdom.
- 2) An old man gives Sucevko a horse. The horse carries Sucevko away to another kingdom.
- 3) A sorcerer gives Ivan a little boat. The boat takes Ivan to another kingdom.
- 4) A princess given Ivan a ring. Young men appearing from out of the ring carry Ivan away into another kingdom, and so forth.

Propp says: 'The names of the dramatis personae change (as well as the attributes of each), but neither their actions nor functions change.

From this we can draw the inference that a tale often attributes identical actions to various personages'.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Analysing one hundred Russian folktales, Propp asserted that all folk (fairy) tales can be grouped by any of possible maximum thirty-two functions which always follow in the same order.

On the basis of his theory, Propp examined the forms of fairy tales as follows: 1) one of the members of a family absents himself from home, sometimes, members of the younger generation absent themselves; 2) an interdiction is addressed to the hero or heroine; 3) the interdiction is violated and a new personage, who can be termed the villain, enters the tale to disturb the peace of a happy family, to cause some form of misfortune, danger, or harm; 4) the villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings; 5) the victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy; 6) the hero leaves home; 7) the use of magical agent; 8) the hero is married and ascends the throne and so forth. They are almost identical with Lang's analysis. Perhaps Lang came to find the common forms of the folk tale without an intention to use the form analysis systematically but consequently, he anticipates or coincides with the method of today's structuralism.

Lang was strict in his devotion to the old traditional fairy tales that contain simple and wild savage elements. To him, fairy tales are 'full of the oldest ideas of ages when science did not exist and magic took the place of science'.⁽⁶⁶⁾ As J.R.R. Tolkien pointed out, Lang disliked the winged diminutive flower-fairies of modern or literary fairy stories. In the preface to The Lilac Fairy Book, he says: 'authors who try to write new fairy tales are very tiresome. They always begin with a little boy or girl who goes out and meets the fairies of polyanthuses and gardenias and apple blossoms; "Flowers and fruits, and other winged things". These fairies try to be funny, and fail; or they try to preach, and succeed'.

The insect-sized winged fairies became fashionable with Shakespeare's creations, although Dr K. Briggs dismissed a school of thought attributing winged-fairies to the invention of Shakespeare and his contemporaries in their literary fancies. She considers that the mentions of fairies in medieval manuscripts covered most of the types from dwarf-size to human size and that fairy ladies of medieval romances like Morgan le Fay of the Arthurian legends belong to the human race with great powers to their knowledge of magic.

Literary fairy tales flourished through the eighteenth century in France and the later part of the nineteenth century in Britain, owing to Charles Perrault's Contes de Ma Mere Oye or Popular Tales (1697) and Madame d'Aulnoy's Contes des Fées (the first years of the eighteenth century). Madame d'Aulnoy's sophisticated stories, reflecting the atmosphere of the French court under the reign of Louis XIV, set the fashion of court fairy stories. Lang directed severe criticism at modern fairy books that piled up in bookstores at each Christmas season. In an essay, 'Modern Fairy Tales' he writes: 'The fashion in fairy tales changes, not for the better ... Their peculiarity is that they have no touch of human interest. In the old stories, despite the impossibility of the incidents, the interest is always real and human'. In these modern

fairy stories there are 'huge cantles of description and word-painting, sham sentiment, forced fun, and an abuse of fairies'.⁽⁶⁷⁾

In the genuine old tales, fairies are 'conspicuous by their absence'. Lang considers that Perrault's tales are more near to the old tradition than Madame d'Aulnoy's stories, because, in Perrault's, the part of fairies is very restricted and they appear rarely, while Madame d'Aulnoy and her French followers 'made a great deal of the fairies, inventing for them a Court and etiquette'.⁽⁶⁸⁾ To Lang, the genuine fairies were those of the pre-Christian time and their survivals in the old folk belief like the Fairy Queen in Chaucer's (ref: Chap. V, p.139). They were mysterious beings, 'who borrow Christian knights, who pay a tax to Hell, who steal children, and employ mortal nurses, who carry men away from the edge of the flooded ford'.⁽⁶⁹⁾ They have 'no connection but in name with Madame d'Aulnoy's capricious fées, who are propitiated with gifts of scissors, ribbons and candy'.

His austere attitude toward literary fairy stories was softened in later years. He paid a tribute to Madame d'Aulnoy: 'Madame d'Aulnoy is the true mother of the modern fairy tale ... She invented the modern Court of Fairyland, with its manners, its fairies ... The fairies are as old as the Hathors of Egypt ... but Madame d'Aulnoy first developed them into our familiar fées of fairy tale'.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In editing the twelve coloured Fairy Books, he included literary fairy tales by Madame d'Aulnoy and Hans Andersen. This mingling of folk tales and modern fairy stories invited the disapproval of Folk-Lore Society president G.L. Gomme.

Although Lang recognised literary fairy tales, he was attached to pre-Christian fairies or native spirits of woods and wells that survived in the belief of peasants while temples of high gods were destroyed with the introduction of Christianity to Britain. Prof Reinach pointed out that 'his chief interest was directed towards the savage survivals. He seems to have read, from that point of view, the greater part of Greek and Latin literature'.⁽⁷¹⁾ Lang saw in Homer's Odyssey half a dozen

stories handed down 'from savage grandmothers to their granddaughters' — the stories of the witch who turns men into swine , the man who bores out the big foolish giant's eye and of the cap of darkness, the shoes of swiftness that were won later by Jack the Giant-killer.

To him, savage did not mean 'primitive' but denoted the sources of romances and narratives of a man and his adventures to achieve, sorrows to suffer and difficulty to overcome. He says: 'I don't call my savages "primitive". Contemporary savages may be degraded, they certainly are not primitive'.⁽⁷²⁾ He frequently referred to savages and said that his purpose was to investigate some superstitious practices and beliefs of savages and modern examples by using the comparative method. In this sense, he presented an original angle and was acclaimed to be 'the first anthropologist to give due attention to certain superior elements of savage creeds which he thought were in harmony with savage logic'.⁽⁷³⁾

Lang won fame for his arguments with Prof Müller in which he defeated the philological interpretation of myth and threw a light on the anthropological method. Of all his multifarious subjects of interest, anthropology was his primary favourite. He once told R.R. Marett that 'If I could have made a living out of it, I might have been a great anthropologist!'.⁽⁷⁴⁾ But Lang's ideas that invited the decrease in popularity of the philological interpretation 'were not fated to enjoy a long life either', says Antonius De Cocq, a Dutch anthropologist, in his Andrew Lang, A Nineteenth Century Anthropologist (1968). De Cocq, commenting on Lang's opinions on the origin of religion, writes: 'It is striking that Lang is so resolute and self-confident in giving his destructive criticism of various theories of the origin of religion, — and yet is not at all doctrinaire or even very sure of himself in giving his own theory'.⁽⁷⁵⁾ This criticism can be applied to Lang's theories of other subjects.

In fact, his opinions on folk and fairy tales are indistinct, intricate and less consistent, systematic and logical. His works on them

were byproducts in the course of his anthropological industry. Yet, his contribution to this particular field should be best remembered. Since the Grimm brothers collected Household Tales some 160 years ago, numerous volumes of folk tales and legends have been issued and studies from different angles attempted. Anthropology, ethnology and theology have observed them as the evidences of ancient belief and custom. Psychologists have interpreted them, along with dreams, as an expression of unconscious process in the mind. Studies from a literary standpoint have been done on the nature of fairy tales and forms. In the literary approach, the recent work by Dr Derek Brewer, Symbolic Stories (1980),⁽⁷⁶⁾ sees the fairy tale as a family drama showing children's relationships with parents, basically the problems of growing up and turning away from parents. Max Lüthi recognises in the fairy tale a fundamental form of literature and said that 'the fairy tale which transforms the world, like all true poetry, is an elemental form of literature from which great writers have repeatedly drawn strength and inspiration'.⁽⁷⁷⁾

It was Andrew Lang who, in particular, drew inspirations from fairy tales. The meaning and importance of the fairy tale he recognised about 100 years ago are being discussed and reappreciated today. It is generally believed among librarians, teachers, psychologists and writers for children that the fairy tale is a fundamental building block and an outstanding aid in development for the child. Dr Bettelheim, for example, says: 'our greatest need and most difficult achievement is to find meaning of our lives ... The child finds this kind of meaning through fairy tales'.⁽⁷⁸⁾ 'The fairy tale ... tends to embrace the entire world. Here, too, the basic motifs of human existence are present at the very outset: life and death; good and evil; temptation and intrigue; weakness and innocence; despair, guidance and assistance', said Lüthi.⁽⁷⁹⁾ Lang observes that the fairy tale is not a didactic story but teaches the child a moral unobtrusively and shows justice in its clearest form through the hero and heroine who 'have wanderings and

sorrows to suffer; ... adventures to achieve and difficulties to overcome. They must display courage, loyalty, address, courtesy, gentleness and gratitude'. (80)

In addition, it might not be exaggeration to say that Lang laid the foundation for the scientific research in paranormal phenomena as opposed to the ruling 'common-sense' of the time which brushed off them as nonsense and superstitions or as dreams, hallucinations and frauds. W.H.R. Rivers says: 'It may not be out of place to point out how much of the great change which has taken place in recent years in the general attitude towards the subjects usually known as "psychical research" is due to Andrew Lang. It is largely through his influence that the time when this region was considered unworthy of exploration by serious students is now past'. (81)

His letters to Mrs Anna Hills of Carlisle, written during 1891 through 1894, frequently mentioned psychical experiences which he found in documents or heard directly from people in Scotland and denounced straightforwardly 'pseudo-scientific' way of thinking and other trends of the time. In one of his approximately 500 letters, kept at the St. Andrews University Library and dated March 10, 1893, Lang says: '... I have sent to the publisher for the missing number, which, (as usual) is the one I needed for my edition of The Secret Commonwealth. They are the queerest reading! The jolly absence of human in Mrs Sidgwick; the ferociously impossible pseudo-scientific explanations!

A ghost's a ghost for a' that,
A king can make a belted knight,
A Duke, a lord and a' that,
. (82)

Another letter to Mrs Hills, March 23, 1893, says: '... the correct thing is to write what makes an Englishman ill, and a Christian still more unwell, and a sandboy suicidal. Yet even all those talents combined don't always, pay, "All so difficult is the dainty public". The sad thing is that if we were twenty years younger, we might have

the same taste, not for long, I fancy ... I think I have made out a very fair case for Brownies and even some fairies, and do not despair of the revival of the most gravelling superstitions'.⁽⁸³⁾ Judging from his mentioning of his edition of The Secret Commonwealth in the earlier letter, the last passage of the second letter might indicate his satisfaction over the content of Kirk's book. (ref: pp. 51-54)

In acknowledging Lang's works, Prof Salomon Reinach writes: 'Lang maintained the existence of "an X region" and the reality of peculiar phenomena, which having occurred since the earliest days of humanity ... Lang has taught us that folklore is not, what it still was for Grimm's school, the debased residue of higher mythology, but that higher or literary mythology rests on the foundation of folklore. He who demonstrated that and made it a key to the darkest recesses of classical mythology has conferred a benefit on the world of learning, and was a genius'.⁽⁸⁴⁾

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Chapter IV The Twelve Coloured Fairy Books and their Popularity

Section 1: The overwhelming popularity of Lang's Fairy Books

Andrew Lang's classical and folklore studies laid the foundation for his becoming a collector-editor of the fairy books. The Blue Fairy Book, first of the series of twelve books, named according to colour, published in 1889, was a 'daring venture at a time when even the traditional fairy tales were in eclipse'.⁽¹⁾ Its overwhelming success led to the publication of its sequel, The Red Fairy Book, the following year. Although they were received with a negative attitude by scholars, who had expected them to be folklore documents, the publisher, Longman's, became more confident in the sales of its kind. As Lang repeatedly wrote, in the prefaces to The Green Fairy Book (1892) and The Yellow Fairy Book (1894), he had no intention of serialising the books. The popularity of the venture, however, encouraged him to continue the editing work.

From 1889 on, the coloured Fairy Books were put out at irregular intervals until the twelfth and last, published in 1910, containing a total of four hundred and thirty-six tales collected from all over the world. Their great success was reflected by increased numbers of copies --- The Blue Fairy Book published in an initial edition of 5,000 copies; The Red Fairy Book 10,000; The Yellow Fairy Book 15,000; and The Crimson Fairy Book 12,500 copies. They cost six shillings per copy and two dollars in the United States.

The existing records of Longman's Financial Accounts, kept in the Archives and Manuscripts Department, Reading University Library, show the sale of The Blue Fairy Book in the initial year of 1889 (starting from 26 October) at a total cost of £1,888.16.4 or 6,292 copies, according to Account Books, C5, C6 and H28. Since publishers sell books to booksellers at a discount, so that the booksellers make a profit when they sell the book to the public, Longman's receipts would be less than

six shillings per copy. Therefore, the figure, actually sold to the public, might be far greater. Judging from the fact that 'throughout the century [nineteenth] the ordinary circulating literary novel seldom had an edition of more than a thousand or 1,250 copies,'⁽²⁾ this figure indicates a remarkable sale. The Blue Fairy Book showed no slacking in sale in the following years. Account Book I7 recorded the sale of 2,798 copies in 1896; 2,177 in 1897; 1,862 in 1898; 1,972 in 1899; 1,552 in 1900; 1,554 in 1901; 2,289 in 1902; 1,845 in 1903; 2,393 in 1904; 2,087 in 1905; 1,270 in 1906; 2,062 in 1907; 3,389 in 1909; 2,457 in 1910; 2,322 in 1911 and 2,206 in 1912. From 1896 to 1912, the sale of The Blue Fairy Book, recorded in this Account Book, totalled 34,235 copies. Since the initial year of 1889, the total figure probably might reach at least 60,000 copies.

The Red Fairy Book was sold at a total cost of £1,461.2.10 or 4,670 copies in the initial year of 1890 starting from 30 October, according to Account Books C6 and H28. Account Book F1 also showed its constant sale with the figures of 2,321 copies in 1896; 1,921 in 1897; 1,753 in 1898; 1,403 in 1899; 1,440 in 1900; 1,354 in 1901; 1,849 in 1902; 1,392 in 1903; 1,928 in 1904; 1,585 in 1905; 2,075 in 1906; 1,656 in 1907; 1,634 in 1908; 3,466 in 1909; 1,620 in 1910; 1,743 in 1911 and 1,512 in 1912. From 1896 to 1912, the figures totalled 30,652 copies. Other books in the series enjoyed great popularity as well. For example, The Crimson Fairy Book totalled 9,150 copies in 1904 alone and The Lilac Fairy Book, the last in the series, according to Account Books C7, F1 and H45, marked a total of £2,643.4.0 or 8,810 copies in 1910.

These figures are recorded in the existing Financial Accounts kept at Reading University Library and there might be some missing Account Books or omitted records. It can be presumed that the actual figures would have been much higher than these figures.

After being for some years ridiculed and disapproved, fairy tales finally reached the stage of becoming popular, owing to Lang's labour. The Spectator in its October 26 1889 edition says that 'it is really difficult to find words cordial enough to welcome The Blue Fairy Book' when the book was published earlier in the same month.⁽³⁾ The Saturday Review in its October 26 1889 edition also welcomed the publication of 'proper' fairy books after the absence of 'really recommendable' ones since the forties. The periodical goes on to say that 'of the delightfulness of those contents in general it should be necessary to say very little. Perhaps the best thing we can say is that, though hardly a page in the book is new to us, it has given to us two evenings' reading of the most satisfactory character.'⁽⁴⁾

The Academy in its November 22 1890 edition, reviewing The Red Fairy Book, recognises Lang's object as 'to restore the children some of their dues, by recovering from various quarters old English tales which now, more than at any previous time, are in danger of being forgotten or being spoilt by literary embellishments.'⁽⁵⁾ Lang's attempt to revive old folk tales began to draw attention and to win recognition.

Another convincing piece of evidence to prove the tremendous popularity of the twelve coloured Fairy Books lies in the fact that they have never been out of print. The original twelve volumes in an unabridged and unaltered edition have been reprinted since 1965 until today by Dover, an American publisher. In addition, selections or some volumes from the coloured Fairy Books by several publishers both in Britain and the United States, including Longman's and Penguin, are in print.

Brian Alderson, a critic and scholar on juvenile literature, edited new revised editions of Blue Fairy Book in 1975, Red Fairy Book in 1976, Green Fairy Book in 1978, Yellow Fairy Book in 1980 and Pink Fairy Book in 1982. In the preface, Alderson writes: 'It [Lang's Blue

Fairy Book met with an immediate and long-lasting success. There had been no collection quite like it for many years, and it brought fairy tales back into popularity as a natural (and necessary) part of children's reading'. He quoted in 'Appendix II' The Bookseller referring to The Blue Fairy Book as 'amongst the most popular juvenile gifts of the time'.⁽⁶⁾

To gauge the popularity of a book an inference might be made from its sales amount. However, in the case of children's books, how a book is accepted by readers might not be ascertainable from its sales amount alone. Particularly, Victorian children had little freedom in their choice of books. They were usually given only books selected by parents, teachers and governesses.

However, most important and significant reactions are those of children. How Victorian children accepted them can be suggested by the following lists of 'most demanded books for children'. The Pall Mall Gazette in the columns on June 24, 1898, asked its readers' cooperation to compile a list of twenty best books for children of the age of ten. The gazette's list showed Alice in Wonderland [Lewis Carroll] as top favourite. Andersen's and Grimm's fairy tales took the second place, followed by Robinson Crusoe [Defoe], Little Lord Fauntleroy [Mrs Burnett], The Water Babies [Kingsley], The Heroes [Kingsley], The Jungle Book [Kipling], Pilgrim's Progress [Bunyan], Arabian Nights, Through the Looking Glass [Carroll], Louisa M. Alcott's books, Ivanhoe [Scott], Masterman Ready [Marryat], Andrew Lang's Fairy Books, Mrs Molesworth's books and Henty's books. Among the next favourites were The Swiss Family Robinson [Wyss], R.M. Ballantyne's books, Tales from Shakespeare [Lamb], Bible stories, Mrs Ewing's books, Gulliver's Travels [Swift], Uncle Remus [Harris], The Talisman [Scott] and Helen's Babies [Habberton].

The Academy also compiled a list asking eleven booksellers in different parts of Britain including Blackwell of Oxford and Macniven & Wallace of Edinburgh to name six children's books which were 'actually most demanded and purchased' for children of ten years of age.

The results introduced in its July 2 1898 edition showed that Lang's Fairy Books were mentioned in the lists of five booksellers and that one bookseller gave the name of his The Animal Story Book (1896).

Yet another bookseller refrained from providing a list for the reason that it was so difficult to list the best books with children's literature so varied but said that 'we should feel secure in suggesting many of Mr Henty's books, and Mr Andrew Lang's; Stevenson; Miles' Fifty-two Stories series; Battles for British Army and Navy; Furneaux's Ponds and Streams, Butterflies, and Outdoor World ... we need hardly state the fairy tales ever have, and will, command a great and ready demand'. (7)

Based on the lists supplied by the booksellers, The Academy compiled the list of ten most popular books for children of ten years old in the order of demand as follows: 1) Alice in Wonderland [Carroll], 2) Robinson Crusoe [Defoe], 3) Lang's Fairy Books, 4) Andersen's Fairy Tales, 5) The Water Babies [Kingsley], 6) Mrs Molesworth's Stories, 7) Eric and St. Winifred's [Dean Farrar], 8) The Jungle Book [Kipling], 9) Grimm's Fairy Tales and 10) Treasure Island [Stevenson].

Another evidence to prove Lang's popularity among children is a reader's letter in reply to The Pall Mall Gazette's request to name the books most liked by the children. The letter, introduced by the gazette's commissioner as the best to describe children's typical taste, says: '...My little girl is very fond of reading, and reads her favourite stories again and again, putting one aside sometimes in favour of another, but always coming back to the old ones ... My own child is just six, and has been reading since she was four and a half. When she first began to like stories The English Struwwelpeter was her delight ... Then came fairy tales, then Bible tales, then legends, then heroic tales of great men and great deeds ... The following list is in the order in which the books come in her affections. I judge this by the number of times she reads them and the way in which she seems to live them

through for herself. Bible stories, Grimm, 'Perseus' in The Heroes, Tales of the Punjab (Mrs Steel), Pilgrim's Progress, Gulliver, 'Odysseus' in Cox's Tales of the Gods and Heroes, Hiawatha (Andersen), The Pink Fairy Book [Lang], Stumps, Aesop's Fables, Macaulay's Horatius, Uncle Remus, Swiss Family Robinson, Katawampus, Robinson Crusoe, Live Toys, Near Home, or Europe Described, Far Off, or Asia Described, Stories from British History by York Powell, Les Malheurs de Sophie, John Gilpin, and Pied Piper of Hamelin'.⁽⁸⁾

Lang himself was told that his Fairy Books were popular among children by a list sent to him by a school librarian.⁽⁹⁾ According to the list of books taken out, in one term, from the school library, Rider Haggard was top favourite with a record of sixty-six times taken out from the library, followed by Stevenson (48), Scott (33), Conan Doyle (28), Blackmore (27), Q (23), Verne (22), Kingston (22), Henty (18), Iytton (18), Ainsworth (18), Besant (16), C. Russell (16), Dickens (14), M. Fenn (14), Melville (13), H. Kingsley (12), Lang (12), Mrs H Wood (12), and F. Cooper (11). The list of forty-two writers whose books were taken out once or more than once in one term also includes Ballantyne (9), G. Macdonald (6), Jacobs' fairy tales (5), G. Kingsley (5), C. Brontë (4), L. Carroll (4), Mrs Ewing (3), G. Eliot (2), Trollope (1) and Disraeli (1).

These lists, especially those compiled by The Academy and The Pall Mall Gazette, duly reflect children's tastes in favour of fairy tales and at the same time show the great popularity of Lang's Fairy Books. Considering the situation some forty years before, it is obvious that public taste changed and fairy tales revived, owing much to Andrew Lang's editorship and defence of them. Although the popularity of a book does not always equal the quality of the book, as far as Lang's Fairy Books are concerned, popularity and quality do not contradict each other.

Section 2: Characteristics of Lang's Fairy Books

The reasons why the Lang versions have been treasured by children for the past century and why they have been credited as children's classics can be considered as follows.

They are unrivalled in their wide scope of sources from which the stories were taken, although they were mostly French and German versions. It is understandable that young readers are delighted to find universal expression of tales among so many different countries with such common themes as a small and weak man outwitting giant, ogre, dragon or other fearsome creatures and the youngest daughter, illtreated by her stepmother and sisters, eventually winning happiness by marrying a prince. There are some dull and insignificant tales among the over 400 stories in Lang's voluminous collections but most of them are well chosen.

It might be said that the popularity of the Lang versions owes something to the popularity of Perrault's, Grimm's and Andersen's tales included in them. The Blue Fairy Book contains six of Perrault's most famous ones, the first four volumes Grimm's thirty-two stories and seven stories were taken from Andersen, one for Yellow and six for Pink Fairy Books. They, however, consist only of a minor portion of the Lang versions.

The Lang versions refrained from adding unnecessary realistic descriptions to the originals and seldom distorted the stories. His understanding of the basic plots and motifs of the originals is shown in the fact that savage and violent elements of old folk tales are retained --- the elements which parents occasionally want to keep away from children. But these elements give children delight and satisfaction as they find them the mirror of their oppressed and destructive feelings or uneasiness. Children then experience catharsis. His dislike of obtrusive didacticism would be appreciated by children.

Although most tales, except for a few, were retold and translated or adapted mainly by Mrs Lang with the assistance of several people, the entire collection has a unified tone suggesting, as R.L. Green says, that 'in some way Lang's touch is apparent throughout'.⁽¹⁰⁾ The delicacy of humour, lightness of touch and rhythmical tone are recognisable.

The popularity of Lang's Fairy Books also lies in their simple but not over-simplified writing style. The words usually do not exceed two syllables. The sentences are rather long and contain many clauses but they often use many semicolons for easy reading. The sentences are also broken into conversations as in the manner of the grandmother telling a story to her grandchildren. The use of many conjunctions such as 'and' and 'but' in a sentence connecting short sentences gives it a story-telling tone and an effect as if an orally told story is faithfully written down. Such sentence structure as mentioned above results in high readability. The Lang versions, however, refrain from sweetening the tales with literary confection and retain savage, violent and horror elements of old folk tales.

The Lang versions sometimes cut short insignificant parts for the consistency and readability of the story. For instance, the Lang version of Jack The Giant-Killer is shortened by half the length of an old chapbook version from which it seems to have been drawn. The chapbook tale, published in Shrewsbury around the mid-eighteenth century and introduced in The Classic Fairy Tales by Iona and Peter Opie, describes Jack The Giant-Killer as a bold, brisk and witty boy. It tells how he outwits a country vicar at the age of seven. This lengthy description at the beginning of the story lacks the briskness of an old folk tale and slackens the flow of the story.

The Lang version also omits such gruesome and detailed descriptions as follows: 'in the next Room were Hearts and Livers, which the Giant, to terrify Jack told him, that Mens Hearts was the choicest of his Diet,

for he commonly, as he said, eat them with Pepper and Vinegar, adding, that he did not question but that his Heart would make him a dainty Bit', and 'his goggling eyes appearing like terrible flames of fire: his countenance grim and ugly, for his cheeks appeared like a couple of large flitches of Bacon: Moreover, the bristles of his beard seemed to resemble rods of iron-wire; his locks hung down upon his brawny broad shoulders like curled snakes or hissing adders'.⁽¹¹⁾

Lang disliked an over-done description that would make a story ridiculous and incredible. He writes in an essay, 'The Supernatural', in his book, Adventures Among Books: 'You may describe a ghost with all the most hideous features that fancy can suggest --- saucer eyes, red staring hair, a forked tail, and what you please --- but the reader only laughs. It is wiser to make as if you were going to describe the spectre, and then break off, exclaiming, "But no! No pen can describe ..." So writers, as a rule, prefer to leave their terror to the frightened fancy of the student'.⁽¹²⁾ Lang knows that a quietness of understatement makes a tale more effective and moving than either great detail or more passion could do.

