MATERIALITY IN JOHN RUSKIN'S EARLY LETTERS AND DIALOGUES

David C. Hanson
Professor, Southeastern Louisiana University

> You will be aware that John does not know there is
> any difference in putting things on paper from saying them.
> – Margaret Ruskin to John James Ruskin, 21 Jan. 1829

IN THE eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most child writers must have had some practical experience with the forms of materiality entailed in letters exchanged among family and friends. Another form of family dialogue, which became widely familiar to English-speaking child readers starting in the late eighteenth century, was the pedagogical dialogue in fictional form, as developed by Anna Letitia Barbauld, the Edgeworths, and other educationalists. While pedagogical dialogues were not epistolary in form, they fictionalised personal exchanges between children and preceptors, often cast as parents.[1] The two genres were meaningfully juxtaposed for John Ruskin (1819–1900), who underwent a rite of passage to being admitted as a participant in his parents' correspondence at the same time that, in his juvenilia, he imitated dialogues between children and parents by Barbauld and by Maria Edgeworth in order to devise his own fictional dialogues with parents. I investigate how Ruskin's management of fictional dialogues under his control intersected with his participation in family letters, which was managed by his parents, particularly his mother. In the early nineteenth century, both activities entailed material as well as rhetorical guidelines for the child writer, influenced by the print revolution in children's literature, on the one hand, and by letter-writing manuals, on the other.

The period of Ruskin's participation in his family's personal correspondence began as early as 1823, when he was four years old, and intensified in 1827–29, when at ages eight through ten he underwent a supervised initiation into letter writing. The Ruskins were prolific letter-writers throughout John's youth since his father, John James Ruskin, was the traveling partner in the wine import firm of Ruskin, Telford,

Journal of Juvenilia Studies 5.1 (2023), pp. 10–43. DOI:10.29173/jjs94

and Domecq. Each year, John James was compelled to spend weeks away from home, traveling to customers throughout the country. During these absences, John James exchanged letters regularly with his wife, Margaret, but not directly with his son, John, until 1829. Meanwhile, between 1827 and 1829, John indited his first letters to his father in his own hand, but these were conveyed by his mother acting as censor and intermediary. Simultaneously, starting in 1826, and carrying through 1829, he devised accounts of his family home life and travels in dialogue form, melding evidently real events with episodes adapted from Barbauld's *Evenings at Home* (1792–96); Maria Edgeworth's final installments in her *Early Lessons* series, *Frank: A Sequel to Early Lessons* (1822) and *Harry and Lucy Concluded: Being the Last Part of Early Lessons* (1825); and Jeremiah Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* (1800–05). Ruskin's dialogues, the three volumes that he entitled "Harry and Lucy Concluded," are contained in three stationer's notebooks (MS I, MS III, MS IIIA),[2] each approximately ten by fifteen centimetres, and each of which Ruskin introduced with a title page modeled on Edgeworth's book of the same title. The notebooks also contain poems and drawings composed contemporaneously with the dialogues. For this article, I will focus primarily on Ruskin's first volume (MS I), composed in 1826–27, and completed a few months before he attempted his "first written letter" to his father.[3]

Ruskin fair-copied his dialogues in MS I by, like many child writers of the period, forming his characters on the basis of typography used in his books. He improvised a method to justify left and right margins like a typeset text block, and he combined features that were not found together in any one of his sources (e.g., he began MS I with a title page modeled on Edgeworth's *Harry and Lucy Concluded* but incorporated drawings labeled as *plates*, divided the text into numbered chapters, and appended an anthology entitled "Poetry," features that do not appear in Edgeworth's book). All this, according to the title page, was "Printed and composed by a little boy / and also drawn." This assertive agency in marshalling features of the material book is matched by Ruskin's knowing adaptation of Edgeworth's narrative, which, as we will see, reverses the arduous trials of Edgeworth's heroes, resulting in triumph for his own personae.

