GOETHE, CARLYLE AND BULWER-LYTTON: *Wilhelm Meister* and its Mutations

by

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ABSTRACT

Goethe's Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre and Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre offer one of the most fruitful examples of German-English literary relations. Through Thomas Carlyle's translation of the Meister cycle, as well as his numerous articles on Goethe, the hitherto relatively unknown author became widely known in England.

This thesis traces the reception and modification of Goethe's Meister through Carlyle on to Bulwer-Lytton, that highly popular author of the 1830's whose Godolphin (1833), Ernest Maltravers (1836), and Alice, or, The Mysteries (1837) all reveal a debt to Goethe as well as Carlyle.

The early Victorian Bildungsroman remains, however, an unfulfilled and problematical phenomenon. Within the contexts of Goethe's irony, the problematical transmission by Carlyle, and the appeal of Utilitarianism as exemplified by James and John Stuart Mill, Bulwer does not succeed in developing a viable novel type.

This thesis attempts to describe some of the difficulties Bulwer encounters, as well as the approaches he takes in developing his own response to these problematical sources of themes and ideas.

RÉSUMÉ

Les ouvrages de Goethe (Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre and Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre) offrent un des exemples les plus frappants des inter-relations littéraires anglo-germaniques.

Goethe, auteur alors relativement peu connu en Angleterre, devient très populaire dans ce pays grâce à Thomas Carlyle qui traduit la série Meister et écrit de nombreux articles sur lui.

La présente thèse étudie l'influence du Meister de Goethe, à travers la traduction de Carlyle, sur Bulwer-Lytton, auteur très en vogue dans les années 1830. Ses oeuvres Godolphin (1833), Ernest Maltravers (1836), and Alice, or, The Mysteries (1837) révèlent toutes l'apport de Goethe, aussi bien que de Carlyle.

Le Bildungsroman, du début de l'ère victorienne reste, cependant, une innovation littéraire problématique et inachevée. Pris entre l'ironie de Goethe, les problèmes de transmission de Carlyle et l'attrait de l'Utilitarisme, représenté par James et John Stuart Mill, Bulwer reste impuissant à créer un nouveau genre littéraire.

Cette thèse a pour objectif de décrire quelques unes des difficultés rencontrées par Bulwer et son approche pour trouver une réponse personnelle aux problèmes posés par les différentes sources des thèmes, des idées et des motifs.

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INTRODUCTION

In what is a remarkably modern depiction of the individuality alienated from self and world, Karl Philipp Moritz's Anton Reiser (1788), the main character expresses his anguish over what he feels is an existential lack of freedom in this world: "Dass er nun unabänderlich er selbst sein musste, und kein anderer sein konnte; dass er in sich selbst eingeengt, und eingebannt war - - das brachte ihn nach und nach zu einem Grade der Verzweiflung . . . " [1]

This feeling of apartness, of the internal from the external, is a phenomenon which, though it may not be unique to the late eighteenth century, certainly receives full literary attention at the time. Adam Ferguson and Friedrich Schiller write of the alienation of the indivual from himself and society; [2] Goethe's Werther (1774) and Moritz's Anton Reiser depict literary versions thereof. In England, the rise of Utilitarianism suggests that the nexus between self and society is no longer automatic; the very fact that one posits self-interest as the tie which unites the individual and society reveals the implicit assumption that the "I" is by nature not part of the body politic. There are private interests and there are public interests. Where does the individual fit in?

This thesis concerns that question as it was perceived at a certain point in history. The age on which I focus is

roughly bounded by Schiller's Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man (1794-96), Goethe's Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (1796), and the appearance in England during the 1830's of a series of novels modelled to varying extents on Goethe's Lehrjahre and the later Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre (1821; 1829). Bulwer-Lytton's Godolphin (1833), Ernest Maltravers (1836), and Alice, or, The Mysteries (1837). are the three most prominent exemplars of this type of novel modelled after the Meister cycle.

It is an age interested in trying to delimit a concept of individuality vis-à-vis society, at a time when that very society is felt to be in an extreme state of flux. To become a whole, well-rounded, "happy" individual is deemed increasingly problematical, if not downright impossible. No longer does it seem possible to view the individual as existing within the unquestioned frames of reference such as the Church, State, or Morality. Rather, these very points of reference by which the individual could previously orient himself, are now called into question. Carlyle's lines come to mind: "The Doom of the Old has long been pronounced, and irrevocable; the Old has passed away: but, alas, the New appears not in its stead; the Time is still in pangs of travail with the New." [3]

Not surprisingly perhaps, the Bildungsroman (or apprenticeship novel or novel of development) is a literary phenomenon common to both the England and Germany of that time - - accepting

for the time being the broadest possible definition of the Bildungsroman as a novel type which explores a young protagonist's particular problems of individuation, and offers, as a resolution of that depiction, a vision of the protagonist's attainment of wholeness, individual and social identity, and "happiness" (whatever that may be in the particular context).

It was to Goethe's Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre that the term was first applied.[4] What makes this novel cycle highly relevant to any discussion of the early Victorian novel is its wide-ranging reception in England. The Meister novels offer one of the most extensive examples of German-English literary relations. Goethe's novels strongly influenced Thomas Carlyle, who, convinced of the uncertain nature of his age, sought points of reference by which a character might hold fast to the more permanent values of existence. Such, he felt, were to be found in Goethe's Meister, as well as his (Goethe's) life history. Carlyle became the main translator of Goethe (Lehrjahre in 1824, Wanderjahre three years later in a collection of works entitled German Romance) and his most ardent prosletyzer as well.

Carlyle's transmission and modification of the Goethean ethos of Bildung soon had its literary results. Bulwer-Lytton, that most prolific and popular author of early Victorian England, wrote a series of novels which, to a certain extent patterned after Goethe's Meister novels, reveal a blend of Goethe and Car-

lyle. The three novels that come to mind are Godolphin, Ernest Maltravers, and Alice, or, The Mysteries, though other critics have discussed two or three other novels of Bulwer's, albeit with questionable analogies.[5]

I pursue two interests in my thesis. I am interested in tracing the reception and modification of certain Goethean themes in early Victorian England. I am thinking specifically of Goethe's concept of Bildung, as developed in the Meister cycle. In order to accurately gauge the reception and modification of the Meister cycle, and its impact on Bulwer-Lytton, I found it necessary to re-examine the sources, return to a close reading of the Meister novels as well as Carlyle's essays on Goethe and his ethos. Carlyle felt that he had found in Goethe a champion of the gospel of work and activity as opposed to contemplation. This was one understandable, but also simplified interpretation of the Meister cycle. Part of the problem may have lain in Carlyle's use of the 1821 version of Wanderjahre as the basis for his translation. The Victorian reading public never got to see the much-expanded version of 1829; they read instead a rather loose and altogether unresolved novel of seemingly restless wanderings and patterns of unhappy love affairs. The importance of this use of the 1821 version has been overlooked by critical studies; it seems to me one possible explanation why the novels ostensibly patterned after the Meister cycle lack certain key correspondancies to the cycle

as it is generally perceived today. The other reason may well lie in the series of articles Carlyle wrote from 1827 to 1832, dealing with Goethe's life history, his writings and his beliefs. Goethe's Bildungsgeschichte -- so Carlyle -- was one of emotional turmoil, suffering and suffering conquered, of self-conscious cultivation of self and search after excellence in all. As I will attempt to show later on in my thesis, this depiction of Goethe's life history was problematical insofar as it did not always correlate with the ethos of Bildung as developed in the Meister cycle.

I wish to make another point. I feel that one cannot simply talk of the influence of Goethe on Carlyle and Bulwer-Lytton, and thereby hope to "explain" the existence of the early Victorian Bildungsroman.[6] The Victorian Bildungsroman of Bulwer-Lytton, I will attempt to show, is as much an English attempt at confronting and overcoming the problems of individuation, as it is influenced by Goethe via Carlyle. In Bulwer's case especially, the influence of Utilitarianism in general and John Stuart Mill and James Mill in particular, is evident. As well, the development theme was topical before Carlyle introduced Meister to England. There was a long tradition of what should probably be called biographical novels: Tom Jones is perhaps the best example. Wordsworth had written The Prelude -- the first version was written by 1805 -- because he shared, with so many of

his contemporaries, a desire to find and place a sense of identity and personal vocation in relation to the world, Coleridge in his Ode to Dejection complained that he was engaged in abstruse research to discover his real self, and still it eluded him. [7]

What constitutes the particular nature of the Bildungsroman? Put differently: is it possible to sketch out a typology of sorts which supersedes national boundaries? I cannot give a history of the Bildungsroman, especially since I could do little more than follow the excellent study of Jürgen Jacobs, whose Wilhelm Meister und seine Brüder (München: Fink, 1972) is the most recent and certainly most comprehensive study of the term and its various literary exemplars. German scholars have written thousands of pages on the Bildungsroman; the exhaustive review of their research by Lothar Köhn indicates the extent of (and lack of unanimity in) some one hundred years of scholarship. [8] Part of the recurrent interest in the term may lie in the underlying assumption, first formulated by Georg Lukacs, that the Bildungsroman represents one of the core themes of the modern novel itself. [9] Such geistesgeschichtliche assumptions, however, lead to vagueness if not seen with other factors, especially historical and sociological ones. For instance, the role of the Theatre, so crucial in Meister as well as the host of other novels often classified as Bildungsromane (and this includes,

albeit hesitatingly, Moritz's Anton Reiser, as well as Ludwig Tieck's Der junge Tischlermeister [begun in 1795, but not completed until 1836], reflects that phenomenon in late eighteenth century Germany often described as Theaterleidenschaft, the enthusiastic participation in the Theatre as a piece of compensatory social reality. [10] Jacob's succinct outline also shows to what extent the theme of Bildung was a topical one before and during the time of Goethe, beginning with Leibniz (whose anti-Lockean treatise New Essays Concerning Human Understanding fueled the nature-nurture debate), Helvetius, and Rousseau's Emile and Confessions, and engaging Herder and Humboldt in their various writings and correspondence with Goethe and Schiller. [11]

If one takes the search for a closer definition of what the Bildungsroman might be a step further into the Meister novels themselves, one comes across a remark of Wilhelm's early on in the book about how it has for a long time been his aim to sich bilden, that is, develop and cultivate himself. [12] The Meister novel, from that point of view, is the story of how that aim is realized (or not realized, as an interpretation will have to show). It is in such a context that Wilhelm Dilthey used the term Bildungsroman: "Ich möchte die Romane, welche die Schule des Wilhelm Meister ausmachen (denn Rousseau's verwandte Kunstform wirkte auf sie nicht fort), Bildungsromane nennen. Göthes Werk zeigt menschliche Ausbildung in verschiedenen Stufen, Gestalten, Lebensepochen." [13] In a later essay, Dilthey elaborated,

citing Meister as a new attempt which went beyond the biographical novel (such as Tom Jones), and instead was influenced by Leibniz's theory of innate potentialities, Rousseau, and the concept of Humanität as articulated by Lessing and Herder.[14]

The term was thus first used within a very definite historical context. Furthermore, critics have generally agreed that Goethe's Meister novels constitute an Ur-type, so to speak, and that the classical idea of Bildung is its dominant theme. This raises the serious question of the relevance of the term for the English novel. Given the German context of the term, is it justifiable to talk of an English Bildungsroman? I feel it is, but only insofar as the critic makes clear which underlying assumptions govern his use of the term. Certainly there exists a tradition of English novels - - Susanne Howe has shown this in her Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen - - which, expressly or not, owe a debt to Goethe's Meister as a model or source of themes. The works of Bulwer-Lytton, Benjamin Disraeli, Owen Meredith, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes, offer various examples. It is possible, however, to see the Bildungsroman as a distinctly modern novel type, as a type which came into increasing focus with the rise of a modern and problematical self-consciousness. As Jürgen Jacobs writes in conclusion to his study,

> Das Konzept des Bildungsromans ist historisch nur begreifbar aus seinem Zusammenhang mit der optimistischen Mentalität des aufsteigenden Bürgertums: Die Welt

> erscheint ihm als das Objekt handelnder Besitzergreifung und als Medium aktiver Selbstverwirklichung . . . Nicht Tradition und Zufall der Geburt, nicht die Gnade der Obrigkeit sollen die gesellschaftliche Rolle des Einzelnen bestimmen, sondern er selbst mit seinen Talenten und seinen Leistungen, die er in freiem Zusammenspiel mit gleichberechtigten anderen entfaltet. 15

It is this underlying assumption which had to lead to what Jacobs calls the "unfulfilled character" of the term. Up to and including Goethe, it was possible to entertain the optimistic belief that a meaningful synthesis of individual and Society was possible; by the middle of the nineteenth century, this belief no longer seemed as tenable as during the days immediately following the French Revolution. Individual aspirations and social necessity went their separate ways:

> /Der Bildungsroman/ wollte schildern wie das isolierte, autonom gewordene Subjekt zum Ausgleich mit sich selbst und mit der Welt findet. Die ursprüngliche Entzweiung aber machte sich immer wieder spürbar. Die Grundfrage der Gattung erwies sich als Aporie, die nur unter günstigsten historischen Bedingungen mit einer glaubhaften Synthese zu beantworten war. Die Geschichte des Bildungsromans wurde so zur Geschichte einer problematischen, unvollendeten, kaum jemals rein erfüllten Gattung. 16

For the sake of terminological clarity, it might be possible to isolate two vectors in the discussion. On the one hand, one can talk of the Bildungsroman as being a novel in the tradition of Goethe's Meister, as a novel type whose history begins amidst the optimism of the Enlightenment, and ends with the spread of the Industrial Revolution. On the other

hand, if one sees the Bildungsroman as a type, that is, if one defines it in terms of formal and thematic structures independent of historical contexts, the term becomes very broad indeed and includes such novels as Dicken's Great Expectations and Joyce's Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. In the latter case, I would suggest that the term "development novel" is less ambiguous, much as Lothar Köhn (following Melitta Gerhard [17]) proposes to use the term Entwicklungsroman as the Oberbegriff, and Bildungsroman as a specific version thereof. [18] Given the conceptions underlying the latter term, I think it would be wise to limit the use of it to those novels revealing a demonstrable affinity to the Goethean model.

CHAPTER ONE
A Reading of the Wilhelm Meister Novels

"Lehrjahre sind ein Verhältnisbegriff, sie fordern ihr Correlatum, die Meisterschaft, und zwar muss die Idee von dieser letzten jene erst erklären und begründen." [19] Schiller's letter touches upon one of the crucial questions of the Meister cycle. The term Lehrjahre, much as Carlyle's translation of "apprenticeshio," begs the question of apprenticeship for what? Contemporaries of Goethe were in fact of divergent opinions. [20] Only a few felt that Lehrjahre was a totally satisfactory book as far as the expectations arising from the title were concerned. Körner wrote to Schiller, November 5, 1796, that "Die Einheit des Ganzen denke ich mir als die Darstellung einer schönen menschlichen Natur, die sich durch die Zusammenwirkung ihrer inneren Anlagen und äusseren Verhältnisse allmählich ausbildet. Das Ziel dieser Ausbildung ist ein vollendetes Gleichgewicht - - Harmonie mit Freiheit." [21]

Schiller liked this letter; he sent it to Goethe on November 18, 1796, and reprinted it in the Horen. But Humboldt read the letter and thought that Körner had misunderstood Lehrjahre: Körner, so Humboldt, had neglected Wilhelm's "durchgängige Bestimmigkeit, ohne fast alle Bestimmung, sein beständiges Streben nach allen Seiten hin, ohne entschiedene

Kraft nach einer, seine unaufhörliche Neigung zum Raisonnieren, und seine Lauigkeit . . . der Empfindung . . . nach Marianens und Mignons Tod," [22] In other words, Wilhelm's Lehrjahre were open-ended, the development of the hero incomplete.

By contrast, the prevailing theory of the novel at the time called for a completion of the character's development; as Blankenburg's Versuch über den Roman (1774) put it, the novel depicts the Ausbildung and Vollendung of one main character. [23] As a recent study has shown, Körner's interpretation of Lehrjahre was in all likelihood based on Blankenburg's premises; [24] Schiller seems to have thought so too. [25] When Karl Morgenstern wrote of the Bildungsroman in his 1820 essay, Über das Wesen des Bildungsromans, he quoted from Körner's letter. [26] Thus Körner's interpretation, with its Blankenburgian bias, set a pattern for many subsequent interpretations. Gille calls it "das vielleicht folgenreichste Dokument in der Deutungsgeschichte der 'Lehrjahre'." [27] Today's reader is confronted with some one hundred years of scholarship, much of it attempting to show how Goethe's Meister novels depict the successful Bildung of its protagonist and in that process offer an ethos which Max Wundt in 1913 characterised as "die Entwicklung des modernen Lebensideals." [28]

Only comparatively recently have there been attempts to counter this view. [29] In many ways such tempering of the (mostly) appreciative rhetoric is simply a return to earlier opinions

voiced by some of Goethe's contemporaries. I have already mentionned Humboldt's critique. Carlyle felt that Wilhelm was a "milksop whom, with all his gifts, it takes an effort to avoid despising." [30] Friedrich Schlegel argued that Lehrjahre as a novel did not sufficiently articulate that which was implied in the title. Only "an einem kraftvollen und reichen Beyspiele" would the reader be able to tell "ob es neben den Lehrjahren des Künstlers, auch noch Lehrjahre des Menschen, eine Kunst zu leben, und eine Bildung zu dieser Kunst geben könne, in dem Sinn, den diese Begriffe bey dem Verfasser haben." [31]

Schlegel's point was well-taken. To what extent is the Bildung of Wilhelm representative of an objective process to which not only he, but also other men might be exposed?

Körner's letter indicates one possible objectification of Wilhelm's Bildungsprozess. Körner wrote of the "Zusammenwirkung /der/ inneren Anlagen und äusseren Verhältnisse." His terminology is that of Goethe's and the 1790 Metamorphose der Pflanzen. Organic metaphors of growth were, of course, not entirely new. Herder's Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der menschlichen Seele (1788) was a seminal work in the shift from mechanistic to biological metaphors of nature and human growth: Nature is an organism and Man an inextricable part of that organism. "Every noble human species sleeps, like any good seed, in silent germination: is there, and remains unaware of itself. . . .

How does the poor shoot know, and how should it know, what impulses, powers, vapors of life streamed into him at the instant of his coming to being?" [32] Rousseau's argument in Emile (1762) had implied a similar metamorphosis when he stressed the importance of letting the child fully live out each stage of his development, unhampered by any attempts to anticipate nature via educational, disciplinary or other efforts; otherwise such outside influences, if they did not harmonize with the current inner phase of the child, might result in the sort of deformity which an eager gardener can bring about through excessive pruning or hastening of the crop. [33]

This conjunction of inner potential seeking expression, and external influence shaping that expression, is the basic pattern underlying Goethe's concept of Metamorphose.

In a letter to Herder, May 17, 1787, Goethe had expressed the belief that such metamorphosis might be a universal law of life. In a later poem, Metamorphose der Tiere (before 1800), Goethe said as much when he wrote, "Finden wirst du sogleich zu aller Bildung den Schlüssel."