The Lang versions are faithful to the original texts, and especially Perrault's tales. They, however, are almost identical to the first translation into English of Perrault's, Histories, or Tales of Past Times (1729) by Robert Samber. The Blue Beard from the Samber version is quoted as follows: 'After having somewhat recover'd her surprise, she took up the key, locked the door and went up stairs into her chamber to recover herself, but she could not, so much was she frightened. Having observed that the key of the closet was stain'd with blood, she tried two or three times to wipe it off, but the blood would not come out; in vain did she wash it and even rub it with soap and sand, the blood still remained, for the key was a Fairy, and she could never quite make it clean; when the blood was gone off from one side, it came again on the other'.⁽¹³⁾

The same passage from the Lang version in The Blue Fairy Book reads: 'After having somewhat recovered her surprise, she took up the key, locked the door, and went upstairs into her chamber to recover herself; but she could not, so much was she frightened. Having observed that the key of the closet was stained with blood, she tried two or three times to wipe it off, but the blood would not come out; in vain did she wash it, and even rub it with soap and sand, the blood still remained, for the key was magical and she could never make it quite clean; when the blood was gone off from one side, it came again on the other'.

The Samber version was published 160 years before Lang edited the Fairy Books so that there was no copyright problem and plagiarism. He would have had little hesitation in using it as a source. If it was contemporary work, he would surely have never used it because he stated his dislike of plundering a new book in the preface to the large-paper limited edition (113 copies) of The Red Fairy Book. He says that 'it would scarcely be fair to ask leave to borrow from a new collection [of Celtic Tales by Jeremiah Curtin]'.

The Lang version chose Perrault's Little Red Riding-Hood instead of that of Grimm's. Its final dialogue between the wolf and the little girl suggesting the innocent child's fate in ironical jokes, with a form of repetition, is faithfully presented. Following the dialogue, the story ends with an unsentimental and terse line: 'And, saying these words, this wicked wolf fell upon Little Red Riding-Hood, and ate her all up'.

This ending, however, has been the subject of controversy. Not a small number of writers, teachers and parents have and do consider the ending cruel, giving no recovery, consolation and comfort. Charles Dickens to whom Little Red Riding-Hood was 'his first love' deplored 'the cruelty and treachery of that dissembling Wolf who ate her grandmother without making any impression on his appetite, and then

ate her, after making that ferocious joke about his teeth'.⁽¹⁴⁾

More recently, Dr Bettelheim takes the same stand and attributes the popularity of the tale to Grimm's retelling.

In the Grimm version, the wolf falls asleep after eating up the grandmother and the little girl. A hunter who hears the wolf's snores comes to the spot and saves the girl and her grandmother by ripping open the wolf's stomach with a pair of scissors. In another example of a happy ending, the little girl is saved as her father hears her scream and rushes to her rescue. In a version in Brittany in the nineteenth century, the wolf puts the blood of the grandmother in bottles and induces the unsuspecting girl to drink her ancestress. Dinah Maria Mulock, a Scottish writer (ref: chapter V, p.135) thought that the tale did not require a happy ending.⁽¹⁵⁾

Lang seemed to have preferred Grimm's ending although he selected Perrault's. He says in the introduction to Perrault's Popular Tales (1888) that 'If Little Red Riding Hood ended, in all variants, where it ends in Perrault, we might dismiss it, with the remark that the machinery of the story is derived from "the times when beasts spoke", or were believed to be capable of speaking. But it is well known that in the German form, Little Red Cap (Grimm 26), the tale by no means ends with the triumph of the wolf. Little Red Cap and her grandmother are resuscitated, "the wolf it was that died" ... In either case the German Märchen preserves one of the most widely spread mythical incidents in the world --- the reappearance of living people out of the monster that has devoured them'.⁽¹⁶⁾

As Lang pointed out, the Grimm ending is a very old theme. In the Bible, Jonah is swallowed by a great fish and in many fairy tales including Little Thumb, main characters are swallowed and saved from the stomachs of giants, monsters and beasts. Children, however, would accept Perrault's ending, too, as an incident that happened outside the world, where they live in, and know by instinct that Little Red Riding-Hood

would be saved even after she is eaten up by the wolf. They would enjoy the thrilling suspense of the brisk and ironical dialogue and even be excited if the narrator makes a pounce at them in the character of the wolf. Grimm's ending with the heroine's remarks, 'How dark it was inside the wolf!' is an over-done and unnecessary explanation.

In fact, Perrault's ending is not cruel, nor is it meant merely to threaten and waken children's terror of the punishment inflicted on the heroine for loitering while on an errand. Many interpretations have been attempted from psychological and mythological approaches to find the tale's hidden-meaning. It is said the tale is moral teaching to warn a girl against a woman-hunter in disguise of the wolf trying to seduce her. Another interpretation says it is a myth telling the Dawn being devoured by the Night. Dr Bettelheim's over-Freudian analysis does not explain why this simple and naive story is so loved by children. The tremendous popularity of the tale simply lies in the final dialogue and unsentimental ending of Perrault's version.

The 'cruelty' and 'brutality' of old folk tales are liable to come under accusation on the ground that such elements are harmful to children. Omission and moderation of these elements have been rather common practices. Andrew Lang was often asked by people 'if the cruel punishments inflicted on the wicked in fairy tales are unfit for children.' He says in the preface to the large-paper limited edition of The Red Fairy Book that 'thirty years ago children were not shocked by any such matters: now they are said to be more sensitive. Thirty years hence there will be a generation of children whose parents have seen a very rough aspect of life, and this infantile humanitarianism will probably have disappeared'.⁽¹⁷⁾

Lang, however, apologetically says in the preface to The Lilac Fairy Book that 'I hate cruelty: I never put a wicked stepmother in a barrel and send her tobogganing down a hill. It is true that Prince Ricardo

did kill the Yellow Dwarf; but that was in fair fight, sword in hand, and the dwarf, peace to his ashes! died in harness'. Yet in the preface to The Orange Fairy Book (1906) he says that 'in many tales, fairly cruel and savage deeds are done, and these have been softened down as much as possible; though it is impossible, even if it were desirable, to conceal the circumstance that popular stories were never intended to be tracts and nothing else'.

These prefaces show inconsistency in his logic and the contradiction in his attitude. But, between the lines, his affirmative attitude or latent desire to approve cruel elements of fairy tales can be observed.

Prof Max Lüthi rightly observes: 'In the fairy tale, we do not see any blood flow or any wounds open up when a helping animal or someone who fails to solve a riddle is decapitated, or when an evil queen is pulled apart by four horses ... no one visualizes it literally ... The fairy tale removes the realistic elements'.⁽¹⁸⁾ The portrayal of cruel and brutal elements in the fairy tale is similar to that in Greek tragedies. Greek tragedies are full of the brutality of murders within families. Murders, however, take place off the stage. The deeds are not detailed but are suggested in a symbolic way, such as by the scream of a victim. This method sharpens the tragedy.

For the same reason, it is regrettable that Lang omits the last lines of The Twelve Brothers taken from Grimm for The Red Fairy Book. As Lang says in the preface mentioned above, he disliked the 'cruel' punishment of wicked mothers. The omitted passage in the original text reads: 'King's evil mother was found guilty and put in a barrel that was full of boiling oil and poisonous snakes. So that was the end of her evil life'. The punishment here is not so cruel as it may sound since the mother's agony and suffering from pains and torture are not described. The short and terse sentence is effective to abstract the deed of the punishment. In addition, the punishment of the wicked mother is a necessary ending to satisfy children's love of justice.

Section 3: Lang's editorship in presenting Japanese fairy tales

There are a total of thirteen Japanese fairy tales, of which four are in The Pink Fairy Book (1897), five in The Violet Fairy Book (1901), and four in The Crimson Fairy Book (1903). They were all translated from the German versions. The Lang versions, however, show his understanding of the characteristics of the Japanese tales and especially of their aesthetic beauty and the way of presenting a climax. For example, his understanding of the aesthetic sense of the Japanese tales might be recognised from the beautiful illustration of a scene in The Magic Kettle drawn for The Crimson Fairy Book. It reads as follows: 'The old man was very proud of his little house and never tired of admiring the whiteness of his straw mats, and the pretty papered walls, which in warm weather always slid back, so that the smell of the trees and flowers might come in'. The traditional Japanese house is furnished with paper sliding doors (not 'papered walls' as written in the Lang version), called Shoji. They can be slid open so that the dweller can enjoy the whole view of the garden and feel himself as part of nature. The Japanese people traditionally have an intimate feeling toward nature and this feeling is encouraged by Shoji, that serve as a partition between interior rooms and the garden, namely an 'out-door' room.

The whiteness of Shoji as well as the freshness and cleanliness of straw mats (Tatami) represent the typical aesthetic sense of the Japanese people and their love of purity. The characteristics peculiar to Japanese aesthetic sense are hard to understand for foreigners. It would have been no wonder if the Lang version had omitted these phrases. The passage, seemingly insignificant and trifling, however, symbolically describes the character of the man as a person who lives modestly in peace and contentment. Lang throughout his life cherished the memories of his boyhood spent among the hills and streams of the

Borders. His love of nature and of Oriental arts might have developed his understanding of the Japanese aesthetic sense.

Lang nurtured his interest in Oriental art in his days at Oxford, collecting Oriental china. He writes in 1891 about his aesthetic attitude in an article: 'I have lived with the earliest Apostles of Culture in the days when Chippendale was first a name to conjure with, and Japanese art came in like a raging lion, and Ronsard was the favourite ... Generally speaking, I have kept up with Culture'.⁽¹⁹⁾

The display of Japanese art in 1862 and 1867 at International Exhibitions in London and Paris, respectively, as well as the introduction of Japanese art through literary works and periodicals or by art dealers, resulted in an upsurging fashion of 'Japonisme'. The influence of Japanese art was also introduced in Scotland, particularly in the activities of a group of artists called 'the Glasgow Boys' in the 1880s and 1890s. 'Japanese prints were a great stimulus to the Glasgow Boys, and through them, to Scottish Art in general. Japanese art subtly and profoundly influenced Charles Rennie Mackintosh', according to William Buchanan.⁽²⁰⁾

In view of such circumstances, it is obvious that Lang, as an influential art critic, must have seen some of these exhibitions and read articles on Japanese art. This hypothesis is made on the basis of the facts that he wrote an essay on Japanese prints of ghosts as noted in the previous chapter. In fact, Haggard recollected in his Days of My Life that he and Lang went to the British Museum to see 'some Japanese prints that were on show'. Lang had 'spontaneous feeling' for the Pre-Raphaelites 'being then [1871] under the influence of Rossetti and Morris', according to his aunt, Mrs E.M. Sellar.⁽²¹⁾ Dante Gabriel Rossetti is known for his paintings done with Japanese motifs and for originating the craze for the collecting of Oriental vases. Rossetti wrote in his letter to his mother from Paris in 1864 of a visit to a shop selling Japanese objects. Lang made his translation

of Auccassin and Nicolette into a beautiful book, printed in 'red and black on Japanese vellum'.

The Violet Fairy Book introduces The Envious Neighbour, one of the five best-loved Japanese folk tales (three others are also included in the Lang versions). It is the story of a grateful dog that brings fortune to his master. The dog, loved by an old couple so much as if it were their child, one day lures his master to a place in the garden and barks until the old man begins to dig the spot. His spade strikes a box full of gold pieces. The wicked neighbour, envious of the old man's luck, comes to him to borrow the dog. After persuading the reluctant man the neighbour finally gets hold of the dog, but he digs up a parcel of old bones, instead of gold pieces. In a fit of anger the neighbour kills the dog.

The old man grieves bitterly and buries the dog under a tree. He ^{has a} dream in which the dog appears and tells him to cut the tree and make a mortar out of its wood. He makes a mortar and puts rice in it for pounding and the rice turns into gold pieces. His envious neighbour borrows the mortar but it produces rotten things. The neighbour in a rage smashes and burns the mortar. The dog again appears in a dream to his master and tells him to collect the ashes of the burnt mortar. The dog tells him to sprinkle the ashes on cherry trees along the passage of a great lord's procession and that blossoms would come out.

The climax of the tale has been an exciting delight not only for children but for adults as well. The Lang version reads: 'On they the great lord and his procession came, everyone dressed in his finest clothes, and the crowd that was lining the road bowed their faces to the ground as they went by. Only the old man did not bow himself and the great lord saw this, and bade one of his courtiers, in anger, go and inquire why he had disobeyed the ancient customs. But before the messenger could reach him the old man had climbed the nearest tree and

scattered ashes far and wide, and in an instant the white flowers had flashed into life. The heart of the Daimio /great lord/ rejoiced, and he gave rich presents to the old man'.

This climax is quite characteristic for its sharp contrast between stillness of the breathless tension and an excitement in a moment later --- similar to Mie (momentary pause to be performed by a leading character in a traditional Japanese Kabuki drama). The Mie pause is an essential and stylised form of the performance by the main actor in which he should stand still in a balanced form of beauty at the moment just before he performs a dramatic movement. At this juncture a trained spectator traditionally calls out the actor's name, to create empathy linking the spectators and the actor. This call requires the spectator's deep knowledge and understanding of the drama and complete oneness with the actor so that he can grasp the crucial moment. Any momentary delay or early call destroys the actor's performance.

The Lang version uses the words 'flash into life' instead of 'blossom forth' or 'come into bloom'. The words are the best selection to convey the exact meaning of the original Japanese text, because the word vividly presents the momentary transition of the breathless tension breaking into excitement. In the feudal age, the people who did not belong to the Samurai-warrior class were obliged to greet a great lord's procession by bowing their faces to the ground and if they ignored the practice they were executed. The people there held their breath and watched what would happen to the old man. Thus, the momentary pause of the old man's announcing at the top of a tree that he was going to flower all the trees there (this announcement is omitted in the Lang version, however) corresponds to Mie pause of the Kabuki and the proud gesture of a main actor. Readers of the tale would experience the empathy linking them with the characters in the tale as much as Kabuki spectators do at this moment.

The Two Frogs in The Violet Fairy Book is another example of a well-represented Japanese tale. The humorous touch of the original Japanese tale is faithfully presented. It is a story of two frogs, one living in Osaka and the other in Kioto. They by coincidence have the same wish of seeing a little of the world. One fine morning in the spring they both set out along the road that led from Kioto to Osaka, the frog from Osaka wanting to visit Kioto and the Kioto frog heading^{for} Osaka. The journey is more tiring than they expect and at the top of a mountain they are surprised to see another frog coming from the opposite direction on a journey of the same purpose. They agree to rest before they part to go their ways.

The climax of the tale is best quoted in full: "What a pity we are not bigger", said the Osaka frog; "for then we could see both towns from here, and tell if it is worth our while going on".

"Oh, that is easily managed", returned the Kioto frog. "We have only got to stand up on our hind legs, and hold on to each other, and then we can each look at the town he is travelling to".

'This idea pleased the Osaka frog so much that he at once jumped up and put his front paws on the shoulders of his friend, who had risen also. There they both stood, stretching themselves as high as they could, and holding each other tightly, so that they might not fall down. The Kioto frog turned his nose towards Osaka, and the Osaka frog turned his nose towards Kioto; but the foolish things forgot that when they stood up their great eyes lay in the backs of their heads, and that though their noses might point to the places to which they wanted to go their eyes beheld the places from which they had come.

"Dear me!" cried the Osaka frog, "Kioto is exactly like Osaka. It is certainly not worth such a long journey. I shall go home!"

"If I had had any idea that Osaka was only a copy of Kioto I should never have travelled all this way", exclaimed the frog from

Kioto, and as he spoke he took his hands from his friend's shoulders, and they both fell down on the grass. Then they took a polite farewell of each other, and set off for home again, and to the end of their lives they believed that Osaka and Kioto, which are as different to look at as two towns can be, were as like as two peas'.

A British proverb 'He that stays in the valley shall never get over the hill' or 'They think a calf a muckle beast that never saw a cow' equates with the Japanese proverb 'The frog in the well knows nothing of the great ocean'. The tale corresponds with the Japanese proverb.

One of the characteristics of Lang's writing style is the light touch of humour that was unanimously pointed out by writers and critics. 'His dainty prose, his incommunicable humour' quotes Charles Boyd from Robert Louis Stevenson's words about his friend in the July 27 1912 edition of The Saturday Review. Lang's dislike of burlesque and pompousness gave to his humour a delicate and 'incommunicable' flavour. This trait might have found a parallel in the preference of the Japanese tradition for subdued and under-stated humour, as represented in this frog tale.

The Slaying of the Tanuki, one of the best-known Japanese tales, introduced in The Pink Fairy Book, is a unique and rare example of abominable cannibal stew, as pointed out by the late Kunio Yanagida, pioneer of folklore researches in Japan. The tale has often been moderated or distorted but the Lang version is faithful to the original. The story is summarised as follows: A wicked Tanuki, quarrelsome beast, annoys an old man because the beast dislikes the old man's friendship with a hare. The old man, angered by repeated mischiefs and damages caused by Tanuki, captures the beast and tells his wife to cook him. The beast cheats the old woman with sweet words and gets free of his bonds. Immediately, the beast puts her in the mortar and cooks the supper from the flesh of the woman. When the old man comes back home,

the beast, putting on the woman's dress and assuming her form, serves him the cannibal stew. Before he runs away the beast tells the old man that he has eaten his wife's flesh. The rest of the story tells how the hare helps the old man in his revenge.

Despite the dreadful cannibal stew, the story has been loved by Japanese children, because the tale focusses on the story how the hare with his cleverness and cunning outwits and eventually defeats the beast. As Lang pointed out, there is no child who killed a very tall man merely because Jack killed the giants or who was unkind to his stepmother because in fairy tales a stepmother is often disagreeable. In general, children would be excited by savage and violent elements of folk tales. Besides, cruel and brutal elements of fairy tales are not illustrated precisely and realistically. Their clear-cut sharp portrayal gives an impression like an abstract painting as W.H. Auden says: 'The sort of pleasure we get from folk fairy tales seems to me similar to that which we derive from Mallarmé's poems or from abstract painting'. (22)

Section 4: Criticism on Lang's Fairy Books

The inconsistency in his editorship is witnessed in the fact that Lang included literary fairy stories written by Madame d'Aulnoy and Hans Andersen though they are not fairy tales, retold on the basis of old folk tales, orally handed down from generations to generations, but they, taking inspirations from old fairy tales, are rewritten freely with the writers' imaginations and interpretations. The mingling of folk and literary fairy tales invited the disapproval of G. Laurence Gomme, president of the Folk-Lore Society as Lang indicated in the preface to The Yellow Fairy Book (1894) that Gomme said 'their Madame d'Aulnoy's and Andersen's tales are not so true as the rest, and should not be published with the rest'. His colleague, Joseph Jacobs, shared the disapproval of the president in the same presidential

address at the Folk-Lore Society session for 'printing so many fairy tales, with pictures'. Lang replies in the same preface: 'We say that all the stories which are pleasant to read are quite true enough for us ... and we do not think that either the pictures or the stories are likely to mislead children'.

President Gomme in his address at the society's 1890-91 session talked on literary influences on folk tales and said that Jacobs' fairy tales for children was a literary work to be read, not told --- 'read by the children who are brought up on bright and well-pictured books, not by the peasant children from whom the tales are originally taken ... Literature such as this may, and does, kill tradition, but it does not create it'.⁽²³⁾ Pointing out the difference between literary fairy tales and traditional folk tales, Gomme stated that the people who know the traditional tales are the peasantry and they never have 'Blue Fairy Tale' books or 'English Fairy Tale' books (he meant The Blue Fairy Book by Lang and The English Fairy Tales by Jacobs); 'they could not have read them, they would not have academically learnt them'.

As President Gomme rightly said that 'the tradition soon dies out unless it is constantly refreshed by literature',⁽²⁴⁾ fairy books edited with a scholarly attitude to faithfully represent the tradition have an important role as a substitute for the oral tales. Illustrations in fairy books are helpful to make children, particularly today's urban children, understand customs and manners they cannot see in their daily life. Lang's method and attitude in editing the coloured Fairy Books, as literary documents of savage people and entertainment of children, can be credited to have set a standard, though some contradictory factors are observed.

Brian Alderson has so far revised and edited Lang's Blue, Red, Green, Yellow and Pink Fairy Books from 1975 through 1982. He explains in the preface to the revised Blue Fairy Book (1975) that the publisher, Kestrel (formerly Longman Young Books), decided that 'the time has now

come for preparing a completely new edition' with its text 're-furbished' and with new illustrations. Alderson gives in the last section an explanation about altering, deleting and rewriting some of the texts 'for fear that any lover of the original Blue Fairy Book should feel that this historic volume is being unjustly modified'.⁽²⁵⁾

In editing the revised Blue Fairy Book Alderson omitted 'literary' stories including May Kendall's abridgment of Gulliver's Travels and The Wonderful Sheep but retained The Terrible Head, Lang's own retelling of Perseus and the Gorgon, about which Lang said he 'tried to reconstruct the originary nursery tale, chiefly by dropping the local and personal names'. Lang's attempt might not be contradictory to his opinion that Greek literature like the Odyssey was written on the basis of 'a string of different Märchen'. But the story is obviously different from the folk tale tradition and Lang's attempt can be said as 'turning mythology into fairy-tale' as rightly pointed out by Tolkien. Tolkien's opinion that 'namelessness is not a virtue but an accident, and should not have been imitated'⁽²⁶⁾ is quite acceptable. Nevertheless, Alderson retained the story on the ground that 'Lang's tale represents an experiment that deserves preservation if only as an awful warning'.⁽²⁷⁾

Alderson made several adjustments to the order of the stories and for example, moved East of the Sun & West of the Moon, originally standing third in Lang's edition, forward to the first place 'to balance the final story', The Red Ettin, a Scottish tale. He did not use the original translation of this story by Mrs Alfred Hunt but adopted that of George Dasent as in the cases of other tales of the Norse for their 'greater strength' and 'tellability'. He made minor alterations but retained most of the original texts almost untouched, especially those of May Sellar whose translations of Grimm's 'read more happily than many other nineteenth century ones' and of Minnie Wright whose

'conscientious' nature of the work is spoken ^{of} by Philippa Pearce in a note to her edition (1972).⁽²⁸⁾

In the revised Red Fairy Book, Alderson omitted four stories, The Ratcatcher and The History of Little Golden Hood for being the derivative versions of The Pied Piper and Little Red Riding-Hood; The Golden Branch, a story from Madame d'Aulnoy's for 'sentimentalization' of traditional fairy tale themes; and The Story of Sigurd, Lang's own retelling from The Volsunga Saga for being a saga. This can be considered a proper judgement. Lang himself seemed to have hesitated to introduce his retelling and said in the preface to the large-paper limited edition of The Red Fairy Book that 'perhaps we should apologize for turning back into a fairy tale the splendid saga of Sigurd, but it was once, doubtless, a Märchen, like the rest, and owes its grandeur to the tragic imagination of some nameless poet of the Norse'.⁽²⁹⁾

Alderson moved Soria Moria Castle, which originally took the third place in Lang's edition, to the first place 'to give the book a stronger opening than that provided by The Twelve Dancing Princesses'. In the Lang versions, stories from the same source are usually placed one after another closely together as if no particular editing policy is made about the order of the stories. The changes of the order in the revised editions, however, are less effective than what is expected by the editor, probably because, each story is independent and the reader generally does not much care about the order.

He abandoned the original texts of this and other stories of the Norse translated by Mrs Hunt in favour of the earlier translations published by Dasent in Popular Tales from the Norse (1859). The text of Soria Moria Castle in the Alderson edition, however, does not show much differences from that of the Lang edition. The alteration of Charles Deulin's text of The Twelve Dancing Princess with Edgar Taylor's translation of the Grimm version improves the readability because

Deulin's text begins with the lengthy introduction of the background of the cow-boy hero, Michael, while the Grimm version begins with the king's proclamation seeking any person who can discover the secret of his twelve daughters who dance every night at an unknown place --- the core of the story and it is about a half in length of Duelin's text. Alderson restored the last sentence of The Twelve Brothers which was omitted by Lang for 'cruelty' of the punishment given to the king's wicked mother.

It is an established principle that children who are less experienced in their judgement than the adult readers should be given books in the very best form. Therefore, even 'historic' volumes like Lang's Fairy Books should be revised, if necessary. It is understandable that Brian Alderson revised and edited the Lang versions in line with this principle and that his editing policy to omit the 'literary' fairy stories and to restore the omitted sentences is commendable. Nevertheless, the Lang versions would remain as children's classics with ever-lasting reputation and glory and would give rise to a question whether the revision is necessary or not.

Lang's editions generally excel in rhythm and in the way of narration. The translations by Lang's lady assistants including Mrs Lang, May Sellar and Minnie Wright are recognised as better than many of the nineteenth century ones. The illustrations by H.J. Ford, not childish and sentimental, are inseparable elements to add an appeal to the Lang books. His works with Pre-Raphaelite touches give the entire collections 'convincing narrative detail'. Alderson admits in the postscript to the revised Blue Fairy Book that the new illustrator is not 'such a great swiper of cricket-balls as "Over-the-wall Ford"'. For the students of fairy and folk tales, comparative studies of the Lang versions with all the different kinds of original texts would be prerequisite and as a result of it, revision and reediting might be necessary. But, for the general reader, even for

children in view of today's scrupulous standards, Lang's coloured Fairy Books do not require the revision. They should rather be left untouched, or revised in part, as an example of the outstanding collections of fairy tales done in the Victorian age.

Section 5: J.R.R. Tolkien's criticism of Lang's Fairy Books

The sharpest and most penetrating criticism of Lang's Fairy Books was made by J.R.R. Tolkien in his Andrew Lang Lecture, delivered before the University of St. Andrews in 1938 under the title of 'On Fairy-Stories', and it was later published in a book, Tree and Leaf. Firstly, the inclusion of Jonathan Swift's A Voyage to Lilliput from Gulliver's Travels was criticised by Tolkien for the reason that it is not a fairy tale but should be classified as a traveller's tale. The inclusion of the story is not acceptable not only because of the classification but also because of the contradiction of Lang's own opinion. In the preface to Charles and Mary Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare he proposed that 'children at the age of innocence (which was conventionally fixed at seven) are best introduced to Shakespeare by Shakespeare himself'.⁽³⁰⁾ This opinion should have been applied to Swift, too, instead of introducing May Kendall's abridgment of Gulliver's Travels in The Blue Fairy Book.