Likewise, in his first letters written to his father, Ruskin matched precocious penmanship with a confident and at times brashly "dar[ing]" rhetoric.[4] His mother discouraged flashy displays of penmanship, which she perceived as a preoccupation with the materiality of letter writing. In her view, the purpose of family letters lay, not in the artefact, but in the writer's feelings, which should be confessed sincerely and transparently. Ruskin's "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I," with its feisty personae and precocious materiality, can be read as subverting his mother's attempts to constrain his writing, which she sometimes dismissed as a waste of paper or eyed as potentially disrespectful. To rein in his letters within bounds of respectfulness, she cited rules from letter-writing manuals. Ruskin could dodge the rules, but the disagreement over the value of materiality in his writing seems to have struck closer to home—a value that was apparent to Ruskin as a child of the print revolution of

the 1820s to '30s but that to his mother seemed antithetical to confession of feeling, which for her could be achieved only by freeing speech from what she called *things on paper* (*RFL* 172; 21 January 1829).

Ruskin's Rite of Passage as a Family Correspondent

Until 1829, when Ruskin turned ten, Margaret exercised control over his communications to his father, sending his letters only under cover of her own, subject to her commentary, and forwarding only letters she deemed worthy of mailing, while withholding others for John James's return home. Margaret finally loosened these controls during the first two months of 1829, and, starting in March, John and John James corresponded with one another directly, without Margaret's intervention.[5]

Margaret Ruskin's supervision suggests that much remains to be learned about child writers' epistolary rites of passage in the nineteenth century. Susan Whyman, who has studied how British children achieved epistolary literacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, characterises these parents as "obsessed" with encouraging their children's letter-writing skills as early as possible. Perceiving this literacy as forging "strengthened family relationships and social networks," parents invested in "a well-mentored rite of passage that provided entry into the adult world for both sexes." For both boys and girls in both elite and nonelite social classes, the "end-products" of this training became fairly uniform in their material features since, after the mid-eighteenth century, "this was a period when letters became standardized" (44). With broad investment in epistolary literacy across classes and a rising standard of uniformity owing to instruction by writing masters and letter-writing manuals,[6] Whyman finds differences less in the material letter than in the motivations for epistolary literacy by elite versus nonelite families. Elites set high standards for children's epistolary literacy from a belief that, "at the first moment of written self-expression, entering epistolary networks was an expected right," whereas merchant families set equally "high aspirations for their offspring" from a concern for how epistolary literacy "was linked to … business and social mobility" (33, 36; see also 30–45).

In the next century, mercantile ambitions would have remained relevant to writing instruction in the Ruskin family. John James recorded household accounts using a large, old-fashioned round hand, and John fair-copied some of his literary efforts in prebound volumes that appear to have originated as merchant ledgers.[7] For children who came of age as writers after 1800, however, I suggest that the material letter may have gained additional significance from the child writer's awareness of the print revolution, which influenced his or her other forms of juvenilia. Aileen Fyfe has shown that the printed pedagogical dialogue differed in conversation style according to religious differences, Dissenter authors tending to employ an open-ended

conversational mode that invited a child's questioning curiosity, Evangelical authors tending to constrain dialogue to a path set by the parental guide. These differences in pedagogical approach were reflected in the appearance of dialogue on the page (286–88, 280–81). One would expect to find connections between child writers' responses to the pedagogy acquired from print and their responses to the home training of their epistolary hand.