> Also bestimmt die Gestalt die Lebensweise des Tieres,/ Und die Weise, zu leben, sie wirkt auf alle Gestalten/ Mächtig zurück. So zeiget sich fest die geordnete Bildung, / Welche zum Wechsel sich neigt durch äusserlich wirkende Wesen. / Doch im Innern befindet die Kraft der edlern Geschöpfe / Sich im heiligen Kreise lebendiger Bildung beschlossen. / Diese Grenzen erweitert kein Gott, es ehrt die Natur sie:/ Denn nur also beschränkt war je das Vollkommene möglich. [34]

Later on in the poem, Goethe describes the concept of metamorphosis as "Dieser schöne Begriff von Macht und Schranken, von Willkür / Und Gesetz, von Freiheit und Mass, von beweglicher Ordnung, / Vorzug und Mangel . . . " [35]

The question has sometimes been asked whether this pattern of organic growth might not be applied to Wilhelm's life history. Some critics have so applied it. [36] Put differently, the issue is whether Wilhelm's Bildung is guaranteed, as it were, by his inner potential, or whether it results from a conscious desire on the part of the hero for self-growth and culture. The issue is central and calls for an examination in itself and for its implications.

Though Goethe had called the concept of metamorphosis the key to all Bildung, he seems to have thought otherwise by the time he wrote Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre. Certainly the Paedagogic Province leaves nothing to chance as far as the education of its young protegées is concerned. The concept of Bildung as a self-realization of dormant potentialities has been replaced by Bildung as a directed activity towards a goal, supervised and guided by those who are in a position to do so. The organic metaphor of plant-like growth, if it ever applied to human beings at all (Goethe's poem was after all entitled "Metamorphosis of Animals"), would thus belong to the Goethe of an earlier era. I shall return to this point shortly. I should perhaps mention that by the time Goethe had rejected

unconscious growth in Wanderjahre, the metaphor had become part of popular educational philosophy, and the Romantics in both England and Germany were embracing it. F. W. A. Froebel, the poolular educational theorist, wrote in 1826,

> We grant space and time to young plants and animals because we know that, in accordance with the laws that live in them, they will develop properly and grow well; young animals and plants are given rest, and arbitrary interference with their growth is avoided, because it is known that the opposite practice would disturb their pure unfolding and sound development; but the human being is looked upon as a piece of wax, a lump of clay, which man can mold into what he pleases. O man, who roamest through garden and field, through meadow and grove, why dost thou close thy mind to the silent teaching of nature? 37

Any such conception of growth is fundamentally optimistic. The organic metaphor of growth does not offer any realistic insight into the problems of individuation. Bildung in such a scheme of things is basically unproblematical, its self-contained entelechy guaranteeing success. Somewhat more resignedly, the organic metaphor can be interpreted to mean that human energies have little decisive effect on the shaping of those influences which act upon us; human character unfolds outside of human control. Such a realisation is untenable if one also believes in the free will of Man. Coleridge - - and Goethe too [38] - - saw this problem quite clearly, even though Carlyle's reasoning verges on special pleading: "What the plant is by an act not its own and unconsciously,

that must thou make thyself to become." [39] As Meyer H. Abrams remarks, quite justifiably, free will ran counter to the inherent tendency of Coleridge's elected analogue. [40]

At its worst, organic or nature-inspired metaphors can reflect a determinism which borders on the fatalistic. Instances of this can be found in Bulwer-Lytton's novels; [41] I raise this point now merely to indicate the full ramifications of the metaphor as they relate to the issue of Bildung.

In view of these implications, the question already posed becomes even more important: how does the organic metaphor relate to Wilhelm's Bildungsgeschichte?

The Abbé's educational position is a variation upon Rousseau. At one point in the Lehrbrief (literally a letter of indenture), the Abbé writes of the various Anlagen (innate dispositions) in Man, and goes on to speak of how "eine Kraft beherrscht die andere, aber keine kann die andere bilden; in jeder Anlage liegt auch allein die Kraft sich zu vollenden." [42] This in fact sounds very much like Leibniz and his theory of the monads, where the various monads, completely independent of each other, nevertheless contain within themselves their potential for wholeness, their entelechy. In organic terms, the Anlagen contain within themselves both beginning and end, are as a seed carrying the potential for growth, fruit and reproduction. In line with such reasoning, the Abbé's charges

are left free to develop under only minimal guidance. His belief that "der Irrtum könne nur durch das Irren geheilt werden" (HA, 7, 550), goes so far as to encourage Wilhelm in his errors. Presumably the Abbé's reasoning is that Wilhelm will eventually realise his errors and draw the appropiate consequences from that insight; the resulting change will be the more complete because it stems from an inner conversion, not an external directive. It is the Abbé who brings Hamlet to Wilhelm's attention; it is the Abbé who rescues Wilhelm from a quandary by providing him with the much-needed ghost for the production of Hamlet. As Jarno remarks later, the Abbé "versicherte, das es der einzige Weg sei Sie zu heilen, wenn Sie heilbar wären." (HA, 7, 551). As it turns out, the successful production of Hamlet only confirms Wilhelm in his dilettantism, an ironic counterpoint to the Abbé's philosophy of a passive as opposed to a controlled education. In fact, just before Jarno hands the fateful copy of Hamlet to Wilhelm (who now "völlig vergass und verlor" himself in it (HA, 7, 181)), the narrator gives an explicit criticism of the Abbé's position:

> Der Mensch kommt manchmal, indem er sich in einer Entwicklung seiner Kräfte, Fähigkeiten und Begriffe nähert, in eine Verlegenheit, aus der ihm ein guter Freund leicht helfen könnte. Er gleicht einem Wanderer, der nicht weit von der Herberge ins Wasser fällt; griffe jemand sogleich zu, risse ihn ans Land, so wäre es um einmal nass werden getan, anstatt dass er sich auch wohl selbst, aber am jenseitigen

Ufer, heraushilft und einen beschwerlichen Umweg nach seinem bestimmten Ziele zu machen hat. 43

Clearly it is not enough to let nature always take its course. Natalie (who, it should be remembered, is also a member of the Society of the Tower) goes so far as to speak of the arbitrary aspects of human nature, and the necessity of counteracting human nature at times: "Ich möchte beinah behaupten, es sei besser, nach Regeln zu irren, als zu irren, wenn uns die Willkür unserer Natur hin und her treibt . . . " (HA, 7, 527).

If the organic metaphor of individuation does not contain the answer to Wilhelm's Bildung, what of his desire, as he puts it, "mich selbst, ganz wie ich da bin, auszubilden" (HA, 7, 290)? Is Wilhelm's culture the result of a conscious effort to attain identity and wholeness? The answer is clearly no. Wilhelm's desire for Bildung arises in conjunction with two illusions, a false perception of the aristocracy, and a dilettantish conviction that the Theatre is indeed his vocation.

Wilhelm's model for what he considers an exemplary state of Bildung is the nobility. He feels that only they, with their wealth, ease, and graceful manners, have true Bildung (HA, 7, 290). It becomes obvious in this and other passages (HA, 7, 154 f.) that Wilhelm's perception of Bildung is still very much that of the Shaftesburyean virtuoso, who, accomplished in everything that he does, has "eine gewisse allgemeine, wenn

ich sagen darf personelle, Ausbildung " (HA, 7, 290). The Bürger, the middle-class bourgeois, has to be one-sided. Wilhelm, at least in the Lehrjahre, rejects this wholeheartedly: "/Der Edelman/ soll tun und wirken, /der Bürger/ soll leisten und schaffen; er soll einzelne Fähigkeiten ausbilden, um brauchbar zu werden, und es wird schon vorausgesetzt, dass in seinem Wesen keine Harmonie sei, noch sein dürfe, weil er, um sich auf eine Weise brauchbar zu machen, alles Übrige vernachlässigen muss." (HA, 7, 291).

Wilhelm's lines become ironic when viewed in the context of the entire Meister cycle. The social dialectic of Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre revolves around precisely these two issues: on the one hand the desire for a allgemeine, personelle Bildung, on the other hand the realisation that Man must be useful, which necessitates abandoning allgemeine Bildung in favour of a spezifische Bildung. Within the Meister cycle, the classical ideal of a development of the whole personality is replaced by the realisation that "Now is the time of specialties," [44] a self-limitation that will serve not only the Beautiful but also the Useful. Goethe saw this conflict as rooted in the social reality of his time; it is part of his fundamentally realistic vision. As the Abbé writes in the Lehrbrief, only the Beautiful and the Useful make the whole man; in other words, the ideal consists in the amalgamation of aristocratic and

bourgeois virtues. Society generally does not encourage the Beautiful as much as the Useful, and the task of education should be to further both. [45]

Wilhelm's second illusion concerns the Theatre. " Er überzeugte sich, dass er nur auf dem Theater die Bildung, die er sich zu geben wünschte, vollenden könne . . . " (HA, 7, 289). Again Wilhelm's desire for an externalised, representative culture reveals itself. If he admired the nobility for their all-round Bildung, he is attracted to the Theatre because it seems to offer an (albeit illusionary) path to self-realization, Bildung in the sense of sich-zum-Bilde-machen. There is a double irony here. Only in assuming a role on the Stage can Wilhelm the bourgeois overcome his bourgeois handicap, become the Whole Man. [46] Once again, Wilhelm feels that the model for wholeness is the aristocrat, who alone can overcome the bourgeois' sense of fragmentation. Thus Wilhelm is not only seeking his real self through illusive role-playing, but, in the hope of consolidating his identity, he is rejecting his personal bourgeois past as well.

Wilhelm's express desire for Bildung does nothing for his real Bildung except insofar as it makes him live out a series of experiences which in the end are recognized as mistakes. This is in keeping with the Abbé's reasoning that only through erring can one cure one's errors. Yet is is highly doubtful

whether the intended educational effect of such a position does in fact ever take place. The Lehrbrief is supposed to be part of the setting free of Wilhelm, yet if one reads the entire Lehrbrief-scene carefully, one finds numerous hints that Wilhelm is in fact no closer to an understanding of his past than before. Jarno observes that the letter will invariably sound "leer und dunkel," empty and dark, to him who "sich keiner Erfahrung dabei erinnert." (HA, 7, 548). In that context it is highly significant that Wilhelm feels "verwirrt" by these "Phrasen," later even "verwirrt" through the very "Andenken dieser Verworrenheit." At one point he asks Jarno to stop reading because he (Wilhelm) has already read it all before; nevertheless, when Jarno comes to the passage I have already cited concerning the individual entelechy of every innate disposition (see note 42), Wilhelm protests that he cannot understand. At the end of Jarno's reading he is in a "verdriessliche Stimmung." Quite clearly Wilhelm does not yet have an accurate conception of his past. This lack of a retrospective ordering of his experiences precludes his understanding the Lehrbrief at a time when the authors of the latter clearly felt he should be able to.

I think it is one of the dilemmas of the Bildungsroman that its protagonist has to be an unfulfilled character for the greater part of the novel, even though the compelling ideal

is one of successful integration of character. As far as the plot structure is concerned, the protagonist has to be passive, unsure of himself and his future, wandering down a path of errors the end of which seems nowhere in sight. Hence the hero of the Bildungsroman becomes, in Schiller's words, the most necessary but not the most important character, [47] the focus of a variety of energies over which he has little control. Humboldt felt as much when he called Wilhelm the hero who constantly ties knots without ever being able to untie one himself. [48]

From the author's point of view, the real difficulty lies in having the ideal of integration of character arise organically from the particular situations the divided main character finds himself in. Bulwer-Lytton, as I will show later, stumbled over this difficulty. The ideal cannot be postulated a priori, as it were, as something to consciously strive for. The hero of the Bildungsroman may have, like Wilhelm, vague notions of seeking Bildung (which, as I have shown for Wilhelm, confuse him even more), but he cannot know the end of his Bildungsprozess until he has actually reached it. Schiller saw this quite clearly when he commented to Goethe, July 8, 1796, that "Nun kann aber diese Idee der Meisterschaft, die nur das Werk der gereiften und vollendeten Erfahrung ist, den Helden nicht selbst leiten; sie kann

und darf nicht als sein Zweck und sein Ziel vor ihm stehen, denn sobald er sein Ziel sich dächte, so hätte er es eo ipso auch erreicht . . . " [49] That is one reason why the reader may feel that Wilhelm's Bildung is incomplete; we are never shown the end of his Bildungsprozess (at least in Lehrjahre). Wilhelm's Bildung, as Schiller put it, "/endet/ weder mit einer entschiednen Individualität, noch mit einer durchgeführten Idealität," rather with a middling sort of compromise where we must credit the conclusion of Wilhelm's Bildungsgeschichte "auf eine ferne Zukunft." [50] Can we in fact do so?

What we do see on Wilhelm's part is an increasingly (but by no means completely) realistic re-appraisal of his past. The single most important factor in this re-appraisal is the Theatre, to which Wilhelm had turned because it enabled him to externalise a vision of himself, and a perception of reality, which were anything but realistic. Wilhelm does eventually realise that he has not always distinguished objective fact from subjective perception: " 'Von welchem Irrtum kann der Mann sprechen' , sagte er zu sich selbst, 'als von dem, der mich mein ganzes Leben verfolgt hat, dass ich da Bildung suchte, wo keine zu finden war, dass ich mir einbildete, ein Talent erwerben zu können, zu dem ich nicht die geringste Anlage hatte!' " (HA, 7, 495). Yet such a critical re-appraisal does not warrant the conclusion that Wilhelm has now reached the end of his

Bildungsgeschichte - - as a recent thesis argues. [51] Despite a growing awareness of his personal past , and its relevance for the present and future, Wilhelm, to the end, engages in sollipsistic reasoning and self-pitying monologues. After the rescue of his son Felix, and at a point where the engagement to Natalie is still open, Wilhelm takes stock of his past and concludes somewhat melodramatically: " Vergebens klagen wir Menschen uns selbst, vergebens das Schicksal an. Wir sind elend und zum Elend bestimmt, und ist es nicht völlig einerlei, ob eigene Schuld, höherer Einfluss oder Zufall, Tugend oder Laster, Weisheit oder Wahnsinn uns ins Verderben stürzen? " (HA, 7, 607). Yet immediately after these words, thanks in large part to the antics of young Friedrich (Wilhelm remains a spectator to the end), Wilhelm discovers his love for Natalie is a mutual one. He now feels that he has reached the highest happiness possible. If nothing else, Wilhelm lacks the inner balance which is so much part of Goethe's concept of the complete man.

With due caution, the reader can only entertain reasonable hopes for a successful completion to Wilhelm's Bildungsprozess. Wilhelm enters into a series of relationships which, if not guaranteeing a successful conclusion to his search for a meaningful life, at least offer a better chance than previous possibilities: the entrance into the Society of the Tower, which,

as Lothario notes, has great plans for migration and settlement in foreign lands, his engagement to Natalie, his role as father of Felix. But to the end Wilhelm remains ignorant of what precisely he is to do with his life. Only in the final version of Wanderjahre does he finally become a Wundarzt, a surgeon, the profession which Jarno had compared so ironically in Lehrjahre to the apparently more useful activities of Lothario.

> Wenn [Lothario] nur ins Ganze und auch in die Ferne wirkt, so richtet dieser seinen hellen Blick nur auf die nächsten Dinge, er verschafft mehr die Mittel zur Tätigkeit, als dass er die Tätigkeit hervorbrächte und belebte; sein Handeln sieht einem guten Wirtschaften vollkommen ähnlich . . . " (HA, 7, 553).

Once again the central dialectic of Allgemeinheit and Begrenztheit, the respective virtues of activity on a large scale and doing one's duty on a day-to-day basis, is touched upon. Wanderjahre will argue for the necessity of the latter, but at this point Goethe and Jarno leave no doubt that the universality of a Lothario is preferable to the stille Wirksamkeit of the doctor. The ethos of the Society of the Tower is, after all, one of activity as the expression of self; as the Uncle puts it,

> Des Menschen grösstes Verdienst bleibt wohl, wenn er die Umstände so viel als möglich bestimmt, und sich so wenig als möglich von ihnen bestimmen lässt. Das ganze Weltwesen liegt vor uns, wie ein grosser Steinbruch vor dem Baumeister, der nur dann den Namen verdient, wenn er aus diesen zufälligen Naturmassen

> ein in seinem Geiste entsorungenes Urbild mit der grössten Ökonomie, Zweckmässigkeit und Festigkeit zusammenstellt. (HA, 7, 405).

These words echo those of the Stranger's in the first book of Lehrjahre (HA, 7, 71) - - he too was a member of the Society of the Tower.

Yet this Society is treated with a gentle irony, too, which in turn leads the reader to wonder about the viability of the Turmgesellschaft's ethos.[52] After all, the Society is a very isolated community; its members are not typical of society, but are rather well-to-do or members of the aristocracy. The question arises as to how universally applicable are the Society's guiding principles? I have already mentionned the ironies of the Abbé's educational beliefs, and, as far as the Lehrbrief-scene goes, the irony at that particular moment is strong indeed. The Turmgesellschaft cannot cope with all of its problems; after the death of Mignon and the Harpner, "war niemand in seinem Gleise geblieben" (HA, 7, 605). I have already mentionned the Society's difficulty in managing (and perhaps even anticipating) Wilhelm's love for Natalie. And even its ethos of activity as expression of self has to be seen in a rather more mundane context as well: at one point Jarno's argument for migration (HA, 7, 563 f.) makes it clear that rather than attempting to govern external circumstances through a purposeful expression of self, the Society sees the pressing

need for, and advisability of, accomodating to these circumstances.

Cautiousness would appear to be in order when reading Lehrjahre. The question of Wilhelm's Bildung ultimately remains open-ended. The Meister cycle as a whole has often struck me as a sort of sounding bell within which a host of issues are raised, but not always harmonised and resolved. Therein lies Goethe's fundamental realism. Schiller constantly urged Goethe to articulate his main philosophical ideas more clearly, perhaps even in summary form. "Was ich also . . . wünschte, wäre dieses, dass die Beziehung aller einzelnen Glieder des Romans auf jenen philosophischen Begriff [der Lehrjahre und Wanderjahre] noch etwas klarer gemacht würde."[53] On July 9, 1796, Schiller again recommended that the Lehrbrief contain the "philosophischen Gehalt" of the novel.[54] On October 19, Schiller somewhat humoristically refers to his by now familiar "Grille mit etwas deutlicherer Pronunciation der Haupt-Idee."[55] Goethe, however, remained hesitant in following Schiller 's call for greater obviousness. At one point he referred to a character trait of his which - - so Goethe - - prevented him from following Schiller's advice. In the by now famous passage of the letter of July 9, 1796, Goethe referred to his "gewissen realistischen Tick, durch den ich meine Existenz, meine Handlungen, meine Schriften den Menschen aus den Augen zu rücken

behaglich finde." And Goethe went on to speak of his authorial attitude:

> Es ist keine Frage, dass die scheinbaren, von mir ausgesprochenen Resultate mehr beschränkter [sic] sind als der Inhalt des Werkes, und ich komme mir vor wie einer, der, nachdem er viele und grosse Zahlen übereinander gestellt, endlich mutwillig selbst Additionsfehler machte, um die letzte Summe aus Gott weiss was für einer Grille zu verringern. [56]

Goethe ironically compares himself to a somewhat arbitrary artificer of meanings. His realistischer Tick reveals itself as a particular mode of writing: reticent, careful, ironic. The full meaning of words, events and character cannot be fully grasped through language, or the work of art; there remains the content, the Inhalt, which is beyond even the author's control. In the final analysis, the work of literature can only function as a sort of propdsal, a structure which remains to be completed by the reader, an absence to be fulfilled.