Tolkien's other objection, to the inclusion of a Swahili tale, The Monkey's Heart, in The Lilac Fairy Book, can be said to be a matter of differences of opinions about the definition of the term, 'fairy tale'. Tolkien's opinion is that it is not a fairy tale but a 'Beast fable'. According to his definition, stories 'in which no human being is concerned; or in which the animals are the heroes and heroines, and men and women, if they appear, are mere adjuncts; and above all those in which the animal form is only a mask upon a human face'⁽³¹⁾ are Beast fables. For this reason, Tolkien includes Beatrix Potter's Peter Rabbit (1902)

and Kenneth Grahame's The Wind in the Willows (1908) in this category. It is unacceptable, however, to call them beast fables because they are woven with much fantastic and adventure elements, while fables in the tradition of Aesop and La Fontaine are usually considered to be animal stories with an intention of moral-teaching. The Swahili tale is not a beast fable, either.

The term 'fairy tale' used by Lang sometimes is meant for folk tale. The mixture in the usage of terms 'fairy tale' and 'folk tale' has been and is commonly practised even today. Being a philologist, Tolkien fastidiously disliked the mixture of these terms saying that 'many, even the learned in such matters, have used the term "fairy-tale" very carelessly'.⁽³²⁾ It is, however, customary to include animal fables in the broad interpretation of folk tales.

For example, a Japanese tale with a similar motif to that of the Swahili tale is included in The Violet Fairy Book. The story, The Monkey and The Jelly-Fish (widely-known in Japan as The Monkey's Liver) is a story of a monkey who is taken to the palace under the sea by a turtle's cunning because the sea-queen's illness can be cured only by the liver of a monkey. While the monkey is entertained at the palace a jelly-fish tells the monkey his fate. The monkey tactfully tells the turtle that before he left home he had hung his liver out on a bush. Soon after the turtle takes him to land to fetch his liver, the monkey escapes to safety.

The Swahili tale with a similar motif is summarised as follows: A shark lures a monkey to ride on its back on a journey under the sea because the heart of a monkey is the only thing to cure the illness of the sultan. Hearing this, the monkey tells the shark that he had hung up his heart on a tree before he left home. As soon as the shark takes him to the shore to fetch his heart, the monkey runs away to safety. The Swahili tale does not end here as the Japanese tale does. The monkey,

now assured of his safety, tells the shark the story of a donkey and a lion.

The Japanese tale, one of the best-known stories, is usually called a fairy tale in Japan. In a narrow interpretation it is an animal fable as Tolkien suggested in reference to the Swahili tale, but in a broad interpretation it is a folk tale as well. Tolkien's disapproval of the inclusion of the Swahili tale is not acceptable because, if it should be excluded, almost all the Japanese and non-Aryan folk tales with much more frequent uses of animal characters than European tales have to be omitted from collections of folk tales.

According to Tolkien's definition, a fairy-story (Tolkien uses both fairy-story and fairy-tale) is not a story 'about fairies' but a story 'about Fairy or Faërie, the realm or state in which fairies have their being' and 'upon the nature of Faërie: the Perilous Realm itself, and the air that blows in that country'.⁽³³⁾ The essence of a fairy-story is Fantasy, written with Art and 'images of things that are not only "not actually present", but which are indeed not to be found in our primary world at all, or are generally believed not to be found there'.⁽³⁴⁾

In Tolkien's opinion, the word 'fantasy' embraces 'both the Sub-creative Art in itself and a quality of strangeness and wonder in the Expression, derived from the Image: a quality essential to fairy-story'.⁽³⁵⁾ Here, he distinguishes between Fantasy and Imagination by introducing the word, 'Art'. By Art is meant the achievement of the expression which gives 'the inner consistency of reality' to Sub-creation, the Secondary World. Things of imagination like 'the green sun' in the Secondary World should be consistent and realistic so as to be credible. Thus, Sub-creation would not be achieved with Imagination alone but with Art, the 'operative link between Imagination and the final result, Sub-creation'.⁽³⁶⁾

Tolkien's theory of the fairy-story is not clear about the difference between our Primary World and the imaginary Secondary World. Since all the worlds and events, described in romances and novels, are not the exact mirrors of the Primary World but of a sort of a secondary world, constructed with writers' imaginations and interpretations, the Secondary World is applicable to all literary works, not exclusively to the fairy-story. He does not fully explain about 'the Perilous World' nor 'elfish craft (Enchantment)' with which the Secondary World is created.

Tolkien took eleven years in preparation for the writing of The Lord of the Rings (1954-55). To build up a Secondary World, which should be, according to his theory, the world 'where images of things are not to be found in our primary world at all', he writes every detail of the story --- the chronology, the geography, even the meteorology of Middle-earth which has to be consistent and plausible.⁽³⁷⁾ He, 'by his own admission, a man of limited sympathy' disliked 'intensely' C.S. Lewis's The Chronicles of Narnia (1950-56) because of his 'hasty writing, inconsistency in details of the stories and lack of convincing power' of a secondary world.⁽³⁸⁾

He also thought that Lang did not construct an imaginary world of his own and said that 'Andrew Lang's Fairy Books are not, perhaps, lumber-rooms. They are more like stalls in a rummage-sale. Someone with a duster and a fair eye for things that retain some value has been round the attics and box-rooms'.⁽³⁹⁾

Even Tolkien himself does not construct the Secondary World completely independently from the Primary World since characters including elves, wizards and dragons as well as events of the Secondary Worlds as described in his Hobbit (1937) and The Lord of the Rings

correspond with and remind us of the people and events of our primary world. He, too, drew materials from legends and medieval romances including Sigurd and King Arthur.

Lang wrote in the preface to The Lilac Fairy Book that the stories or folk tales had existed long before the Egyptian hieroglyphics or Cretan signs were invented and that they supplied sources for the works of all writers including Homer and Shakespeare. 'Nobody really wrote most of the stories... Homer knew the stories and made up the Odyssey out of half a dozen of them ... Shakespeare took them and put bits of them into King Lear and other plays; he could not have made them up himself, great as he was', he said. This opinion is identical with that of Derek Brewer who says in his book, Symbolic Stories (1980): '...It is clear in the case of a traditional story that it has an underlying "shape" or "pattern" which is held in the mind by the person who received it from a book or from another person. This shape or pattern is largely independent of any particular set of words in which the story may be conveyed ... Shakespeare and Chaucer, for example, tell stories which also appear in Boccaccio's Decameron ... Neither Chaucer nor Shakespeare ever invented a plot, and even if Boccaccio occasionally did so, he put it together out of entirely familiar elements'. (40)

As regards the fairy stories, every story, consciously or unconsciously, follows the established form or pattern. Therefore, Tolkien's opinion is less tenable and his view of Fantasy is not applicable to the traditional fairy story.

Tolkien was critical of anthropological and mythological analysis and all the other analytical study of fairy-stories and their origins. He put an emphasis on ^{the} literary quality of fairy-stories. He dismisses Max Müller's opinion about Grimm's frog story (ref: Chap. III, p65) and Lang's, although he does not give Lang's name but says that 'it is of little avail to consider the totemism'. He observes that the ancient

elements that are in fairy-stories have been retained because the oral narrators 'instinctively or consciously, felt their literary "significance"'. Literary significance, however, is not sufficient to explain the enchantments and magical elements of fairy tales which have survived for centuries since primitive ages. Besides, study of fairy tales from the standpoint of anthropology, folklorism, psychology and morphology is as important as literary approaches. It should not be ignored for its function of shedding light on their hidden meanings and appeals, although over-elaborated and an abuse of analytical study is sometimes recognised.

Tolkien says that 'Joy is the mark of the true fairy-story (or romance), referring 'joy' to that of Christianity, Gloria. As fairy tales originated among pagans, this term Gloria is a philological contradiction and a broader meaning of joy would be more acceptable. He also says that the eucatastrophic tale or a fairy-story with a happy-ending is the 'true form of fairy-tale' (Lang took the same opinion) but it is known that some well-known fairy tales have no happy-endings.

Tolkien was fastidious about philological accuracy and logic. He pointed out straightforwardly Lang's logical weakness in and the trivial nature of the prefaces to the Fairy Books. Lang, on the contrary, was quite romantic in nature and, as he admitted himself, 'naturally of a most slovenly and slatternly mental habit' with a 'slight tendency of inaccuracy',⁽⁴¹⁾ and an inclination to instinctive judgement. It is unfortunate that Tolkien, who had little in common with Lang, focussed his analysis on The Blue Fairy Book and the prefaces to some of the Fairy Books. He considered Lang as one of the adults who in the presence of a fairy-story 'are held there and supported by sentiment (memories of childhood, or notions of what childhood ought to be like); they think they ought to like the tale'⁽⁴²⁾ and who degraded the form in writing fairy-stories 'suitable' to children.

From today's strict standard Andrew Lang's Fairy Books cannot be said to be perfect and impeccable. However, it was not Lang's editorial policy to moderate or to distort or to alter texts to suit the child readers with a view to degrade their ability which is quite often recognised in contemporary works. It should be remembered that it was Andrew Lang who first gave an authority and a scholarly consideration in collecting and editing fairy books. 'Hitherto most general collections of traditional tales for children had been gleaned haphazardly from other printed sources without too much regard for their status or authenticity', writes Brian Alderson.⁽⁴³⁾ It was also Andrew Lang who first set ^{the} standard in present^{-ing} a wider scope of fairy tale tradition and to give the sources from which they were taken. The overwhelming popularity of his Fairy Books, as described in this chapter, changed the taste of the public from didactic and realistic stories for children to fairy tales.

Notes to Chapter IV

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- 5) The Academy (22 November 1890), XXXVIII, p.473.
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- 31) Tolkien, Tree and Leaf, p.19.
- 32) Tolkien, *ibid.*, p.15.
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Chapter V Lang's Original Fairy Stories

Section 1: Prince Prigio

Andrew Lang was annoyed by readers' misunderstanding and repeatedly denied the authorship of the coloured Fairy Books. He declared in the preface to The Lilac Fairy Book that 'In truth I never did write any fairy books in my life, except Prince Prigio, Prince Ricardo, and Tales from a Fairy Court [1907] — that of the aforesaid Prigio'. He omitted from this statement the names of his two other original stories, The Princess Nobody (1884) and The Gold of Fairnilee (1888). The Princess Nobody was written to accompany a series of about forty illustrations of winged diminutive fairies drawn by Richard Doyle. It is understandable that Lang did not consider this slight story, woven on the basis of Doyle's drawings, as being worthy of mentioning.

The Gold of Fairnilee, on the other hand, is a literary masterpiece, though it might not be so popular as to be appreciated by everybody. It is conceivable that he dismissed the story because of the shortcomings he admitted in a letter to Rider Haggard: 'I can't do fiction. It's only a lot of childish reminiscences of old times in a better place than 1 Marloes Road [London]'.⁽¹⁾ Despite its literary value, the book was out of print for years only to be reprinted in Britain since 1967. The Princess Nobody is also recorded in Books in Print 1981-1982. Prince Prigio (1889) and Prince Ricardo (1893), the sequel stories, are far more popular than the others and have been in print as children's classics. Later the two stories were bound under the title of Chronicles of Pantouflia.

Prince Prigio is a literary and sophisticated fairy tale, following the French Fairy Court tradition established by Madame d'Aulnoy (ref: Chap. III, p.70). It is not based on traditional folk tales but uses their machinery such as fairy gifts of the Seven-League Boots acquired from Tom Thumb or Jack the Giant-Killer, coat or cap of invisibility

from Jack the Giant-Killer or Sigurd (golden helmet of invisibility from Dragon Fafnir), the flying carpet from Arabian Nights and the Sword of Sharpness from Sigurd or the Norse mythology. The structure of Prince Prigio adopts the archetype of fairy tales — the disengagement from parent-figure, the process of maturation, adventures, battles, the eldest-son-hero as a parody of the usual youngest-son-hero and the happy ending.

The story begins with the conventional opening of the old fairy tale, namely the inviting of fairies to the christening of a baby. Actually fairies were not invited to the christening of Prince Prigio because of the strong opposition of the clever and learned queen who never believed in fairies. Fairies, however, turned up and each presented the baby prince fairy gifts, like a pair of the Seven-League Boots, a wishing cap and a purse which would never be empty. A cross old fairy, the last to offer, wished that the prince should be 'too clever'. The queen was pleased with the last wish but ignored the rest of the fairy gifts putting them away in an attic as rubbish.

Prince Prigio grew up 'too clever' by half. He was disliked by everyone including his father, because he corrected the mistakes of his father, teachers and other people and pointed out bluntly their lack of knowledge. Like his mother, Prince Prigio did not believe in fairies and things supernatural. Meanwhile, a Firedrake, a horrible fire-beast, caused a drought in the country. The king, who hated Prince Prigio more than anyone else, ordered him to get rid of the Firedrake with the hope that the prince might be killed by the monster. Prince Prigio, who never believed in the Firedrake, took the matter lightly and persuaded his father with his clever rhetoric to send his two younger brothers in turn.

Here, Lang humorously reversed the traditional fairy-tale form that the youngest is always the winner. At the report of the Firedrake's rampage, the king thought: 'My three sons must go after the brute, the

eldest first, and, as usual, it will kill the first two, and be beaten by the youngest. It is a little hard on Enrico [his second son], poor boy; but anything to get rid of that Prigio!' In rejecting the king's order, Prince Prigio said that the education given to him made him disbelieve in fairy creations like the Firedrake. He beat his father with a witty logic: 'it is always the third son that succeeds. Send Alphonso'. Lang's humour and wit in this part require the knowledge of fairy-tale form and reasoning that the youngest child is always the winner after the failures of the eldest and the second. Therefore, the story would appeal more to the adult readers rather than to children.

When the two younger sons failed to come back, the king ordered Prigio to kill the beast. Here, again, is another example of Prince prigio's tricky but logical rhetoric with which he crushed the king's plan: 'Your only reason for dispatching your sons in pursuit of this dangerous but I believe fabulous animal, was to ascertain which of us would most worthily succeed to your throne, at the date --- long may it be deferred! --- of your lamented decease. Now there can be no further question about the matter. I, unworthy as I am, represent the sole hope of the royal family. Therefore to send me after the Firedrake were both dangerous and unnecessary. Dangerous, because if he treats me as you said he did my brothers --- my unhappy brothers --- the throne of Pantouflia will want an heir. But, if I do come back alive --- why, I cannot be more the true heir than I am at present'.

His arguments were 'so clearly and undeniably correct that the king, unable to answer them, withdrew into a solitary place where he could express himself with freedom, and give rein to his passion'. Lang depicts relentlessly and comically the dull and unwitty character the king, in sharp contrast with the cleverness of his son, and at the same time convinces the readers why the king hated his son. The king ordered the whole court to move to another place, leaving Prigio there

alone without food and clothing. This is the disengagement of a parent-figure and from this part of the story onward, Prince Prigio lives independently outside the palace of his parents.

Prince Prigio came to find the fairy gifts while searching the desolate castle for something to eat and used them without knowing their magical power. Prince Prigio, who was too clever to believe in fairy things, was puzzled by the fairy gifts as they worked wonders. The description of confusion and commotion he caused by wearing the invisible cap would not have been particularly original, if the prince wore the cap knowing its magical power and manipulated it. Lang describes more eloquently and impressively the humorous scenes of confusion by illustrating the prince innocently putting on and off the cap and the unexpected reaction of the people at the restaurant who were startled by his sudden appearance and disappearance in accordance with the movement of the cap. The prince was more and more perplexed by the reactions of the people, who ignored him as if they did not see him while he put on the cap.

Prince Prigio came to believe in fairy things when he met Lady Rosalind, daughter of the English Ambassador, and all of a sudden he fell in love with her. For the first time in his life the prince loved someone and became thoughtful toward others. The change in his attitude, being agreeable and unaffected, gradually won him popularity among the people. This part is the process of his maturation.

To please Lady Rosalind, he set off to kill the Firedrake. The clever prince tactfully lured the fire-beast to fight with his enemy, the ice-beast Remora, and cunningly instigated the rivals to fight deadly battle. The fighting, the Firedrake attempting to roast the Remora and the Remora trying to freeze to death the Firedrake, is illustrated vigorously. The defect in the plot is that the prince is not involved in the die-hard battle between the monsters and merely

watches it from the top of a mountain being secured of his safety. If he had been involved in the fierce battle, the readers would have been more thrilled. It was Lang's favourite motif of fairy tales that the weak wins over the strong (like a giant) with cunning. In the fairy tale, however, the hero is always involved in the fighting. Lang seems to have been trapped by his own cleverness of inventing an idea of making the rivals fight each other. As Lang writes in the acknowledgement, he borrowed the idea about the Firedrake from a South African tale and that of the Remora from Voyage a la Lune (1656) by Cyrano de Bergerac. (2)

After Prince Prigio brought back the Firedrake's horns and tail to Lady Rosalind, various incidents happened. The king ordered that he should restore to life his two brothers and take them back home, otherwise he would be executed. Prince Prigio found the fairy water from the Fountain of Lions and with the help of the magical water restored to life the brothers as well as all the knights who were frozen into stone by the Remora. The three princes happily married, Prigio marrying Lady Rosalind.

The story's ending shows yet another example of Lang's wit. Prince Prigio put on the wishing cap and wished to be 'no cleverer than other people' to please his wife but actually wished to 'SEEM no cleverer than other people' with an excuse: 'Every man has one secret from his wife, and this should be mine'. Princess Rosalind noticed a great difference in him and so did everyone, though there was no change in him at all. He remained as clever as ever. 'But occasionally Rosalind would say, "I do believe, my dear, that you are really as clever as ever!" And he was!' This witty ending, however, might delight adult readers more than young readers.

Lang seems to have used fairy-tale machinery in such a way as to make fun of it and to amuse himself. Prince Prigio's ancestors include such fabulous characters of fairy tales as Cinderella who is described

as 'the grandmother of the reigning monarch [Prince Prigio's father]', the Marquis de Carabas of Puss in Boots and Madame La Belle au Bois-dormant. Their portraits are hung in a splendid palace room. Lang also names Giglio I, the hero in W.M. Thackeray's The Rose and The Ring (1855) as the great great-grandfather of Prince Prigio. He liked and admired the Thackeray story and is said to have drawn inspiration from it. It might be said that the abuse of his profound knowledge of fairy tales can be recognised in these passages. His idea of calling these famous fairy-tale characters the ancestors of the hero of his own story gives an impression that the story lacks reliability and inevitability.

Prince Prigio departed from its model story, The Rose and The Ring.⁽³⁾ It has the touch of humour, quiet and subtle, but not in such a burlesque way as Thackeray's story does. The Rose and The Ring is characteristic for its vigorous and breath-taking development of incident after incident. But it is quite complicated and is interwoven by many characters and complex incidents such as transference of affection by the magical power of the fairy Ring and restoration to the first love, as in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream (by herb juice). The story employs the traditional fairy-tale machinery — the fairy and her christening gifts. It, however, places more emphasis on the comical portrayals of the characters who fall in love and their madness in a burlesque manner as well as the repeated arrests by mistake and subsequent releases of Bulbo, a good-natured and less intellectual prince. Vices of the prime minister and high government officials are caricatured.

Although The Rose and the Ring has been regarded as a children's classic, it is not widely-read by children. Lang's Prince Prigio is much more readable and is reprinted by more than one publisher today. Margery Fisher, critic on children's books, writes in her review of the new edition of The Chronicles of Pantouflia in March 1982, by

publisher Methuen: 'Beside the boisterous, polysyllabic style with which Thackeray twisted fairy-tale into jocose pantomime, Lang's humour seems quiet, urbane and a great deal less tiring to read'.⁽⁴⁾ The publication of the book 'offers to yet another generation of readers the chance to enjoy the authority of a fine story-teller and the skill of a stylist', she says.

Besides, the Lang story is more true to the fairy-tale tradition and combines the marvellous occurrence of impossibility and the thrill of magic power. Ordered by his father to restore to life his two younger brothers and take them home, Prince Prigio in his experiment cut off the head of a sick old cat, called Frank, and burned his body. Then, he poured a few drops of the fairy water from the Fountain of Lions that he had found in the palace. As soon as he watered the ashes of Frank and the dying embers, the cat jumped from the heap in the beautiful shape and vigour of his youth.

'The prince lifted up Frank and kissed his nose for joy; and a bright tear rolled down on Frank's face, and made him rub his nose with his paw in the most comical manner. Then the prince set him down, and he ran round and round after his tail; and lastly cocked his tail up, and marched proudly after the prince into the castle'. The jubilant scene is sharpened by the striking contrast with the previous passage in which Frank is described as a very old, half-blind miserable cat stretching in a sunny place. 'The poor creature was lean, and its fur had fallen off in patches; it could no longer catch birds, nor even mice, and there was nobody to give it milk ... this black cat had got a breakfast somehow, and was happy in the sun. The prince stood and looked at him pityingly, and he thought that even a sick old cat was, in some ways, happier than most men'.

The passages, spiced with humour and melancholy as well as romantic sentiment, tell not only the mystical fairy-tale wonder but the meaning of life in depth. Tolkien says that joy is 'the mark of the true

fairy-story' and it 'happens even in Andrew Lang's own fairy-story, Prince Prigio, unsatisfactory in many ways as that is'.⁽⁵⁾ As an example of such joy, Tolkien quoted the line: 'each knight came alive, with his horse, and lifted his sword and shouted: "Long live Prince Prigio!'. The passages describing the cat's resuscitation convey more convincingly the idea of joy defined by Tolkien. It is a more touching and moving moment than the knights' resuscitation scene.

In the description of resuscitating the cat and the knights, Lang especially followed closely the folklore or pagan tradition, instead of amalgamating pagan and Christian elements as seen in some ballad stories. For example, in the Scottish ballad, The Wife of Usher's Well, Jesus breathes life into the bodies of three sons enabling them to return to their mother. It reads:

Then he went and rose up her three sons,
 Their names, Joe, Peter, and John,
 And did immediately send them to far Scotland,
 That their mother may take some rest.⁽⁶⁾

Lang did not employ such a Christian rationalization of a pagan story and preferred the use of the magical water of the Fountain of Lions, a sort of a legendary fountain of eternal youth.

Prince Prigio in the first part of the story is unhappy for being 'too clever'. It is ironical that Lang's profound knowledge of fairy tales and cleverness give the tone of sarcasm to the story. Because of this, Tolkien said that 'I will not accuse Andrew Lang of sniggering, but certainly he smiled to himself, and certainly too often he had an eye on the faces of other clever people over the heads of his child-audience --- to the very grave detriment of the Chronicles of Pantouflia'.⁽⁷⁾ Tolkien was right on this point. Yet, despite that, Lang's wit and sense of humour make the story quite enjoyable, even today. Margery Fisher's review properly pointed out that 'the satirical element certainly sharpens the tales but it never impedes their rush and sparkle. Benignly making fun of dragons, giants and fairy-tale

situations generally, Lang does not forget that he is telling a story'.⁽⁸⁾

Section 2: Lang's portrayal of female characters and Mrs Lang

In the preface Lang explains that the kingdom of Pantouflia is situated somewhere in the middle of Europe and that Prince Frigio's ancestor came to Pantouflia during the Crusades. This founder of the monarchy married a most beautiful princess who had been enchanted as a dragon by a wicked magician until the ancestor kissed her — a typical fairy-tale form in which an enchanted beast or monster resumes its normal shape of prince or princess by the kiss of his or her future spouse. This Lady Dragonissa was a 'female of extraordinary spirit, energy and ambition, took command of him [her husband] and of his followers, conducted them up the Danube, seized a principality whose lord had gone crusading'. Having a woman of such strong character as wife, the ancestor often says by a slight change of the family motto: 'anything for a Quiet Wife'. The original family motto is: 'Anything for a Quiet Life'.

A tone of mockery toward clever and strong women is discernible throughout the story. The portrayal of the queen, Frigio's mother who did not believe in fairies and her stubbornness are described comically. When the queen was unintentionally taken to the British Ambassador's residence by the flying carpet she refused to admit the happening. On landing she pinched her arms and murmured: 'I shall waken presently; this is nothing out of the way for a dream ... It would be a miracle, and miracles do not happen; therefore this has not happened'. Like Prince Frigio, the queen's logic is syllogistical. The king and the queen stayed overnight at the Ambassador's house. She was perplexed when she was awoken for 'she did undeniably wake, and yet she was not at home, where she had expected to be. However, she was a determined woman, and stood to it that nothing unusual was occurring'. On their return journey to the palace, the king flew by the magic carpet but the

queen rejected the proposal to sit on the carpet, saying 'it was childish and impossible'. She sat in the carriage without saying good-bye to anyone because she did not admit that she had flown there by the carpet. She arrived home a week behind the king.

R.L. Green hinted that the portrayal of the queen might suggest Lang's cynical attitude toward the 'realist' young lady novelist of the time by comparing it with Lang's satire, The Log Rolliad.⁽⁹⁾ Although it was anonymously published in College Echoes, 8 January 1891, it must be Lang's because his friends including Haggard, Kipling and Stevenson as well as himself and his book, How to Fail in Literature are presented in the satire. Lang helped his friends and their books so much that he was called by them 'the great log-roller' and he himself signed 'Aunt Logrolla'. The satire reads:

'Still am I mute, while Logs go Rolling round
And fill the Weekly Papers with the sounds,
While Haggard scowls with blood in lieu of ink,
While Mallock teaches Marquises to think,
While yet Lang tells, and illustrates the tale
By precept and example --- How to fail,

. . . .

While female Sceptics scream with acrid scoff
Their Faith that Miracles do not come off!
And then refute the story which they tell
By this weird Portent, that their Stories sell!"⁽¹⁰⁾

. . . .