Margaret Ruskin's comments about John's early letters reflect her ambivalence about the relation of "things on paper" to direct speech, which, as we will see, she privileged as a more direct indicator of John's thoughts and feelings. On 21 January 1829, when forwarding a letter by John to his father, she commented on its overleaf: "John does not know there is any difference in putting things on paper from saying them" (*RFL* 172). On the one hand, Margaret suggests that John *should* use greater formality even in personal letters to family and close friends.[8] Her remark can be matched with the advice of letter-writing manuals, which she had perhaps learned to consult as a girl when attending Mrs. Rice's Academy for Ladies in Croydon.[9] Manuals advised children to refrain from addressing parents on paper in the manner they would casually speak to them. For adults, the advice was the opposite, urging that familiar letters "should be like conversation," composed as if "to speak to the person were he present … without affectation" (*Complete* 38). Especially for Britons, an *easy,* conversational style was identified with Englishness, in opposition to the elaborate formalities prescribed by French manuals (Whyman 29–30).[10] Nonetheless, children were expected to exhibit greater formality in order to convey respect (Brant 35). A manual designed for "young persons," such as the *Classical English Letter-Writer,* while recommending "ease and simplicity in epistolary composition" to the child writer, qualified that goal with rules assuring "correctness and propriety" (Frank ix).[11] Such standards of propriety should, it was said, be bred into children's speech from infancy (Mahoney 419).

While Margaret encouraged the ease and simplicity of speech, she was anxiously bent on maintaining proprieties. Even after she conceded an end to John's rite of passage as a family correspondent, declaring on 4 March 1829 that she would henceforth "let Johns [*sic*] letters come just as he writes them" (*RFL* 185), she pressed enforcement of the manuals' rules on her husband: "If you think of writing John"—a momentous decision for the family correspondence, which John James would fulfill shortly, with a letter dated 10 March—"would you impress on him the propriety of not beginning too eagerly and becoming careless towards the end of his works as he calls them[.] I think in a letter from you it would have great weight" (*RFL* 187).[12] Margaret's criticism that John "often spoils a good beginning from not taking the trouble to think and concluding in a hurry" corresponds to a rule commonly found in the manuals to "think what you are *going* to write" "before you *begin* to write" lest "through hurry and want of thought" you become "bewildered" and "appear ridiculous on paper" before you get "to the end" (*Complete* 40). As John verged on independence as a family correspondent, Margaret was doubtless anxious that he

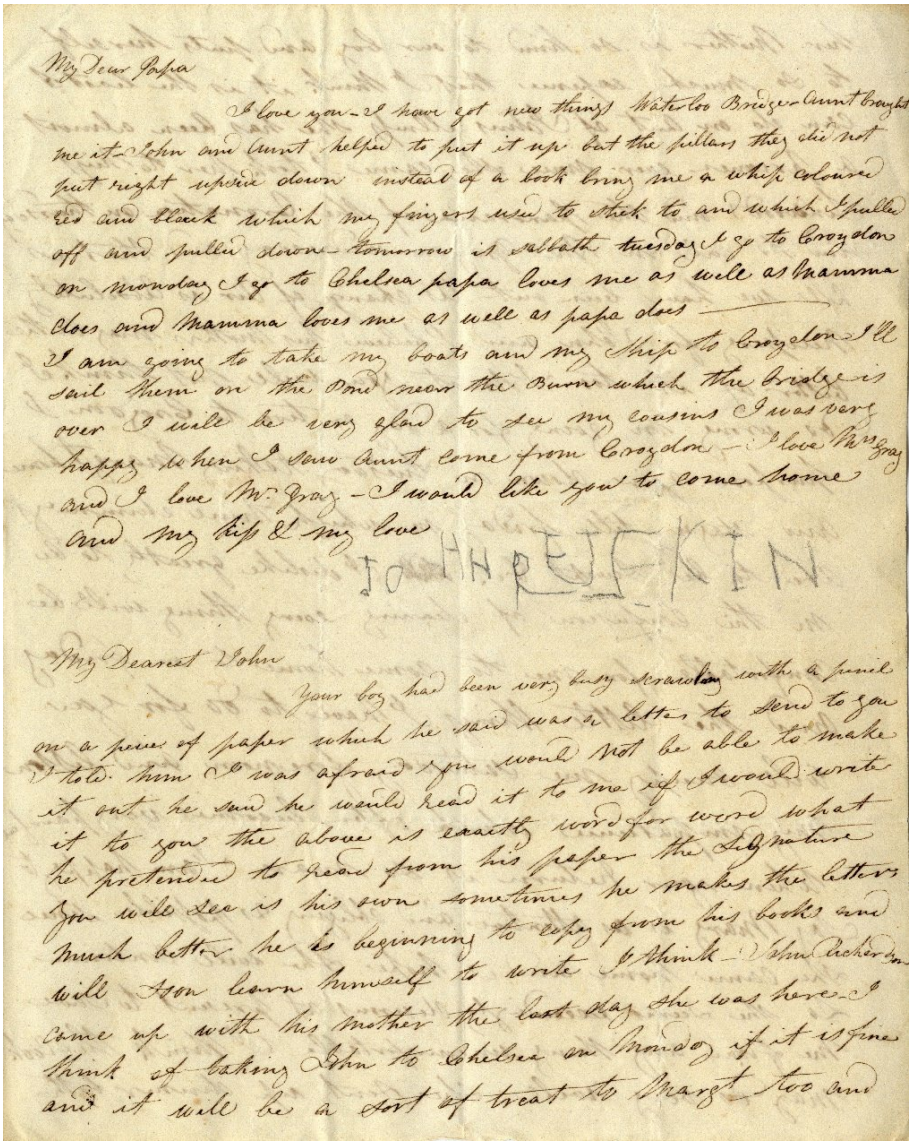
uphold proprieties in his "things on paper," whether letters or other compositions. Even "[i]n writing to the most intimate friend," a manual warned young persons, "[e]ase and simplicity in epistolary composition" does not justify a "slovenly and negligent manner of writing," which will convey "a disobliging mark of want of respect" (Frank x–xi).