Humboldt said as much when he recognized that the ambiguities and the indefiniteness of Wilhelm's Bildung served a function: it is because of the unfulfilled character of Lehrjahre that the latter encourages the reader's productivity. "Darum wird auch jeder Mensch im 'Meister' seine Lehrjahre wiederfinden . . . [Der] Dichter, um völlig bestimmt zu sein, nöthigt den Leser, diese Weisheit sich selbst zu schaffen, und das Produkt in dieser letztern hat nun keine andern Grenzen, als die seiner eigenen Fähigkeit." [57]

Goethe's irony is one mode with which he confronts the ambiguities of existence, its riddles and open-ended questions. "Da sich gar manches unserer Erfahrungen nicht rund aussprechen und direkt mitteilen lässt," he wrote to Iken in 1827, " so habe ich seit langem das Mittel gewählt, durch einander gegenübergestellte und sich gleichsam ineinander abspiegelnde Gebilde den geheimeren Sinn den Aufmerksamen zu offenbaren." [58] This is what I might call Goethe's functional ambiguity in that it is a consciously-chosen mode of writing. The Victorian Bildungsroman of Bulwer-Lytton, it might be added here, strikes a different pose, for reasons which remain to be seen.

CHAPTER TWO

Goethe and Carlyle: the first Stage in the Process of Mutation

In the previous chapter I attempted to show that the problem of Bildung is by no means resolved in Lehrjahre. The handling of the issue is subtle; the questions raised are manifold, and the answers provided often colored with irony or ambiguity. There were important differences between the 1796 Lehrjahre and the later Wanderjahre, which made the internal ambiguities of the Meister cycle even harder to reconcile. Yet I feel that the full subtleties of Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre were never fully realised in Victorian England. My later discussion of Bulwer-Lytton will bear this out. To understand why, it helps to look at the transmission and mutation of the Goethean ethos in England through Carlyle.

Goethe was relatively unknown in England before 1824, the year Carlyle published his translation of Lehrjahre. Werther (1774) had had a great impact, in England as well as on the Continent; the first English translation, done from a French translation of the original, appeared in 1779. William Taylor published a translation of Iphigenie in 1793, and wrote many articles on German literature, as well as a Historic Survey of German Poetry (which included a discussion of Goethe) in 1828. Coleridge had read parts of Faust I in 1812 and all of it in 1814; Byron's debt to Goethe and Faust, especially in his Manfred, has been well-documented.[59] Wordsworth tried reading Goethe but apparently gave up in disgust at his immorality; he felt

that the first "cantos" (!) of Meister "wantonly outraged the sympathies of human nature." [60] Charles Lamb felt likewise, calling Gower's 1823 translation of Faust " a disagreeable canting tale of seduction." [61] One of the most balanced appraisals of Goethe to reach a wide audience was Mme. de Stael's De l'Allemagne (1813); Carlyle read it in 1817 while teaching school at Kirckcaldy, and "suspended my operations these ten days" while reading it. [62] Generally speaking, however, the prevailing impression of Goethe was that of an immoralist and author of "some woe-begone hypochondriac . . . dissolving into hysterical wailings over hapless love-stories and the miseries of human life," as Carlyle characterised Werther. [63] One of the reasons Carlyle stressed Goethe's value as a moral teacher is probably attributable to this prevailing prejudice against Goethe as the immoralist; again, this charge may have provided further impetus for Carlyle to clean up, as it were, various passages in Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre.

Carlyle omitted a slightly suggestive passage concerning Philine and Serlo (HA, 7, 301), and dropped an entire novella from the Wanderjahre (The Foolish Pilgrimess). He also changed many references to parts of the body, and the more sensual pleasures of earthly existence. At times these alterations change the meaning considerably. In Mignon's song, "So lass mich scheinen, bis ich werde" (HA, 7, 515), the German "Ich eile von der

schönen Erde / Hinab in jenes feste Haus (literally, "Down from this beautiful earth I fly / to yonder solid home") becomes "Soon from this dreary earth I flee / Up to the glittering lands of day." The third stanza's "Umgeben den verklärten Leib," a religious allusion to the festive apotheosis of Maria, is rendered with the anything but festive "The frame is purged of sin's alloy." [64] The carefree song of Philine (HA, 7, 317) is radically de-sensualised in the fourth stanza. C. T. Carr [65] offers other passages stressing the sinfulness and essential joylessness of earthly life. A close examination of the changes the Goethean original undergoes in the process of Carlyle's translation, and the affect this had on the reception of the novels, would be a worthwhile study. Certainly the measured and classical style of Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre is not captured in the translation; by comparison, Jacob Steiner's study (and it might also function as a focus in any comparative analysis of Carlyle's translation vis-à-vis Goethe) has shown how language as style and tone furnish meanings in Goethe's work. [66]

Carlyle's translation of Lehrjahre appeared in 1824. Critical reaction was not altogether favourable. As expected, the main criticism levelled at the work centered on its vulgarity and ostensible immorality. [67] Carlyle began to adress himself to these charges in the introduction to the 1827 translation of Wanderjahre, entitled Wilhelm Meister's Travels and

found in the fourth volume of a four-volume set entitled German Romance. At the same time he undertook to acquaint the English reader with Goethe's philosophy. In the process some significant modifications of the Goethean ethos took place. Before discussing these modifications, a brief examination of Carlyle's source for Travels, namely the 1821 version of Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, will show the extent to which the English reading public became acquainted with an unfinished original and a misleading translation. In the process I might be able to offer some hypotheses concerning the 1821 Wanderjahre and the effect this version (as opposed to the 1829 version) may have had on English Meister reception and understanding.

As I argued in the previous chapter, the issue of Wilhelm's Bildung in Lehrjahre is not resolved with any finality. Wilhelm's future remains open, albeit full of potentialities, of which membership in the Society, its plans for colonisation, and his engagement to Natalie are the most promising. Yet the authorial irony is pervasive and it colors even these final glimpses of a possible solution to Wilhelm's Bildungsgeschichte.

Wanderjahre is thus doubly important, not only as a sequel of sorts to Wilhelm's history, but also as a possible resolution of the open issues of Lehrjahre. By the implication of the title alone, Wanderjahre offers a higher stage of the protagonist's development; much as the journeyman's years

follow those of the apprentice. The 1829 Wanderjahre does in fact offer a resolution to Wilhelm's search for a meaningful occupation; he becomes a Wundarzt and saves the life of his son. The 1821 version, however, does not offer any such conclusion, and it was this version which Carlyle presented to the English public. The implications of this remain to be seen.

The Lehrbrief had contained, among other advice, the maxim that "Der Mensch ist nicht eher glücklich, als bis sein unbedingtes Streben sich selbst seine Begrenzung bestimmt"(HA, 7, 553). Man must realise that his freedom lies not in a Faustian striving, but rather in accepting his conditional nature. In a notebook entry of April 1795, Goethe muses on this Bedingtheit as arising from Notwendigkeit (necessity) and Gesellschaft (society).[68] With all due awareness of oversimplification, I think one can see Lehrjahre as examining some of the ramifications of Wilhelm's Bedingheit vis-à-vis Necessity, whereas Wanderjahre introduces the social motif and makes it into the central theme of a new ethos of Bildung: purposeful activity for others in conjunction with others. Wilhelm accepts his responsibilities towards others; he has progressed through a childhood preoccupation with marionettes to the dilettantish self-portrayal on the stage, to the "stille Wirksamkeit" (as Jarno characterised the physician[69]) of the Wundarzt. The New Man of Wanderjahre accepts the need for self-

limitation; as Jarno-Montan put it, "now is the time for specialties" (Meister, II, 227).

The above themes are poorly developed in the 1821 version of Wanderjahre. Lovers wander (Hilaria, the Beautiful Widow, Wilhelm) and the reader does not really know why; existential dilemnas ("The Man of Fifty Years"; "The Nutbrown Maid") remain unsolved. At times the reader is tempted to discover a pervasive sense of fatalism in the 1821 version. Beyond the efforts of the Paedagogic Province, there is little evidence of an active mastery of self and world; the figure of Makarie, so central in the 1829 version, is missing entirely from the first version. The fact that the 1821 Wanderjahre also end with Lenardo's speech on the necessity of wandering, and the following poem (in Carlyle's translation),

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

reinforces the impression that the ethos of the 1821 Wanderjahre is more one of resignation than optimism, adaption rather than mastery. This feeling is further strengthened by Carlyle's translation of a little poem which Goethe had, among others, prefixed to the 1821 version:

What, shap'st thou here at the world? 'tis shapen long ago;
The maker shap'd it, he thought it best even so;
Thy lot is appointed, go follow its best;
Thy way is begun, thou must walk, and not rest;
For sorrow and care cannot alter thy case;
And running, not raging, will win thee the race.

Carlyle's translation significantly modifies the Goethean original; Goethe's "Dein Los ist gefallen, verfolge die Weise," is rather less fatalistic than Carlyle's translation (line three), and Goethe's conclusion that "Sorgen und Kummer verändern es [die Welt] nicht, / Sie schleudern dich ewig aus gleichem Gewicht," argues for an inner peace, not "running . . . will win thee the race." In such a context the ethos of wandering, as articulated by Lenardo at the conclusion of the 1821 version, achieves unwarranted support; Carlyle's "Thy way is begun, thou must walk, and not rest " reveals the urgency and prodding haste of the Wanderers, but not of Goethe's small poem.

Carlyle's translation is clearly also interpretation. Perhaps this is understandable if one remembers that the 1821 Wanderjahre is so unresolved in many aspects. The restless energy of the Wanderers has not found the concrete direction which the 1829 plans for the migration to America, as well as the colonization of home territory, will give. Wilhelm's renunciation (as is the renunciation of Hilaria and the

Beautiful Widow) is vague and seemingly without real purpose; it applies chiefly in the realm of love and amounts to little more than self-denial. Renunciation is mentionned several times in this context.[70] Yet any such conception of Entsagung is one-sided. The 1821 Wanderjahre lacks the subtle expansion of the Entsagung-motif in the 1829 version. As the latter will show, Entsagung and any successful end to the Bildungsprozess go hand in hand.[71] The maturity of Wilhelm's love for Natalie stands in contrast to Felix's immature ~~love~~ for Hersilie; Felix does not yet know how to entsagen, and thus problems ensue. Also found only in the1829 version is the concept of Entsagung as not only a moral and ethical imperative, but also as an acceptance of one's conditional nature (Bedingtheit) in relation to society, and one's functioning in that society. Wilhelm becomes Wundarzt; Jarno, the man of the Theatre and the World, has preceded Wilhelm and become a geologist. The Paedagogic Province is ultimately justified from this point of view: Bildung is seen by these men as a process of individual growth in conjunction with the demands of socialisation, as a directed activity in a communal setting towards a specific, socially desirable goal.

Carlyle was right when he called the 1821 version a "fragment, hanging suspended in middle air"; he was wrong, however, when he referred to the 1829 version as a "fragment

like the first, significantly pointing on all hands towards infinitude; not more complete than the first was, or indeed perhaps less so" (Meister, I, 2). Carlyle may have felt that he had to justify not translating the 1829 version upon its appearance; one might almost doubt whether he had read the final version when he wrote the above lines.

If the Goethean original came to England in a mutated form, the impressions gathered from Carlyle's essays on Goethe turned out to be equally idiosyncratic. Carlyle introduced Goethe to an audience which he felt was not sufficiently acquainted with him as man, author, statesman and natural scientist. Consequently Carlyle's essays dealt not only with the works but (or, more accurately, above all) with the man Goethe. Carlyle portrayed Goethe and his life as a model of one vast Bildungsprozess:

> To cultivate his own spirit, not only as an author, but also as a man; to obtain dominion over it, and wield its resources as instruments in the service of what seemed Good and Beautiful, had been his object more or less distinctly from the first, as it is that of all true men in their several spheres. According to his own deep maxim, that 'Doubt of any sort can only be removed by Action,' this object had now become more clear to him. 72

This passage deserves closer scrutiny. It is a good example of the manner in which Carlyle proceeded and of the distortions, however subtle, which ensued. Goethe is presented as a man who has obtained "dominion" over his spirit; the im-

plication is one of struggle eventually leading to self-restraint and self-control. Goethe, Carlyle tells us, is a man who has learned through "action and passion, in the rugged school of experience." And he goes on to say, "A mind that has seen, and suffered, and done, speaks to us of what it has tried and conquered." [73] The slant of the rhetoric is Carlylean: action and suffering, struggle and conquest form the patterns of growth and existence. In Carlyle's later writings, especially Sartor Resartus, these themes become increasingly important; they also appear in Bulwer's novels. Increasingly neglected is Goethe's self-conscious cultivation of self in the search after excellence in all, something Carlyle had pointed out and praised in the 1827 and 1828 essays on Goethe.

Carlyle now goes on to speak of Goethe's "service" to the "Good and Beautiful." This stress on a primarily moral engagement, a "persevering effort to make Truth lovely, and recommmend her, by a thousand avenues, to the hearts of all men," is un-Goethean insofar as it leads to the poet-as-teacher-and-seer concept. As Carlyle wrote in the 1828 article, "Goethe" (in Foreign Review, number 3), "Participating deeply in all the influence of his age, he has from the first, at every new epoch, stood forth to elucidate the new circumstances of his time; to offer the instruction, the solace, which the time required." [74] But Goethe's realistischer Tick went against

any such role playing; in a conversation with Eckerman in 1830, the old Goethe took pains to convince his listener that he had always avoided catering to the general populace, even if it was a question of educating them for their own improvement. [75] Certainly Goethe was far more subtle than Carlyle portrayed him to be; I might refer to the fact that the very first excerpt from Makariens Archiv, the collection of sayings and thoughts that Goethe added to the 1829 Wanderjahre edition, reminds the reader that "Die Geheimnisse der Lebenspfade darf und kann man nicht offenbaren; es gibt Steine des Anstosses, über die ein jeder Wanderer stolpern muss. Der Poet aber deutet auf die Stelle hin" (HA,8,460).

Carlyle concludes his reference to Goethe with a quote from Lehrjahre (HA, 7, 347), where the priest treating the mad Harpner remarks that "jede Art von Zweifel nur durch die Wirksamkeit gehoben werden kann." Wirksamkeit does not denote "activity " as such, but rather "effectiveness of action." Doubt is resolved through effective action. With this meaning in mind, the Priest's admittedly parenthetical remark is far from the categorical maxim that Carlyle made it out to be; it comes closer to being a common-sense platitude. Carlyle, however, stressed this Goethean sentence time and again; it reappears in Sartor Resartus and Past and Present (1843). [76]

In the 1828 "Goethe" article, Carlyle added another as-

pect to Goethe's Bildungsgeschichte which once again indicates how Carlyle's primary interest was to present the "spiritual history" of Goethe. [77] Carlyle had come across a note of Goethe's in the West-Östlicher Divan ("Israel in der Wüste") that described world history as an alternation between periods of Belief and Disbelief. Only periods of Belief are "glänzend, herzerhebend und fruchtbar für Mitwelt und Nachwelt." [78] Carlyle paraphrased Goethe in his essay on Diderot [79] and in Sartor Resartus. [80] The interesting thing is that Carlyle saw the same pattern in Goethe's biography. His starting axiom was that the poet is not only a citizen of his country but also of his time (Essays, I, 217). Consequently Goethe's history resembles that of the German people, a movement from Doubt and Disbelief, to Belief (Ibid., I, 243), from Darkness to Light, from blackness, denial and dispair, to solemnity and loveliness (Ibid., I, 210), from inward imprisonment, doubt and discontent, to freedom, belief and clear activity (Ibid., I, 243). The bias in these antitheses is towards Belief and Faith -- decidedly not Goethe's views as to the ultimate attainment of a man's life. Moreover, the pattern which Carlyle portrayed - - the movement from disbelief to belief, doubt to Faith - - is subtly misleading. It portrays the dialectic as arising out of an acute perception of the times, an extreme sensibility and an earnest mind. "For, to say nothing of [Goethe's] natural gifts, he has cul-

tivated himself and his art, he has studied how to live and write, with a fidelity, an unwearied earnestness, of which there is no other living instance" except, Carlyle goes on to add, perhaps Wordsworth (Ibid., I, 208). In effect, Goethe's growth is presented as a conscious growth, a self-cultivated progression through a series of moral phases. This raises an important discrepancy between the Meister cycle and Carlyle's essays. As I attempted to show in my first chapter, the idea of Bildung precludes that of successful self-conscious Bildung. Wilhelm's desire for self-culture brings about little more than a series of misadventures. Yet the Bildungsgeschichte of Goethe, as portrayed by Carlyle, introduces the element of self-conscious cultivation and successful study of self.

Here may lie one reason why Bulwer's heroes constantly engage in self-analysis and contemplation: to Bulwer it may have appeared a valid means of self-development, whereas closer study of Meister should have shown that Goethe is highly ironic towards Wilhelm's musings.

As I said before, Carlyle was more interested in Goethe's inner Bildung, his moral rather than secular growth. That at least is the impression which is conveyed by the series of further articles Carlyle wrote on Goethe. In "Death of Goethe" (New Monthly Magazine, number 138, 1832/falsely attributed by Michael Sadleir to Bulwer himself [81]), Carlyle again presents

Goethe's life history in moral-philosophical terms: a progression from darkness to light, Disbelief to Belief. The element of emotional turmoil and struggle has been amplified in comparison to previous essays. Goethe is now seen as a man who has fought his way through to Light and Belief (Essays, II, 380); he is the "Wise Man" who has, "by Heaven's preappointment," become "in very deed the Redeemer of his time." "[Goethe] was filled full with [the] scepticism, bitterness, hollowness and thousandfold contradictions [of the time], till his heart was like to break; but he subdued all this, rose victorious over this, and manifoldly by word and act showed others that come after, how to do the like. Honour to him who first 'through the impossible paves a road'!" (Ibid., II, 379). Goethe is then described as a "spiritual hero that ventures forth into the gulf of our deliverance," a "martyr" (Ibid.). Carlyle has added another dimension to Bildung, a somewhat martial one, and in its stress on the element of struggle and earnest toil, it is quite unlike the attitude Goethe takes towards the struggles of Wilhelm. The latter's crises are always treated with a friendly (and distancing) irony: I am thinking here of Wilhelm's reaction to Mariannen's unfaithfulness, and the final outburst to Lothario which I have already mentionned (page 25).

In the article entitled "Goethe's Works" (Foreign Quarterly Review, number 19, 1832), Carlyle concluded the essay by

drawing attention to the exemplary nature of Goethe's spiritual struggles (as he had done in most of the previous Goethe articles):

> /Goethe's/ Life and Works are doubtless of incalculable value, and worthy of our most earnest study; for his Spiritual History is, as it were, the ideal emblem for all true men's in these days; the goal of Manhood, which he attained, We too in our degree have to aim at; let us mark well the road he fashioned for himself, and in the dim weltering chaos rejoice to find a paved way. (Essays, II, 440 f.).