In his essay, 'The Superiority of Women', he wrote that each sex is superior for its own purpose, man doing the 'most of the work, and women continuing the species and fostering the affections'. He went further to say: 'there is no doubt as to which sex is, physically and mentally, the stronger. There is no doubt that men are the better workers, fighters, poets, painters, musicians ...'⁽¹¹⁾ He strongly criticised Mrs Henry Sidgwick, a member of the Society for Psychological Research, in his letter to Mrs Hills pointing out 'The jolly absence of humour in Mrs Sidgwick; the ferociously impossible pseud-scientific explanation!'⁽¹²⁾

The heroines of Lang's fairy stories --- the clever women of strong character with loving devotion --- might be traced in the profile of Mrs Lang, the collaborator of the coloured Fairy Books. Rosalind in Prince Prigio is the only person to understand and defend Prigio when everybody speaks ill of him with a belief that 'it was his misfortune, not his fault to be so clever'. Jaqueline in Prince Ricardo is brave and comes to the rescue of Ricardo as she, in disguise, accompanies him in adventures. Leonora Blanche Lang adopted and translated most of the stories in the Fairy Books from French and German versions and coordinated several assistants in the project. She wrote essays ^{for} magazines such as Blackwood's Magazine, Longman's Magazine, The National Review and The Saturday Review.

Her essay, 'The Fairchild Family and Their Creator' (Longman's Magazine, April 1893) is a criticism against Mrs Mary Sherwood's most famous and influential didactic story, The History of the Fairchild Family (ref: Chap. II, pp.27-28). She joined her force in her husband's fight against didactic stories for children. Her writing is logical and sharp: 'The wholesome neglect which obliges young people to shift for themselves and forces them to invent their own games and to develop their own characters, was as foreign to Mrs Sherwood's ideal system of education as it is, in another sense, to that at present in vogue'. Mrs Lang denounced Mr Fairchild's 'object-lessons' of showing a corpse to his children that 'it is incredible that any man should voluntarily have exposed children to such an ordeal; still more that he should have kept them there a considerable time while he talked and prayed. It is a wonder they were not made physically ill, or else frightened into fits; but the family were unusually stolid, and nothing created much impression on them that did not immediately touch themselves'.⁽¹³⁾

In another essay, 'Trials of the Wife of a Literary Man', Mrs Lang details with vivid descriptions the sufferings of a literary man's wife, particularly those wives capable and clever enough to 'feel the trials

of her position'. She says that the sufferings differ according to his temperament and mode of life but that there is one in common, 'the wife must be prepared to be ignored, consciously or unconsciously, by people who are either unaware that she exists at all, or are profoundly indifferent to the fact'.⁽¹⁴⁾ If the wife occasionally engages in literary works, 'every word she writes (as long as it is worth anything at all) will be ascribed directly or indirectly to her husband. It matters nothing if the subjects she chooses are those of which he is entirely ignorant; it is to no avail that her name, and not his, appears on the title-page of the book; it is he, and not she, who will obtain all the credit and all the praise. No wonder literary ladies are proverbially somewhat short in their tempers!'⁽¹⁵⁾ Her essays were collected in a book, Men, Women, and Minxes (1912). The writer's name appeared on the title page ironically as Mrs Andrew Lang not Leonora Blanche Lang.

Mrs Lang's descriptions of the wife's sufferings are so meticulous and precise as if she tells them from her own experiences. For instance, if the wife is capable and intellectual she is expected by her husband not only to understand the subjects about which she has been ignorant, but to make comments on the subjects of her husband's interests. The husband would say that 'your judgement is a criterion of that of the average public'. Even if she wants to speak on her favourite subjects she is not given a chance for 'men have a wonderful power of assuming that what interests them is bound to interest other people'.⁽¹⁶⁾ In addition, the wife has to share the 'practical difficulties of his daily life', such as searching for missing books or others in the precise spots which 'he has never been near', arranging appointments and recollecting her husband's independent engagements. He would not be grateful for her efforts and mocks at her memory, 'of course I could have done it perfectly well myself if you had only told me what to do

or what to say'.⁽¹⁷⁾

Actually Lang was impractical in his daily life. Alice King Stewart, intimate friend of the Langs, said that 'as a couple, Andrew Lang and his wife were absolutely unlike, and yet were admirably suited to each other. She was of incalculable help to him, not alone in his writings, but in his everyday affairs of life. As she once laughingly remarked: "I have an imbecile child of three to look after!" He was completely helpless without her'.⁽¹⁸⁾ He admitted himself that he was 'naturally of a most slovenly and slatternly mental habit'. He lost for over six months Haggard's draft while they were jointly writing a romance, The World's Desire (1890).

In this essay Mrs Lang gave the names of women such as Mrs Thomas Carlyle, Lady Byron and Mrs Robert Burns. Since she faithfully observed her husband's instruction to destroy his letters and his fastidious dislike of revealing the slightest glimpse of his (their) privacies, it remains a supposition that this essay tells her own experiences. It is, however, understandable that Mrs Lang might occasionally have felt an unrewarding feeling to all her abilities and devotions shadowed by her husband's fame, though he acknowledged her in the prefaces to the Fairy Books together with other translators. Lang, on the other hand, might have regarded his wife with awesome feeling. His cynical attitude toward the women characters in his stories was not only directed to the 'realist young lady' as mentioned by Green but also to his wife. Her contribution to her husband's writing, particularly to the coloured Fairy Books cannot be too much emphasised. It is regrettable that little attention has been paid to her contribution.

Section 3: Prince Ricardo

Prince Ricardo is the sequel story to Prince Prigio, with Prince Ricardo, son of King Prigio, as the hero. Unlike his father, Prince Ricardo believed in fairy things and indulged in easy successes by

using the fairy gifts such as the flying carpet, the Seven-League Boots, the Cap of Invisibility and the Sword of Sharpness. King Prigio regretted that he had brought up his son with fairy books. The king had taken a lesson from his bitter experiences in his youth caused by his disbelief in fairies. But his education had worked too much on his son. King Prigio secretly substituted shams for fairy gifts wishing that Prince Ricardo would be left to his own cleverness and courage when in danger and to get out of it without the help of magical power.

Princess Jaqueline, who lived with the royal family since she had been rescued by Ricardo from gigantic fierce birds, came to know the king's intention by practising magic. The story tells the hardships Prince Ricardo experienced in his adventures when the fairy gifts in which he put so much confidence did not work. Princess Jaqueline's devotion to rescuing Ricardo out of danger at the risk of her own life is the other theme of the story. Prince Ricardo came to realise the necessity of practicing martial arts and of studying. Princess Jaqueline's affection finally won the heart of Prince Ricardo. The story ends with their happy wedding.

The story is woven with episodes about Prince Ricardo's involvement with Prince Charles Edward (1720-1788), his father, King James (the Old Pretender) and younger brother, as well as fairy-tale characters such as the Yellow Dwarf and a giant. Prince Ricardo one day got a letter from Prince Charles asking for his help to restore him to the British throne. Prince Ricardo visited him in Rome where Prince Charles was in exile with his father and brother. Prince Ricardo's plan of 'bloodless revolution' to carry Charles to London by the flying carpet and put him on the throne of his father failed as the carpet did not work. It was a sham which King Prigio had substituted for the right one.

Following this episode, Prince Ricardo set out on adventures to

kill the Yellow Dwarf, the creation of Madame d'Aulnoy and one of the most popular of her fairy stories, and then to fight with the Giant who does not know when he has had enough. Prince Ricardo's encounter with Prince Charles Edward set the definite period of the story as in 1735 because Prince Charles is introduced here at the age of 15. Therefore, Prince Ricardo's fights with the Yellow Dwarf and the Giant in that period would make the story unrealistic and little reliable. It is regrettable that Lang seems to have ignored the basic form of a fairy tale that name, location and time are usually unspecified. In addition, the plan to take Prince Charles, a famous personage in the British history but not a fairy-tale character, to London by the flying carpet sounds ridiculous.

Being a 'Jacobite only in the sentimental way' and 'captivated not only by the colourful personalities, but also by the ever-present suggestion of impending doom'⁽¹⁹⁾ of the House of Stuart, Lang wrote their biographies and historical romances such as Prince Charles Edward (1900), The King Over the Water (1907), Pickle the Spy, or The Incognito of Prince Charles (1896) and The Mystery of Mary Stuart (1901). He also wrote poems about the prince. However deep was Lang's affection for the royal exiles, Prince Ricardo's encounter with the famous Scottish historical personages is no more than a whim, detrimental to the reality and consistency of this fairy story. Another example of his whim is seen in the description of Prince Charles's playing golf with a club 'as fine a driver as ever came from Robertson's shop of St. Andrews'. Even though Lang was enthusiastic in playing golf and praised James VII's skill at golf, this line is unnecessary.

When Prince Ricardo killed the Yellow Dwarf he cried that 'Princess Frutilla is avenged!' Princess Frutilla, whom the Yellow Dwarf called his 'consort' is the heroine of Madame d'Aulnoy's story. In the original story, the Yellow Dwarf had taken away the princess from her wedding to the King of the Gold Mines and confined her in a

lonely Steel-Castle for she refused to marry the dwarf. She died of grief seeing her lover lying dead at her feet when the Yellow Dwarf stabbed him with the Diamond Sword. The original story is a rare case of a fairy story with an unhappy ending and with the escape of the wicked from punishment.

Lang might have deplored the cruelty and wickedness of the Yellow Dwarf as well as the death of the lovers when he read the story in his childhood. It is conceivable that little Andrew might have wanted to slay the Yellow Dwarf and that the killing of the dwarf in the Lang story might have stemmed from such personal sentiment. The Yellow Dwarf was stabbed by Prince Ricardo with that same Diamond Sword. The dwarf's two guardian lions killed each other in their struggle over a cake made of crocodiles' eggs given by Ricardo to pacify them. In the original story, the dwarf carefully kept the cake away from the lions. The Spanish Cat which carried the princess away from her wedding in the French original was killed by Ricardo's dog. The Yellow Dwarf, one of a few villains who triumphantly survive in fairy stories, should have been kept alive and a monster of Lang's imaginary creation should have been slain instead.

In the next adventure Prince Ricardo fought with the Giant who does not know when he has had enough. His name came from the fact that the giant had an endless desire to fight though his entire body was marked with the scars of wounds sustained in past fighting. The description of the fighting with this rather good-natured giant is dull having little excitement and thrill, except some touches of humour. The giant is afraid of his little wife just like Prince Prigio's ancestor, his father, and even Prigio himself in a way. Here again, Lang's unconscious awesome feeling toward his wife can be recognised.

In the final episode King Prigio came to the rescue of Jaqueline when she was captured and shut up in the mountain under which the Earthquaker was in his slumber. Lang drew inspiration from Mexican

folklore. Jaqueline met maidens who were dedicated to the Earthquaker every year to sing him asleep. Otherwise, the Earthquaker would wake up and ruin the Manoa, the City of the Sun, as well as the Temple of the Sun. King Prigio crushed the Earthquaker by dropping on it the heaviest thing on earth — Stupidity. Among the Stupidities of bad sermons, of ignorant reviewers, of bad poems, of dreary novels, of foolish statements, of fine ladies, and so on, that were stocked on the moon, the king found the right one. It was the Stupidity of the Learned — of dull, blind writers on Shakespeare, and Homer, and the Bible. This joke would be an example of Lang's over-done joking occasionally noticed in his writings. In the happy ending, Jaqueline made a reunion with her father, the Inca, who turned out to be the king of the City of the Sun.

Prince Ricardo is inferior to Prince Prigio in plot. The story lacks inevitability and unity. Lang was too romantic to write a vigorous adventure, particularly fighting scenes, though he seems to have favoured a story of the hero, weak in strength, beating the strong, like the giant, with cunning. His sense of humour and wit worked less successfully in Prince Ricardo. His over-done joking tended to be whim. It is regrettable that the above-mentioned elements overshadowed some romantic and beautiful passages of fantastic ideas such as King Prigio's journey to the moon and Jaqueline's practice of magic, the 'drinking the moon'.

Princess Jaqueline learned the magic art from the book of Cornelius Agrippa when she wanted to find out King Prigio's intention to substitute shams for the fairy gifts. She opened the windows and put off all the lights except two scented candles. Into a round mirror with a silver frame, 'the moon shone white and full, filling all the space of it, so that the room was steeped in a strange silver light. Now the whole room seemd to sway gently, waving and trembling; and as it trembled it sounded and rang with a low silver music, as if it were

filled with the waves of the sea'. The princess poured water into a great silver basin and as she poured it she sang the magic spell. 'As she sang the water in the silver basin foamed and bubbled, and then fell still again; and the moon and the white light from the mirror of the moon fell in the water'. Then she drank the water. At this moment the moon was darkened without a cloud and 'there was darkness in the sky for a time, and all the dogs in the world began to howl'. The mystical atmosphere of fairy story is recognisable from these lines.

Section 4: The Gold of Fairnilee

The Gold of Fairnilee is quite different in character and spirit from Lang's other original stories. It is a work of high literary quality to be remembered as his best fairy story. It, however, was excluded from the list of his original fairy tales given in the preface to The Lilac Fairy Book. He might have felt that it did not come into the category of fairy tales in the ordinary sense. In this story, his nostalgic sentiment and longing for the return to his boyhood in the Border country can be perceived as the true voices from his inner emotion. As a man of extreme shyness, Lang disliked showing his inner sentiment and shielded it with humour and cynicism. He was not interested in portraying of characters and their psychology. He preferred and excelled in the writing of humorous and witty stories of light touch. Because of the nature of the story, he probably dismissed The Gold of Fairnilee.

The story is set in the period of James IV of Scotland at the now ruined house of Fairnilee in Selkirk. Fairnilee belonged to the Pringles of Haining when Lang was a boy and later to their descendants, the Pringle-Pattersons. The large pink house standing there now was built by Lang's friend, Alexander Roberts, in 1905. He writes in an essay, 'An Old House,' for The Illustrated London News, 27 October 1894, that the house once belonged to the Kers around 1490 — 'the family

of Ker of Faldonside, who aimed his pistol at Queen Mary when Rizzio was slain, and who wedded the widow of John Knox'. The ruined house of Fairnilee, the favourite haunting site of the Lang children, was 'hidden by its woods, on the right hand of the road which runs by Tweed, exactly opposite the house of Yair. Here the Fairy Queen trysted with Thomas the Rhymer'.⁽²⁰⁾

Lang drew his materials from Scottish history and the Border legends of Thomas the Rhymer and Tam Lin (or Tamlane). In the story, Randal, the boy hero, lost his father in the Battle of Flodden in 1513. His widowed mother, Lady Ker, looked after her farm folk and spent her money in buying food for her people, because they were poor as a result of constant disputes between Scottish and English residents on both sides of the Border. Protected from such worldly hardship, Randal and Jean, a little English girl captured in a Border raid and reared by Lady Ker, enjoyed their life going fishing and playing on the hills and by the Burnsides. Randal and shepherd boys built up dams of stones and then broke them when plenty of water filled the pools. Lang details the children's games, the reminiscence of those played by the Lang children in the Border countryside.

Like the Lang children who had pleasant hours in listening to their old nurse's folk tales, Randal and Jean spent winter nights by the side of the old nurse, who told them old Scottish tales of elves and fairies and sang old songs. The old nurse believed in fairies and so did the folk in the area. The name of Randal's House, Fairnilee, meant 'the Fairies' Field'. The old nurse's tales of buried treasures inspired Randal to search for them — one of the themes of the story. So did her other tales inspire him to see the Fairy Queen. 'He would lie and watch the long grass till it looked like a forest, and he thought he could see elves dancing between the green grass stems, that were like fairy trees. He kept wishing that he, too, might meet the Fairy Queen, and be taken into that other world where everything was beautiful'.

One day Randal set out to find the Wishing Well and meet the Fairy Queen. There, he was enticed away by the Queen and detained in Fairyland for seven years. The life in Fairyland was so happy that he completely forgot his mother and Jean until he happened to find a golden bottle of magical water. With the power of the water he saw the actual aspect of Fairyland and longed for his home. On Midsummer Eve on the seventh year of his absence, Jean, now grown-up, visited the Wishing Well, and wished three wishes --- to see Randal, to win him back from the Fairy Queen and to help the people in the famine. As she looked into the well water, the water began to grow bright and clear like crystal. Jean saw through it a beautiful country, a castle, knights and ladies dressed in green entering into the castle, except for one knight.

He rode slowly behind the others with his face sadly looking down. Then the well grew dim and she saw the sad face of Randal in the water. She wanted to go back to Fairnilee but she went on into the forest as if she was led by an invisible hand and the fragrance of roses. She found a rose tree with white flowers and plucked some of them, when a dwarf dressed in yellow and red appeared angrily reproaching her for gathering roses. She was horrified by the hideous dwarf but was courageous enough to make the holy sign of the Cross three times. Her holy sign broke the spell. She won back Randal from the hand of the Fairy Queen, who had changed him into the shape of the dwarf to frighten Jean away from the white roses in the enchanted forest.

Soon after he came back from Fairyland, Randal noticed a change in Fairnilee. It was no more the happy place it had been and the people suffered from the famine. The old nurse's zeal to find the hidden treasures intensified more than ever. Randal, who saw what Fairyland really was, dismissed her tale. One day he and Jean happened to spot the old nurse kneeling at the Camp of Rink, rubbing her eyes with the water of the fairy bottle and looking at something in the

grass. When Randal called to her, she in a fright dropped the bottle and the magical water was lost. Randal, however, remembered the site where the nurse was kneeling and dug up gold images, gold coins and other Roman treasures. Randal and Jean married and led a happy life with their children. They were buried near the Tweed as Lang himself wished to be. (21)

Lang borrowed the idea of the Fairy Queen's abduction of Randal from the Border ballad of Thomas the Rhymer. The scenes of Randal's encounter with the Fairy Queen and their journey to Fairyland as well as her showing him the roads to heaven, hell and Elfland are identical with those of the ballad. In the Lang story it is described how Randal met the Fairy Queen, dressed in green, who beckoned to him to mount on her white horse with her before him on the pillion, and that as the horse flew faster than the wind the bells on the bridle rang. They rode and rode and came to a desert place with living lands left far behind, when the Fairy Queen showed him three paths, 'one steep and narrow, and beset with briars and thorns: that was the road to goodness and happiness'; the second one 'a wide smooth road that went through fields of lilies, and that was the path of easy living and pleasure'; and the third one, 'wound about the wild hill-side' — the way to Elfland. They took the third path, rode through a country of dark night, crossed black rivers and saw neither sun nor moon, but they heard the roaring of the sea. Then they came to the beautiful garden that lies round the castle of the Fairy Queen.

Walter Scott's text of the ballad (22) gives the description as follows:

True Thomas lay on Huntlie bank;
 A ferlie he spied wi' his ee;
 And there he saw a ladye bright,
 Come riding down by the Eildon Tree.

Her shirt was o' the grass-green silk,
 Her mantle o' the velvet fyne;
 At ilka tett of her horse's mane,
 Hung fifty siller bells and nine.

. . . .

She mounted on her milk-white steed;
 She's ta'en true Thomas up behind:
 And aye, whene'er her bridle rung,
 The steed flew swifter than the wind.

O they rade on, and further on;
 The steed gaed swifter than the wind;
 Until they reached a desert wide,
 And living land was left behind.

. . . .

'O see ye not you narrow road,
 So thick beset with thorns and briers?
 That is the path of righteousness,
 Though after it but few enquires.

'And see ye not that braid braid road,
 That lies across that lily levin?
 That is the path of wickedness,
 Though some call it the road to heaven.

'And see not ye that bonny road,
 That winds about the fernie brae?
 That is the road to fair Elfland,
 Where thou and I this night maun gae.

. . . .

O they rade on, and further on,
 And they waded through rivers about the knee,
 And they saw neither sun nor moon,
 But they heard the roaring of the sea.

. . . .

Syne they came to a garden green,
 And she pu'd an apple frae a tree ---
 'Take this for thy wages, true Thomas;
 It will give thee the tongue that can never lie'.

The episode of Jean's winning Randal back from Fairyland might have been borrowed from the folk tale of Tam Lin. Jean plucked the white rose, when a dwarf appeared and in rage accused her of gathering the rose. She was frightened, but she made the holy sign of the Cross and broke the spell. As a result the dwarf turned out to be Randal. The tale of Tam Lin is summarised as follows: Janet went to her father's forest to pluck flowers in spite of the danger that the place was haunted by Tam Lin. It was said that Tam Lin, captivated by the Fairy

Queen, would take forfeits from maidens. Tam Lin's horse was seen by the well. As soon as Janet plucked a rose he caught her. As she was bold to answer him, Tam Lin let her go home. She was found to be pregnant and she went to the forest and plucked a double rose to summon him. He was angry but told her how she could win him back from the Fairy Queen.

Tam Lin was quite content with the life in Fairyland until he knew that the fairies would hand him to Hell as a teind to be paid in every seven years. At midnight when Tam Lin was being taken to Hell, Janet pulled him off from his horse and held him fast whatever horrible shapes the fairies turned him into. The Fairy Queen turned him into 'an esk, an adder, a bear, a lion, a red-hot gad of iron and finally into a burning sword', which Janet flung into the well as she had been told to do. Tam Lin came out, a naked knight, and she threw her green mantle over him and made him her own.⁽²³⁾

The latter part of this folk tale might have inspired Dinah Maria Mulock's Alice Learmont (1852), the only predecessor of The Gold of Fairnilee with the same themes taken from Thomas the Rhymer and Tam Lin. In Mulock's story, Alice Learmont's mother fetches her daughter from the fairy procession and holds her fast despite the Fairy Queen turning Alice into hideous figures one after another ---- a wild beast, a goblin and a serpent just as the fairies turn Tam Lin into different horrible shapes. According to Dr Katharine Briggs, Tam Lin is 'a compendium of Scottish fairy beliefs. The carrying away of anyone who is unconscious of fairy ground, the transformations of mortals to fairies when they are kidnapped, the teind to Hell, the disenchantment through various transformations, finally confirmed by putting on of a mortal garment, are all worth noting.'⁽²⁴⁾ Scott gives the same tale a literary form in Alice Brand, a ballad in The Lady of the Lake.

Lang's description of the transfiguration of the Fairy Queen and

her people is subtle and understated when compared with that of Alice Learmont, but has deeper and more mystical feeling. 'The Fairy Queen, that had seemed so happy and beautiful in her bright dress, was weary, pale woman in black, with a melancholy face and melancholy eyes. She looked as if she had been there for thousands of years, always longing for the sunlight and the earth, and the wind and rain. ... the knights and ladies were changed. They looked but half alive; and some, in place of their gay green robes, were dressed in rusty mail, pierced with spears and stained with blood ... And their festivals were not of dainty meats, but of cold, tasteless flesh, and of beans, and pulse, and such things as the old heathens, before the coming of the Gospel, used to offer to the dead. It was dreadful to see them at such feasts, and dancing, and riding, and pretending to be merry with hollow faces and unhappy eyes'.

Lang seems to have preferred a traditional fairy tale of the pre-Shakespearean period. The Fairy Queen is not one of the diminutive flower-fairies or fluttering spirits which flourished in the works of his contemporaries. She is the 'Evil One' in the guise of a beautiful lady living in a castle underground. The empty hollowness of the Queen and her realm suggest the world of death. Particularly, the illustration of their feasts, having the foods offered to the dead in pre-Christian days, might have been drawn from the pre-Christian idea of Hades, where Proserpina is held for eating the fruit of the dead. Although the Fairy Queen is 'Evil One', Lang seemed to have been reluctant to depict her as ferocious woman. His over-refinement of feeling is recognisable, in particular, when compared with the description in Mulock's story. She describes how the Fairy Queen changed into a 'loathly hag laughing through her toothless lips, her yellow-shrunken limbs peering ugly beneath foul rags that were disposed as jauntily as if they had been rich clothing' and court people are withered worn-looking creatures, pale and unsubstantial.

In Alice Learmont, the heroine who was abducted to Fairyland while a baby meets Thomas the Rhymer, described as her ancestor, in that realm. Alice sees the real features of the Fairy Queen and her land when Thomas the Rhymer sprinkles the magical water of a stream on her eyelids. To her eyes, there is no beauty, no pleasure but dead blank of sight and sound in the changed landscape of Fairyland. In many romance and ballad stories, Fairyland is a place of disillusionment and to use Tolkien's words, a 'perilous realm'. All the glittering charms that fascinated mortals fade leaving bleakness and desolation as described in The Gold of Fairnilee and Alice Learmont.

The shifting glamour of Fairyland, as well as changeling of mortals to Fairyland, disenchantment by a holy sign of cross, and the danger of wearing green are common themes in Scottish lore 'at all periods', according to Dr Briggs.⁽²⁵⁾ Scott describes the faded scene in the Fourth Canto, 'The Prophecy', of The Lady of the Lake.

'Tis merry, 'tis merry in Fairy-land,
 When fairy birds are singing,
 When the court doth ride by their monarch's side,
 With bit and bridle ringing:

"And gaily shines the Fairy-land —
 But all is glistening show,
 Like the idle gleam that December's beam
 Can dart on ice and snow.

"And fading, like that varied gleam,
 Is our inconstant shape,
 Who now like knight and lady seem,
 And now like dwarf and ape."⁽²⁶⁾

John Keats in his poem, La Belle Dame sans Merci, also describes a Fairy lady's transformation from a beautiful lady like 'a faery's child', with wild eyes, into a sad-looking lady who sighs in her 'elfin grot' and kings, princes and warriors all death-pale. This poem is much nearer to the fairy tradition than other eighteenth century fairy poems, says Dr Briggs. It reads:

I met a lady in the meads
 Full beautiful, a faery's child;
 Her hair was long, her foot was light,
 And her eyes were wild.

. . . .

She took me to her elfin grot,
 And there she gaz'd and sighed deep,
 And there I shut her wild sad eyes —
 So kiss'd to sleep.

. . . .

I saw pale kings, and princes too,
 Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;
 Who cry'd — 'La belle Dame sans merci
 Hath thee in thrall!'

I saw their starv'd lips in the gloom
 With horrid warning gaped wide,
 And I awoke, and found me here
 On the cold hill side.

Lang employs in The Gold of Fairnilee such traditional beliefs as follows: Randal and the Fairy Queen cross 'black' rivers and in the ballad of Thomas the Rhymer the Fairy Queen and Thomas wade through 'red blude' rivers, more ominous and abominable but more true to savage tradition. Crossing a river as a means of entering the world of spirits is a 'commonplace of literature, as in Homer, Vergil, and Dante, but it is a commonplace which rests ultimately upon primitive belief'.⁽²⁷⁾ In Lang's story, Jean in her attempt to rescue Randal plucks roses. Roses used to be regarded as being under the special protection of elves, dwarfs and fairies, who were ruled by the lord of the Rose-garden'.⁽²⁸⁾ The preference of green in Fairyland as seen in the dresses of the Fairy Queen and her knights — typically of the Green Knight in the medieval romance of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight — is said to be associated with 'the dead and witches' and with the 'familiar superstition that green is unlucky'. Scott wrote in the note to The Lady of the Lake that "'Men of Peace" wore green habits, they were supposed to take offence when any mortals ventured to assume their favourite colour'.