Yet, while stressing the manuals' reminder that "when we take the pen into our hand … 'Litera [*sic*] scripta manet'" (Frank xi), Margaret placed greatest weight on the authenticity and directness of John's voice. Lacking confidence in her own power of expression, Margaret habitually disparaged her letters as *scrawls,* apologising to John James: "I cannot bear to write nor that you should have the trouble of reading much of such scrawls as I must fill my paper with if I were filling it." Instead, she vested her sincerity of expression only in direct personal communication, pleading with her husband "[n]ever" to "judge of my feelings by my letters" and to wait until she could "tell" her husband "all" she has "felt" during his absence "much better as far as … can be expressed by words than by letter" (*RFL* 186; 4 March 1829). Just so, while Margaret imposed rules on John's writing to ensure its respectfulness, and she held him to equally strict standards in his recitation—Ruskin later recalling how, in their daily Bible lessons, she required "every sentence … to be said over and over again till she was satisfied with the accent of it" (*Works* 35: 41)—she upheld a somewhat contradictory but overriding concern to avoid obstructing the expression of feeling in his voice. In March 1829, she was ready to "let Johns letters come just as he writes them" not because she decided that he had been converted into a model of tact—far from it, as shown by her exasperation over his carelessness in finishing "his works as he calls them"—but because she wanted John James to hear firsthand this speaking on paper so that he "may not be misled in" his "judgment as to" John's "hopes and feelings" (*RFL* 185). Margaret likely stuck to the rulebooks owing in part to her lack of confidence in her own writing. Yet, while she regarded her husband as superior to her in discernment of feelings as *written,* just as John James was the family reader of poetry,[13] she could claim authority not only over the propriety of both writing and speech ("Mama … tells you what is right," John James reminded his son [*RFL* 190; 10 March 1829]) but also over the authenticity of voice.

Margaret's attentiveness to voice is evident in an episode that resulted in what biographers have described as "Ruskin's first letter," created in March 1823, when he was four years old.[14] Margaret described the circumstances of the letter's composition to John James:

> Your boy has been very busy scrawling with a pencil on a piece of paper which he said was a letter to send to you I told him I was afraid you would not be able to make it out he said he would read it to me if I would write it to you the above is exactly word for word what he pretended to read from his paper the signature you will see is his

> own sometimes he makes the letters much better he is beginning to copy from his books and will soon learn himself to write I think — (*RFL* 128; Figure 1)