I have mentionned these points in some detail because they relate to the kind of Bildungsgeschichte which Bulwer wrote a few years later. Bulwer too was intent on tracing the spiritual histories of his heroes, as well as their secular development, yet somehow the latter aspect was always neglected. Ostensibly patterning himself on Meister (as in Ernest Maltravers), Bulwer instead appears to have followed Carlyle and the latter's conviction as to what constitutes the important phase of an individual's Bildung: spiritual turmoil characterised by moral and emotional rather than practical and intellectual issues, sorrows rather than joys. In addition to the essays I have alluded to , Sartor Resartus and the biography of Teufelsdröckh played a seminal role in presenting a Bildungs-model of sorts for Bulwer.

Sartor Resartus first appeared in serial form in Fraser's Magazine from November 1833 to August 1834. Carlyle had been working at it since September 1830, finishing the second and

third books in the spring and summer of 1831. It is the second book of Sartor, with its biography of Professor Teufelsdröckh, that interests me here. Literally sprinkled with Goethean thoughts and themes, it must have been read by Bulwer; the latter's Alice, or, The Mysteries (1837) contains verbal allusions to Sartor. In fact, as Susanne Howe mentions at one point in her Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen, "the apprenticeships of most of the nineteenth-century novel heroes consist of passing through some sort of baptism of fire, coming out purified and ennobled by sorrow - - whether in the manner of Bulwer's and Disraeli's young poets and politicians, or of the hero in Hugh Walpole's Fortitude." [82] I strongly suspect that Carlyle's essays on Goethe, and perhaps even more so his Sartor, are responsible for such thematic consistency; my later chapter on Bulwer will, I hope, bear out this belief.

Teufelsdröckh's pattern of development starts with early denials ("My Active Power (Thatkraft) was unfavourably hemmed in; of which misfortune how many traces yet abide with me!" [II, 2, 78]) and passes on to metaphysical speculations, impassioned love, an inevitable disappointment in love, and consequently despair, restless wanderings through the world, and existential self-denial (The Everlasting No). Through a (mental) act of self-annihilation and the subsequent inner peace of sorts (The Centre of Indifference), Teufelsdröckh

manages to gather strength; through a re-awakening of faith and the enthusiastic reception of the maxim to "Do the Duty which lies nearest thee," as well as its corollary, "Produce! Produce!" (II, 9, 156 f.), Teufelsdröckh is re-born to the world and reaches what Carlyle calls the Everlasting Yea.

Much like Bulwer's Ernest Maltravers (where the perambulatory metaphor is implied in the name itself), Teufelsdröckh is continually described as the "Wanderer" and "Pilgrim."[83] Clearly the implication is that his travels (the Wanderjahre?) are an individual reaction to blighted love, as well as a typological response of the souls searching to find itself. Teufelsdröckh and the world, his soul and God, have come asunder, and it is only through the discipline of suffering that the former will find to the latter, will come to a full awareness of self and identity vis-à-vis life and God. Bulwer, too, was fond of introducing this element of allegory into his heroes' frequent wanderings, though the result was somewhat pretentious; neither the tone of his novels nor their plot lent themselves to such allusions.[84]

Aside from offering the sort of Bildungsgeschichte I have been discussing, Carlyle is mainly responsible for introducing to England two key Goethean themes, those of Tätigkeit and Entsagung. He was fond of repeating two maxims relating to the concept of Tätigkeit, that is, work or activity,

as Carlyle interpreted it. One was that "Doubt of any sort can only be removed through action," the other, "Do the Duty which lies nearest thee." The first quotation (I discussed it on page 41) is the extrapolation from the remarks of the priest who was treating the Harpner. The second maxim can be traced back to the 1829 edition of Wanderjahre and its "Betrachtungen im Sinne der Wanderer," where the second maxim asked: "Wie kann man sich selbst kennen lernen? Durch Betrachten niemals, wohl aber durch Handeln. Versuche, deine Pflicht zu tun, und du weisst gleich, was an dir ist." [85] Carlyle paraphrased this thought in Sartor: "Our works are the mirror wherein the spirit first sees its natural lineaments. Hence, too, the folly of that impossible Precept, Know thyself; till it be translated into this partially possible one, Know what thou canst work at." (II, 7, 132). In the third maxim of the "Betrachtungen," Goethe had gone on to say: "Was aber ist deine Pflicht? Die Forderung des Tages." [86] This had become Carlyle's "Do the Duty which lies nearest thee." The Stranger in Book seven of Lehrjahre had also advised, "Das Sicherste bleibt immer, nur das Nächste zu tun, was vor uns liegt, und das ist jetzt, fuhr er mit einem Lächeln fort, dass wir eilen, ins Quartier zu kommen." (HA, 7, 422). His words, however, are not quite what Carlyle translated as the imperative to do the duty which lies nearest us. More-

over, the gentle irony of the Stranger's words argues against taking them as an imperative of any sort. Carlyle approached such sentences, isolated them from their context, and gave them a sententious connotation. Again, and perhaps inevitably, shifts in meaning and emphasis came about, compounded by sometimes inaccurate translation.

Tätigkeit in Lehrjahre is seen as the expression of inner self; if translated as activity, it should be qualified by adding self-actualisation, as the common root might suggest. It is used in this sense by the Uncle in Lehrjahre:
"Alles ausser uns ist nur Element, ja ich darf wohl sagen, auch alles an uns; aber tief in uns liegt diese schöpferische Kraft, die das zu erschaffen vermag, was sein soll, und nicht ruhen lässt, bis wir es ausser uns oder an uns, auf eine oder die andere Weise, dargestellt haben." (HA, 7, 405). Only in the Wanderjahre does Tätigkeit assume very much a social dimension, closer to the concept of "work," as activity carried out in conjunction with others for the good of the social organism as a whole. Both meanings, or rather, the shift in the implications of Tätigkeit, should be seen in the context of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Germany. In the first instance, and Wilhelm wrote as much to Werner, only the aristocrat can tun und wirken, whereas the bourgeois has to leisten und schaffen. Tun und wirken is the means to self-realization;

leisten und schaffen are "work," which cannot and will not bring about an inner harmony in the bourgeois (HA, 7, 291). Tätigkeit is thus not work, nor is it activity devoid of a specific personal and, one might add, almost philosophical value. Carlyle stressed an ethos of work which, though ostensibly derived from Goethe, had little in common with his concept of Tätigkeit. The value of work for Carlyle lay in giving the distraught and confused individual something, anything, to do with himself; it was, if anything, therapeutic rather than a means of self-realization. Teufelsdröckh's epiphany at the end of his long struggle through the Everlasting No to the Everlasting Yea reveals an almost frantic belief in this value of work:

> I too could now say to myself: Be no longer a Chaos, but a World, or even Worldkin. Produce! Produce! Were it but the pitifullest infinitesmal fraction of a Product, produce it, in God's name! 'T is the utmost thou hast in thee: out with it, then. Up, up! Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy whole might. Work while it is called Today; for the Night cometh, wherein no man can work. (II, 9, 157).

The concept of Tätigkeit has here lost whatever idealist connotations it may have had with Goethe (activity as self-actualization), and becomes a moral imperative to work.[87]

Entsagung, as a key concept in Goethe's novel cycle, was translated by Carlyle as "renunciation." Renunciation, too, plays a large role in the process of Bildung and self-knowledge.

I have already mentionned some of these points in my comparison of the 1821 and 1829 versions of Wanderjahre. What I would like to point out in conclusion is that the concept of renunciation underwent a shift in meaning with Carlyle which in many ways ties in with the stress on suffering and struggle already noted in Carlyle's version of Goethe's life history. Sartor Resartus and the biography of Teufelsdröckh offers a good insight into Carlyle's interpretation of Entsagung - - important insofar as it relates to a basic attitude which Bulwer shared with Carlyle.

What seems to have struck Carlyle about Wanderjahre were the tenth and eleventh chapters. Wilhelm has just been explained the Three Reverences. As the Overseer spells it out, there are three reverences which the educators of the Paedagogic Province try to instill in the children. The first reverence, as is, in the history of man, the ethnic religion, is reverence for that which is above us. The second reverence, corresponding to the philosophical religion, includes reverence for that which is around us. The third reverence is for that which is below us, as the Christian religion teaches us to accept that which is lowly, undesirable and painful. All three reverences, however, culminate in the highest reverence of all, the reverence for oneself and that which makes man justified "in reckoning himself the Best that God and Nature have produced" (Meister,

II, 268). Christ's life taught Man to accept the "contradictory, the hated, the avoided" as necessary and natural, but, as Goethe stresses, this is but one of the three reverences. To speak then of the world as a "Sanctuary of Sorrow" (Sartor, II, 9, 151), is a Carlylean amplification. Goethe's sanctuary of sorrow was the last hall in the larger Sanctuary of the Three Reverences; it is not the one and only sanctuary of sorrow, nor is it a metaphor for Christian humanity. As the Overseer says to Wilhelm, "for the noble portion of mankind, [Jesus's] walk and conversation are even more instructive and profitable than his death" (Meister, II, 274). Consequently the "divine depth of sorrow" (again a phrase of Carlyle's; see Sartor, II, 9, 151), which for Goethe signifies Jesus's death and suffering, is kept secret for the most part. The Overseer holds it a "damnable audacity to . . . play with the mysterious secrets of divine suffering, fondle them, trick them out, and rest not till the most revered of all solemnities appears vulgar and paltry " (Meister, II, 275). No such reticence marked Carlyle's enthusiastic reception of the "worship of sorrow."

As C.F. Harrold has shown, Carlyle's concept of Entsagung is closer to Werner and Novalis than Goethe.[88] The starting axiom for Goethe was the sinfulness of the world, and the necessity of sorrow as a sort of expiation. In Alice,

Bulwer adopted a similar attitude towards the heroine Alice.[89] Here as in other novels one sometimes wonders at the extremeness of the protagonists' emotional turmoil, and what function this profusion of dispair is supposed to have in their Bildungsgeschichte. Though it is difficult to show in detail, I suspect Susanne Howe's remark regarding the legacy of Carlyle, the conviction that suffering is somehow ennobling for the growth of the personality, to be accurate. For Goethe, by comparison, the whole point behind the acceptance of suffering was that thereby Man is freed from existential dispair, or, more accurately, fear (see Meister, II, 266). Any reverence for that which is below us is valuable insofar as Man thereby gains the necessary freedom to enable him to progress to the highest of all reverences, the reverence for self. For Goethe it was a means, for Carlyle an end in itself.

The significance of Sartor Resartus lay in the fact that in the biography of Teufelsdröckh an acknowledged admirer and prosletyzer of Goethe had reconstructed a Bildungsgeschichte which contained thematic echoes not only of Goethe's life history (as developed in Carlyle's previous essays on Goethe), but also of the Meister cycle. I have attempted to show the significant changes which the Goethean ethos underwent in both these prior articles on Goethe, and Sartor Resartus. The essential pattern of Bildung is presented as a growth from initial

extreme sensibility to despair, to doubt and disbelief. This pattern Carlyle saw in Goethe's life; it is not part of the Meister pattern. Nor is the element of self-conscious attempts at culture an intrinsic part of the Meister original, or at least not in any positive way; here too Carlyle turned to Goethe for a model. A contradiction of sorts ensued: as Teufelsdröckh's biography had shown, excessive self-conscious attempts at Bildung bring about confusion and doubt. Teufelsdröckh's passing through the Everlasting No and the Centre of Indifference is, on the other hand, a mental act, the result of contemplation and intellectually arrived-at conclusions. Totally un-Goethean is Teufelsdröckh's subsequent recovery through an awakening of Faith and the acceptance of suffering as an existential fact. The imperative to work and produce, an acceptance of which marks Teufelsdröckh's return to Society and the affairs of men, is, by comparison, Goethean, and can easily be correlated with the Meister cycle as long as one remembers the call for self-actualization which accompanies the ethos of activity in the latter novels.

I have attempted to show some of the contexts in which Bulwer received Goethe and Meister. The following chapter will reveal the uses Bulwer made of this context of ideas, the problems he encountered, and some of the approaches he fashioned for himself.

CHAPTER THREE
Goethe, Carlyle, and Bulwer-Lytton

At this point it might well be asked, why another study of Bulwer's debt to Goethe? Part of the answer lies in the first two chapters of my thesis. Existent studies of Goethe's Meister and its relation to Carlyle and Bulwer neglect what I hope my first chapter showed adequately: that Wilhelm Meister does not present the kind of successful, essentially unproblematical process of Bildung which studies such as Goldhan's, Howe's and Zipser's assume will later function as a model of sorts for Bulwer's novels. Rather I attempted to show that Wilhelm's Bildungsgeschichte defies easy characterisation, that it in fact evinces little of what one might call a hard-and-fast theory of Bildung. But this openness does not result from any toying with ideas, nor does it reflect inconsistency; rather, it is part of Goethe's overall ironic attitude, what I called his functional ambiguity in my first chapter. Only a close and critical reading of Meister, on its own terms rather than from any relational view, can show forth these basic characteristics of the Goethean "model." Goldhan's study, as well as K. Gottbrath's and, most recently, Zipser's study, neglect this aspect entirely. Yet to fully understand the ramifications of the English debt to Goethe, it seems to me necessary to not only acknowledge the positive side of the relation, but also the negative side: what

Bulwer did or did not see and take over from the Meister model, may be part of the same complex, the same particular context in which Bulwer's Bildungsromane found themselves in. It is significant that, for reasons which remain to be seen, Bulwer's novels lack the constant "relativity" of Goethe's Meister, that they attempt to be obvious where Goethe is reticent. One reason for this may be found in the previous chapter of my thesis, where I attempted to show how Carlyle presented a Bildungsgeschichte relatively consistent in its stress on moral and emotional phases, on self-conscious cultivation of self, emotional turmoil and doubt and denial; at the same time Carlyle ignored or did not perceive the more crucial (and difficult) questions regarding organic versus directed Bildung, excellence in all versus specialisation, and the host of similar issues raised in the Meister cycle. The significance of the fact that he translated the 1821 version of Wanderjahre, has also remained unnoticed by critical studies to date. Again it seemed to me one reason to return to a basic reading of the 1796, 1821 and 1829 Meister novels in order to further delimit the Goethean ethos. Only then could the full ramifications of what was and what was not received in England be ascertained.

In this chapter I will deal with three novels of Bulwer-Lytton (Godolphin, Ernest Maltravers, and Alice, or, The Mysteries) in order to pursue three objectives. My central concern will

be to show how Bulwer's Bildungsromane find themselves in the difficult position of having to accommodate the avowed Goethean model in an English context, the latter of which is strongly determined by Carlyle's transmission and modification of Goethe's thoughts and works. I will attempt to show that Bulwer's concept of Bildung is constituted by Carlyle, and Bulwer's familiarity with Utilitarianism, perhaps to a degree greater than the third influence, the Meister novels themselves. Finally, Bulwer's position between the Goethean model and the English context brings about some difficulties and stances which I will describe in the course of this chapter. Though an integral part of any relational study of Bulwer and Goethe, this aspect has not been explored in any of the previous studies of Goldhan, Howe, Wagner or Zipser.[90]

The most obvious question at the beginning of any study of Bulwer-Lytton and Goethe concerns the former's knowledge of German and Germany. For whatever reason, none of the studies which I have read offer any clear indication of whether he knew German. Bulwer did translate some of Schiller's poetry in 1844. Before that time he had made a few trips (or a trip) to Germany; this is where critical problems already begin. According to Zipser, Bulwer saw Germany for the first time in 1833, when he "wandered mostly through the scenic regions of the Rhine valley."[91] However, neither the biography by his

grandson, nor Sadleir's biography, offer any indication that this in fact happened. Sadleir writes that in "September 1833, Bulwer and Rosinna decided to winter in Switzerland and Italy," with a stopover in Paris.[92] His grandson is even more explicit when he reports that in "1833, Bulwer's health broke down altogether, and they decided upon a journey through France, Switzerland and Italy for the sake of rest and change."[93] And perhaps it is significant that whereas Zipser gives references for each of Bulwer's trips to Germany in 1840, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1859 and 1862, he does not indicate the source for his assertions regarding an 1833 trip along the Rhine.[94] Zipser may be engaging in the kind of speculation he seems not altogether adverse to: at one point he writes of Bulwer's Cambridge days, "It seems logical that Cockburn [a classmate whose father was British Minister in Stuttgart] who had lived some time in Stuttgart and knew German intimately, stimulated Bulwer to take up the study of that language. In any case, he soon acquired a taste for the literature and philosophy of that land."[95] Some pages later, this hypothesis has become a certainty: "Bulwer's interest in Goethe may be traced back to his Cambridge days, where, influenced by a friend, he began to acquaint himself with German literature."[96] In fact, the first piece of biographical evidence we have concerns a number of essay titles dating from 1826, one of them dealing with Wilhelm Meister - -

but that was two years after he had left Cambridge and after he had travelled extensively through France.[97] I found no piece of evidence to support Zipser's assertions. Goldhan in fact mentions that Bulwer read Meister in translation;[98] on the subject of Cockburn and Cambridge, Howe is more careful when she wonders whether "perhaps [Cockburn] gave [Bulwer] his first interest in foreign literature, though this is mere conjecture."[99]

These critical gaps are relatively unimportant in their own context, yet as far as Bulwer's relation to Goethe is concerned, they seem to me to offer one of the arguments for a supporting, or rather, mediating role by Carlyle. It would have been Carlyle's translation of Meister which Bulwer read; later it would be Carlyle's essays on Goethe which would further introduce the man to Bulwer.[100] It is of course impossible to be certain on these points, but a number of instances seem to support these hypotheses, especially the latter one. Echoes of Carlyle's essays are found throughout Bulwer's works, some of which I will deal with in a moment. As far as Bulwer's novels go, Sartor appears to have had an influence as well. What I wish to point out now is that Bulwer's critical stance towards Goethe, and in fact his theoretical conception of narrative fiction, bear a striking resemblance to Carlyle's interpretation of Meister. In other words, Bulwer's ideas about Meister, and the type of fiction it stood for, were formed less by a direct ac-

quaintance with Goethe than through the mediating role played by Carlyle.

Bulwer in an 1835 preface to The Disowned (1829) divided prose fiction into three categories: the actual, the satiric, and the metaphysical. It is this latter category, the metaphysical novel, which concerns me here. Bulwer felt that Meister successfully embodied this novel type,[101] and Bulwer's theorizing as to what constitutes the nature and content of the metaphysical novel thus provides an important clue to the manner in which he approached writing his own Bildungsromane.