As described above, the fusion of pagan and Christian beliefs is traced in The Gold of Fairnilee, in which the incidents such as the

Fairy Queen's showing of the three roads leading to Heaven, hell and Fairyland and Jean's making of the sign of the cross were taken from Thomas the Rhymer and Tam Lin. Nevertheless, fairy traditions survived in legends and ballads and 'Christian thought in our popular poetry is on the whole alien and intrusive. Our best ballads are pagan at heart',⁽²⁹⁾ writes Lowry C Wimberly.

Lang explains how the introduction into Britain of Christianity affected the existence of fairies of pagan and Celtic beliefs in his essay, 'Modern Fairy Tales' and the introduction to Perrault's Popular Tales: the native spirits of woods and well, acquiring the name of Fata, survived the official religion and undaunted in the heart of peasants when Christianity reached Britain and temples of the high gods were overthrown or turned into churches. He writes that 'Saints and Councils denounced the rural offerings to fountains and the roots of trees, but the secret shame-faced worship lasted deep into the middle ages' and that in popular superstition, the fées or fairies inherited 'much from the pre-Christian idea of Hades. In the old MS, Prophesia Thomae de Erseldoun, the subterranean fairy-world is the under-world of pagan belief'.⁽³⁰⁾

Lang might have formed these opinions as a result of his mythological and folklore researches and probably of his reading of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales as he frequently referred to Chaucer's fairies. Chaucer is believed to be the 'true literary starting-point of the English fairy-tale, mainly because of what he made the Wife of Bath say on the subject'.⁽³¹⁾ Chaucer already used in the Canterbury Tales the words such as elf-queen and fairye before Spenser popularised 'the Fairy Queen'. Lang writes that 'The Fairy Queen in Chaucer is "the Fairy Queen Proserpina" of [Thomas] Campion's song [The Fairy Queen Proserpine]'. In The Marchant's Tale, Pluto and his queen Proserpina are attended by 'fairye':

Ful ofte tyme he Pluto and his queene
 Proserpina and al hir fairye
 Disporten hem and maken melodye
 About that welle and daunced, as men tolde,

.

In The Tale of Sir Thopas, the hero went to the forest to meet elf-queen because 'in this world no womman is worthy to be my make in twone'.

Chaucer tells in The Wife of Bath's Tale that in the days of King Arthur fairies lived everywhere in Britain but they were driven out by the church, seldom seen 'now' or by the late fourteenth century. The tale describes:

In th' olde dayes of the kyng Arthour,
 If which that Britons speken gret honour,
 Al was this land fulfilled of fairye;
 The elf-queene with hir joly compaignye
 Daunced ful ofte in many a greene mede.
 This was the olde opynyon as I rede —
 I speke of many hundred years ago.
 But now kan no man se none elues no,
 For now the grete charitee and prayers
 Of lymytours and othere holy freres
 That serchen euery lond and euery stroom
 As thikke as motes in the sonne-beem,
 Blessynge halles, chambres, kichenes, boures,
 Citees, burghes, castels, hye toures,
 Thropes, bernes, shipnes, dayeryes,
 This maketh that ther been no fairyes.
 For ther as wont to walken was an elf
 Ther walketh now the lymytour hymself
 In vndermelys and in morwenynges
 And seith his matyns and his holy thynges
 As he gooth in his lymytacioun. (32)

The story of The Gold of Fairnilee is simple and lacks such drastic and adventurous elements as those woven in Prince Prigio. Its climax in which Jean wins Randal back from the Fairy Queen is rather weak. The making of the holy sign of the cross is so handy a measure used here for disenchantment, although it was widely employed as defensive magic and counter-magic in legendary and ballad stories. (Chaucer in his Miller's Tale records the popular notion that crossing is a powerful charm against elves).

Mulock's Alice Learmont is more vigorous and powerful in some parts and in particular, in the description of Alice's mother holding fast of her daughter as means of disenchantment throughout Alice's shape-shifting. Mulock's story, however, shows somewhat the influence of the Victorian literary tradition. For example, fairies are diminutive and have wings. The story emphasises the importance of family love. According to Gillian Avery, the representation of affection and gentleness within the family circle was the keynote of many Victorian writers and in their stories, 'members of a home are linked together by love's golden chain'.⁽³³⁾

If Mulock is conscious of teaching morality, it is so well veiled as to improve the literary quality considerably. Yet, didactic elements are discernible in such themes as follows: Alice indulged herself with luxurious life in Fairyland and disliked and despised the poverty-stricken life of her earthly parents on her annual visit. She, however, came to recognise the affection of her parents and brothers shown to her and of the true happiness of a family tied with affection. The story also emphasises that the mother's love won Alice from Fairyland and how strong is the mother's love of her child. The Gold of Fairnilee is quite immune from the didactic trend of the Victorian age.

The Gold of Fairnilee is not a fairy tale in the ordinary sense but is a rather strangely sad and melancholy story, despite its happy ending. Lang's beautiful writing style, and his skill of story-telling and creating 'an atmosphere of reverence and wonder; of feeling the presence of something beyond and above our normal experience and of imparting that feeling to the reader'⁽³⁴⁾ must fascinate and appeal to readers. A.T. Quiller-Couch in his essay, 'From a Cornish Window' called Lang 'the man who is (or has been during the past 10 years) the master of the best style in English prose. His style is accurate, lucid, simple in the best sense; happy in illustration and allusion;

familiar without a trace of vulgarity'.

Quotations from The Gold of Fairnilee would be the best way to introduce his style:

' ... Then the water began to grow bright within, as if the sun was shining far, far below. Then it grew as clear as crystal, and she saw through it, like a glass, into a new country — a beautiful country with a wide green plain, and in the midst of the plain a great castle, with golden flags floating from the tops of all the towers. Then she heard a curious whispering noise that thrilled and murmured, as if the music of all the trees that the wind blows through the world were in her ears, as if the noise of all the waves of every sea, and the rustling of heather-bells on every hill, and the singing of all birds were sounding, low and sweet, far, far away. Then she saw a great company of knights and ladies, dressed in green, ride up to the castle

'But her feet did not seem to carry her the way she wanted to go. It seemed as if something within her were moving her in a kind of dream. She felt herself going on through the forest, she did not know where. Deeper into the wood she went, and now it grew so dark that she saw scarce anything; only she felt the fragrance of briar roses, and it seemed to her that she was guided towards these roses. Then she knew there was a hand in her hand, though she saw nobody, and the hand seemed to lead her on. And she came to an open place in the forest, and there the silver light fell clear from the sky, and she saw a great shadowy rose tree, covered with white wild roses'.

In his Andrew Lang Lecture delivered before the University of St. Andrews on 13 November 1968, entitled 'The Mystery of Andrew Lang',⁽³⁵⁾ Roger Lancelyn Green spoke about the mystery why Lang did not write an accepted masterpiece and another mystery: what is the great charm about his writing. 'There is something much more than mere style. There is an individuality peculiar to Lang — the "Langishness" which junior

contemporaries such as [A.E.W.] Mason, Bernard Shaw, [Gilbert] Murray and Arthur Ransome were able to remember and to tell how it drew them to look for a "leader" by Lang in The Daily News or The Saturday Review or The Morning Post'.

Indeed, Lang's writing style is simple, and the words rarely exceed two syllables. As far as his works for children are concerned, the sentences and stories are much shorter than those of his contemporary writers for young readers. Readability of his books excels even by today's standard. When compared with the works of his contemporaries it would appear more clearly. The Daisy Chain (1856) by Charlotte M. Yonge, one of the acclaimed books for children, reads: (The passage chosen at random from the first page of the book)

"I do believe she does it on purpose!" whispered Ethel to herself, wriggling fearfully on the wide window-seat on which she had precipitated herself, and kicking at the bar of the table, by which manifestation she of course succeeded in deferring her hopes, by a reproof which caused her to draw herself into a rigid, melancholy attitude, a sort of penance of decorum, but a rapid motion of the eyelids, a tendency to crack the joints of the fingers, and an unquietness at the ends of her shoes, betraying the restlessness of the digits therein contained'. (36)

There is no full stop at all in this paragraph.

It is quite understandable how Lang's stories might have been a delight to children. The characteristics of his style can be more clearly recognisable when they are read aloud --- the rhythmical tone with the touch of melancholy lingers in the minds of the audience. The repetition of adjectives and words, particularly the conscious repetition of a syllable for the sound effect as well as the effect of alliteration are employed. The passage illustrating Randal's father's departure to the battle ground to fight the English forces might be an example: 'It was a windy August evening when he went away: the rain

had fallen since morning. Randal had watched the white mists driven by the gale down through the black pine-wood that covers the hill opposite Fairnilee. The mist looked like armies of ghosts, he thought, marching, marching through the pines, with their white flags flying and streaming. Then the sun came out red at evening and Randal's father rode away with all his men ... Then the sky turned as red as blood, in the sunset, and next it grew brown, like the rust on a sword; and the Tweed below, when they rode the ford, was all red and gold and brown'.

Despite occasional whims, Lang's knowledge of folk tales and beliefs, as well as his scholarly and scientific attitude are well disguised in the literary narration. Lang collected stories of wraiths from witnesses and he himself had an experience of seeing a wraith. But he is elusive in making it clear if the appearance of Randal's father on the day of the Battle of Flodden is an apparition. For the reality of the story, it is better to be left to the judgement of the readers. Randal's mother dismissed his story of seeing his father and said that he must have dreamed it. Lang's attitude of approval, in the sentimental way, toward things super-natural is only hinted through the attitude and tales of the old nurse.

The hidden treasures discovered by Randal are explained as some that belonged to a regiment of the Roman army and others from the Britons. They are not fairy treasures. For the reality of the story, the document of a certain Melrose monk telling about the treasures is introduced in the story. Fairy tales are generally accepted as dream-like stories of the other world or stories of unrealistic events and wonder. Even if it is so and tells an event of impossibility, the story must make the readers believe in it. Lang knew this.

In fact, The Gold of Fairnilee can be said to be a sort of epitaph to Lang. In this story of poignant beauty, neither whim nor mockery --- so familiar with his other stories --- is demonstrated but natural and

spontaneous enthusiasm of a story-teller is discernible. The book was dedicated to his niece, Jeanie Lang, in Australia to tell her a 'tale of our own country'. All the materials engraved in this story are most dear to him and are closely associated with the memories of his Border boyhood --- 'pleasant to be a boy in the north'. The ruined house of Fairniee, hills and streams of the Tweed, the Lang children's games and their old nurse's tales of Border legends and beliefs haunted him throughout his life. Even minor incidents in the story have special meaning to him. For example, Border disputes were not the incidents in the long-time-ago history but his own grandfather witnessed an 'invasion' and Walter Scott wrote his experience of it in The Antiquary. Randal's mother, Lady Ker, is described in the essay 'An Old House' as a relative of John Knox's widow, about whom Lang had a long-cherished 'ambition to write a novel, The Second Mrs Knox'.⁽³⁷⁾ In this story, he expresses his desire of meeting the Fairy Queen through the wish of Randal.

Lang went to Ireland once with a hope to see a fairy. Actually his desire was not fulfilled but in a dream. He describes an encounter with the Fairy Queen in his dream: 'I seemed to be sitting on the side of a Scottish hill, on Yarrow I think, with a fairy lady of great beauty and charm. She instructed me that three times in my life she would appear to me, when I plucked a sprig of white heather. "But do not pluck for the third time", she said, "till your death is approaching, and then I will come to you and be your guide and comfort through the lonely ways of Death". So, in my dream, time went by: twice I had gathered the white heater, and twice seen the fair lady. At last I was lying on the hillside again, and by chance my idle hand broke a flower of the white heather. Instantly she appeared weeping, and told me that the last chance was wasted, and that I, like other men, must go alone down the ways of Death. Then she kissed me, and her immortal

face was wet, and as cold as stone'. (38) Whatever she is, the Fairy Queen seems to be an eternal lady to Lang.

The magical power of Prince Prigio and The Gold of Fairnilee equal that of old fairy tales. In Prince Prigio, the archetype of a fairy tale — the process of maturation, the detachment from a parent-figure, adventures, battles, the victory of the weak against the strong with cunning, the eventual triumph of the youngest (here, the eldest) and happy-ending — is present. His touch of humour and wit, high readability and above all, his emphasis on entertaining children are the factors which make the book one of the children's classics for nearly the past century. Prince Ricardo though inferior to the earlier book, is still enjoyable and 'full of pleasant turns' said Dr Briggs.

The Gold of Fairnilee, as we have seen in this chapter, excels in conveying the wonder and mystical atmosphere of a true fairy tale. Lang never lowered his writing on the excuse of writing for children. His exquisitely beautiful and elaborate writing, though less dramatic and exciting, would appeal more to the mind's image of the readers. While most of hundreds of juvenile books which flourished in the Victorian age were forgotten, Lang's original books are all in print. As he said that judgement should be left to children because they know their own tastes, the fact that his books are widely-read by them certainly proves their worth. In fact, fairy tales are best when read and told.

Notes to Chapter V

- 1) Andrew Lang's letter to Rider Haggard, quoted by Roger Lancelyn Green, Andrew Lang (Leicester, 1946), p.100.
- 2) Cyrano de Bergerac, Histoire Comique des États et Empires de la Lune et du Soleil (Paris, 1889 edition). The story is more like a philosophical allegory and satire about culture in France of the time than a scientific fiction. The main character who visits the moon meets a Spaniard living there. If Lang got any hint for Prince Prigio from this story, he might have taken from the Spaniard's lengthy speeches on the four elements --- water, fire, air and earth.
- 3) W.M. Thackeray, The Rose and The Ring (London, 1855). The Rose and the Ring are the gifts of the Fairy to her two goddaughters --- Prince Giglio's and Prince Bulbo's mothers. If a man wears either of them it makes all the women in love with him; if a woman, all the men. The Fairy, however, wishes 'a little misfortune' to Prince Giglio and Princess Rosalba, whose father was dethroned and killed in the rebellion of Bulbo's father. Giglio falls in love with his cousin, Princess Angelica but she loves Bulbo. The story describes the transference of affection by the magical power of the Ring and restoration to the first love.
- 4) Margery Fisher, 'Two Old Favourites', Growing Point, Vol. 21 (Northampton, July 1982), pp. 3919, 3920.
- 5) J.R.R. Tolkien, Tree and Leaf, tenth edition (London, 1975), pp. 64, 63.
- 6) The Wife of Usher's Well, quoted by Lowry C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads (New York and London, republished 1959), p.401.
- 7) Tolkien, Tree and Leaf, p.41.
- 8) Fisher, Growing Point, p.3920.
- 9) Roger Lancelyn Green, Andrew Lang, p.92.
- 10) Lang, 'The Log Rolliad', College Echoes (St. Andrews Univ., 8 January 1891), pp.59-60.
- 11) Lang, 'The Superiority of Women', Illustrated London News (14 April 1894) and St. Andrews Univ. Library MS744.
- 12) Lang's letter to Mrs Anna Hills, St. Andrews Univ. Library MS3311.
- 13) Mrs Andrew Lang, 'The Fairchild Family and Their Creator', Longman's Magazine (April 1893), pp. 579, 583.
- 14) Mrs Andrew Lang, 'Trials of the Wife of a Literary Man', Men, Women, and Mixxes (London, 1912), p.104.
- 15) Mrs Lang, *ibid.*, p.109.
- 16) Mrs Lang, *ibid.*, p.105.
- 17) Mrs Lang, *ibid.*, pp.106,107.

- 18) Ella Robertson Christie and Alice Margaret King Stewart, Long Look at Life by Two Victorians (London, 1940), p.157.
- 19) J.D. Mackie, 'Andrew Lang and the House of Stuart', Concerning Andrew Lang --- Being the Andrew Lang Lectures delivered before the University of St. Andrews 1927-1937 (Oxford, 1949), p.6.
- 20) Lang, 'An Old Chair and An Old House', Illustrated London News (27 October, 1894), p.534.
- 21) Lang's wish was not permitted because he was not a parishioner. He was laid to rest in the graveyard in St. Andrews. Mrs Lang's unpublished letter (kept in the Border Regional Library Headquarters in Selkirk) to Thomas Craig-Brown, a local writer, dated 17 October 1913, says: 'It was I who bought the grave in St. Andrews --- the very last in the Cathedral, 18 months before his death. I did not tell him I had done so, till 6 weeks later. He had never expressed any wish to be buried there. But I hate London cemeteries'. She died on 10 July, 1933, and was laid to rest together with her husband. They rest beneath a cross on which is written:
- The souls of the righteous are in
The hands of God,
There shall no torment touch them.
- 22) Walter Scott, 'Thomas the Rhymer', The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1887 edition), II, pp.117-120.
- 23) Katherine M. Briggs, A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language, 4 Vols. (London, 1970), Part A, Vol. I, p.501.
- 24) Briggs, *ibid.*, p.502.
- 25) Briggs, The Fairies in Tradition and Literature (London and Boston, 1967), 1978 edition, p.166.
- 26) Scott, The Lady of the Lake (Edinburgh, 1863 edition), pp.184-185.
- 27) Lowry C. Wimberly, Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads (New York and London, 1928), 1959 edition, p.108.
- 28) Wimberly, *ibid.*, p.151.
- 29) Wimberly, *ibid.*, p.401.
- 30) Lang, Introduction to Perrault's Popular Tales, p.xxxviii.
- 31) Harvey Darton, Children's Books in England (Cambridge Univ. Press, London and New York, 1982 edition), p.92.
- 32) Chaucer's 'The Wife of Bath's Tale' from The Canterbury Tales, edited from the Hengwirt Manuscript by N.F. Blake (London, 1980 edition), p.203.
- 33) Gillian Avery, Childhood's Pattern (London, 1975), p.129.
- 34) Roger Lancelyn Green, Andrew Lang, p.143.

- 35) Green, 'The Mystery of Andrew Lang', St. Andrews Univ. Library
MS30463.
- 36) Charlotte M. Yonge, The Daisy Chain (London, 1906 edition), p.1.
- 37) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship', Longman's Magazine, Vol. 45
(January 1905), p.283.
- 38) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' Longman's Magazine (December, 1887),
p.237.

Chapter VI Lang and Stevenson

Section 1: Lang always helped his younger friends

Andrew Lang's super-sensitiveness and habitual depression prevented him from appreciating psychological and naturalistic novels. He tried to avoid emotional involvement at all costs and turned, in his later years, away from literary works that might cause him mental suffering. He escaped in the realm of romances and fantastic adventure stories. Consequently, his literary criticism was denounced by several objectors as 'merely an exhibition of fugitive prejudice' or as using 'his beautiful thin facility to write everything down to the lowest level of Philistine twaddle'.

It is, however, undeniable that Lang justly recognised and was always the first person to admire the quality of younger writers of children's books including Rider Haggard, Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling, Edith Nesbit and Kenneth Grahame. Without his support and encouragement, some of these writers might have had little chance to introduce their works.

Lang read Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885) in manuscript when it reached W.E. Henley after being rejected by publishers, 'none of whom if I remember rightly thought it worth bringing out'.⁽¹⁾ At that time Lang was not acquainted with Haggard but he wrote to him that 'seldom have I read a book with so much pleasure: I think it perfectly delightful ... I almost prefer it to Treasure Island'.⁽²⁾ In this letter Lang suggested to him possible methods of publishing it. Haggard was not confident about his story since he had written it in his leisure time as 'mere enjoyment' and particularly so after it was turned down by publishers. Lang's 'compliment was high and indeed extraordinary' and prompted him to approach an editor to sell its copyright. When the book was published, Lang wrote a two-column review for The Saturday Review. With this Haggard felt sure that his book was going to succeed.

It was then their life-time friendship began. Most of Haggard's works either in manuscript or proof were shown to Lang for advice and suggestion. For example, Haggard's tale, Nesta Amor, was never published as he had agreed with Lang's opinion that it was better not to publish it. When She (1887) was in proof for serial publication in The Graphic, Haggard showed it to Lang and got an encouraging letter dated 13 July 1886: 'it seems like a story from the literature of another planet. I can't give a better account of the extraordinary impression it makes upon me'. Soon afterward, Lang wrote again: 'I certainly still think it the most extraordinary romance I ever read'.

In their joint writing of The World's Desire (1890), Lang gave Haggard detailed advice and suggestions such as recommending books he wanted him to read. After discussing the plot, Haggard wrote a part, which Lang altered or rewrote. The collaboration, however, was suspended for a while because 'in his casual manner, he [Lang] lost the whole MS for a year or so; then it was unexpectedly found, and encouraged thereby I went on and wrote the rest'.⁽³⁾ After 'many vicissitudes and adventures' the book finally materialised. According to Haggard, the book was 'violently attacked ... All that I remember about them is the effort of its assailants to discriminate between that part of the work which was written by Lang and that part which was written by myself --- an effort, I may add that invariably failed'.⁽⁴⁾ They never ventured again on writing a romance in collaboration. When Haggard suggested another collaboration, Lang said that 'The W.D. took in despite of my ill-omened name, I brought you worse luck than you would have had alone'.

Haggard, in his diaries of later years, edited by D.S. Higgins, The Private Diaries of Sir Rider Haggard 1914-1925 (1980), occasionally mentioned Lang, though briefly. He indicated that Lang was his admirer. He spent a day with Kipling and Alfred Bateman talking about literary criticism, reading and poetry. Haggard was pleased to hear that Kipling

thought him a great writer. He wrote in the diary, 11 November 1918: 'I answered "all the time seeing how poorly many of the critics seem to rate me, you would not dare to say over your name that you thought me a great writer?" "Wouldn't I just, if it came my way to do so!" he [Kipling] exclaimed. Well, it is pleasant to have one competent admirer left now that Andrew Lang is dead'. (5)

In fact, it must have been a great comfort to have such an encouragement as that of Lang. When Haggard became sickened of novel-writing and was despondent about his literary career, Lang's letter of the time says: 'If you jack up literature, I shall jack up Reading ... Probably I think more highly of your books than you do, and I was infinitely more anxious for your success than for my own, which is not an excitement to me'. (6)

Lang advocated minor literary aspects. His preference for 'littleness' is revealed by his choice of titles and themes: Essays in Little (1891), Letters to Dead Authors (1893), How to Fail in Literature (1890) and so forth. It seems that 'littleness' meant to Lang a genuine work devoid of worldly prestige, success and material reward. In How to Fail in Literature, he gave ironical advice how to fail in the literary world or in reverse how to succeed as a writer, recommending, for example, not to study writing style and to accuse successful people of 'plagiarising from books or articles of yours which did not succeed'. It was originally a lecture delivered at the South Kensington Museum in aid of the College for Working Men and Women.

As an example of a 'failure' case, he introduced the two unknown poets, Thomas Davidson, a minister who died young soon after he had written 'his latest song on the first grey hairs of the lady whom he loved', and she, Miss Alison Dunlop, who died 'a year ago leaving a little work, Anent Old Edinburgh'. According to Lang, Davidson left 'a few genuine poems' and both had 'humour, knowledge, patience, industry and literary conscientiousness'.

His ironical declamation against the comfortable view of success in literary world went on: 'No success came to them, they did not even seek it, though it was easily within the reach of their powers. Yet none can call them failure, leaving as they did, the fragrance of honourable and uncomplaining lives, and such brief records of these as to delight, and console and encourage us all ... They bequeath to us the spectacle of a real triumph far beyond the pretty gains of money or of applause, the spectacle of lives made happy by literature, unvexed by notoriety, unfretted by envy. What we call success could never have yielded them so much, for the ways of authorship are dusty and stony, and the stones are only too handy for throwing at the few that, deservedly or undeservedly, make a name'. (7)

In his introduction to the Swanston Edition of The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson (1911), Lang commented on Stevenson's works: '"The world is so full of a number of things", that a few essays, two or three short stories in a magazine, a little book of sketches in prose, may be masterpieces in their three several ways, but they escape the notice of all but a few amateurs'. In his obituary on Stevenson, Lang called him a '"Little Master", but of the "Little Masters" the most perfect and delightful'.

It is perhaps easier to recognise the greatness of the accepted great masters of literature than to appreciate the genius of unknown or minor writers who are shadowed by the names of the great masters. Lang's preoccupation with 'littleness' might have been cultivated by his escape to the fantastic world of romance and adventure and his avoidance of bothersome questions of reality as well as serious statements about life. The fact that he always sided with dethroned kings and that he objected against orthodox opinions might have made him more sympathetic with the unknown and minor authors.

Therefore, his insights into minor writers never failed to appreciate the significance of their achievements in the literary tradition. He did not hesitate to praise and encourage the lesser writers for their earliest books. Among those who owed it to Lang for being taken up in reviews and causeries, particularly those written for Longman's Magazine, 'At the Sign of the Ship', were S.R. Crockett (1860-1914), Conan Doyle, A.E.W. Mason (1865-1948), Stanley Weyman (1855-1928) and Maurice Hewlett (1861-1923).

Lang had many ideas for stories and attempted to write novels which never materialised. He wrote in the essay, 'Enchanted Cigarette', that 'there are plenty of stories left, waiting for the man who can tell them ... if I was king I would keep court officials, Mr Stanley Weyman, Mr Mason, Mr Kipling, and others, to tell me my own stories'.⁽⁸⁾ Lang actually worked together with Mason for Parson Kelly (1899), with May Kendall (anonymously) for That Very Mab (1885) and with W.H. Pollock (anonymously) for He (1887). Collaboration with Lang was not easy work but they seemed grateful for his assistance.

The most interesting of these projects, though it failed, was to have been written in collaboration with 'a very great novelist, who, as far as we went, confined himself to making objections'. This novelist was Robert Louis Stevenson, though Lang did not disclose the name of the 'very great novelist'.