My Dear Papa

I love you — I have got new things Waterloo Bridge — Aunt bought me it — John and Aunt helped to put it up but the pillars they did not put right upside down instead of a book bring me a white coloured red and black which my fingers used to stick to and which I pulled off and pulled down — tomorrow is sabbath tuesday I go to Croydon on monday I go to Chelsea papa loves me as well as Mamma does and Mamma loves me as well as papa does —

I am going to take my boats and my Ship to Croydon I'll sail them on the Pond near the Barn which the bridge is over I will be very glad to see my cousins I was very happy when I saw Aunt come from Croydon — I love Mrs Gray and I love Mr Gray — I would like you to come home and my kiss & my love

JOHN RUSKIN

My Dearest John

Your boy has been very busy scrawling with a pencil on a piece of paper which he said was a letter to send to you I told him I was afraid you would not be able to make it out he said he would read it to me if I would write it to you the above is exactly word for word what he pretended to read from his paper the Lily nature you will see is his own sometimes he makes the letters much better he is beginning to copy from his books and will soon learn himself to write I think — John Richardson came up with his mother the last day she was here — I think of taking John to Chelsea on Monday if it is fine and it will be a sort of treat to Margt too and

Fig. 1. Margaret Ruskin and John Ruskin to John James Ruskin, 15 March 1823, 1r. 1996L01675 and 1996L01675/1 © The Ruskin, Lancaster University.

Margaret positions herself as a conduit, not as an editor or a translator, taking down John's letter "exactly word for word." She is comparatively dismissive of his "scrawling with a pencil"—*scrawl* being the term of contempt she habitually applied to her own letter writing—and interprets his dictation as "pretend[ing] to read from

his paper." Of John's writing, she values only his signature, which she emphasises is "his own," authenticating speech.

Margaret's interpretation is belied, however, by the four-year-old's clarity that he "would read … from his paper," bargaining with his mother to "write it" better so that his father would be able to "make it out." A remarkable agency is reflected in the arrangement of words, as if he saw the words spatially, corresponding to his vivid relatedness to things and persons:

> My Dear Papa
>
> I love you — I have got new things Waterloo Bridge — Aunt brought me it[15] — John and Aunt helped to put it up but the pillars they did not put right upside down instead of a book bring me a whip coloured red and black which my fingers used to stick to and which I pulled off and pulled down — tomorrow is sabbath tuesday I go to Croydon on monday I go to Chelsea papa loves me as well as Mamma does and Mamma loves me as well as papa does —
>
> I am going to take my boats and my Ship to Croydon I'll sail them on the Pond near the Burn which the Bridge is over I will be very glad to see my cousins I was very happy when I saw Aunt come from Croydon — I love M^{rs}. Gray and I love M^{r}. Gray[16] — I would like you to come home and my kiss & my love
>
> JOHN RUSKIN
>
> (*RFL* 127–28; Figure 1)

Ruskin establishes his agency in part by ownership ("I have got new things") but mainly and more significantly, as Sheila Emerson explains (21), by articulating the construction of things—a whip with a handle that his grasp stuck to so that he "pulled [it] off and … down"; a model bridge that his aunt and twenty-year-old cousin John "did not put right" but that he knew how to put right side up. As Margaret predicted, he would soon "learn himself to write" by "copy[ing] from his books"—scrutinising how the construction of those objects likewise organised speech in spatial and material forms.

The peculiarity of Margaret's attentiveness to John's voice can be measured by comparison with Mrs. Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* (1778–79). Intended for young readers aged two to four, the *Lessons* was among the first mother/child dialogues in British children's literature. Here, unlike in Margaret's word-for-word transcription, the mother's voice dominates and ventriloquises the child's voice. By comparison, Ruskin's own words seem more authentic, although Margaret's lack of commentary renders the transcription oddly, if unintentionally, speculative and opaque in expression. The transcription records statements of feelings—John's love, his being

loved, his happiness—whereas Barbauld's more intrusive maternal voice conveys an emotionally evocative interaction:

> Papa, where is Charles?
> Ah! where is the little boy?
> Papa cannot find the little boy. Lie still. Do not stir.
> Ah! here he is. He is under mamma's apron.
> Ride upon papa's cane.
> Here is a whip. Whip away.
> Make haste, horse.
> . . . . . .
> Here is a slate for you, and here is a pencil.
> Now sit down on the carpet and write. (pt. 1, pp. 12, 16)

In Barbauld's *Lessons,* the child's voice, which belongs to a boy, Charles, does gradually emerge in the pronoun *I*, yet the mother's and child's voices remain overlapping and difficult to distinguish from one another. Identity seems to float indefinably between the child's voice and the mother's:

> … how many legs have the chickens?
> Go and look. [*Are both the question and the imperative Mamma's?*]
> The chickens have only two legs. [*Is this Charles returning with the answer or Mamma supplying the answer?*]
> And the linnets, and the robins, and all the birds, have only two legs.
> But I will tell you [*Mamma's instructional voice, similar to her phrase,* I have a great deal to tell you, *at the start of* Lessons, pt. 2] what birds have got; they have got wings to fly with, and they fly very high in the air.
> Charles has no wings. [*Is this Charles speaking about himself? Hereafter, the repeated use of the third person to refer to Charles renders the speakers' identities especially ambiguous.*]
> No, because Charles is not a bird.
> Charles has got hands. Cows have no hands, and birds have no hands.
> Have birds teeth? No, they have no teeth. [*Now perhaps Charles is questioning and Mamma replying.*]
> How do they eat their victuals then?
> Birds have got a bill. Look at the chickens, they pick up the corn

> in their little bills. See how fast they pick it up. [*The mother's imperatives cannot be clearly distinguished from the child's observations.*]
>
> Charles's mouth is soft; the chicken's bill is hard like bone.
>
> (pt. 2, pp. 44–46, 3)

Compared to this dominant mother's voice, Margaret and John's joint letter reveals Margaret as the dedicated listener, resistant to swallowing the child's identity in her own. Yet the blended mother-and-child voice in Barbauld's fictional dialogue enlivens the scene with wonder, excitement, and joy.

The dominant maternal voice in Barbauld is also advantaged in supporting a clear educational purpose, as compared with Margaret's passively allowing John to "learn himself to write." Scholars of the *Lessons* acknowledge the dominance of the mother's voice but justify her promptings as pedagogically innovative, directing the child's observation to discover meaning in ordinary objects (McCarthy 201–04)—as, for example, in the passage quoted above, by studying the bodily parts of birds and comparing them with Charles's own body. It is argued that, by "initially constraining" the child's voice and directing his observations, Barbauld prepares for an "eventually liberating" education as the boy works through progressively more "complex variations of a paradigm" (Robbins 140).[17] By comparison, Margaret's educational plan for John seems trusting, albeit passive-aggressive—observing his independent development but prepared to censure his violations of rules once he begins to write.

Conflict over his writing emerged in April and May 1827 when at age eight John produced what Margaret called his "first written letter" (*RFL* 156; 28 April 1827). By the designation *written,* she perhaps referred to a letter in John's own hand as opposed to a message dictated to her as an amanuensis. She may also have meant *written* to refer to John's cursive hand, which among surviving letters is first exhibited in May 1827.[18] The letter also documents another stage in the materiality of John's writing as he exchanges a pencil for a pen and ink, which, as his mother reported, he was "much delighted at being able to use" (*RFL* 156).[19] The letter begins in cursive script written in pencil, but closes with cursive written in ink. Following the close of the letter proper, Ruskin added two poems, still using pen and ink but switching to print lettering (Figure 2).[20] (Perhaps, at this early stage of managing a pen, printing came more easily to him than did cursive.)