The metaphysical novel, wrote Bulwer, is an attempt to "personify certain dispositions influential upon conduct."[102] In other words, the metaphysical novel is something in between allegory and fact; "It often wanders from the exact probability of effects in order to bring more strikingly before us the truth of causes . . . [It] often invests itself in a dim and shadowy allegory which it deserts or resumes at will, making its action but the incarnation of some peculiar and abstract qualities."[103] Bulwer felt that it was precisely this aspect which was embodied by Meister: the "delineation of abstract ideas, in which . . . the Author is often allegorical and actual at the same time." And Bulwer went on to speak of the metaphysical Meister: "Each character is a personification of certain traits of mind; but in that personification

the Author now and then forgets himself, and deals only with the external world, which he designed at first merely as a covering to metaphysical creatures." [104]

From the frequency with which the concept of a metaphysical novel appears in Bulwer's writings, one can assume that it constituted a poetic programme for him. Various characters in his novels act as mouthpieces for him when they engage, as does Vincent in Pelham (1828), in theoretical discussions on the novel. Vincent argues that a truly great work would combine the knowledge of the world as evinced by Scott and Gil Blas, with a more philosophical knowledge of morals. [105] Similarly Fanny in Godolphin pleads the case for a "metaphysical Gil Blas," that is, a union of worldly and metaphysical speculation. [106] For Bulwer, Gil Blas always stood on one side of the novel spectrum, on the other of which was metaphysical content. As Bulwer wrote in 1832, "'Wilhelm Meister' is to the knowledge of thoughts what 'Gil Blas' is to knowledge of the world." [107] The aim of the great novelist is to unite the two realms, fuse Meister and Gil Blas. It is a bit unclear whether this involved going beyond Meister, that is, making Meister more "practical," or whether it meant allegorizing Gil Blas. Bulwer felt Meister to be a delineation of the abstract, an allegory of sorts. Yet at the same time Bulwer admired Goethe for having already combined those two realms which he

felt a "metaphysical Gil Blas" would fuse: "It seems to me that, among modern poets, Goethe ranks next to Shakespeare, at however wide an interval, in the combination of abstract, metaphysical speculation, and genial, easy, clement knowledge of the actual world." [108] Somewhat paradoxically, Meister seems to have functioned both as a model to emulate and a novel type to surpass.

Present at all times in Bulwer's conception of the metaphysical novel is Carlyle's characterisation of Meister: the development of abstract and moral speculation through allegorical use of external reality, the predominant concern being with knowledge of men's minds and morals rather than "knowledge of the world." In the 1828 "Goethe" article, Carlyle had written that Meister "reveal/s/ to us glimpses of the Unseen but not unreal World, so that the Actual and the Ideal may again meet together, and clear knowledge be again wedded to Religion in the life and business of men." [109] Bulwer followed this sentiment, that somehow Goethe was trying to fuse the Actual and the Ideal, Poetry and Prose, Art and Life. Yet this is a fundamental misconception of Meister. As I attempted to show in my first chapter, Wilhelm's problem is precisely that he does try to fuse these two antithetical realms, that he cannot distinguish between the Ideal and the Actual. [110] Carlyle, by comparison, had posited the attainment

of Wilhelm's "world of art" as the highest goal of Meister, akin to Goethe's (so Carlyle) ideal in life: "We allude to the spirit in which he cultivates his Art; the noble, disinterested, almost religious love with which he looks on Art in general and strives towards it as towards the sure, highest, nay, only good." [111] In fact, Wilhelm's ideal of his world of art is an illusion, a false goal, and is rejected as such by Goethe. Carlyle failed to perceive this and went so far as to quote an extensive passage from Meister in which Wilhelm extols the virtues of the poet-philosopher-seer. The consumate irony with which Goethe presents this outburst of poetic enthusiasm, using the friend Werner as a foil, missed Carlyle completely. Here was his poetic programme:

> When the man of the world is devoting his days to wasting melancholy for some deep disappointment; or, in the ebullience of joy, is going out to meet his happy destiny, the lightly-moved and all-conceiving spirit of the Poet steps forth, like the sun from night to day . . . From his heart, its native soil, springs the fair flower of Wisdom; . . . And thus the Poet is a teacher, a prophet, a friend of the gods and men. How? Thou wouldst have him descend from his height to some paltry occupation? He who is fashioned, like a bird, to hover round the world . . . 112

Carlyle failed to see that this outburst is merely another symptom of Wilhelm's misguided impression that the world of art represents his true calling, offers the means for the self-realization which he seeks.

Bulwer followed Carlyle's interpretation when he wrote, in the same review of Disraeli's Contarini Fleming from which I have already quoted the passage concerning the "metaphysical" Meister: "All in Goethe was the Artist - - the great Artist - - and all in 'Wilhelm Meister' breathes of that Art, and of the time, thought, musing, which had been devoted to its cultivation." [113] Here again is the fundamental misconception that Meister revolves around Wilhelm's successful attainment of his world of art, that, as Bulwer wrote in the 1840 preface to Ernest Maltravers, "in 'Wilhelm Meister' the apprenticeship is rather that of theoretical art. In the more homely plan that I set before myself [in Ernest Maltravers], the apprenticeship is rather that of practical life." [114]

One can only speculate for the reasons underlying this interpretation - - though a debt to Carlyle is clear. As I argued in the second chapter, the fact that Carlyle translated the unfinished 1821 Wanderjahre deprived the English public from finding out about Wilhelm's increasing interest in the practical life, beginning with his entry into the Society of the Tower, his subsequent abandonment of the world of Art, and the eventual taking up (only in the 1829 version) of the modest position of Wundarzt. Bulwer's interpretation, based as it was on Carlyle and the 1821 version of Wanderjahre, might have been altered by the 1829 version, which is permeated with an ethos

of practical, socially defined behaviour, where even Art has become organised and socially directed. (I might refer to the discussion on Art and the artists of the Paedagogic Province, in the fourteenth chapter of Travels.)

Bulwer's perceptions of Goethe, coloured as they were by Carlyle, found their way into three novels: Godolphin (1833), Ernest Maltravers (1836), and its sequel, Alice, or, The Mysteries (1837). Existent studies have long recognized similarities between these (and other) novels of Bulwer, and Goethe's Meister.[115] Only the above three, however, revolve around the poetic personality, the individual torn between the two claims of Art and worldly affairs, and thus they come closest to Goethe's Bildungsroman. Yet the relationship between these novels and Meister is more complex than any comparison of the "model" and its English "kinsmen" will show; existent studies by Goldhan, Howe, and Zipser tend to be unilinear in their approach in that they attempt to draw lines from the Goethean model to its (implied) "copy." Only Howe occasionally introduces a third dimension into her study alluding to a mediating role played by Carlyle. In the preceding pages I attempted to elaborate on some of the perceptions Bulwer received from Carlyle. As the remaining pages should show, those perceptions are only one aspect of a complex and wide-ranging context in which Bulwer's Bildungsromane should be read. For instance,

Bulwer was acquainted with,and sympathetic to, Utilitarianism, and the story of Godolphin, the "man of poetical temperament" who "applies his heart to know and to search, and to seek out wisdom and the reason of things," reveals Bulwer's involvement with that philosophy and political position.[116] Godolphin is influenced by Goethe and Carlyle as well as by James and John Stuart Mill.

Bulwer's contacts with the Mills date back to 1825-6, when McCulloch, the political economist, suggested that a "society was wanted in London similar to the Speculative Society in Edinburgh, in which Brougham, Horner, and others first cultivated public speaking."[117] From November 1825 on, the Mills, George Villiers, Macaulay, Bulwer and others, including most of the noted speakers of the Oxford and Cambridge Union, met every fortnight at the Freemasons' Tavern to discuss or debate public issues. By April 1831 Bulwer was in Parliament as a Radical member for St. Ives; after the Reform Bill of 1832, he returned in November of that year as a member for Lincoln, a position he held until 1841. Sadleir mentions that during the turbulent days of 1830-32, Bulwer's political activity as well as his editorship of The New Monthly Magazine (from November 1831 onwards) brought him into steady contact not only with the Mills, but also with William Godwin, Dr. Bowring, and the Radical group around the Westminster Review.[118]

John Stuart Mill wrote an appendix for Bulwer's England and the English (1833) on Bentham's philosophy; Bulwer in turn added a sketch, critical but fair, of James Mill and his opinions. One sentence is interesting; Bulwer taxes the man for possessing "but little of 'The vision and the faculty divine;' nor is it through his writings, admirable as they are, that we are taught 'To feel that we are greater than we know.' " [119]

Bulwer's problem, if I may so call it, was that he, a man of Radical beliefs and associations, acquainted with the Utilitarian ideals, chief among which was a belief in the ultimate perfectibility of Man through experience and the correct application of the principle of Utility, was an author who at the same time strove to write the "metaphysical novel" which unites the Actual and the Ideal, knowledge of the secular world with knowledge of the inner destinies of man. One might almost say that Bulwer's political beliefs were in opposition to his avowed poetic programme. Either Society was the all-pervasive influence on our lives which the Utilitarians acknowledged it to be - - in which case all talk of uniting the Actual and the Ideal, the Real and Metaphysical, was little more than idle dualistic musing - - or there was indeed something "greater than we know," blindness to which being what Bulwer had criticised James Mill for. To further complicate matters, the Utilitarian attitude towards education (and

James Mill's article on education in the 1819 Encyclopaedia Britannica is a good example; it was reprinted several times) reduced the question of education to one simple maxim: "The end of education is to render the individual, as much as possible, an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings." [120] For Mill there was no question that the ultimate source for man's happiness was rooted in society. Only society offers man the means of achieving his grand desire: "The grand object of human desire is a command over the wills of other men." [121] In our attempts to satisfy this and other desires (such as "Wealth, Power, Dignity, Ease" [122]), a certain direction is given to our efforts by what Mill calls the "political machine," that is, the structures and organizations in and through which man must act to realize these aims. Some men are pushed in one direction, such as law, others into the arts or politics. Dependent upon the "direction given to the desires and passions of men, such is the character of the men." [123] Their path to self-realization is continually modified by the "power of society over our happiness and misery." And Mill goes on to say,

> [The] actual rewards and punishments which Society has to bestow, upon those who please, and those who displease it; the good and evil which it gives, or withholds, are so great that to adopt the opinions which it approves, to perform the acts which it admires, to acquire the character, in short, which it

> 'delighteth to honour', can seldom fail to be the leading object of those by whom it is composed. 124

Bulwer knew Mill's article (he mentionned it in his sketch of Mill in England and the English [125]). But Bulwer had also read Goethe, and Carlyle's essays on Goethe, read of self-conscious cultivation and the search after excellence in all, of doubt, denial and dispair. When he started Godolphin, the wealth of ideas with which Bulwer was confronted had not yet been scrutinized and categorized. Whereas Ernest Maltravers would by comparison turn out to be a relatively consistent Bildungsgeschichte, Godolphin suffers from indecisiveness. Reading this novel, I sometimes gathered the impression that Bulwer was toying with various "stances" regarding Godolphin's life history: Goethe, Carlyle, and Mill emerge here and there to offer a thought or theme, then recede again into an undefined background. Life is alternatively a dark enigma, a stage, or a scene of intrigues and highly sordid power struggles and intrigues; Godolphin comes under the influence of the stars, of prophecies, of Society, or of his own thinking, of constant self-analysis and contemplation. The net result is a somewhat confusing Bildungsgeschichte which offers little in the way of real grappling with the issues it raises.

Godolphin, first published anonomously in 1833, presents the reader with the history of a young "man of poetical tem-

perament, out of his place alike among the trifling idlers and the bustling actors of the world," and his search for such a place. [126] The plot is as follows. Godolphin, temperamental and miserable at school, slaps the face of a schoolmaster and is expelled from school. On his way to London, where his middle-aged profligate uncle Saville resides, he falls in with a band of wandering actors - - the similarities of this group to Melina's troupe in Lehrjahre are interesting but not relevant - - and he is especially taken by the free-spirited Fanny Millinger, a character whom he will continue to meet as the novel unfolds. Her relationship to Godolphin represents what Bulwer in a somewhat clumsy allegory introduces as the Ideal and Illusionary realm of his existence. [127] In London Godolphin is on his way to becoming a convert to Saville's way of life, when a meeting with a mysterious stranger (who turns out to be his father's cousin) reminds him that he should change his ways. The old counsellor dies, leaving Godolphin with a trust of 20, 000 pounds on the condition that he either live with his father, or else leave London (and Saville). Predictably, Godolphin chooses to go to Europe instead of returning to his watchful father. He is sixteen.

In Italy he meets the Danish astrologer Volktmann and his young daughter Lucilla, a beautiful, exotic-looking girl whose erratic and bizarre behavior appears to be modelled after

Mignon. (In fact, all of Bulwer's heroines, from Lucilla to Alice in Ernest Maltravers, as well as Nydia in Last Days of Pompeii,[128] and Fanny in Night and Morning, bear resemblances , both physical and in their behaviour, to Mignon.) Godolphin and Volktmann hold long discussions on Fate and predestination and the influence of the stars - - a theme that pervades the entire book. The untutored Lucilla develops a passion for Godolphin; the latter, after some hesitation, ends up living with her by the banks of a secluded Italian lake.

A certain Constance Vernon, to whom the reader has already been introduced in the first chapter of the book, comes to Italy after the death of her husband. On her father's deathbed she had had to swear vengeance to the political party which apparently caused her father's downfall; her subsequent years were spent in a calculating pursuit of power and position in society to effect that revenge. When Constance met Godolphin, her passionless nature was inflamed by his enthusiasm and idealism; her sharp intellect and social charms in turn attracted Godolphin. But what appeared as a love match was ruined by Constance's vow, which proved the stronger of the two claims to her life. She rejected Godolphin and, in order to pursue her search for vengeance, married Lord Erpingham. Now that he is dead and Constance bored with London society, the two former lovers meet again in Italy. Their old

affections are rekindled. They marry, but not before Godolphin, full of good and noble intentions, is about to renounce Constance in order to remain loyal to Lucilla. But Lucilla has already discovered the two lovers and has fled to a convent, broken-hearted.

The marriage proves unhappy. Constance pursues her political machinations, Godolphin an extreme epicureanism. Lucilla, who has become a soothsayer, comes to London and with the aid of glass balls and a model orbit of her own construction, forecasts a dark future for Godolphin. As it turns out, the latter's life appears to have reached a zenith: under the influence of the Utilitarian friend Radclyffe, Godolphin has entered Parliament, albeit as a Tory. He appears to have found his calling at last. But summoned to Lucilla's deathbed, Godolphin is about to realise the truth of her prophecies: in a paroxysm of thunder, floods, and the usual pathetic fallacy which occurs throughout the novel, Lucilla dies, but not before having told Godolphin that his star is now going on its appointed downward course. Godolphin drowns while crossing a river on his way home.

The impression one has gathered by the end of the novel is that Godolphin's life was never quite within his (or any other human's) control. Throughout the book, references are made to the invisible hands of fate which, beyond human under-

standing except to a select few like Volktman and Lucilla, control our lives. This theme is sounded early. The second chapter of the novel opens with the authorial voice offering the following "Remark on the Tenure of Life":

> What a strange life this is. What puppets we are. How terrible an enigma is Fate. I never set my foot without my door but what [sic] the fearful darkness that broods over the next moment rushes upon me. . . . And with this life, this scene of darkness and dread, some men would have us so contented as to desire, to ask for no other. (II,6.)

All doubts as to the intent of such a remark is removed by the subsequent introduction of Volktman and Lucilla. In introducing these characters, Bulwer takes pains to relativise their belief in "the occult and dreamy science of astrology" (XXVI, 118). "The sons of the North," Bulwer writes, "are pre-eminently liable to be affected by that romance of emotion which the hushed and starry aspect of night is calculated to excite" (XXVI,119). Yet despite all of Bulwer's disclaimers to belief in these "superstitious impressions" (Ibid.), the astrological theories of Volktman are born out by subsequent events. Volktman correctly forecasts the death of Godolphin's father, and Lucilla foresees the imminent death of Godolphin, who for all the world to see is at the height of his career. Moreover, Volktman's theories provide one of the theoretical frameworks under which Godolphin's Bildung might be subsumed. It would appear that Bulwer cannot bring himself to reject

Fate and Destiny as governing influences in Godolphin's life. At one point Volktman gives a detailed and accurate analysis of Godolphin's character, based solely on a reading of certain stellar constellations. The planet Herschel, for instance, brings about Godolphin's "yearning for something beyond the narrow bounds of the world, that love for revery, that passionate romance, yea, that very leaning, despite thy worldly sense, to these occult and starry mysteries" (XXVII, 128). Godolphin for one feels that his relationship with Lucilla is written in the stars; later events, above all the return of Lucilla as soothsayer, seem to bear this out.

Yet Bulwer, though toying with the use of a higher hand guiding his hero's Bildungsgeschichte, is unwilling to go beyond an equivocal use of the supernatural in his plot structure. In the final analysis such fatalism would run counter to all Bulwer had read and admired in Goethe and Carlyle, as well as the very intention of the novel, which, as Bulwer had informed the reader in the preface, "may possibly be found in a tolerably accurate description of certain phases of modern civilization, and in the suggestion of some truths that may be worth considering in our examination of social influences or individual conduct" (xi). Bulwer takes pains to distance himself through the use of occasional epithets as "wild" and "eccentric" or "exaggerated"; nevertheless, Fate is an in-

trinsic part of the plot. It motivates, governs and changes the course of events and character. From the point of view of the authorial voice alone, it becomes difficult to ignore. Bulwer frequently alludes to the truthfulness of his narrative by introducing himself into the narrative not only as commentator, but also as biographer: the events happened "then," the authorial recollection is "now." [129] This realism in turn shifts the frequent use of the supernatural from the harmless (so to speak) realm of plot, to the more immediate realm of supposedly objective truth.

Bulwer was in a dilemna. His ideal of the metaphysical novel centered on a fusion of reality and what he perceived to be that "other", internal reality accessible only to men's thoughts. "I do not mean by 'life as it is' the vulgar and outward life alone, but life in its spiritual and mystic as well as its more visible and fleshly characteristics."[130] Whatever may be said for this conviction, it did arise from an earnestly-felt belief that the age was excessively materialistic in its philosophy, and did not engage in the equally important spiritual pursuits. As Bulwer wrote in 1833 in his England and the English: "Our intellectual want is to enlarge and spiritualize the liberty of thought we have acquired." [131] In order to accomplish this, poets and philosophers are to endeavour to "dematerialize and exalt

the standards of opinion - - to purify the physical and worldly influences - - to decrust from the wings of Contemplation the dust that, sullying her plumes, impedes her flight - - to labour in elevating the genius of action, as exhibited in the more practical world of politics and laws."[132]

Attempting to do this in Godolphin, Bulwer attempted to do too much. Along with his attempts to "spiritualize" and " dematerialize" reality, he described a process of Bildung which took place in and through the actual world, was anything but spiritual. (Perhaps reflecting these two aims is the presence of both Lucilla and Volkman - - and the mystical influence on Godolphin - - and Radclyffe, that eminently Utilitarian philosopher whose social code becomes the guiding principle in Godolphin's last stage of Bildung.) The central problem of Godolphin was precisely that he was too poetical, too intent on finding and realizing the Ideal in the worldly Actual. As Bulwer informs us at one point, "His speculative and Hamlet-like temper - - let us here take Goethe's view of Hamlet, and combine a certain weakness with the finer traits of the royal dreamer - - perpetually deserted the solid world and flew to airy creations" (XXXIV, 179). His constant contemplation of life and his role in life, his "love for the intellectual and the pure," find no outlet in

the world.