The attempted mystery was titled, Where is Rose? Lang explained in 'Enchanted Cigarette': 'The characters were --- (1) Rose, a young lady of quality, (2) The Russian Princess, her friend (need I add that, to meet a public demand, her name was Vera?) (3) Young man engaged to Rose. (4) Charles, his friend. (5) An enterprising person named "The Whiteley of Crime", the universal Provider of Iniquity. In fact he anticipated Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Professor Moriarty. The rest were detectives, old ladies, mob, and a wealthy young Colonial [sic] larrikin. Neither

my friend nor I was fond of describing love scenes, so we made the heroine disappear in the second chapter, and she never turned up again till chapter the last. After playing in a comedy at the house of an earl, Rose and Vera entered her brougham. Soon afterward the brougham drew up, empty, at Rose's own door. Where was Rose? Traces of her were found, of all places, in the Haunted House in Berkeley Square, which is not haunted any longer. After that Rose was long sought in vain'.⁽⁹⁾

Lang continues to tell the plot in the essay: 'This briefly, is what had occurred. A Russian detective "wanted" Vera, who, to be sure, was a Nihilist. To catch Vera he made an alliance with "The Whiteley of Crime". He was a man who would destroy a parish register, or forge a will, or crack a crib, or break up a pro-Boer meeting, or burn a house, or kidnap a rightful heir, or manage a personation, or issue amateur banknotes, or what you please. Thinking to kill two birds with one stone, he carried off Rose for her diamonds and Vera for his friend, the Muscovite police official, lodging them both in the Haunted House. But there he and the Russian came to blows, and, in the confusion, Vera made her escape, while Rose was conveyed, as Vera, to Siberia. Not knowing how to dispose of her, the Russian police consigned her to a nunnery at the mouth of the Obi. Her lover, in a yacht, found her hiding-place, and got a friendly nun to give her some narcotic known to the Samoyeds. It was the old truc of the Friar in "Romeo and Juliet". At the mouth of the Obi they do not bury the dead, but lay them down on platforms in the open air. Rose was picked up there by her lover (accompanied by a chaperon, of course), was got on board the steam yacht, and all went well. I forget what happened to "The Whiteley of Crime"'.⁽¹⁰⁾

In the essay, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', Lang said that 'we once plotted a Boisgobesque story together. There was a prisoner in a Muscovite dungeon'. From this passage it is clear that 'a very great novelist' with whom Lang attempted to write a thriller in collaboration was Stevenson. In the same essay Lang explained how they

stopped their joint venture:

"We'll extract information from him (a prisoner in a Muscovite dungeon)," I said.

"How?"

"With corkscrews".

But the mere suggestion of such a process was terribly distasteful to him; not that I really meant to go to these extreme lengths. We never could really have worked together, and his maladies increasing...⁽¹¹⁾

Section 2: Friendship with Stevenson

As Charles Longman wrote to Haggard shortly after the death of Lang that 'Yes, you and I will always feel a blank when we think of Andrew Lang. He was of all men the most loyal to his friends --- it was one of his most marked characteristics',⁽¹²⁾ Lang's loyalty to his friends was unanimously admitted by them. In particular his loyal devotion to Stevenson lasted until the death of the latter in December 1894. His friendship with Stevenson was not as close as that with Haggard and Longman, nor he was in the inner circle of Stevenson's friends such as Sidney Colvin and Charles Baxter. They seldom met each other but deepened their friendship through correspondence after Stevenson left his home country for ever to settle in Samoa.

Lang in his recollections wrote: 'Our own acquaintance was, to a great degree, literary and bookish, perhaps it began "with a slight aversion", but it seemed, like madeira, to be ripened and improved by his long sea voyage; and the news of his death taught me, at least, the true nature of the affection which he was destined to win'.⁽¹³⁾

Lang and Stevenson were linked by a 'vague family connection'. Stevenson's great-uncle married Lang's aunt. 'He and I had a common forebear with Sir Walter Scott, and were hundredth cousins of each other'.⁽¹⁴⁾ And 'a lady of my kindred remembers carrying Stevenson about when he was "a rather peevish baby"'. This lady might be Mrs E.M. Sellar, Lang's aunt,

who was a friend and bridesmaid of Stevenson's mother. 'She Mrs Sellar had herself helped to dress Louis's cradle',⁽¹⁵⁾ writes Rosaline Masson in The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson (1923).

Lang had seen a 'beautiful photograph of him like one of Raffael's children, taken when his years were three or four' and 'he and I were at school [Edinburgh Academy] together, but I was an elderly boy of seventeen, when he was lost in the crowd of "gytes", as the members of the lowest form are called'.⁽¹⁶⁾ He had never heard of him nor seen him at that time. They had not become acquainted until Sidney Colvin introduced them in 1874 in Mentone. Their acquaintance, however, began with a repugnance.

At this first meeting, Stevenson appeared to Lang 'more like a lass than a lad' with a rather long, smooth oval face and long hair. Stevenson actually was pleased to look like a beautiful woman. He wrote a rhyme when Count Nerli was painting his portrait: 'Oh, will he paint me the way I like, and as bonny as a girlie'. Lang thought Stevenson was affecting the poet. Stevenson's clothes did not give him a favourable impression. Lang wrote: '"Here", I thought, "is one of your aesthetic young men, though a very clever one"'.⁽¹⁷⁾

Lang was not the only person to have been impressed by his clothing. For example, Mrs Sellar remembered Stevenson as a youth 'so eccentric no doubt they [her children] appeared shallow and conventional, as he --- with his long hair and black shirt, a freak of his --- appeared to them affected, not to say intolerable!'.⁽¹⁸⁾ Lang, however, disliked Stevenson's posing of early years. On one occasion, Lang and Sheriff Maconochie were walking in London when they met him. Maconochie wrote: 'As we walked we came across Stevenson dressed in the height of the eccentricity, which, as is well known, he at one time affected --- a black shirt, red tie, black brigand cloak, and (I am almost certain) a velvet smoking-cap. He came up to us, but Lang said, "No, no; go away, Louis, go away!

My character will stand a great deal, but it won't stand being seen talking to a 'thing' like you in Bond Street". (19)

Lang's fastidiousness about Stevenson's clothes was softened in later years and he wrote, after Stevenson's death, that he did not think him a 'poseur'. He came to understand Stevenson's attitude and was right to say: 'he was merely sensitively conscious of himself and of life as an art' and played his part 'with full conscious and picturesque effect'. (20)

On the other hand, Lang's perfection of the Oxford manner, over-refinement of feeling and sense of decorum might have had little appeal to young Stevenson, who at that time, being rebellious to his father's Calvinistic doctrine, extremely disliked things conventional and led the life of a Bohemian. Therefore, the first impression Lang produced on him was unfavourable. He wrote to his father, Thomas Stevenson: 'Yesterday we [he and Colvin] had visit from one of whom I had often heard from Mrs Sellar --- Andrew Lang. He is good-looking, delicate, Oxfordish, etc.' (21)

The profile of Lang was humorously sketched by Stevenson in his verse written in a letter to Henley. (22)

'My name is Andrew Lang
 Andrew Lang
 That's my name,
 And criticism and cricket is my game.
 With my eyeglass in my eye
 Am not I
 Am I not
 A Lady-dady Oxford kind of Scot
 Am I not?'

Lang remembered little of their converse at this first meeting but recollected 'a shrewd and hearty piece of encouragement given me by a junior who already knew so much of life than his senior will ever do'. (23)

Shortly after this meeting at Mentone, Stevenson's essay, 'Ordered South' was published in the May edition of Macmillan's Magazine. Lang, reading it, was convinced of his genius. He wrote that Stevenson was 'a new writer, a writer indeed; one who could do what none of us, nous autres could rival, or approach'. This was long before Stevenson won fame with Treasure Island and Jekyll and Hyde. Lang went on: 'I was instantly "sealed of the tribe of Louis", an admirer, a devotee, a fanatic'.⁽²⁴⁾ In fact, Lang was always ready to assist Stevenson. He was one of Stevenson's supporters when the latter was to seek in vain the ^{position} of an Edinburgh University professor and also in the election for the membership of the Savile Club in June 1874. The Savile Club became the centre of Stevenson's London life.

Stevenson greatly appreciated the opportunity of meeting young promising writers there. He wrote about the society that 'this is the place known by fame to many; to few by sight. Now and again, Gladstone, or Hugo, the Primate of England or the Prince de Galles, may tread, not without awe, its hallowed flooring. But these, great though they are, are not its true inhabitants. Here gather daily those young eaglets of glory, the swordsmen of the pen, who are the pride and wonder of the world'.⁽²⁵⁾

In October the same year, 1874, Stevenson took the walk to Buckinghamshire to write essays for the Portfolio and made his only visit to Oxford, where he stayed with Lang at Merton for a few days. Stevenson did not mention his visit to Oxford in the Portfolio but wrote about it in his letter to his mother. The visit is confirmed in Lang's writing: 'Mr Stevenson came to visit me at Oxford. I make no hand of reminiscence; I remember nothing about what we did or said, with one exception, which is not going to be published. I heard of his writing essays in the Portfolio and the Cornhill, those delightful views of life at twenty-five, so brave, so real, so vivid, so wise, so exquisite, which all should know'.⁽²⁶⁾

They met in Edinburgh in April 1875, and went together to a performance of Macbeth. At the beginning of 1878, Stevenson introduced Lang to a friend of his, called Caldwell (or Glasgow) Brown who was the editor of a Tory party-financed weekly, London. Lang was reluctant to be a 'Tory leader' but soon afterward joined a group of writers for the weekly, when Henley took its editorship due to Brown's death. Although Stevenson was in London now and again Lang seldom met him as his dislike of society gatherings prevented him from attending luncheons at the Savile Club.

Lang, however, remembered one occasion when he met Stevenson 'at the Savile Club or somewhere' and that he 'spoke to me of an idea of a tale, a Man who was Two men ... I declared that it would never do. But his Brownies, in a vision of the night, showed him a central scene'.⁽²⁷⁾ On another occasion in later years, Lang had a chance to meet Stevenson by himself and Stevenson 'poured out' stories of his adventures and wanderings in America including a tale of a 'murderous lonely inn, kept by Scots'.

Around 1885, Lang and Haggard were 'actually paying for shares' in a 'real treasure hunt'. It was later found that the 'deposit put down by a Finn' was church treasures 'lifted' from some Spanish Cathedral in America. Knowing this, Lang returned Haggard's cheque which had been sent to him for the share.⁽²⁸⁾ R.L. Green thought that Stevenson 'possibly' joined the treasure hunt. But Lang said 'I hope Stevenson had nothing on' and it is doubtful if Stevenson took part.

Stevenson paid his last visit to his native country when his father died in May 1887, at 17 Heriot Row, Edinburgh. 'It was during this period, in 1886 probably, that I saw him for the last time', writes Lang. Stevenson, confined to bed, appeared to Lang unlikely to live long. 'I have remembered very little, or very little that I can write, and about our last meeting, when he was so near death, in appearance, and so full of courage --- how can I speak?'⁽²⁹⁾

At this last meeting Stevenson said that even if they lived apart on both sides of the ocean, 'we were always best friends when further apart'. As Lang said, he was not within a circle of Stevenson's close friends nor saw him frequently but their friendship was deepened through correspondence across the ocean. Stevenson 'often wrote from Samoa to me, sometimes with news of native manners and folklore'. Two of Tahitian legends, 'Of the making of Pai's Spear' and 'Honoura and the Weird Women', from Samoa were introduced in 'At the Sign of the Ship', Longman's Magazine, March 1892. It is, however, regrettable that Lang 'kept none of his letters', which were usually very brief, and mainly concerned with books and other materials needed for his work, or with the manners, customs, and legends of Samoa and the other islands.

Lang was not the only person to have sent him books, though Eleanor Langstaff wrote that Lang kept him supplied with the latest books, 'a thoughtfulness that Stevenson's closer friends seem to have neglected'.⁽³⁰⁾ Rosaline Masson in The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson wrote that in Stevenson's letters, 'each excited and delighted account of some literary project was followed by requests for books necessary for it'. The calls --- 'Send me so and so' or 'Is there any book that would give me' --- were made again and again and they were always responded to. Colvin sent him constant supplies, so did Henry James and others.

Around 1891, Stevenson asked Lang to send him historical references. Lang found a 'forgotten romance of Prince Charles's hidden years, and longed that Mr Stevenson should retell it'. After examining the Pelham Papers, unpublished manuscripts in the British Museum, Lang discovered the identity of a 'Highland chief', a paid spy of the English court who, after the 'Forty-five' kept England informed of all what Prince Charles was doing and planning. The man was identified as a Macdonell of Glengarry. Lang sent in January 1892 all these unpublished manuscripts

and books to Samoa. Among the books Lang sent to Stevenson was James Browne's History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans which contains extracts from the Stuart Papers in Windsor Castle. (31)

Stevenson appreciated Lang's supplies and wrote a letter of thanks to Lang in August 1892: 'I knew you would prove a trusty purveyor. The books you have sent me are admirable. I got the name of my hero out of Brown [Browne] --- Blair of Balmyle, or whether to call it The Young Chevalier, I have not yet decided'. (32)

With them, Stevenson started writing The Young Chevalier but suspended it after finishing the first chapter. According to Lang, 'the novel was to have been dedicated to me' but was never completed. Lang explained the materials he had sent for the unfinished story that 'there was a treasure, an authentic treasure; there were real spies, a real assassin; a real, or reported rescue of a lovely girl from a fire at Strasbourg by the Prince. The tale was to begin sur le pont d'Avignon'. (33)

Stevenson earlier wrote to Colvin, dated 9 March 1892: 'The Lang story will be very little about the treasure; the Master (of Ballantrae) will appear; and it is to a great extent a tale of Prince Charlie after the '45, and a love story forbye: the hero is a melancholy exile, and marries a young woman who interests the Prince, and there is the devil to pay. I think the Master kills him in a duel, but don't know yet, not having seen my second heroine. No --- the Master doesn't kill him, they fight, he is wounded, and the Master plays deus ex machina ... My melancholy young man is to be quite a Romeo. Yes, I'll name the book from him: Dyce of Ythan'. The 'treasure' might be 'buried treasure' which Stevenson had expected in the Lang materials, judging from the content of his writing in 1891: 'I have the most gallant suggestion from Lang with an offer of MS ... It is all about the throne of Poland, and buried treasure, in the Mackay country'. (34)

After Stevenson's death, the manuscripts were returned to Lang. Lang must have been attached to this tale of the spy. With further researches on the matter, he wrote the story himself and it was titled Pickle the Spy, or The Incognito of Prince Charles (1896).

Besides this 'chevalier' manuscript, Lang occasionally sent references to Samoa, but many of them were not used and proposed stories remained unfinished or as mere ideas, probably because, by the time they reached Samoa, the inspiration had gone or 'more often the project was succeeded by another, equally brilliant, equally delightful, equally in need of books from home'.⁽³⁵⁾ According to Lang, 'there was to have been a novel of the White Cockade, for which I had sent out materials, printed and in manuscript, to Samoa. Mr Stevenson favoured me with a scheme of the heads of chapters, such as he used to draw up, but he often changed his dispositions'.⁽³⁶⁾

Lang received one of Stevenson's three last letters written two days before his death, with two others being addressed to Edmund Gosse and Herbert Maxwell. In this letter, dated 1 December 1894, Stevenson thanked Lang for sending him the portrait of Lord Braxfield, the father of the hero of Weir of Hermiston (1896), about whom he was then writing. It was the engraving from the same portrait which Stevenson 'saw in '76 and '77 with so extreme a gusto that I have ever since been Braxfield's humble servant, and am now trying, as you know, to stick him into a novel'.⁽³⁷⁾

Stevenson, on the other hand, supplied Lang with anthropological information about customs, superstitions and the beliefs of islanders. When he read an anthropological controversy over burial customs in the Gilbert Islands in which Lang took part, he wrote Lang his experiences on the group. He pointed out that the upright stones in issue were connected with religion but not with burial customs as Lang maintained. He enclosed a photograph of one on Apemama and told Lang what he gathered from a native.⁽³⁸⁾

Stevenson sent Lang the 'Luck of Apemama', or Fetish (a shell in a curious wooden box). Lang said Stevenson bought it 'at a great price' and that the island was 'unfortunate and was ravaged by measles' after parting with its 'Luck'.

As stated above, Lang and Stevenson had not many chances to see each other, but their relationship could be said to be a much more intimate one than mere acquaintance. Lang, six-year senior of Stevenson, showed more concern and attachment toward his young friend. Always finding delight in Stevenson's works he was constantly loyal and ready to give him advice. Lang might have made him a suggestion on writing. He wrote in the introduction to the Swanston Edition that 'I bored him by pressing him to write more, and more rapidly'. Stevenson's letter to Henley, dated August 1881, telling about the writing of Treasure Island suggested Lang's tutorial attitude: 'Now, I'm better, I think; and see here --- nobody, not you, nor Lang, nor the Devil, will hurry me with our crawlers. They are coming'. (39)

Section 3: Lang's evaluation of Stevenson's works

Treasure Island was received with no applause when it appeared in a boy's paper, Young Folks, from October 1881 through January 1882, signed Capt. George North and titled the Sea Cook. When it was published in a book in November 1883, Lang spent over it 'several hours of unmingled bliss'. He wrote that 'this is the kind of stuff a fellow wants. I didn't know except Tom Sawyer and The Odyssey that I ever liked any romance so well'. (40) Stevenson was surely pleased by Lang's comment and he wrote to his mother in November 1883: 'Lang dotes on Treasure Island: "Except Tom Sawyer and The Odyssey", he writes, "I never liked any romance so much"'.

Lang never failed to take up Stevenson's new books in causeries, 'At the Sign of the Ship', which he wrote for the Longman's Magazine for

nineteen years from the January 1886 edition to the final edition of October 1905. (Green and Langstaff erroneously dated the start as 1882). In his second causerie in the February edition, Lang wrote on Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde: 'It seems to be a masterpiece of the terrible and grotesque, and to possess withal an unobtrusive and salutary moral. It made me afraid to look round as I read it ...'. Stevenson wrote Kidnapped in a serial for Young Folks from May to July 1886 at the suggestion of James Henderson, editor and proprietor of the paper. Before it was published in a book Lang read it in proof. He did not hesitate to praise it as being 'in some ways his best. The material is inferior to that of Treasure Island --- is not that common yet eternal stuff of romance which counts for so much in the interest and charm of the older story'. (41)

In the May 1887 edition, he welcomed the re-printing of Merry Men, 'which Hawthorne might have written if he had been a kindly Scot', and another book, Thrawn Janet, telling the reader that it was 'a ghost story which had frightened me twice, and which is written in the best Scotch since the pen fell from the hand of the author of Wandering Willie's Tale'. (42) In the October 1887 edition, Lang replied in verse to Stevenson's poem of 'Dear Andrew, with the Brindled hair':

To R.L.S.

Dear Louis of the Awful cheeks,
 Who told you it was right to speak,
 Where all the world might hear and stare,
 Of other fellows' 'brindled hair'?
 'shadows we are', the Sophist knew ---
 Shadows --- 'and shadows we pursue',
 For this my ghost shall chase your shadow
 From Skerryvore to Colorado.

(Stevenson's earlier poem of 'Dear Andrew ...' (1886) is included in the collection of his poems, Underwood. It reads: DEAR Andrew, with the brindled hair,/Who glory to have thrown in air,/ High over art the trembling reed,/ By Ale and Kail, by Till and Tweed:/An equal craft of

hand you show/The pen to guide, the fly to throw ... Also included in Stevenson's collected poems is 'To Master Andrew Lang', that humorously caricatures Lang's literary taste. It reads: On his re-editing of 'Cupid and Psyche'/You, that are much a fisher in the pool/Of things forgotten, and from thence bring up/Gold of old song, and diamonds of dead speech,/The scholar, and the angler, and the friend/Of the pale past, this unremembered tale ...).⁽⁴³⁾

He took up Memories and Portraits in the January 1888 edition and in the November 1889 edition, The Master of Ballantrae that 'is an extraordinarily consistent piece of literary art. Mr Stevenson has written many things which I, for one, have read with more unmixed pleasure'. He wrote about Wandering Willie in the January 1890 edition and in the August 1892 edition The Wrecker, 'a splendid novel for a magazine because one was always panting after the secret ... also a splendid novel to read as a whole, by reason of the style, the descriptions, the human nature in its pages'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ He introduced Island Nights' Entertainments in the June 1893 edition.

His comment in the November 1893 edition was on Catriona; 'the beautiful, chivalrous Catriona, fond and shy, makes us all jealous of David, who did not deserve her; and this jealousy is the best proof that Mr Stevenson has drawn a good petticoat at last ... One may say that one wants more of Alan Breck and less of the hero's conflicts in conscience. More claymores . less psychology suit a simple taste'.⁽⁴⁵⁾

In the causeries Lang introduced not only Stevenson's new books but also almost all information available about him, his style, his dreams and so forth. On many occasions he referred to Stevenson's books while commenting on the works of other writers.

Lang's influence was so immensely great and dominant that he was called by his opponents 'a dictator of letters'. In his articles Lang fervently attacked writers of psychological and realistic novels

including Thomas Hardy, Henry James and Russian and French novelists. He gave generous praise to his favourite writers. Lang was 'able to promote the interests of his favourite novelists and pour scorn upon those he disliked. The novelist who is the first to be recommended in the "ship" is R.L.S., whose books were always to be given first-rate advertisement in Lang's laudatory reviews', said W.M. Parker. (46)

Perhaps Lang was aware of his frequent comments on Stevenson, as he apologetically wrote, when taking up The Wrecker: 'Fortunately it is quite safe to praise Mr Stevenson now, though he is so successful; somehow nobody hates him, and insults his admirers. It may not be quite as safe to "hesitate dislike"'. (47)

Lang, however, changed his tone in writing his obituary on Stevenson for 'At the Sign of the Ship', February 1895, and in the critical introduction to the Swanston Edition of The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson (1911). In the obituary, he compared Stevenson with Walter Scott and called him 'a "Little Master", but of the "Little Masters" the most perfect and delightful'. He wrote that 'Scott had a far larger and more potent share of genius, just as he had an infinitely superior physical organisation'.

Lang evaluated Stevenson's works in two different forms --- in causeries, he appreciated the gifted qualities of his younger friend and encouraged him, sometimes so generously as to comment like this: 'Mr Stevenson's Catriona does not seem so elaborate and "important" as The Master of Ballantrae, nor so exciting as Kidnapped, nor so enchanting as Treasure Island, but yet very excellent in its own manner'. (48) In the other form he wrote serious criticism objectively. His obituary on Stevenson and introduction to the Swanston Edition came into this category. They prove Lang a critic with sharp insight as he highly evaluated Stevenson's short stories --- the genre which was not well received by the Victorian audience.

In the obituary, he argued that the deficiency of love story and the absence of women in his narratives partly caused 'their relative lack of substance' and the incomplete picture of life. Stevenson, confined most of his life to a sick room and in later years to a self-exiled world in the South Pacific, did not or was unable to write a novel of contemporary life — British life in 'eighties. This, Lang considered, made him uncompetitive. Lang wrote in the introduction to the Swanston Edition: 'he never did write a novel on characters and conditions in the mid-stream of the life that was contemporary with himself. He does not compete, therefore, with Thackeray and Dickens, Mr Hardy and Mr Meredith'. (49) He recognised Stevenson's 'absolutely best things' in his brief tales — A Night with Villon, The Sieur Malétroit's Door and Thrawn Janet.

As a novelist there was the 'drawback' as mentioned above, but as a prose writer Lang was convinced he would be remembered as the master essayist of the later nineteenth century. Lang said that 'his vivacity, vitality, his original reflections on life, his personal and fascinating style, claim for him the crown'. (50)

Lang was so faithfully devoted to Stevenson that he introduced in his causeries his friend's new and old books frequently. As a result he invited the accusation of having given Stevenson a 'first-rate advertisement'. His manner was rather extraordinary for a noted critic. Why was Lang so extremely enthusiastic in writing about his junior? He said that he always found a delight in Stevenson's works and that he was convinced of his genius. This was undeniable but was not exclusive to Stevenson.

Lang and Stevenson shared so much of the same sentiment as Scots and at the same time they were opposite in so many ways. Lang was a Jacobite and 'catholic' as he wrote in a letter to Mrs Hills that 'My heart is Catholic, but my head is Protestant! I could not stand confessing, and I can't believe in the metaphysics, can you?' (51) He was critical of

John Knox, denouncing his ecclesiastical policy for causing 'a hundred and twenty-nine years of unrest, civil war, and persecution'. Stevenson, on the other hand, had a 'Covenanting childhood' and was never 'a little Royalist'. Lang was dissatisfied with Stevenson's article on Knox commenting that 'to study Knox afresh demands research for which Stevenson had not the opportunity'.

Lang disliked being 'a Tory leader' when asked to write for London and was always against orthodox and accepted opinions while Stevenson 'remained Conservative in politics all his life' and had 'the earnestness of the Covenanter in forming speculations more or less unorthodox'.⁽⁵²⁾ They were not in the same characteristic vein --- Lang, being fastidious, shy and reserved, had difficulty in mingling with people while Stevenson, wildly gay, optimistic and high-spirited, loved meeting and talking to people.

About literary taste, Stevenson once devoted a great deal of his time to the study of French literature of the fifteenth century and wrote articles on Villon and Charles of Orleans. He intended to write a series of articles which would have included the Maid, Louis XI, and René of Anjou. 'The same reading led to the experiments in the French verse metres of that date which were almost contemporary with the works of Mr Andrew Lang and Mr Austin Dobson'.⁽⁵³⁾

'We did by no means always agree in literary estimates; no two people do', Lang wrote in his recollection. But Stevenson supported his opinion against Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles. Lang's critical review of the novel in The New Review, February 1892, provoked a storm in literary circles and W.M. Parker said that 'of all Lang's castigations perhaps his attack on Hardy's Tess was the most unforgiveable'.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Lang with appreciation wrote in the obituary on Stevenson: 'I remember how strongly he sided with me about a work on which I had dissented from the general verdict of reviewers'. Again in his Recollections of Robert

Louis Stevenson Lang revealed that 'he said that he would die by my side, in the last ditch, proclaiming it the worst fiction in the world ... I do not remember another case in which he dispraised any book'. (55).