The reason appears simple. For all of Bulwer's intentions to "purify the physical and worldly influences," the images he presents of "The World" offer little more than sometimes ridiculous, often sordid scenes of intrigue, ambition, and the power of money. It is decidedly not the world for poets, idealists and thinkers. As Godolphin remarks to Constance on the subject of worldly ambition:

> I, who have often fancied I had a poetical temperament, have been so chilled and sickened by the characteristics of the tribe that I have checked its impulses with a sort of disdain, and thus the Ideal, having no vent in me, preys within, creating a thousand undefined dreams and unwilling superstitions, making me enamoured of the Shadowy and Unknown, and dissatisfying me with the petty ambitions of the world. 133

In a slight variation upon this theme, the authorial voice comments at a later point that "the scheming heart of the Idealist was doomed to weave net after net for those visions of the Lovely and Perfect which can never descend to the gloomy regions wherein mortality is cast. The most common disease to genius is nympholepsy - - the saddening for a spirit that the world knows not" (xx, 98).

The paradox, put simply, was that at the same time as writing these lines, Bulwer could also write of the "spiritual and mystic" meaning of life, of removing all the accumulated

dust from "the wings of Contemplation," of purifying the physical and worldly. Bulwer's poetic programme, when translated into terms applicable to Godolphin's Bildungsgeschichte, was a weakness, an impediment to his successful acceptance of, and integration into, Soc ety!

However ambiguous it may be, the pervasive presence of "fatalities and influences" that characterises Godolphin's life (so Bulwer [ix, 30]) is what I might call Bulwer's fatalistic stance vis-à-vis Godolphin's Bildung. Somewhat more Goethean is his portrayal of the role that Godolphin's frequent self - conscious contemplation and search after meaning, his dissatisfaction with the actual world due to an unsatisfied craving for an ideal he cannot achieve, assumes in his character development. Godolphin does at times engage in conscious efforts at self-culture, adding at one point that "we must do our best to contradict the starry evils by our own internal philosophy. We can make ourselves independent of fate; that independence is better than prosperity."[134] Bulwer had seen this belief advanced in Goethe's Meister and by Carlyle, who constantly praised Goethe for his life-long attempts at self-cultivation. The only problem was that in Godolphin's case (and, three years later, in Ernest Maltravers's), this self-consciousness led to Hamlet-like despair. Finally, there is what I might

call the set of Millian ideas (since all were advanced in Mill's article article on education); among them the belief that Society is the omnipotent influence on our character development, that the greatest-happiness-principle is the chief impetus to action, that the individual claims to happiness can in fact be reconciled with the claims of the social organism as a whole.

True to Mill's belief that the "grand object of human desire" is to "command over the wills of other men," all of Bulwer's heroes enter Parliament, presumably a fitting end to their Bildungsgeschichte as long as they exercise power according to the principle of "greatest happiness for the greatest number." In Parliament a person can be both socially useful, and follow his "grand desire"; individual claims and social responsibilities have been united in one profession. In Godolphin, this realisation is brought home by Radclyffe, whose argument I quote in extenso as it touches a central issue:

> You speak of the ambition for self; my ambition is singular, - it is the ambition for others. Some years ago, I chanced to form an object in w et I considered the welfare of my race . . . I am not blind, in the meanwhile, to glory. I desire, on the contrary, to obtain it; but it would only please me if it came from certain sources. I wish for that glory that comes from the permanent gratitude of my species . . . Now, I am vain, very vain: . . . I do not pretend to conquer the weakness, but to turn it towards my

> purposes. I am vain enough to wish to shine, but the light must come from deeds I think are really worthy.
> . . . . . .
> 'Oh, man,' said Godolphin, almost bitterly; . . . 'Here is the thirst for power, and it calls itself the love of mankind.'
> 'Believe me,' said Radclyffe, so earnestly, and with so deep a meaning in his grave, bright eye, that Godolphin was staggered from his scepticism, - 'believe me, they may be distinct passions, and yet can be united.' (LII, 254f.).

Three years elapsed before Bulwer published his next apprenticeship novel. Ernest Maltravers, a novel Bulwer dedicated to the German people, is Bulwer's most obvious and also most successful attempt to incorporate the Goethean model into his own novelistic context. In the 1840 preface to Maltravers, Bulwer acknowledged what a reading of the novel should have indicated in 1836: that for "the original idea - which, with all humility, I will venture to call the philosophical design, of a moral education or apprenticeship, I have left it easy to be seen that I am indebted to Goethe's Wilhelm Meister."[135] Bulwer then goes on to distinguish his own attempt from that of Goethe's, in a passage I have already quoted: "in 'Wilhelm Meister' the apprenticeship is rather that of theoretical art. In the more homely plan that I set before myself, the apprenticeship is rather that of practical life." (Preface, vi). I have mentioned how Bulwer appears to be following Carlyle's interpretation of Meister depicting Wilhelm's search for his "priesthood

of art." The influence of Carlyle, especially Sartor Resartus, pervades the book. Bulwer is no longer as uncertain a novelist and theorist of Bildung as he was in Godolphin, and Sartor's coherent ethos of Bildung may have helped bring this shift about.

The plot, briefly told, concerns the life and loves of Ernest Maltravers (and I am tempted to read the name of Ernest Maltravers symbolically as the earnest traveller lost on the wayward paths of life). An energetic, enthusiastic young man, he has just returned from Gottingen, Germany, where he was exposed to "strange German romance and metaphysical speculations" (I,4,19). Maltravers is decidedly "the poet of action" (I,4,16) in search of a role to play in life. He rescues one Alice Darvil from her murderous father, and falls in love with her. They flee together to a remote village and live there for two years in a secluded cottage. Alice, the untutored, simple peasant girl, becomes the object of various educational attempts by Maltravers. She also becomes pregnant, but before the child is born, Alice's father discovers his daughter and kidnaps her. She remains lost to Maltravers until the end of the sequel to Maltravers, Alice (1837), but her influence over him continues. She is rescued by one Mrs. Leslie and, under her protection, passes her days

in a small cathedral town. Eventually a somewhat unctuous and solid Mr. Templeton, a banker, marries her. As we find out in the sequel, Alice, her child (the daughter of Maltravers) dies, and she becomes the foster-mother of Mr. Templeton's illegitimate daughter by another woman. This child, Evelyn Cameron, is pledged to Lumley Ferrers, the practical opportunist who is also Maltraver's friend; along with Evelyn comes a sizable dowry. In Alice, Maltravers will fall in love with Evelyn and thereby clash with Ferrers, who has set his eyes on Evelyn's dowry.

Maltravers, totally dejected by the disappearance of Alice, is rescued from his listlessness by his guardian Frederick Cleveland (who dispenses with good advice borrowed from Carlyle's Sartor Resartus), and the energies of Lumley Ferrers, with whom Maltravers now heads off to the Continent to travel and seek adventure.

In Italy, Maltravers meets Mme. Valerie de Ventadour, falls in love with her, and is rejected by her. Valerie, though capable of love, has been unhappy in her love life and has renounced love in order to love Virtue, "my lover, my pride, my comfort, my life of life" (II,4,96). But her presence, direct or indirect, accompanies Maltravers along the various stages of his life. Off to Lake Como, Maltravers meets M. and Mme. de Montaigne (!), the latter especially a

confirmed Utilitarian, who arouse his desire to be intellectually and socially active.

Over the next two years, Maltravers becomes a famous author. He courts the rich heiress Florence Lascelles and clashes with another suitor, the mad poet Castruccio Caesarini (who also happens to be the brother of Mme. de Montaigne). Castruccio is the epitome of the insecure, maladjusted poet. To the influence of Cleveland, Valerie and the Montaigne's is now added that of Florence: one day Maltravers begins to receive anonymous letters (written by Florence) offering advice, criticism, and counsel; these letters continue at a regular rate. One of the letters advises Maltravers that "action is the grand career of men who think as you do" (vi,4,257). Maltravers enters Parliament.

Ferrers, always in search of money and connections to help him in his ascent to political power, has designs on Lady Florence and her fortune. By means of an altered letter, he and the jealous Caesarini manage to break up the love affair between Maltravers and Florence. Maltravers goes into fits of utter depression; Florence discovers the ruse she was subjected to, and appeals to Maltravers for a reconciliation. The lovers enjoy a few weeks of happiness, but Florence has started to whither

away as a result of her sorrows, and she soon dies. Total despair grips Maltravers; he goes off to the Continent to forget his grief. The novel ends with Maltravers's future uncertain, while Lumley Ferrers, the intended husband of Evelyn Cameron, seems headed for a bright and successful future.[136]

Alice, or, The Mysteries was published one year later. The title indicates that Bulwer still had his metaphysical vein. In fact, his novels were becoming increasingly removed from objective reality; while Godolphin had still attempted to convey the impression of factual biography, Bulwer had assumed a classic omniscient pose in Maltravers; in Alice he became overtly allegorical at times. In a commentary to the 1851 edition, he described Alice as a type representing "Nature," Maltravers in turn was "Genius." Bulwer then went on to construct a mildly absurd allegory about how "GENIUS , if duly following its vocation, reunites itself to the NATURE from which life and art had for a while distracted it."[137] In fact, Alice describes mainly the reunion of Maltravers and his youthful love; the Evelyn-Ferrers plot goes on to its resolution, and Maltravers gathers a few more educative pointers from Montaigne.

Maltravers has roamed the seven seas seeking to

forget Florence and her tragic death. As always, great changes are said to have happened to him in the reader's absence; he is now proud, hard, of steely emotions, and an imperious nature. As in Maltravers, the course of his further education turns out to be moral-emotional: a drawing out of his softer sentiments, a purging of his hardness, pride, and aloofness to a world in which he considers it useless to strive. Maltravers is in a state similar to Teufelsdröckh's Centre of Indifference, putting down ambition, fame and effort as mere chimeras. "Civilization is the eternal sacrifice of one generation to the next. An awful sense of the impotence of human agencies has crushed down the sublime aspirations for mankind which I once indulged. For myself, I float on the great waters, without pilot or rudder, and trust passively to the winds, that are the breath of God." (II,6,86)

Bulwer has his hero undergo a series of formative experiences which are supposed to make him a useful member of Society. Once again, however, Bulwer lacks consistency in his narration of Maltravers's Bildungsgeschichte, alluding variously to unconscious Bildung through society, self-conscious Bildung through self-control and fortitude, and organic Bildung through cultivation and full development of inner "phases".

Bulwer alludes to the "hardy air of liberal England" in which "[Maltravers] was already, though unknown to himself, bracing and ennobling his dispositions and desires." And Bulwer goes on to posit the beneficial influence of Society and its unconscious effect on our character development: "Where so much is left to the people, - - where the life of civilization, not locked up in the tyranny of central despotism, spreads [and note the organic metaphors], vivifying, restless, ardent, through every vein of the healthful body, - - the most distant province, the obscurest village, has claims on our exertions, our duties, and forces us into energy and citizenship." (II,7,92).

Some fifty pages later, and with no event of any importance or any project worth mentioning having come along, Bulwer reintroduces his hero, except that this time he is restless again. "Busy myself as I will here, I find the range of action monotonous and confined . . . [The] wanderer's ban is on me, and I again turn towards the lands of excitement and adventure." (IV, I, 140f.). This is not the only time that allusions are made to some sort of allegorical significance to Maltravers's wanderings. At the beginning of Book Two, Bulwer placed the following excerpt from Homer's Odyssey, Book 1, lines 16 and following:

> The hour arrived - - years having rolled away - -
> When his return the Gods no more delay.
> Lo! Ithaca the Fates award; and there
> New trials meet the Wanderer.

In a letter to Cleveland, Maltravers describes his wanderings through the world, and the trial he has endured after the death of Florence (VIII, 1, 307); in a conversation with Alice at the end of the novel, Maltravers characterises his life as that of a "pilgrim and wanderer " (X, 6, 399).

Maltravers falls in love with the young Evelyn. On one of his trips to Paris, occasioned by the seeming impossibility of gaining Evelyn's hand, Maltravers meets Valerie and the Montaignes. Valerie has conquered her sorrows through self-control and an earnest cultivation of the mind; Maltravers in turn has adopted the sound Carlylean maxim that "I find in life that suffering succeeds to suffering, and disappointment to disappointment, as wave to wave. To endure is the only philosophy, to believe that we shall live again in a brighter planet, is the only hope that our reason should accept from our desires " (VI, 1, 241). [138]

Maltravers's pangs of love for Evelyn continue unabated. There seems to be no change in his disposition (or his doings, which amount to nothing), but one day Montaigne nevertheless announces that Maltravers is now "passing . . . through a state of transition. You have

left the ideal, and you are carrying your cargo of experience over to the practical. When you reach that haven, you will have completed the development of your forces."[139] In the subsequent conversation, Maltravers indicates that he is approaching that point: only a wider sense of social responsibility is still lacking. "Is man created for nothing nobler than freighting ships, and speculating on silk and sugar? In fact, there is no certain goal in legislation: we go on colonizing Utopia, and are fighting phantoms in the clouds. Let us content ourselves with injuring no man, and doing good only in our own little sphere." (VI,v,272). To which Montaigne replies that indeed private life is no crime, but that (and here he paraphrases Carlyle)

> Every state of life has its duties; every man must be himself the judge of what he is meet fit for. It is quite enough that he desires to be active, and labours to be useful; that he acknowledges the precept, 'never to be weary in well-doing.' . . . . But the man who, after fair trial of his capacities, and with all the opportunities for their full development before him, is convinced that he has faculties which private life cannot wholly absorb, must not repine that Human Nature is not perfect, w en he refuses even to exercise the gifts he himself possesses. [140]

And Bulwer concludes this seminal discussion with a summary of his own on the "virtue of action, the obligations of genius, and the philosophy that teaches us to confide in the destinies, and labour in the service of, mankind " (Ibid.).

This conversation marks the last time that the theme of practical Bildung is discussed. Bulwer returns to the emotional progress of his hero. Maltravers meets Evelyn in Paris; she has rejected the suit of Ferrers and before long she and Maltravers are engaged. Ferrers sees his dowry disappear, and contrives to prevent the marriage. He convinces Maltravers that Evelyn is really his daughter by Alice. Maltravers recoils in disgust, thanking Ferrers from saving him from this "most heinous" of all crimes; broken-hearted and utterly unwilling to participate in the affairs of the world any longer, Maltravers retires to the Continent once more. Ferrers entraps the dispirited Evelyn into an engagement. Maltravers dreams that his mother wants him to return home (X,2,374f.), and he does so immediately. He meets Alice and recounts his life history to her; attempting a proposal of marriage, he fails.

The novel ends with all characters showing their moral greatness as Renunciants. Alice, whose whole life has been one of "patient resignation" (X,7,402), now decides that once again she will renounce Maltravers in favour of the younger and beautiful Evelyn (who is, after all, not her daughter, but the illegitimate daughter of her former husband, Mr. Templeton). Another suitor

of Evelyn, a Captain Legard, has also "renounced all my hopes of earthly happiness, and surrendered the dream of winning the heart and hand of the only woman I ever loved" in favour of Maltravers, because the latter once "saved my life and redeemed my honour" (X,7,404f.). Maltravers in turn renounces Evelyn because the younger Legard is obviously the more suitable husband. Eventually all ends well. Legard marries Evelyn, Maltravers proposes to Alice - - and is rejected because she considers herself unworthy of him.[141] She finally relents and eighteen years of sorrow for Ernest and Alice are at an end.

In his concluding remarks, Bulwer alludes to the Mysteries of Life which his characters have passed through - - why the allusion to the Eleusinia, the ancient initiation rites, is unclear, since the respective goals are anything but similar - - and informs the reader that Maltravers is now more fitted than ever "to mix in the living world" since he is "no longer exacting from all things the ideal of a visionary standard" (XI,6,445). Maltravers returns to sit in Parliament.

The last third of Alice did not concern itself with Maltravers's secular growth to any detail; Bulwer returned to his hero's worldly Bildung only parenthetically

in his concluding remarks. The answer to this seeming neglect may lie in the set of assumptions with which Bulwer approached Maltravers and Alice. The real problem for Maltravers is not what to do in life -- just to do something, preferably useful, is enough -- but rather how to reconcile certain perceptions of reality with an experience of that reality. Bildung, in other words, has become an inner, private problem, and the story of Bulwer's heroes is really the story of the series of moods and Weltanschauungen the characters have gone through. Whereas the Lehrjahre echo the call for individual self-realization of the whole human being, Bulwer's novels concentrate rather on reconciling hope, love and despair: the issues at hand are ultimately emotional. For Bulwer, the secular part of his heroes' Bildung is predetermined, as it were, and not subject to serious analysis: in view of Cleveland's "Let me see you labour and aspire - no matter what in - what to" (Maltravers, II,4,93), the problem of what precisely to labour in is secondary. The main object would appear to be to do something.

Maltravers as a young man is energetic, decided, and, as Bulwer informs us, a "poet of action." At eighteen, life moves too slowly for him; he is ambitious and daring. At the same time he has a penchant for

contemplation and inward study which verges on excessive self-analysis. He likes to "pause and breathe awhile, in brief respite from that methodical race which we run to the grave. He wished to recollect the stores of his past experience, and repose on his own mind, before he started upon the active earth " (Maltravers, I, 5, 23). His guardian Cleveland, ever watchful over the progrees of his protegée, calls him back from Lake Como with the Carlylean words:

> In England, to be a useful or a distinguished man, you must labour. Now, labour in itself is sweet if we take to it early. . . . Depend upon this, Ernest Maltravers, that if you do not fulfill what your nature intended for your fate, you will be a morbid misanthrope, or an indolent voluptuary -- wretched and listless in manhood, repining and joyless in old age.. But if you fulfill your fate, you must enter soon into your apprenticeship. Let me see you labour and aspire -- no matter what in -- what to. Work, work, that is all I ask of you. (II, 4, 92 f.)

Cleveland's letter shows an interesting mixture of assumptions regarding Maltraver's Bildung. It freely employs organic terminology, assumes that such an entelechy ("fulfill what nature intended") is in harmony with the demands of socialisation, and, finally, concludes with the Carlylean work ethos.

Maltravers's "old familiar aspirations for the Beautiful, the Virtuous and the Great " (II, 3 , 86) continue to recur to him. The greater part of his contemplation consists in attempting to identify the nature of these ideals. "In utter solitude" he spends weeks acquainting himself "with his own

character and mind" (III, 2, 115). Perhaps Bulwer was thinking of Goethe and his self-conscious study of self and how to live. At an early stage Maltravers becomes aware "of his own accord, . . . that a man can neither study with much depth, nor compose with much art, unless he has some definite object before him" (III,4,128). Again, Maltravers's problem is discovering just that object. Authorship turns out to be one possibility, Parliament offers another. But ultimately both are unsatisfying to Maltravers, which raises the question: what should Maltravers strive for? That question is never answered, and yet the somewhat vague ethos of action and work continues to be presented in various forms and guises. Even authorship, ultimately rejected by Maltravers, is appealing in the vague context of the work ethos. As Maltravers explains to Valerie,

> It is the work itself, whether of action or literature, that interests and excites us. And at length the dryness of toil takes the familar sweetness of custom. But in intellectual labour there is another charm - - we become intimate with our own nature. The heart and soul grow friends, as it were, and the affections and aspirations unite. (V,9,215)

In view of this rhetoric, it is unclear why Parliament should become the avowed goal of all of Bulwer's heroes, or what makes them choose Parliament

over Art in the first place. After all, all of Bulwer's heroes are poets to some degree. Godolphin acknowledges that

> Nature, perhaps, had intended [him] for a poet; for, with the exception of the love of glory, the poetical characteristics were rife within him; and over his whole past existence the dimness of unexpressed poetical sensation had clung and hovered. It was this which deadened his soul to the active world, and wrapped him in the land of dreams; it was this which had induced that vague and restless dissatisfaction with the actual which had brought the thirst for the ideal. (LV,308)

The entelechy of Bulwer's heroes tends towards the world of poetry; a "natural" education would have followed this innate disposition, and all of Bulwer's heroes would have ended up as poets. In that sense, Bulwer's heroes undergo a Bildungsprozess which runs counter to their own self-generated energies.

Montaigne, whose counsel is to be treated with respect by the reader, advises Maltravers that to become an authpr is precisely what he was born to be. Taking his argument from Mill and his perception of man's grand object of desire, Montaigne tells Ernest to

> Think what a glorious fate it is, to have an influence on the vast, but ever-growing mind of such a country - - to feel, when you retire from the busy scene, that you have played an unforgotten part - - that you have been the medium, under God's great will,

> of circulating new ideas throughout the world - - of upholding the glorious priesthood of the Honest and the Beautiful. This is the true ambition; the desire of mere personal notoriety is vanity, not ambition. . . . . What, indeed, are the petty faults [sic] we commit as individuals, affecting but a narrow circle, ceasing with our own lives, to the incalculable and everlasting good we may produce as public men by one book or one law? (Maltravers, III,4,134f.)

And with a speed characteristic of Bulwer's heroes, Maltravers enthusiastically accepts this advice and exclaims that at last he has found his calling. "Visions, hopes, aspirations, I may have had before - - for months a new spirit has been fluttering within me. I have felt the wings breaking from the shell, but all was confused, dim, uncertain." (Ibid.,p.135).

The curious situation thus arise that both factors in Maltravers's Bildung, those of art and those of politics (a third is Love), are represented as both beneficial and injurious. Why one should be better than the other, remains unclear, and Maltravers's choice of political activity over Art is not made on the basis of experiences that the reader has shared (or, rather, read about). It is simply "told" to the reader. True, the world of art has some unhealthy features best illustrated by Castruccio Caesarini, but Lumley Ferrers and the rest of the political tribe are treated with equal, if not more,

criticism.

The entire situation is typical of the manner in which Bulwer approached the Bildung of his heroes from the outside, so to speak. The reader has no inkling that the inner stirrings as alluded to above, have taken place - - until they are announced as such by Maltravers, or the author. Nor can the reader make any sort of appraisal of these shifts and plans; why, for instance, Maltravers should so enthusiastically embrace the world of art which in another authorial comment is rejected as a compensatory chimera (Maltravers, VIII,3,328). The reader simply lacks an awareness of prior events which might allow him to correlate the various phases of the protagonist's progress with some "objective realities." The result is that the scenes of the kind I have just mentioned appear constructed. The entire process of Maltravers's secular Bildung becomes difficult to correlate with his inner growth.

To further illustrate this point, (once again centering on the central question of why Maltravers chooses Parliament over Art): Bulwer has his hero fall sick from "Thought with its fever and aching tension," and decide upon "the coarse and homely pursuit of political politics [sic]" which "would leave the imagination

and intellect in repose, while it would excite the hardier qualities and gifts, which animate without exhausting" (VI,5,265). His entry into Parliament, it would appear, is quite irrelevant in terms of his own particular Bildungsgeschichte; it is grounded not in character, but in circumstances totally external to the developing subjectivity.

Bulwer nevertheless attempts to re-introduce the element of organic growth and character change: "You are too practical for the mere poet, and too poetical to sink into the dull tenor of a learned life," another letter from the Unknown (that is, Florence) advises. He cannot be contented, argues Florence, "as poets and historians mostly are, by becoming great only from delineating great men, or imagining great events, or describing a great era. Is it not worthier of you to be what you fancy or relate. Awake, Maltravers, awake. Look into your own heart, and feel your proper destinies" (VI,4,258). There is a hint here of Goethean Bildung, of self-realization, becoming what one initially envisages but dimly. CLeveland, on the other hand, congratulates Ernest on "extending your career of usefulness," which harps back to Carlyle and Mill (VI,5,263).

The reader finds himself in the ambivalent position

of being confronted with two viewpoints, neither of which Bulwer seems to favour over the other. From an objective point of view (objective in the sense that it relates to a set of events and Maltravers's reaction to, and interpretation of, these events), Maltravers's entry into Parliament stems from his desire to escape authorial stress; he is seeking a new occupation for reasons of health. Yet the other point of view, interpretive in that it depicts Cleveland's and Montaigne's reactions, but equally authoritative in that the words of both men are always to be treated with respect, sees this activity laden with quasi-moral and ethical implications. Bulwer transmits a sense of character growth without providing sufficient cause and reason for it within the novel structure. One is left with the vague feeling that great changes have taken place, but upon inspection, the how and wherefore remain elusively unclear, and the entire Bildungsgeschichte suffers a certain artificiality as a result.

It is this lack of commitment to one or the other set of convictions which makes Bulwer's Bildungsromane a bit annoying at times. This would not be the case were it for more reticence on Bulwer's part in constructing elaborate explanations and commentary on his heroes' progress. As it turns out, Bulwer usually ends up drawing

attention to his own shortcomings, or the inability to live up to his prefaces. Bulwer's indecisiveness should not be confused with Goethe's irony: the latter's lack of committal stems from his reticence to explain the unexplainable. Bulwer, on the other hand, comments profusely throughout his novels, is obvious in developing a host of metaphors and "patterns" of Bildung.

The preface of the 1840 edition of Maltravers had come close to offering a succinct summation of a theory of Bildung as developed in Maltravers. Bulwer speaks of the idea of "not only describing but developing character under the ripening influence of time and circumstance" (Preface, VI). This is somewhat more precise than the remarks in the 1837 preface, where Bulwer had characterised his hero's progress as

> influenced by the circumstances to which he yet struggles to be superior, and changing in character with the changes of time and fate; but never wantonly rejecting those great principles by which alone we can work out the Science of Life - - a desire for the Good, a passion for the Honest, a yearning after the True. From such principles, Experience, that severe mentor, teaches at length the safe and practical philosophy which consists of fortitude to bear, serenity to enjoy, and faith to look beyond. (Preface, IXf.)

The educational range of Bulwer's Bildungsromane is presented here, to an extent which almost defies categorization.

Unwilling to not say anything where doubt or mystery remained - - and I am thinking here of Goethe's words to the effect that the "Geheimnisse der Lebenspfade darf und kann man nicht offenbaren; es gibt Steine des Anstosses über die ein jeder Wanderer stolpern muss. Der Poet aber deutet auf die Stelle hin" (HA, 8, 460) - - Bulwer constantly attempts to explain and categorize. Thus the passage I have just quoted echoes Goethe and the famous passage in Meister about "Man's highest merit always is, as much as possible, to rule external circumstances, and as little as possible to let himself be ruled by them" (Meister, II, 444). It also reminds me of Carlyle and his version of Goethe's Bildungsgeschichte, clad as it was in moral terms: its struggles, its moments of despair, its awakening of faith, with the subsequent "fortitude to bear" and the achievement of a "serene humanity."[142] Bulwer's terminology echoes that of Carlyle's in its reliance on vague moral terms devoid of objective correlatives. "The Science of Life" might seem an appropriate term for a Bildungsroman, if indeed some sound maxims were developed. But a "desire", a "passion" and a "yearning," for objectives equally non-specific, makes for a poor science of life. Yet Bulwer should not be taxed too hard for conceiving of his

heroes' Bildung in essentially moral-emotional terms: Carlyle's version of Goethe's Bildungsgeschichte, as well as the spiritual history of Teufelsdröckh, furnished ample illustration for an exemplary Bildungsprozess:

> [A great change had taken place] in the moral disposition of the man [Goethe]: a change from inward imprisonment, doubt and discontent, into freedom, belief and clear activity: such a change as, in our opinion, must take place, more or less consciously, in every character that, especially in these times, attains to spiritual manhood; and in characters possessing any thoughtfulness and sensibility, will seldom take place without a painful consciousness, without bitter conflicts, in which the character is often maimed and impoverished, and which end too often not in victory, but in defeat, or fatal compromise with the enemy. . . . On this ground, were it on no other, we have ventured to say, that his spiritual history and proceedure must deserve attention. 143

Bulwer was familiar with two patterns of Bildung. The Meister cycle had dealt with the issue of an individual's professed desire to sich bilden, and the subsequent attempt at self-realization. Wanderjahre had underscored the social implications of Bildung. Carlyle's essays had stressed a different aspect: he drew attention to moral growth, to Bildung as the development of a Weltanschauung ultimately based on Faith and the God-given imperative to work and produce. But before that insight could be reached, the character - - so Carlyle in his Goethe articles and Sartor - - had to go through much emotional

turmoil, despair, doubt and denial. As Carlyle wrote in "Goethe" (1828), "not by denying his unbelief, but by following it out; not by stopping short, still less turning back, in his inquiries, but by resolutely prosecuting them," did Goethe move from Darkness to Light.[144] Teufelsdröckh too realises at the end of his sorrows, occasioned (as are all of Bulwer's heroes' sorrows) by a disappointment in love, that he has to pass through the Centre of the Everlasting No and the Centre of Indifference, before he can reach the insight of the Everlasting Yea.

Bulwer's heroes thus undergo both a secular, practical Bildung, as well as a moral apprenticeship. Goethe's Meister had not gone so far as to present Bildung as the growth of a moral Weltanschauung: the issue is quite irrelevant to Wilhelm, and is developed by Goethe in such a reticent manner as never to become an overt attempt. To Bulwer, on the other hand, it was a matter of some importance to develop just such a Bildungssystem. His heroes grow into Society after an initial apartness occasioned by extreme sensibility and thoughtfulness; invariably Parliament becomes their career, or at least as soon as they have accepted the ethos of socially useful activity. They will dabble (or, as Maltravers, succeed)

in poetry and Art, but Bulwer cannot bring himself to accept his heroes living out their innate poetic disposition: the rejection of the world of art is somewhat equivocal, but rests on the vague feeling that art leads to excessive self-consciousness, is too much a matter of the mind as opposed to the whole man. Goethe, Carlyle and Meister form the triangle within which Bulwer elaborates on these themes. In the final analysis, however, the balance shifts towards Carlyle: Bulwer's heroes undergo a series of emotional phases which run the gamut from enthusiasm to doubt to frivolity, from existential despair to self-denial. The summary Maltravers offers of his own Bildungsgeschichte reveals to what extent his history is based on that of Teufelsdröckh's.[145] But the relevance of this part of the heroes' Bildung to that other, secular pattern of growth, is vague. The reader has few objective events by which to explain these phases. It is nevertheless always stated that these are indeed phases of development, of character change, which reflect this or that rule of Bildung. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the "phases" are provoked by a letter from an absent friend or a well-wishing Unknown, or a long trip abroad, or a disappointment in love. The last two are by far the most common means of motivating character changes.

Ultimately the two phases of growth, the secular and the moral-spiritual one, remain unsatisfying in their lack of cohesion. Godolphin's or Maltravers's spiritual struggles are presented as reactions to perceived reality, the result of an increasing insight into, and excessive contemplation upon, the world and its infirmities. At the same time the end goals of their secular Bildungs-prozess -- predetermined as they are by the Goethean model and Carlyle's interpretation, especially his exhortation to work and produce -- are never questionned, even though they involve a willing entry into (and active participation in) the world with all its infirmities.

It seems to me a circular statement to say that an active and useful participation in the world's affairs should cure morbid philosophers. Problems arise when this ethos of activity is presented as the cure for morbidity. It would be more accurate to say that an active and willing entry into the one mainstream of life is perhaps possible after one has rid oneself of any malaise de vie; it cannot be the solution to existential despair or morbidity because it (the socially active drive) cannot become operative until after the nihilistic sentiments have been purged. The problem is quite simply that Bulwer took over from Goethe the ethos of socially

useful activity, and from Carlyle the belief that such activity, Work, was the cure-all for morbid souls. But what Goethe saw as the end product of a long process of growth, Bulwer took as a constitutive factor in that very growth, thereby avoiding the real solution (whatever that might be) to the very problems he had raised. As Houghton in his Victorian Frame of Mind commented on that very point:

> The passion for work was sometimes nothing but the desire to numb the sensibility and suppress anxiety by plunging into some form of activity without reference to any moral values, however rationalized it might be as the 'right path' or a duty or a contribution to social progress - - even as the will of God. 146

CONCLUSION

A thesis of a comparative nature is a tricky undertaking. The temptation to see relations where none might exist, were it not for the critic's prior set of hypotheses, is ever present; to talk of influences and even intermediary roles, in a process as intangible and personal as the reception of a work of literature, can be misleading in that it might appear to explain a process which in reality is too complex to be ever "explained." I hope that this is one aspect which became clear in my thesis: that the relation of Bulwer's Bildungsromane to Goethe is not as unilinear as previous studies may have implied. Not only is Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre far from an unproblematical model for a Bildungsgeschichte, but the English source for Bulwer - - Carlyle's translation, as well as the 1821 rather than the 1829 version of Wanderjahre - - is equally problematical, subtly misleading in its language, unfinished in its content. Carlyle's essays on Goethe, covering a time span up to 1832, did their part in presenting a consistent pattern of Bildung, but difficult to reconcile with the Meister cycle itself. (I am thinking here of Carlyle's stress on self-conscious cultivation of self, of the emotional

and moral phases, and the enthusiastic portrayal of Wilhelm's and Goethe's world of art.)

The complexity of this context in which Bulwer's Bildungsromane were written - - Goethe, Carlyle, and Mill, to name those contexts which I discussed in my thesis - - is mainly responsible for the indecisiveness, the weaknesses of Bulwer's Bildungsromane qua Bildungsromane. Bulwer's intention was certainly otherwise: repeatedly he talked of the "Philosophy of Human Life" or the "Science of Life" which he was about to develop in a particular novel. But for all intentions, Bulwer lacked the consistency, the time perhaps, and probably the critical rigour, to differentiate among the various stances he chose in the course of writing his heroes' Bildungsgeschichten. Goethe's functional ambiguity, by comparison, was part of a consciously-chosen, over-all mode of ironic writing; Bulwer's involuntary equivocation, if I may so call it, stems from his overly-earnest attempt to fuse Goethe, Carlyle and Mill, re-unite in one "Science of Life" what each of these men had already developed as their own particular mode of existence or Weltanschauung. Bulwer's dilemna was that of the epigone, the author last in line, so to speak, to receive a number of constructs, each of which was the result of prior speculation on matters

not always related to Wilhelm Meister. I am thinking above all of Mill's article on education, and also of Teufelsdröckh's biography, as well as the spiritual history of Goethe as portrayed by Carlyle. When Bulwer tried to fuse these ideas into the novelistic framework of the "metaphysical novel," he produced the sort of problematical (and ultimately questionable) Bildungsgeschichten I discussed in the latter part of my thesis. The history of the Bildungsroman in early Victorian England, echoing Jacob's conclusion, was as much the history of a problematical and unfulfilled novel type as it was in Germany.

NOTES

[1] Karl Philipp Moritz, Anton Reiser (1788; rpt. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1972), p. 265.

[2] Adam Ferguson's An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1766) was a work which in turn influenced Friedrich Schiller's Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen (1794-95). See Roy Pascal, "'Bildung' and the Division of Labour," in German Studies presented to W. H. Bruford (London: Harrap, 1962), p. 15.

[3] I quote from Carlyle's "Characteristics," originally published in 1831. All quotes from Carlyle in my notes as well as the text will come from the Centenary edition of his works (London, 1899). The passage cited is in Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, III, 32. References henceforth to Essays.

[4] The term, though first coined in 1817 by Karl von Morgenstern, did not achieve wide-spread circulation as it was printed in an obscure journal of small readership; Wilhelm Dilthey popularises the term. See Fritz Martini, "Der Bildungsroman. Zur Geschichte des Wortes und der Theorie," in DVjS, 35 (1961), 44 f., as well as Jürgen Jacobs, Wilhelm Meister und seine Brüder (München: Fink, 1972), p. 10 f.

[5] Susanne Howe's Wilhelm Meister and his English Kins-

men (New York: Columbia, 1930) discusses The Disowned (1829), and Kenelm Chillingly (1873) in addition to the three novels I will be discussing. A.H. Goldhan in an early positivistic study, "Über die Einwirkung des Goetheschen Werthers und Wilhelm Meisters," in Anglia, 16 (1894), sees analogies between Meister and Pelham (1828) and The Disowned, to name a few. The most recent study, Richard A. Zipser's Edward Bulwer-Lytton and Germany (Berne, Frankfurt: Lange, 1974), sees traces of Meister in The Last Days of Pompeii as well.

[6] This underlying assumption becomes especially evident in such studies as K. Gottbrath's Der Einfluss von Goethes Wilhelm Meister auf die englische Literatur (München, 1937).

[7] Coleridge had written in the sixth stanza,

> For not to think of what I needs must feel,
> But to be still and patient, all I can;
> And haply by abstruse research to steal
> From my own nature all the natural man - -
> This was my whole resource, my only plan:
> Till that which suits a part infects the whole,
> And now is almost grown the habit of my soul.

Cited from Dejection: An Ode (1802), in Elisabeth Schneider, ed., Selected Poetry and Prose (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1951).

[8] See Lothar Köhn, "Entwicklungs- und Bildungsroman,"

in DVjS, 42 (1968), 427-473; 590-632.

9 Georg Lukacs argues in his Die Theorie des Romans (1916; rpt. Berlin: Luchterhand, 1963) that the modern novel typically portrays the "adventures of interiority" of the protagonist, who is caught in the dialectic between the Ideal of inner harmony on the one hand, objective reality on the other hand. The "inner form" of the novel is thus the "problematic individual's journeying towards himself." See also Anna Bostock, trans., The Theory of the Novel (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1971), p. 80.

10 The entire phenomenon of surrogate self-realization through the Theatre has been traced by E. Catholy's Karl Philipp Moritz und die Ursprünge der deutschen Theaterleidenschaft (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1962). As Catholy shows, it is by no means confined to the Meister novels. At its roots lies the state of German society at the end of the eighteenth century: an increasing secularization of values, the result of the Aufklärung, the continuing impotence of large segments of the population in political matters (despite a vast increase in the bourgeoisie's economic wealth and power), the desire for a united Germany, a sense of community and social identity, all coalesce in the search for alternative realities. Through

the Theatre (and, as Schiller's Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man show, through Art in general) one now hopes to find the self-realization denied in life. As Catholy lists them, the main energies of the passion for the Theatre center around Phantasie als Korrektiv, enlargement of the ego, Gemeinschaftssehen, the drive for power, and a desire for Harmonie.

[11] Jacobs, pp. 29-39.

[12] All Goethe quotations are from the Hamburg edition of his works (1950). References henceforth to HA. For Wilhelm's letter, see HA, 7, 290.

[13] Dilthey, Leben Schleiermachers (Berlin, 1870), cited by Jacobs, p. 11.

[14] Dilthey, Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung (Leipzig, 1906), cited by Jacobs, p. 11.

[15] Jacobs, p. 274.

[16] Ibid., p. 278.

[17] Melitta Gerhard, Der deutsche Entwicklungsroman bis zu Goethes 'Wilhelm Meister' (Halle, 1926), cited by Kühn, p. 432.