R.L. Green said that 'one can only assume that he is here referring to Tess' but Hardy's own account in response to Miss Masson's request for a recollection of Stevenson proved it certain. Nearly ten months after his visit to Hardy at Dorchester Stevenson wrote a letter to Hardy, asking for the permission to dramatise Hardy's new book, The Mayor of Casterbridge. Hardy wrote back his ready permission but he had heard nothing from Stevenson **after that**. Some years later Hardy read an interview with Stevenson in the newspaper in which Stevenson stated that he disapproved of the morals of Tess of the d'Urbervilles. In the recollection, Hardy said the book 'probably had led to his silence'. (56)

As Lang said 'we always were united by the love of literature, and of Scotland, our dear country', the love of Scotland was certainly a mutual attraction. They shared the common interest in Scottish historical romances. Lang was pleased to find Scottish sentiments in Stevenson's works. For example, he wrote on Kidnapped: 'perhaps, only a Scotchman knows how good it is and only a Lowland Scot knows how admirable a character is the dour, brave, conceited David Balfour'. (57) He went on to say: 'Perfectly Scotch, too, is the mouldering, empty house of the Miser'.

In his later years Stevenson quarrelled with Henley, one of his closest friends who one time acted as his private literary agent. 'Henley's controversial article Life of R.L.S. called forth numerous protests, among which most notable was that of Andrew Lang in The Morning Post, December 16, 1901'. (58)

Max Beerbohm wrote in 1928 that 'he [Lang] helped Stevenson, because Stevenson was a Scotsman imitating Scott'.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Lang did not help Stevenson only because he was a fellow Scot but because his books appealed to him. Lang's appreciation of Scottish sentiments and landscape descriptions in Stevenson's was not the exhibition of a 'nationalistic' feeling as observed by some objectors. It is undeniable that both Lang and Stevenson were 'patriotic' but not in the manner which would have been called rigoristic nationalists. They, on the contrary, spoke out quite candidly opinions that their countrymen disliked. Stevenson was critical of Robert Burns's moral aspect and 'apparent want of heart in the poet's amours which our countrymen do not care to hear mentioned'.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Stevenson's article, On Some Aspects of Burns provoked a 'storm of horrified criticism'. Colvin wrote in a note to Stevenson's letter to Mrs Sitwell, January 1874, that Stevenson's view of Burns was 'too frankly critical, and too little in accordance with the accepted Scottish tradition',⁽⁶¹⁾ and the publisher of Encyclopedia Britanica did not carry it.

Concerning Burns and Knox, 'Scotland had a vision of her own, and no man must undo it', Lang said in the introduction to the Swanston Edition. He, however, ignored it in his attack on the accepted view of Knox. He also caused the resentment of some of ^{his} countrymen, especially Highlanders, by disclosing the name of the spy paid by the English court in his books, Pickle the Spy. Scott also knew the name of the spy but dared not identify him in his writing.

They shared a common interest in Scottish historical romances. Lang, however, might have been delighted, more than anything, by Stevenson's way of treating fairies. Being brought up in the surroundings of the rich Scottish heritage, Lang was preoccupied with folk tales. As a folklorist, Lang was influenced by Scott to learn the importance of old folk beliefs and superstitions as well as the Scottish belief that

fairies, especially Brownies, were 'good People'. In Stevenson he recognised this traditional manner of accepting Brownies as good people. Therefore, he was always ready to listen to Stevenson's accounts of Brownies, who 'worked' in his dreams supplying story plots. He introduced Stevenson's Brownies more than once in the causeries, and said that Stevenson kept the habit of dramatising 'everything' and of making the world 'an unsubstantial fairy place'.

Lang presumably came to know Robert Kirk, a Scottish minister, and his books, The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns and Fairies from Scott's ^{or} Demology and Witchcraft, because the 1815 edition, printed from a 'manuscript copy' of Kirk's detailed record of fairies, spoken about with friendly terms, was only found at Abbotsford. Lang dedicated his edition of Kirk's The Secret Commonwealth ... to Stevenson, as mentioned in Chapter III. His hearty sympathy with his friend, being exiled far away from the Scottish fairies he loved in his youth, was apparent in Lang's dedication poem.

Stevenson admired Lang's style. 'His dainty prose, his incommunicable humour' were his words about Lang's writing. But as a writer, Lang was not among the best to whom Stevenson showed his free admiration. In his younger days Stevenson looked up to George Meredith from a distance and tried to imitate his style. He wrote to Henley in April 1882 that Meredith was 'the only name of genius of my acquaintance'. He admitted that Henry James, James Barrie and Kipling were the three contemporaries he could read. Toward Barrie, he held a special intimate feeling as a fellow countryman. Barrie was 'brither Scot --- keen, lively, good humored and gifted in the use of vernacular'. (62)

Stevenson never saw Barrie face to face and started to write correspondence with him only a few years before his death. Yet he pressed Barrie hard to visit him in Samoa. In one of several letters addressed to Barrie, Stevenson said that 'you are one of four that have come to the front since I was watching ... We are both Scots besides,

and I suspect both rather Scotty Scots; my own Scotchness tends to intermittency, but is at times erisypelitous --- if that be rightly spelt ... we had both made our stages in the metropolis of the winds: our Virgil's "grey metropolis", and I count that a lasting bond. No place so brands a man'.⁽⁶³⁾ In another letter, dated November 1892, Stevenson told Barrie that though he lived in the South Sea 'yet my imagination so continually inhabit [sic] that cold old huddle of grey hills from which we come'. Being invited 'to settle on those shores for ever', Barrie wrote that he was actually 'elaborating a scheme for taking him by surprise',⁽⁶⁴⁾ when he heard that it was too late.

These letters of his last years revealed his longing for his home town of Edinburgh emotionally, perhaps because of weakened physical strength. But Stevenson never showed such^a sentiment of close bond as between Scots toward his other fellow countryman, Lang. It is conceivable that Stevenson rarely met Lang and had not enough chances to discern the true face of his friend which was shielded by an 'Oxfordian Scot' image. Perhaps, this image, consciously or unconsciously, remained in Stevenson's mind.

The friendship between Lang and Stevenson tended to be a one-sided devotion on the part of Lang. He had better understanding of Stevenson than the latter had of him. He displayed his admiration of Stevenson's courage, spiritual vitality, cheerfulness, generosity, tenderness and other virtues as might be implied in the word 'chivalry'. To Lang, 'chivalry' was a virtue to be given the highest tribute. He knew that Stevenson's optimism of accepting the world as worth living was not 'only his fun' but he was playing 'the happy warrior in life', admirably sustaining a difficult part. Such an optimistic view of a critic erroneously taking Stevenson as a 'hard-hearted young athletic of iron frame'⁽⁶⁵⁾ disappointed Lang. He wrote that 'Stevenson did not groan at all. If he posed, if his silence was a pose, it was heroic'.⁽⁶⁶⁾

One of Stevenson's letters to William Archer proved how Lang understood his friend. Explaining his 'voluntary aversion from the painful sides of life' in The Child's Garden of Verse (1885) Stevenson said his childhood was full of fever, nightmare, insomnia, painful days and interminable nights. 'But to what end should we renew these sorrows? ... I say with Thoreau, "What right have I to complain, who have not ceased to wonder?" and, to add a rider of my own, who have no remedy to offer?' (67)

As one of 'the few who first became acquainted with the genius' Lang was far from content with the undue recognition of Stevenson by his contemporaries. In early days Stevenson was short of money, and was forced to write for his livelihood. He worked 'at such matters as fell in his way'. Lang wrote with a touch of resentment about the situation concerning the first publication of Treasure Island by 'a penny periodical for boys': 'A much better market might easily have been found; indeed, Stevenson "wasted his mercies". He was paid like the humblest of unknown scribblers; not even illustrations were given to the obscure romance running in the inner pages of the periodical'. (68)

On another occasion, Lang lamented that 'he [Stevenson] was "finding himself", in his Essays, but the world did not find him easily or early'. Lang read Jekyll in manuscript when Charles Longman sent it to him. Probably at Lang's suggestion, the publisher decided to issue it. But the book was published as 'a shilling book in paper covers' and 'chief drawbacks of this plan to the author were the loss of immediate payment and the risk of total failure'. (69) It is understandable that, under such circumstances, Lang took every occasion to write for his less-rewarded friend.

Above all, Lang appreciated a 'child' in Stevenson's works. It is the 'eternal child that drives him to seek adventures and to sojourn among beach-combers and savages'. (70) Stevenson, in particular, remained a child eternally in The Child's Garden of Verse. Lang praised

the book 'a little masterpiece in a genre of his own invention'. Here, he saw Stevenson's rare display of his character --- great affection for children. He could not read the book without 'a great inclination to cry'.⁽⁷¹⁾ 'The Stevenson child was the victim of nocturnal fears', and so was Lang. Being a sensitive child, he had restless nights. Lang remembered the emotion, sentiment and fear of shadowy passage or winter darkness of his childhood, feeling oneness with the Stevenson child.

The meaning of 'a child' in Stevenson might be explained by Lang's opinion: 'I have a theory that all children possess genius, and that it dies out in the generality of mortals, abiding only with people whose genius the world is forced to recognise. Mr Stevenson illustrates, and perhaps partly suggested, this private philosophy of mine'.⁽⁷²⁾ Any grown-up who was once a child can imitate 'the childish treble' but he cannot be 'conscious of the pathos, but only a man with the child awake in him could write of his chief treasure'.⁽⁷³⁾ It is not 'childish' nor a never-growing up 'Peter Pan child'. It is a genuine quality unaffected by any accepted opinions and values. It is rather instinctive and, in this sense, quite natural.

This 'child' never died out in Lang himself. His earliest recognition of the genius of Stevenson and other writers and his praise of Mark Twain against the literary trend of the time might be attributable to it. In an essay on Mark Twain, Lang criticised 'Culture's modern disciples' for lack of 'natural taste or impulse' and calling Twain a 'Barbarian'. He said that he found himself 'delighting in a great many things which are under the ban of Culture' and declared Twain as one of 'the greatest of contemporary makers of fiction'.⁽⁷⁴⁾ The terminology in his essays was always vague and inexact. But he meant that children could appreciate the wild and vigorous natural taste of savage adventure, and so did he. He trusted children's literary taste and urged that they should be given a chance of selecting their choice of books.

Tolkien, however, considered that Lang might have mistaken the children he knew. He based his criticism on what Lang spoke of children in the introduction to the large-paper limited edition of The Blue Fairy Book. It says that children 'represent the young age of man true to his early loves, and have his unblunted edge of belief, a fresh appetite for marvels. "Is it true?" is the great question children ask'. Tolkien's philological logic led him to think that Lang's words, belief and appetite for marvels were identical and that belief was used in its 'ordinary sense: belief that a thing exists or can happen in the real (primary) world'. Then he said that Lang's words 'can only imply that the teller of marvellous tales to children must, or may, or at any rate does trade on their credulity, on the lack of experience which makes it less easy for children to distinguish fact from fiction in particular cases'. (75)

Lang, on the contrary, might have meant that the children had more capability to believe in things marvellous and 'impossible' irrespective of whether they happened in the real world or in the fictional world, because they were less influenced by prepossessed and accepted opinions. Lang recognised children's 'unblunted edge of belief' in things, which the grow-up, particularly 'Culture' people, tended to dismiss as nonsense or superstitious. Concerning the child's question, 'Is it true?', Tolkien said that question was 'hardly evidence of "unblunted belief", or even of the desire for it'. This opinion might be convincing. Tolkien, however, went on to say that the question was often made from the child's desire 'to know which kind of literature he is faced with'. Tolkien considered that children's knowledge of the world was often too small that they could not judge without help between 'the fantastic, the strange, the nonsensical, and the merely "grown-up"'. (76)

In fact, children often ask this question, 'Is it true?' More often they ask this question when they read an exciting but horrifying story.

They usually do not ask this question with a desire to find out whether such things happen in the real life but to confirm their understanding that such things happen in fiction. Despite the lack of experience and knowledge and being liable to identify themselves with heroes, they distinguish fact from fiction. They ask that question seeking confirmation and comfort that they are safe from danger. It is, therefore, conceivable that Tolkien did not understand children very well on this question. Tolkien's criticism about Lang's attitude toward children was not only logically erroneous but also a misunderstanding of Lang's ideas. Tolkien said that 'fairy-stories were banished and cut off from a full adult art and their value is thus not to be found by considering children in particular ... If fairy-story as a kind is worth reading at all it is worthy to be written for and read by adults'. Tolkien seems to have considered fairy-stories to be adult matter and not for children.

Throughout his life, Lang remembered his boyhood spent in the rich surroundings of the Border hills and rivers as the most happy days. It was this nostalgia that led him into the realm of fairies. 'He who would enter into the Kingdom of Faërie should have the heart of a little child', he said. It was also this nostalgia that motivated him to have 'a considerable liking for boys' and to write of them. He was interested in boys for the resemblance that 'their outlook bore to that of savages' and his belief in their 'chivalry', as indicated by his attitude toward Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn. He was 'wholly captivated by those perfect little tramps, Mrs Nesbit's characters in The Treasure Seekers ...'(77) Their 'chivalry' reminded him of 'the Great Montrose'.

In spite of his vagueness and inconsistency in expression and in spite of his emotional admiration, his contribution to encourage writers of 'littleness' to write for children, a 'minor' literary world, cannot be ignored. Addressing children Lang introduced 'a Legend' in the

April 1886 edition of the Longman's Magazine. This 'legend', he said, was found 'in a place where no one is likely to meet it, in the back number of a periodical absolutely unread during its brief, fitful, but unflinchingly Tory existence'. He further explained that 'it seems like a flower from a Garden in which many Children have taken pleasure, and grown-up people too. To "beckle", the author says, is a verb meaning "to tap hurriedly with crutches, or a stick, like the blind man, Pew, in Treasure Island"'. (78)

It is apparent that this 'legend' was written by Stevenson probably for the Tory-financed London. It follows:

She beckled up, she beckled down,
She beckled round and round the town,
She beckled in the silent wood,
And where the lone policeman stood.

The children watched her on her way
With disaffection and dismay;
The older people in a crowd
Declared it should not be allowed.

In vain! her weird activitee
Grew and redoubled, strange to see;
The sound of beckling far and wide
Fulfilled the haunted country-side.

Whither (they cried), Ah! whither now
Beckle you on the mountain's brow?
Whither (they cried), and where away
Are you a-beckling, ma'am, to-day?

And she beckled, and she beckled, and she beckled
night and day,
Till she beckled, beckled, beckled, beckled, beckled
right away.

Lang might have introduced the verse to praise Stevenson's The Child's Garden of Verse, and other works, and at the same time to express himself as this verse seems to illustrate the lonely figures of Lang singularly fighting for the cause of fairies and of Stevenson fighting for his life far away in the South Pacific.

Stevenson's death 'distressed' Lang and how deeply he felt a loss can be recognisable in his letter to Mrs Anna Hills, though he wrote in an understated tone in his usual manner. The letter, dated 17 December 1894,

and kept in the St. Andrews University Library, says: 'I am distressed about Stevenson. We were very friendly, though we never were friends, I mean he never was one of the four or five people one regarded as friends. There is nobody left fit to tie his shoe-lace, and he was a good fellow. I fear I threw ^{away} his last letter, last week, all about death; I could not guess he was to escape what he feared so soon. Paralysis and the loss of reason. It is not an unhappy end for him, but great loss to us. Now there will be all the fountain of gossip let loose, but it does not matter much'. (79)

This letter of Stevenson might have been written earlier than the other 'last' letter published in Colvin's edition as introduced above (ref: p.163). The letter, prophetically telling 'all about death' or a fear of death, seemed to have annoyed Lang. A week later he wrote again, on 24 December 1894, to Mrs Hills: 'At last we are put out of doubt about R.L.S. I conceive that it is as we would have wished to have it, he was probably very sensitive to any sign or hint of diminished faculties, and they do diminish. Yet we feel that we were had him full hope, and did him very best'. (80) Lang might have thought and thought over Stevenson's death and finally convinced himself that Stevenson died courageously and faithfully to chivalry, as Lang had expected, to end his life that was full of hope and brave achievements.

Notes to Chapter VI

- 1) Rider Haggard, The Days of My Life, 2 Vols (London, 1926), I, p.227.
- 2) Haggard, *ibid.*, p.227.
- 3) Haggard, *ibid.*, p.280.
- 4) Haggard, The Days of My Life, II, p.7.
- 5) Haggard, The Private Diaries of Sir Rider Haggard 1914-1925, edited by D.S. Higgins, (London, 1980), p.151.
- 6) Haggard, The Days of My Life, I. p.270.
- 7) Andrew Lang, How to Fail in Literature (London, 1890), pp.92-93.
- 8) Lang, 'Enchanted Cigarette', Adventures Among Books (London, 1905), p.253.
- 9) Lang, *ibid.*, pp.252-253.
- 10) Lang, *ibid.*, p.254.
- 11) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', Adventures Among Books, p.48.
- 12) Charles Longman, quoted by Haggard in The Days of My Life, II, p.72.
- 13) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p50.
- 14) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition of The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson, 25 Vols (London, 1911), I, p.xii.
- 15) Rosaline Masson, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson (Edinburgh and London, 1923), p.57.
- 16) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.42.
- 17) Lang, *ibid.*, p.43.
- 18) E.M. Sellar, Recollections and Impressions (Edinburgh, 1907), p.198.
- 19) Sheriff Maconochie, 'Reminiscences' in I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson, edited by Rosaline Masson (Edinburgh and London, 1922), p.80.
- 20) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition, p.xiii.
- 21) Stevenson's letter, quoted by Roger Lancelyn Green in Andrew Lang, p.39
- 22) Stevenson's verse, quoted by Masson, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, p.212.
- 23) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.44.
- 24) Lang, *ibid.*, p.44.

- 25) Stevenson, quoted by Masson in The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, p.117.
- 26) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.44.
- 27) Lang, *ibid.*, p.45.
- 28) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition, p.xxx.
- 29) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.52.
- 30) Eleanor de Selms Langstaff, Andrew Lang (Boston, 1978), p.29.
- 31) R.S. Rait, 'Andrew Lang', Quarterly Review (April 1913), CCXVIII, p.300.
- 32) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson - to His Families and Friends, selected and edited by Sidney Colvin, 2 Vols, Second edition (London, 1900), II, p.259.
- 33) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.55.
- 34) George E. Brown, A Book of R.L.S. - Works, Travels, Friends and Commentators (London, 1919), p.143.
- 35) Masson, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, p.328.
- 36) Lang, 'Robert Louis Stevenson', Longman's Magazine, (February 1895), XXV, p.436.
- 37) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, II, p.364.
- 38) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, II, p.199.
- 39) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, I, p.219.
- 40) Graham Balfour, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, 2 vols, Second edition, (London, 1901), I, p.212.
- 41) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' (August 1886), VIII, p.454.
- 42) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' (May 1887), X, p.106.
- 43) 'Underwood', Robert Louis Stevenson - Collected Poems, edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Janet Adam Smith, Ruppert Hart-Davis (London, 1950), pp.123, 310.
- 44) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' (August 1892), XXI, p.434.
- 45) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' (November 1893), XXIII, p.104.
- 46) W.M. Parker, 'Lang and "Longman's"', Scots Magazine, (March 1944), XL, p.452.
- 47) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' (August 1892), XXI, p.434.
- 48) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship' (November 1893), XXIII, p.104.
- 49) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition, p.1i.

- 50) Lang, *ibid.*, p.1i.
- 51) Lang's letter to Mrs Hills, St. Andrews Univ. Library MS3401.
- 52) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition, p.xv.
- 53) Balfour, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, I, p.140.
- 54) Parker, 'Lang and "Longman's"', p.456.
- 55) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.47.
- 56) Thomas Hardy, 'Robert Louis Stevenson' in I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson, edited by Rosaline Masson, p.216.
- 57) Lang, 'Mr Stevenson's Works', Essays in Little (London, 1891), p.30.
- 58) Brown, A Book of R.L.S., p.143.
- 59) Max Beerbohm, quoted by George Bushnell in 'Andrew Lang at Fifty', Scots Magazine, (March 1944), XL, p.420.
- 60) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.51.
- 61) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, I, p.74.
- 62) Stevenson's opinion about J.M. Barrie, quoted by Bradford A. Booth, in Introduction to R.L.S. To J.M. Barrie (San Francisco, 1962).
- 63) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, dated February 1892, I, pp247-248.
- 64) J.M. Barrie, 'An Echo' in I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson, p292.
- 65) Lang, Essays in Little, p.25.
- 66) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition, p.xlvii.
- 67) The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson (29 March 1885), I, p.359.
- 68) Lang, Introduction to the Swanston Edition, p.xxx.
- 69) Balfour, The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, Vol II, p.14.
- 70) Lang, Essays in Little, p.25.
- 71) Lang, Introduction to Stevenson's A Child's Garden of Verses (London, 1909), p.ix.
- 72) Lang, 'Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson', p.53.
- 73) Lang, Introduction to Stevenson's A Child's Garden of Verses, p.xiii.
- 74) Lang, 'The Art of Mark Twain', Illustrated London News (14 February 1891), p. 222.
- 75) Tolkien, Tree and Leaf, p.36.
- 76) Tolkien, *ibid.*, p.38.

- 77) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship', Longman's Magazine, (December 1899), XXXV, p.185.
- 78) Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship', (April 1886), VII, pp.664-665.
- 79) Lang's letter to Mrs Anna Hills, St. Andrews Univ. Library MS3401.
- 80) Lang's letter to Mrs Hills, MS3402.

Chapter VII Epilogue

Section 1: The Mysteries of Andrew Lang

Roger Lancelyn Green spoke on 'The Mystery of Andrew Lang' in his Andrew Lang Lecture in 1968: 'Why is he so well-loved, well-remembered a writer — and yet one who never wrote an accepted masterpiece? Or did he write one which is hidden by the very variety and quantity of his works?'⁽¹⁾ His answer to this question is that 'Big Books' are known by name rather than read or loved and that 'Lang survives by what he achieved rather than by the books or articles with which he did it'. Green's opinion is quite acceptable but there still remain mysteries; is Lang really 'so well-loved and well-remembered?' If so, why is he not so well-loved and well-remembered as Stevenson?

It is undeniable that Lang did not write books like Treasure Island and Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. Lang's coloured Fairy Books, however, have been read by millions of children no less than those who read Stevenson's. Stevenson's popularity is owing to his 'power of making other men of all in love with him' and his gentle, kind, brave, gay and friendly character. In fact, Stevenson is still intimately described as 'a good fellow' by local people today though they never saw him.

Lang, on the contrary, was liable to be misunderstood. He was 'beloved by some writers and disliked by others' as George Bushnell writes.⁽²⁾ He is the one about whom opinions were divided so wide apart. Max Beerbohm was among those who disliked Lang for his 'Oxford manner' with 'bored superiority'. Beerbohm writes: 'I have heard from people who knew him intimately that he was a really kind man. He may even have had the wish to please. But it is certain that one had to know him intimately before his wish could, in regard to oneself, be gratified'.⁽³⁾

Lang's extreme shyness and sensitiveness as well as fastidiousness

and reserved manner often appeared rude and abrupt. His ill-health, too gravely and too often getting tired, and nearly losing of his eyesight, made him put up a brusque and off-handed attitude, giving an impression of the air of superiority to casual observers. Ella Christie and her sister Alice King Stewart, both intimate friends of Lang and his wife, describe his awkward manner with strangers: 'With strangers he was not always easy to amalgamate, especially as so many were either afraid of him or wondered what were suitable subjects of conversations'.⁽⁴⁾ He had a habit of 'twirling a certain waistcoat button as he spoke' and in his schooldays, when the button was removed, 'he became speechless'.⁽⁵⁾

Violet Florence Martin, an Irish novelist who visited Lang at St. Andrews in January, 1895, gave his profile as a shy man, 'keeping his head down, and often not looking at her when speaking, and bringing out his sentences with a jerk in a high and indistinct voice', and having 'a curious silent laugh up under his nose'.⁽⁶⁾

It was unfortunate that Lang unintentionally made both English and Scottish men feel uneasy. At the Royal Society of Literature meeting held in commemoration of Lang on 28 November 1912, J.M. Barrie, then chairman, said that 'Mr Lang always puzzled the Sassenach a little. Perhaps that is the first duty of the Scot. He was so prodigal of his showers, and so wayward ... There was a touch of the elf about him'.⁽⁷⁾ His 'elfish' image mainly flourished in England which 'somehow ran out of fairies and ballad magic after the sixteenth century, and has since contracted the habit of looking for both of them to us', says George Gordon in his Andrew Lang Lecture in 1927.

Lang often deplored the poor legacy of English fairy tales and ballads. He wrote that 'English Märchen, or contes populaire, or nursery tales, are extremely rare, or, at least, they are very seldom found and published by collectors. The English ballads, as compared with the Scotch, are notably poor and trivial ... and of English tales we know few, save Jack the Giant Killer, Jack and the Bean Stalk, Tom

Hickathrift, and Tom Thumb'.⁽⁸⁾ He chose 'the adventurous, the mysterious, the problematic; on the frontiers of subjects ... folk-lore, anthropology, ghosts and dreams, psychical research'. His sympathy with savage beliefs and 'eerie' matters, which were nurtured in his Border boyhood, were not immediately acceptable to the English.

He was regarded as patriotic as J.B. Salmond writes in College Echoes: 'The great outstanding characteristic of Andrew Lang was his patriotism. He had a high, noble, romantic love for Scotland'.⁽⁹⁾ His ready and willing help to Scotsmen was unanimously recognised by many who knew him. Bushnell describes: 'There may be a few Scots who would only help brother Scots, but if so they are in a negligible minority and assuredly Andrew Lang like all great Scotsmen would have disowned them ... he did his best, not only at fifty but all his life, to help Scottish writers ... anyone indeed, whose work appealed to Lang got his support, and not infrequently a banknote from his own pocket to help the good work along'.⁽¹⁰⁾ His help was not limited to Scotsmen but to anyone of any nationality, but Beerbohm thought that Lang helped Stevenson because 'Stevenson was a Scotsman'. His loyalty to Scotland and his fellow countrymen was often taken as fanatic 'provincialism'.

On the other hand, Lang was not always warmly received by Scotsmen. He made them feel uneasy and evoked criticism and resentment. The Spectator's obituary on Lang says: 'He was a true Scot --- perfervid --- in those national concerns which attracted him; but his country-men were always a little uneasy about him. He had no enthusiasm for the Kirk, or the Covenant, or Gladstonianism, or theological disputations, though he had been a Gifford lecturer'.⁽¹¹⁾

He actually never lowered himself to write his opinions and never sacrificed his ideas, sometimes too candidly expressed. As early as in his undergraduate days at St. Andrews, he aroused furore for the 'unpatriotic tone' of his essay. The Students' Literary Society was displeased

with Lang's essay on William Wallace for being 'so unpatriotic in tone.' Twenty-six years later, Lang in his annual Honorary Member's address to the society in 1889 touched on that incident: his 'diatribe against Wallace proceeded from no unpatriotic motive nor from any want of admiration for one who was his boyhood's hero, but simply from a desire to enliven in some degree the society's proceedings, which were too apt to lapse into dullness and monotony'.⁽¹²⁾

Lang customarily took an unorthodox view and was always 'original in treatment of a subject'. He never hesitated to make clear his opinions even though they would be disliked by Scotsmen. As regards his book, the History of St. Andrews (1893), 'he was accused of deliberate insult to his country, and was taunted, not for the last time, as a renegade Scot'. And Pickle the Spy caused 'once more a storm of indignation whistled about his ears, this time from over the Highland hills. Even for a Scottish historian it was a rough beginning. With two books, in four years, he had raised the fighting remnants of all Scotland, and had incurred the equal execration of the descendants of the Reformers and of the Highland cavaliers'⁽¹³⁾ says Gordon in his Andrew Lang Lecture in 1927. Lang's other book, John Knox and the Reformation (1905) also invited severe criticism and resentment from his countrymen as he attacked Knox's History of the Reformation of Religion calling it 'untrustworthy' and 'dishonest'. He stated that Knox's legacy to Scotland was 'sorrow and strife'. Lang referred with 'intensest venom', in the presence of the church officer, to 'that scoundrel John Knox' when he guided Violet Martin to the Town Kirk on a tour of St. Andrews.⁽¹⁴⁾

It was a 'settled policy with Mr Lang to attack accepted traditions, not because he was maliciously inclined, but probably out of a desire to champion and do justice to the unpopular side', ⁽¹⁵⁾ writes Salmond. J.D. Mackie in his Andrew Lang Lecture in 1934, describing Lang's approach to history, said that 'he was most interested in the

most obscure and always inclined to criticise the universally applauded and to justify the universally condemned'.⁽¹⁶⁾ Lang knew that Scottish people would be displeased with his book, Pickle the Spy, because he thought that Scott dared not to write about 'this woeful history' as it was 'no story for Scott to tell'. The identification of this English court spy as Alastair Macdonell, thirteenth Chief of Glengarry 'solved an ancient mystery, at the expense both of its author's feelings and of his popularity with readers' says Robert S. Rait in his Andrew Lang Lecture in 1930.⁽¹⁷⁾

Lang gave to his countrymen an unfavourable image of an 'Anglicised Scot' who chose London as the centre of his activities to earn 'money and fame'. J.B. Salmond, introducing an early criticism raised by a St. Andrews man, writes: 'Just as Thrums considered that James Barrie was a kind of prodigal son who had gone to that far country of London, and spent his substance in riotous writing, so St. Andrews was critical of Andrew Lang'.⁽¹⁸⁾

A writer, identifying himself as GYP, writes in an early copy of College Echoes: '... Andrew haunts the "little city, worn and grey", at certain seasons of the year ... But, alas, I am informed that our hero "of the brindled hair", has become Cockneyfied ... At the Pen and Pencil dinner the other day Andrew, speaking of that most interesting person, himself, said he was a general utility man, whose literary performances he considers cheap, and for whom literature was a profession just as dentistry or the law was somebody else's profession. Fancy our Andrew holding himself cheap! But no. It is his literary performances that are rather cheap. That must be because these have been so various and so prolific. The ready writer is apt to produce a good deal of meretricious literature ... Speaking of the advantages of residence in Edinburgh (and one may add St. Andrews), he said the smaller the place the more likely were they to see their friends. Here,

at all events, they lived both in town and country. They saw all around them hills and castles that were associated with the most romantic events in Scottish history. That appeared to him to make Edinburgh a more desirable literary centre than London. Unfortunately, however, they must go where the market was. That was why he persuaded people who painted and who wrote flocked into London, where they had to write by gas-light or candle, and paint however they could. This explains the air of dandified Cockneyism which my friend detected in our Andrew ... The freshest works of art, however, are not found in London but elsewhere ... Yet London is the "hub of the universe" for the needy writer. For the successful man there is much gold there; and St. Andrews' Andrew is a successful man ...' (19) The same writer considered that Stevenson has 'deserted London for Samoa'.

It is unfair that Lang should have been accused of 'Anglicising' as he always longed for the North. He wrote in the preface to Charles Murray's Hamewith in 1909: 'To speak for myself I am never so happy as when I cross the Tweed at Berwick from the south, or go on the links at Wimbledon Common and hear the accents (for there are several, including one peculiar to Gourock) of my native tongue'. (20) Gordon recognises Lang's true voices in this preface and says: 'These observes are quite genuine, and come from a Scot whose critics in England banter him on his patriotism, while his critics in Scotland revile him as rather more unpatriotic than the infamous Sir John Menteith, who whumpled the bannock'. (21)

All these factors ----- his image of an 'Anglicised Scot' with an air of superiority and a perfect Oxford manner, his attacks on universally accepted personages and ideas, his fervid patriotism for the cause of Scotland and Scotsmen and his refusal of silence over the truth ----- might have led to the disapproval of Lang and consequently, if not intentionally, he was undeservedly obscured.

These factors, which irritated not a small number of people, were quite alien to his real nature. Casual observers tended to be influenced by pre-conceptions. A writer (Neil Munro) describes his experience of an encounter with Lang for The Glasgow Evening News and Lang's open-hearted generosity shown to him. The writer happened to see Lang on a steamer coming into Oban from Ballachulish: '... his presence generally seemed to justify all that one had been told about his magisterial manner, but I ventured to introduce myself on the strength of an earlier correspondence, and soon found that all pre-conceptions regarding him were quite wrong. He positively radiated goodwill, and in ten minutes was displaying the contents of his dispatch-box with the enthusiasm of a young lady showing her trousseau ... He must have found me curiously out of rapport with his mood of naive credulity in respect to Highland superstitions, but he declared he had just unearthed a most thrilling bogey story, which would suit me "down to the ground" as he put it for a novel, and said he would write it out and send it to me as soon as he got home. He did so, too: some days later I got his manuscript of 3000 words, with the story in great detail, quite good enough for publication as it stood ... That so busy a professional writer should cheerfully throw away 3000 words of work on an acquaintance casually met on a West Highland steamer surprised and touched me, and if that is the celebrated "Oxford manner", I have the greatest admiration for Oxford'.⁽²²⁾

A drawing in the Lang Memorial Number of College Echoes, with a title, 'A Reminiscence in St. Andrews', describes vividly a glimpse of Lang's unaffected manner and at the same time, his love of boys. The brief caption says: 'The late Andrew Lang is walking along North Street with a bag of gooseberries in his hand. He meets two boys. "Stop", says Andrew Lang. The two boys stop. "Open your mouths". The two boys opened their mouths to the fullest capacity. Then

alternately, into each of the expectant maws, the celebrated literateur pops a gooseberry until all are done, when he crushes up the bag, flings it in sportive fashion at one of the boys' heads, and without another word, passes on his way'.⁽²³⁾

Lang was on friendly terms with the people who were his opponents in argument. He visited Max Müller in Norham Gardens and received him at his home in St. Andrews. When Müller died he sent a letter of condolence to the widow. In his essay, 'Advice to Young Authors', written for College Echoes in 1907, Lang recollected his arguments with a 'famous author'. This unidentified famous author must be Max Müller as Lang referred to severe arguments with that old author, following his conviction that the famous author's theory was wrong: 'I kept on saying a good deal ... At last the old author shook his shoulders, and occasionally showed his teeth. Finally he growled out some observations without naming me. We ended walking round each other, as it were, growling. Then we sat down and wagged our tails in quite a friendly way'. Lang is not intending here to show off his victory over the arguments with the famous author but writes about a lesson he took from this experience: 'the old dog never had an idea of what the young dog meant. It had been my endeavour to be another sort of old dog ... The young dogs have not always been in the wrong ... It does happen, now and then, that an old author comes across work of a young author, to him unknown; admires it, and publicly professes his admiration. That is luck for the young author, but let him wait for his luck, never let him thrust himself on the notice of the old fellow'.⁽²⁴⁾ These lines remind us of Lang's early recognition of and life-time devotion to the help of Haggard, Stevenson and other younger writers.

To all his friends who knew him well, Lang was a tender-hearted man. Herbert Maxwell, his close friend who shared the common hobby of angling with him, writes: '... whereas I was discontented when I did

not catch fish and miserable when I lost a big one, Andrew seemed somewhat vexed when he had to land one. He was quite satisfied when he deluded a trout into rising at a counterfeit insect; in fact, I have known him break off the point of his hook in order to avoid the worry of landing, killing, and basketing fish'.⁽²⁵⁾ Referring to the above, J.B. Salmond wrote that 'perhaps the last sentence is the correct solution to the "Mystery of Andrew Lang"'. He went on to say: '... it is a question if he has accomplished anything except the satisfaction of something in his own personality, and that personality as a result maybe a be-all and an end-all. For Lang was so essentially a personality'.⁽²⁶⁾

Toward the end of his life, Lang secluded himself more and more from London life, spending winter seasons at the houses, either No 8 or No 9, Gibson Place, St. Andrews, or at the Alleyne House now used as a part of the university's John Burnett Hall. According to Bushnell, 'he died a troubled, depressed man, conscious ~~-----~~ he must have been ~~-----~~ that his best work was behind him, worried about public affairs which formerly had never bothered him'.⁽²⁷⁾ E. Christie and A. Stewart write that 'his great disappointment was not having been able to write a good novel, and it was no comfort to him to point out that he had done work of a higher kind which others could not do at all'.⁽²⁸⁾

His friends remembered him to have been in depression in the last two years of his life, gravely concerned about public affairs. Charles Longman wrote to Haggard: 'there was this strange depression about public affairs, which seemed as though it might grow worse. In the old days, when he was bright and cheerful it is little he troubled himself about strikes and such like'.⁽²⁹⁾ Haggard said in his autobiography book that Lang suffered 'much from melancholy of late [around November, 1911] --- contrary to the general idea, his was always a nature full of sadness --- perhaps to some more subtle reason' and quoted their

mutual friend, William Richmond, saying that 'he (Lang) seemed very anxious to see his friends, but when he did see them spoke but little'. (30) Bushnell described that Lang 'worried about public affairs which formerly had never bothered him'.

Lang is reported to have been obsessed by a fear of approaching calamity. It is described by Mrs Belloc Lowndes, a friend of Mrs Lang's, in her book, The Merry Wives of Westminster (1946); the rather extraordinary description of Lang's psychological condition during the last two years of his life presents another aspect of the mystery:

'Mrs Andrew Lang never invited me to her London house, but one day, two years before her husband died, I met her, by chance, in the hall of the Sesame Club. Rather to my surprise she asked me to follow her into an empty room, and then, as we sat down, she said abruptly, "I am in great trouble". Without binding me to silence, she explained that, to her distress and amazement, Mr Lang, as she always called him, had suddenly expressed, some time before, a strong desire that they should part with their London house, and their adored home at St. Andrews, and settle in South America. He declared that awful calamities were about to befall Europe, and that almost everything for which he cared would be destroyed, especially university buildings and libraries. He further said the little money they possessed would probably be taken from them.

'I was astounded at what she told me, and I felt convinced Andrew Lang had suddenly become insane; indeed such was evidently his wife's own view. She said that as regarded everything else he was quite normal; but that these delusions so filled his mind that when he and she were alone together, he spoke of nothing else but the frightful things that were going to happen in the world, and continually made strong efforts to persuade her to agree to his wish that they should leave Europe.

'I asked her if she had consulted a doctor as to Mr Lang's mental condition, and she said she had done so, consulting a man who was not only their doctor, but also a dear friend. To her angry discomfiture her husband had not only denied that he had ever said any of the things she alleged that he had said, but the moment the doctor had left them he exclaimed she had cruelly betrayed him, and added it was all-important no one should know what he had told her was going to happen, as if anything like an exodus from England and Scotland should take place, the Government would try to stop it by confiscating all private property.

'After Mrs Andrew Lang had become a widow, she took a flat in London for a while, and she wrote and invited me to go and see her. I did so and after a while I ventured to ask her if her husband had gone on to the end of his life believing in the mysterious calamities he had foretold were to occur in Europe. She replied that even when he was dying, he had tried to make her promise she would leave the old world and settle in America'. (31)

Does this description mean that in his distress and disappointment Lang was mentally ill in the last years of his life or does this mean his personality split? Lang is reported to have said, according to the preface of Mrs Lang to her edition of Lang's Poetical Works (1923), that 'my mind is gay but my soul is melancholy'. These words were quoted by writers in reviewing his works but a gay and melancholy state of mind or soul is not particularly unusual. In fact, Lang was quite active in those years, working on A Short History of Scotland (1911), A History of English Literature from Beowulf to Swinburne (1912) and his last book, Shakespeare, Bacon and the Great Unknown (1912) as well as writing introductions and essays. He became the president of the Society for Psychical Research in 1911 and 1912.

Does this suggest what Longman said of Lang's concern about public

affairs? Or does it suggest that Lang was second-sighted? He is reported to have seen 'the death omen of his family' several months before his death. He wrote about it in 'At the Sign of St. Paul's' on 27 January 1912: 'It is black, the brute, and more like a cat than anything else; but horrified percipients add, with a shudder, that, whatever else it may be, it is only superficially feline ... I heard of it fifty years ago, having seen a very peculiar cat. I then heard of this death warning, which is of very peculiar antiquity ... A black cat, obviously hallucinatory, ran across my study at 10 a.m....'(32)

He told his idea of Heaven at a dinner, ten days before his death, when conversation chanced to take up the probabilities of future life. He said that his idea of Heaven was a place 'where I should always find a good wicket and never exceed the age of twenty-four!'(33)

These incidents were more likely to be coincidence than to be 'the death omens'.

Was it possible that such a ponderous, rational and intellectual lady like Mrs Lang should have told her husband's 'insaneness' to a person like Mrs Lowndes, who disliked him so much? (Mrs Lowndes in the same book wrote that 'he remains the only Scotsman of whom I ever formed a poor opinion' and that 'always he behaved like a spoilt child, either making himself agreeable by talking in a brilliant and amusing way, or remaining silent and sulky'.(34)) His marriage seemed to have been a happy one as Christie and Stewart wrote that 'As a couple, Andrew Lang and his wife were absolutely unlike, and yet were admirably suited to each other'. Actually, Lang was totally dependent upon his wife's devoted care. After Lang's death, Mrs Lang faithfully obeyed her husband's wish to destroy all of his personal papers and letters and put a seal on his privacy. Was it conceivable that, being so much annoyed by her husband's unreasonable attitude, Mrs Lang, only once, revealed her troubled situation to Mrs Lowndes?

Lang repeatedly wrote that Stevenson possessed a passion for 'playing at things', but so did he possess a passion for 'playing at things' and making jokes, occasionally double-edged, and a strong appetite for fancy. Is it eccentric to presume that Lang's seemingly obsessed sense of approaching calamity was a sort of joke or fanciful prank but his wife took it too seriously? He made a joke to the doctors when he was dying and was in 'frightful pain', according to Mrs Lang's letter to Ella Christie.⁽³⁵⁾ His 'puckish, elfish humour' made him such a charming companion, said Christie and Stewart in their recollection of Lang. To use Barrie's words, 'there was a touch of the elf about him. Touch hardly seems the right word, because one could hardly touch him, he was so elusive ...'.⁽³⁶⁾ Lang was so fond of mysteries. He employed the method of mystery writing in his historical and anthropological researches by examining all possibly available facts one after another. Concerning his own life, however, he wished to keep it in mystery.

Section 2: Conclusion

His objectors considered his causeries as 'nothing more than fugitive prejudice' and called him 'a dictator of letters' without using his power 'advisedly' and taking 'less pains than it was possible to take in the ordering of his prejudice by the rule of justice'. Henry James wrote to Stevenson that Lang 'uses his beautiful thin facilities to write everything down to the lowest level of Philistine twaddle, the view of the old lady round the corner or the clever person at the dinner party'.⁽³⁷⁾

Whatever adverse verdicts might be passed on Lang, it is apparent and incontestable that his devotion and enthusiasm to find the truth in history, anthropology and folklore were genuine. Professor Kay in his tribute to Lang, speaking at St. Salvator's Chapel, St. Andrews, on 20 October 1912, says: '... In the whole range of his writings you

will find nothing impure: from first to last he had a chivalrous disdain of the unclean: and his own life was never tarnished by any faintest shadow of reproach'.⁽³⁸⁾ In fact, how can a man who refuses to tamper with what he believes to be the truth and who writes a book only to invite accusation be a person who is eager to win fame and wealth? Lang in an essay, 'To a Young Journalist', advises that 'the profession of the critic, even in honorable and open criticism, is best^e with dangers'.⁽³⁹⁾

Professor Gordon duly appreciated Lang's works saying that 'a lively, throbbing, adventurous, exploratory study has no right to have Standard Books. Lang, therefore, wrote none, but went on, instead, simply clearing the sky and advancing knowledge'.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Lang is credited with being the first in many fields. He was 'the first anthropologist to give due attention to certain superior elements of savage creed, which he thought were in harmony with savage logic'.⁽⁴¹⁾ Prof Kay also spoke of his early recognition of the savage culture from the pulpit of the university chapel: 'By his sympathy and patient industry, he has proved to be a prophet and interpreter of primitive men, and has helped to create a more generous appreciation of the spiritual discernment of illiterate races'. Lang was 'the first man in this country to see and say plainly that folk-lore is not the debris of a higher mythology, but the foundation on which mythology rests',⁽⁴²⁾ and was the first to give due attention to 'odd and rejected phenomena' as well as the first impetus to the scientific study of psychical phenomena. His contribution in these fields might be more in the exploratory nature of a pilot and, the fate of a pioneer, his toilsome labour and efforts to throw light on neglected subjects have been buried beneath the works of more recent achievements.

As regards fairy tales for children, his immense and varied contribution surely remains immortal. His passion for fairy tales nurtured

by legends and beliefs of the Border country resulted in his life-time devotion. He never allowed himself to be turned aside from the world of fairies and was the disciple of Walter Scott. His serious study of mythology and folklore started in his undergraduate days at St. Andrews. His collection of the two Scottish nursery tales, first introduced in the St. Andrews University Magazine in 1863, should be remembered because one of them, Rashin Coatie, is known as the British version of Cinderella. Were it not for Perrault, Cinderella might have been known in Britain in a form such as Lang found it a century ago, said Iona and Peter Opie. Many of his letters to Mrs Hills in the St. Andrews University Library describe how he was enthusiastic in collecting folk tales and psychical phenomena from people in the Highlands and islands and how extensively he made on-the-spot surveys.

His analytic study of folk tale forms suggests the similarity with the opinions of today's structuralist analysis of folk tales. The importance and meaning of fairy tales which he recognised a century ago are in some way quite identical with today's opinions. Above all, his 'single-handed' defence and fight for the survival and revival of fairy tales against the didactic and utilitarian trend dominant throughout the Victorian age cannot be too much exaggerated. His scholarly methods in collecting and editing Fairy Books such as retaining savage elements set a standard and triggered the publication of many fairy books. His editing principle that children should not be subjected to boredom but be given chances for enjoyment of reading is worthy of listening to. The overwhelming success of his coloured Fairy Books has been a legend but existing Financial Accounts of Longman's and the lists of 'actually most demanded and purchased' books for children compiled by The Pall Mall Gazette and The Academy as well as statements of booksellers and a reader proved their tremendous popularity as fact. These evidences testified that Lang was responsible for the change in the

public's taste from realistic books for children to fairy tales. Lang's name is always invoked as an authority when current scholars and writers try to make a point about fairy tales but extensive study on his contribution has been rather neglected. His immense and varied contribution as described in this thesis proves that Andrew Lang was indeed an authority.

Despite his inaccurate and inconsistent opinions about fairy tales, which invited Tolkien's sharp criticism, Lang wrote fairy stories like The Gold of Fairnilee and Prince Prigio, faithful to the true tradition. The fact that his coloured Fairy Books and original fairy stories are never out of print and have been read by children as classics is another convincing evidence to prove his popularity. It is unfortunate that Tolkien was too fastidious in pointing out Lang's philological weakness in logic and that he misunderstood Lang's true meaning, because Tolkien may influence the readers of his book, Tree and Leaf. As Prof Reinach pointed out, Lang became 'a master in folklore because he liked it'.⁽⁴³⁾ Lang became a master of fairy tales because he loved them throughout his life.

Andrew Lang wrote in the introduction to Perrault's Popular Tales that Perrault used his son's name because 'it did not become an Academician to publish fairy-tales'. Lang's comment went on: 'He looked, no doubt, for no such immortality, and, if he ever thought of posthumous fame, relied on his elaborate Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes (4 vols. Paris, 1688-96). But fate decided differently, and he who kept open the Tuileries gardens in the interest of children for ever, owes the best of his renown to a book in the composition of which he was aided by a child'.⁽⁴⁴⁾

It is, indeed, the irony of fate that Lang's comment on Perrault exactly describes himself. There can be little doubt that Lang really loved fairy tales, but he probably did not expect immortality for his

coloured Fairy Books and most probably he considered modestly that they were a 'little' gift to the child audience. Yet even though the Fairy Books have been reedited and revised by Brian Alderson, and others may attempt further revisions, Lang's books will survive such changes and remain historic volumes. While others may lose their charm and popularity, they will never vanish from our literary heritage.

Notes to Chapter VII

- 1) Roger Lancelyn Green, 'The mystery of Andrew Lang', St. Andrews Univ. Library MS 30463.
- 2) George H. Bushnell, 'Andrew Lang at Fifty', Scots Magazine, (March 1944), L, p.415. Reference to Bushnell hereafter refers to this work.
- 3) Max Beerbohm, quoted by R.L. Green in Andrew Lang, p.186.
- 4) Ella R. Christie and Alice M. King Stewart, Long Look at Life by Two Victorians (London, 1940), p.161. Reference to Christie and Stewart hereafter refers to this book.
- 5) Christie and Stewart, p.157.
- 6) Violet Florence Martin, quoted by G. Bushnell in 'Andrew Lang at Fifty', p.147.
- 7) J.B. Barrie, Address to The Royal Society of Literature, 28 November 1912, (Oxford Univ. Press, 1913).
- 8) Andrew Lang, 'At the Sign of the Ship', Langman's Magazine (February 1889), XIII, p.441.
- 9) J.B. Salmond, College Echoes, (25 October 1912) Vol. XXIV, p.3.
- 10) Bushnell, p.420.
- 11) The Spectator, 'Andrew Lang', (27 July 1912), Vol. 109, p.121.
- 12) Andrew Lang and St. Andrews --- A Centenary Anthology, Edited with an Introduction by J.B. Salmond (St. Andrews, 1944), p.10.
- 13) George Gordon, 'Andrew Lang', Concerning Andrew Lang, Being the Andrew Lang Lectures delivered before the University of St. Andrews 1927-1937 (Oxford, 1949), pp.17,18. Reference to Gordon hereafter refers to this book.
- 14) Martin, quoted by Bushnell in 'Andrew Lang at Fifty', p.418.
- 15) J.B.S. [Salmond], 'Editorial', College Echoes (25 October 1912), p.3.
- 16) J.D. Mackie, 'Andrew Lang and the House of Stuart', Concerning Andrew Lang, Being the Andrew Lang Lectures ..., p.6.
- 17) Robert S. Rait, 'Andrew Lang as Historian', Concerning Andrew Lang, Being the Andrew Lang Lectures ..., p.5.
- 18) J.B. Salmond, 'The Journalists' Opinions of the Journalist', Scots Magazine (December 1940), XXXIV, p.177.
- 19) GYP, 'St. Andrews' Andrew', College Echoes (25 October 1912), p.8.
- 20) Lang's preface to G. Murray's Hamewith, quoted by John Buchan in 'Andrew Lang and the Border', Concerning Andrew Lang, Being the Andrew Lang Lectures ..., p.19.

- 21) Gordon, 'Andrew Lang', Concerning Andrew Lang ..., p.23.
- 22) Neil Munro, The Glasgow Evening News, reprinted in College Echoes (25 October 1912), XXIV, p.4.
- 23) Illustration, 'A Reminiscence in St. Andrews', College Echoes (25 October 1912), p.9.
- 24) Lang, 'Advice to Young Authors', College Echoes (1907), reprinted in Andrew Lang and St. Andrews, pp.87-88.
- 25) Herbert Maxwell, quoted by Salmond in 'The Journalists' Opinions of the Journalist', Scots Magazine (December 1940), p.173.
- 26) Salmond, 'The Journalists' Opinions of the Journalist', p.174.
- 27) Bushnell, p.420.
- 28) Christie and Stewart, p.165.
- 29) Charles Longman, quoted by Green, in Andrew Lang (London, 1946), p.206.
- 30) Rider Haggard, The Days of My Life, 2 Vols. (London, 1926), II, p.72.
- 31) Belloc Lowndes, The Merry Wives of Westminster (London, 1946), pp.20-22.
- 32) Green, Andrew Lang, p.207.
- 33) Green, *ibid.*, p.207.
- 34) Lowndes, The Merry Wives of Westminster, p.20.
- 35) Quoted by Green in Andrew Lang, p.207.
- 36) Barrie, Address to the Royal Society of Literature.
- 37) Henry James, quoted by Green in Andrew Lang, p.157.
- 38) Prof Kay, 'A Tribute', printed in College Echoes (25 October 1912), p.5.
- 39) Lang, 'To a Young Journalist', Essays in Little (London, 1891) p.194.
- 40) Gordon, p.13.
- 41) Salomon Reinach, 'Andrew Lang', Quarterly Review (April 1913), p.315.
- 42) Gordon, p.9.
- 43) Reinach, 'Andrew Lang', Quarterly Review (April 1913), p.310.
- 44) Lang, Introduction to Perrault's Popular Tales (London, 1888), p.Vii.

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