[18] Kühn, p. 435.

[19] Schiller to Goethe, July 8, 1796, cited in H. G. Gräf, Goethe über seine Dichtungen (Frankfurt, 1902), II, 832.

[20] Helpful in this respect is K. F. Gille's Wilhelm Meister im Urteil seiner Zeitgenossen (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971).

[21] Cited from Gräf, II, 860 f.

[22] Ibid., p. 870.

[23] See E. Lammert, ed., Versuch über den Roman (1774; rpt. Stuttgart: Metzlerische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), p. 254, 321.

[24] See Gille, p. 38.

[25] "Körner hat diesen Charakter zu sehr als den eigentlichen Held des Romans betrachtet: der Titel und das alte Herkommen, in jedem Roman pp. einen Helden haben zu müssen, hat

ihn verführt." Cited from Gille, p. 38, from a letter to Goethe, November 28, 1796.

[26] Gille, p. 42.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Max Wundt, Goethes Wilhelm Meister und die Entwicklung des modernen Lebensideals (Berlin, 1913).

[29] See Kurt May, " 'Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre' ein Bildungsroman?" in DVjS, 31 (1957), and also Jacobs, pp. 75-95.

[30] Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels, I, 6. The Meister cycle comprises volumes 23 and 24 of the Centenary edition; references henceforth, by volume and page, as Meister.

[31] Cited from Gille, p. 191. The quote originally appeared in Schlegel's second review of Meister in the Heidelbergische Jahrbücher, 1808.

[32] Cited from Herder's Vom Erkennen und Empfinden der

menschlichen Seele (1788), in M. H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (1953; rpt. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 205.

[33] See R.S. Brumbaugh, N.M. Lawrence, eds., Philosophers on Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1963), p. 77 f.

[34] HA, 1, 202.

[35] HA,

[36] E. Spranger, "Goethe und die Metamorphose der Menschen," in Jahrbuch der Goethe Gesellschaft, 10 (1924), 217-238. See also Emil Staiger, Goethe (Zürich: Atlantis, 1956), II, 135-8, 169.

[37] F. W. A. Froebel, The Education of Man (1826; rpt. W. N. Hailman, trans., New York, 1904), p. 8.

[38] In one of Goethe's Maximen und Reflexionen (HA, 12, 528), Goethe speaks of how "Im Reiche der Natur waltet Bewegung und Tat, im Reiche der Freiheit Anlage und Willen. . . . Anlagen entwickeln sich zwar naturgemäss, müssen

aber erst durch den Willen geübt und nach und nach gesteigert werden." Cited from Jacobs, p. 79.

[39] Cited by Abrams from Coleridge's The Statesman's Manual (1816), p. 173 f.

[40] Ibid., p. 174.

[41] "In the heart as in the ocean, the great tides ebb and flow. The waves which had once urged on the spirit of Ernest Maltravers to the rocks and shoals of active life had long since receded back upon the calm depths, and left the strand bare." Cited from Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Alice, or, The Mysteries (1837; rpt. Boston, 1891), p. 73. I have used the Knebworth Limited edition of his works for all quotations from his novels.

[42] The Lehrbrief is literally a letter of indenture. The Abbé's remark is found in HA, 7, 552.

[43] Cited from HA, 7, 180.

[44] Meister, II, 227.

[45] HA, 7, 552.

[46] I refer to E. Catholy's study of Theaterleidenschaft for a fuller examination of the social aspects of Wilhelm's illusions regarding the Theatre.

[47] Schiller to Goethe, November 28, 1796, cited by Gräf, II, 871.

[48] Humboldt to Goethe, November 24, 1796, in Gräf, II, 870.

[49] Gräf, II, 832.

[50] Schiller to Goethe, November 28, 1796, in Gräf, II, 872.

[51] Stefan Fleischer in his dissertation, "The Theme of Bildung in The Prelude, Hyperion, and Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre (Cornell, 1967) argues that the pattern of Bildung in these three works is a dialectic between Time and Feeling; Bildung is the ability of the character to perceive his own personal history as a unique mental act, an experience in consciousness. Only when the character realises this, and comes to accept the validity of his mental act, can he achieve a sense of identity. Hence the importance of the "spots of time" in Wordsworth's The Prelude. But Fleischer is wrong

when he applies a similar pattern onto Lehrjahre: Wilhelm's appraisal of his past remains clouded in solepcism; moreover, the retrospective ordering of the past, so important for Wordsworth, does not become an object of thought for Wilhelm.

[52] I am indebted here to H.E. Hass, "Goethes 'Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre'" in Benno von Wiese, ed., Der deutsche Roman (Düsseldorf: Bagel, 1963).

[53] Schiller to Goethe, July 8, 1796, in Gräf, II, 835.

[54] Ibid., p. 840.

[55] Ibid., p. 851.

[56] Ibid., p. 836.

[57] Humboldt to Goethe, November 24, 1796, cited in Gräf, II, 870. Goethe wrote in a similar vein to Rochlitz in 1827: "Eine Arbeit wie diese, die sich selbst als collectiv ankündiget . . . erlaubt, ja fordert mehr als eine andere dass sich jeder zueigne was ihm gemäss ist, was in seiner Lage zur Beherzigung aufrief und sich harmonisch wohlthätig erweisen möchte." Cited from Gille, p. 242.

[58] Ibid., p. 226.

CHAPTER TWO

[59] For an introduction see J. G. Robertson, "Goethe and Byron," in Publications of the English Goethe Society, n.s. 2 (1925); also his "Goethe und England," in Goethe Jahrbuch, 7. 18 (1932).

[60] Cited by W. Rose in a helpful essay, "Goethe's Reputation in England during his Lifetime," in W. Rose, ed., Essays on Goethe (London: Cassel, 1949), p. 174. For a general introduction see also Jean Marie Carré's Goethe en Angleterre (Paris: Plon Nourrit, 1920).

[61] Rose, p. 160.

[62] Howe, p. 83.

[63] Meister, II, 95. Slightly altered in the Centenary ed.

[64] Meister, II, 95 f.

[65] C. T. Carr, "Carlyle's Translations from the German," in MLR, 42 (1947), 223-232.

[66] Jacob Steiner, Goethes Wilhelm Meister. Sprache und Stilwandel (1959; rpt. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966).

[67] Jeffrey's review in the Edinburgh Review was vituperous, De Quincey's in London Magazine (August-September 1824) only slightly less so. See Carré, p. 190 f., p. 195 f.

[68] See Arthur Henkel, Entsagung. Eine Studie zu Goethes Altersroman (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1964), p. 26.

[69] HA, 7, 553.

[70] References to renunciation of the Renunciants are made on the following pages of Meister: II, 223; II, 299; II, 307; II, 317. The editorial comment about renunciation as the entry in to life is found in Meister, II, 334.

[71] Many attempts have been made to define Entsagung more closely than Goethe does in his Meister cycle; aside from the references to Entsagung I have mentionned above, there is no systematic discussion of renunciation in any of Goethe's writings. Any conclusions drawn must necessarily be interpretive. Bielschowsky's Life of Goethe (W. A. Cooper, trans., London, 1907) enjoys a certain popularity with critics;

C. F. Harrold (Carlyle and German Thought: 1819-1834 /New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957, p. 216) and Richard Zipser (p. 84 f.) both quote the identical passage from Bielschowsky's Life, III, 195: Renunciation "means limitation, concentration. It is man's duty to limit his striving and to concentrate all his powers on the limited field. Resignation means the conquering of the passions, means the giving up of many inherited and earned advantages, rights and possessions." Arthur Henkel's study, which remains the best, sees it as "die in Einsamkeit und Selbstbescheidung (nicht mönchischer Demut) um der Selbstständigkeit und Mündigkeit der Person willen sittlich angestrebte Überwindung der Dämonie und der immanenten Tragik des Daseins." (Entsagung, p. 158 f.)

[72] Cited from Carlyle's preface to the 1827 translation of Wanderjahre, in Meister, I, 16 f.

[73] Meister, I, 26.

[74] Essays, I, 210.

[75] "Ich habe in meinem Berufe als Schriftsteller nie gefragt: was will die grosse Masse, und wie nutze ich dem Ganzen? Sondern ich habe immer nur dahin getrachtet, mich selbst

einsichtiger und besser zu machen, den Gehalt meiner eigenen Persönlichkeit zu steigern und dann immer nur auszusprechen, was ich als gut und wahr erkannt hatte."
For this conversation of Goethe with Eckermann, October 20, 1830, see Ernst Beutler, ed., Gespräche mit Eckermann (Zürich: Artemis, 1948. Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche), 24; 752.

[76] Sartor Resartus, II, 9, 156 (vol. 1 in the Centenary edition of Carlyle's works); see also Past and Present, III, 11, 196 (vol. 10 in the Centenary edition), and Meister, I, 17.

[77] Essays, I, 243.

[78] Cited by Harrold, p. 175.

[79] Essays, III, 246 f.

[80] Sartor, II, 3, 91.

[81] Michael Sadleir, Bulwer and his Wife: a Panorama (London: Constable, 1931), p. 429.

[82] Howe, p. 89.

[83] See Sartor, II, 6 for the following references: pp. 119, 122, 124,125; also II, 7, 128, II, 7, 129 and II,7, 130, and II, 7, 134; II, 8, 135, II, 8, 136.

[84] Perhaps the most pronounced example is Night and Morning, a later novel (1843) which presents the parallel histories of two brothers, Philip and Arthur Beaufort. Arthur's Bildungsgeschichte ends in crime and death, Philip's with a reinstated inheritance and ancestral honour, as well as the hand of a simple girl named Fanny, who bears faint resemblances to Mignon. The theme of Bildung is present, but only in the widest possible sense as education. This totally secularized process of growth, determined above all by the struggles of both brothers for the inheritance, is "allegorized" by Bulwer with a series of quotes from Schiller's epic poem, Der Pilgrim, which introduce each of the book's five sections. Bulwer ignored the fact that Schiller's poem ends on a note of disillusionment, the realistic perception that the Ideal and the Earthly, the aspirations and the attainment, are worlds apart:

> Ach, kein Steg will dahin führen,
> Ach der H mmel über mir
> Will die Erde nie berühren,
> Und das Dort ist niemals Hier.

Bulwer's spiritual pilgrim ends by the shores of some river flowing to Morning: "Und zu eines Stroms Gestaden / Kam ich, der nach Morgen floss " (Night and Morning, p. 389). The entire

novel is replete with allegorical tableaux and personifications. It would be worthwhile (but beyond my thesis) to examine to what extent these characteristics are remnants of Bulwer's metaphysical novel of the 1830's.

85 I quote from the 1829 Wanderjahre (vol. 21 in the Ausgabe letzter Hand of 1829), p. 215; also in HA, 8, 283.

86 Ibid.

87 By 1843 Carlyle had moved away from the Goethean position of self-knowledge through activity. The following quote from Past and Present is a verbal echo of the Goethe paraphrase I have just quoted in the text, except that now the original meaning is completely reversed: "The latest gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it. 'Know thyself:' long enough has that poor 'self' of thine tormented thee; thou wilt never get to know it, I believe. Think it not thy business, this of knowing thyself; thou art an unknowable individual: know what thou canst work at; and work at it, like a Hercules. That will be thy better plan." (III, 11, 196)

88 Harrold, pp. 214, 218-222.

[89] Bulwer concludes Alice with the commentary: "And Alice? - - Will the world blame us if you are left happy at the last? . . . [It] is time that we should allow the morality of atonement, and permit to Error the right to hope, as the reward of submission to its suffering." Cited from Alice, XI, 8, 446.

CHAPTER THREE

[90] Hans Wagner's study, Der englische Bildungsroman bis in die Zeit des ersten Weltkrieges (Bern: Franke, 1951), is prevented from doing so by the sheer magnitude (and consequent superficiality) of its discussion, which deals with some thirty novels.

[91] Zipser, p. 19.

[92] Sadleir, p. 168; p. 170.

[93] V.A. Lytton, The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton (London, 1913), p. 260.

[94] Bulwer called Pilgrims of the Rhine a "graceful fantasy," a story which "has nothing to do with actual life, and is not, therefore, to be called a novel." Cited from Bul-

wer's preface to Pilgrims of the Rhine, p. ix.

95 Zipser, p. 14.

96 Ibid., p. 35.

97 Lytton, Life, I, 99, 127-139; see also Sadleir, p.62 f.

98 Goldhan, p. 351.

99 Howe, p. 132.

100 Bulwer, while editor of New Monthly Magazine, approached Carlyle for articles; Carlyle wrote "Death of Goethe" for the magazine (number 138, 1832).

101 See the 1851 preface to The Disowned; cited by Howe, p. 140.

102 Cited from the 1835 preface to The Disowned, by Howe, p. 141.

103 Cited from the 1852 preface, in Howe, 141.

[104] Bulwer, The Student and Asmodeus at Large (London, 1875. The Knebworth edition), p. 345.

[105] Cited from Pelham by Goldhan, p. 312.

[106] Godolphin, XX, 95.

[107] Asmodeus at Large was originally published as a series of dialogues in New Monthly Magazine in 1832. Cited from Bulwer's The Student and Asmodeus at Large, p. 338.

[108] Cited from Bulwer's essay, "On Some Authours in whose Writings Knowledge of the World is eminently displayed," in Miscellaneous Prose Works (London, 1868), III, 440.

[109] Essays, I, 208.

[110] In this context J. G. Robertson ("Goethe and Byron," in Pbns. of Eng. Goethe Soc. [n.s. 2, 1925], p. 79) provided me with an interesting remark made by Goethe to Chancellor Müller with regard to Byron's abortive Greek enterprise: "His Greek enterprise had something impure about it, and could never have ended well. It is a real misfortune when minds so rich in ideas insist on realizing their ideal and bringing it to

life. That will simply not do; the ideal and ordinary reality must be kept strictly apart."

111 Essays, I, 226 (the 1828 "Goethe" article).

112 Ibid., p. 227.

113 The Student and Asmodeus at Large, p. 146.

114 Quoted from the preface to the Knebworth Limited edition of Ernest Maltravers, p. vi.

115 I refer to note 5.

116 In his attempt to unite poetry and Utilitarianism, Bulwer was a kinsman to J. S. Mill. At one point in their long acquaintance, J. S. Mill wrote to Bulwer and outlined what he (Mill) felt the Westminster Review ought to represent: " The Review ought to represent not Radicalism but Neoradicalism, a Radicalism . . . which is only to be called Radicalism inasmuch as it does not palter or compromise with evils, but cuts at their roots, and a Utilitarianism which takes into account the whole of human nature, not the ratiocinative faculty only . . . [and] which holds feelings at least as valuable as thought,

and poetry not only on a par with, but the necessary condition of, any true and comprehensive philosophy." Cited from Lytton's Life, II, 509, from a letter of Mill to Bulwer, November 23, 1836.

[117] J. S. Mill, Autobiography (New York: New American Library, 1964), p. 101.

[118] In a letter to William Godwin, dated September 17, 1830, Bulwer outlines why he believes in the utilitarian system of morals, which, so Bulwer, is perfectly capable of uniting self-interest and altruism. " I understand by the system that benevolence may be made a passion; that it is the rule and square of all morality; that virtue loses not one atom of its value, or one charm from its loveliness." Cited from Lytton's Life, II, 402; compare also Radclyffe's similar argument in Godolphin, I, 52.

[119] England and the English (Paris, 1833), Appendix C, p. 391.

[120] Quotations are from the 1842 edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica, which contained a reprint of the original 1819 article. See vol. VIII, 433.

[121] Ibid., p. 447.

122 James Mill, Fragment on Mackintosh (1835); cited by W. H. Burston, James Mill on Philosophy and Education (London: Univ. of London, Athlone Press, 1973), p. 217.

123 Enc. Brit., p. 447.

124 Ibid., p. 450.

125 England and the English, Appendix C, p. 390.

126 Godolphin, ix.

127 Godolphin, xx, 92.

128 See Zipser, p. 59 f.

129 "Her arms and hands were, and are, even to this day, of a beauty . . . " (XVII, 62); her rudeness, "for which she has since become known . . . " (XVII,68); similar instances in XXVIII,136 and LXI, 283 . The final letter of Constance to the author completes the fiction of truthfulness.

130 Cited from the 1836 preface to Maltravers, vi.

131 England and the English, p. 191.

132 Ibid., p. 192.

133 Godolphin, XV, 51. Godolphin's words bear resemblance to Carlyle's description of the central problem of Werther. Carlyle had praised Goethe for attemtping "the more accurate delineation of a class of feelings, deeply important to modern minds; but for which our elder poetry offered no exponent, and perhaps could offer none, because they are feelings that arise from passion incapable of being converted into action, and belong chiefly to an age as indolent, cultivated and unbelieving as our own." (Meister, I, 16)

134 Godolphin, XXVII, 129. The italics are mine. The words strike the same theme as the Uncle in Meister, I, 444.

135 Maltravers, vi. I quote from the Knebworth edition.

136 The 1836 Paris edition has a slightly different concluding paragraph from that of the Knebworth edition: " a lonely wanderer, disgusted with the world, blighted prematurely in a useful and glorious ambition," is contrasted with Ferrers, "wrapped in a hardy stoicism of levity and selfishness." The author promises more of a "faithful survey of the Philosophy of Human Life."

[137] The 1850 preface is not reprinted in the Knebworth Limited edition, but in the New York (Athenaeum Society, 1893) edition of The Novels of Lord Lytton. I quote from the latter's edition of Alice, vii.

[138] In a letter to Cleveland, Maltravers speaks of how "I was resolved that I would not be subdued, and that the world should not hear me groan. But amidst ruins and through the darkness, my soul yet supported me; I could no longer hope, but I could endure." (Alice, VIII, I, 307). Similarly Teufelsdröckh in Sartor, II, 10, 164: "The whole energy of his existence is directed, through long years, on one task: the enduring of pain, if he cannot cure it."

[139] Alice, VI,2,247. A similar theme, that of merging the Ideal and the Actual, is sounded in Sartor, II, 9, 156 and 158.

[140] Alice, VI,5,277. The "never-to-be-weary" quote is from Sartor, II, 9, 146, 158.

[141] Alice strikes me as a somewhat pathetic figure, an impression Bulwer strenghtens, perhaps inadvertently, when he writes of how "She sprang forward -- reserve, fear, time, change, all forgotten; she threw herself into his arms, she clasped him to her heart again and again. - - The faithful dog

that has found its master expresses not his transport more uncontrollably, more wildly." (Alice, X, 5, 394).

142 Essays, I, 248 f. See also "Death of Goethe," in Essays, II, 379.

143 Essays, I, 243.

144 Essays, I, 210.

145 See the beginning of Book Eight, ch. 1, in Alice, p. 306 f. And in Maltravers, I, 14, 60: "Nine times out of ten it is over the Bridge of Sighs that we pass the narrow gulf from Youth to Manhood. . . . The intellect has been hardened by the fire through which it has passed. The mind profits by the wrecks of every passion, and we may measure our road to wisdom by the sorrows we have undergone." On the following page, Bulwer speaks of "the fierce emotions and passionate struggles through which the Wilhelm Meister of real life must work out his apprenticeship and attain the Master Rank."

146 W. E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 260 f.

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