For Margaret, the significance of this "first written letter" lay not in its adoption of a new medium, which so delighted John, but in its expression of thought and feeling. She reported to her husband: "I believe the showing you his writing occupied his thoughts fully more than how he expressed his feelings *so you must excuse that*" (*RFL* 156; emphasis added). Far from perceiving anything to be excused in John's showing off his orthography, John James immediately purchased a copybook for instructing pen-and-ink calligraphy. Moreover, acquisition of this particular copybook—one of the publications by the writing master Edmund Butterworth—signaled a father-to-

son inheritance and coming of age, since Butterworth was the writing master who taught at Edinburgh High School when John James was a student there.[21] Symbolically, at least, John James was taking over his son's writing instruction, which until now had presumably been overseen by Margaret despite John's "learn[ing] himself to write" from books. (While Ruskin's boyhood printed lettering resembles

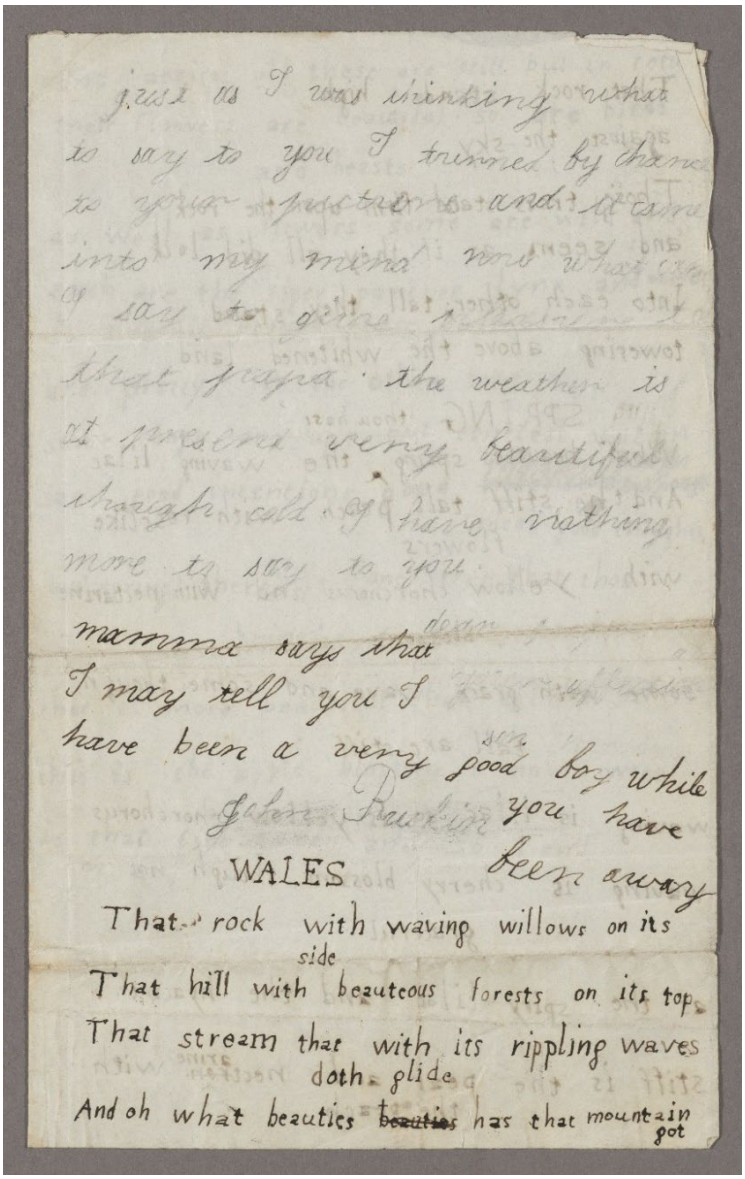

just as I was thinking what
to say to you I turned by chance
to your picture and it came
into my mind
that papa the weather is
at present very beautiful
though cold I have nothing
more to say to you
mamma says that
I may tell you I
have been a very good boy while
you have
been away
WALES
That rock with waving willows on its side
That hill with beauteous forests on its top
That stream that with its rippling waves doth glide
And oh what beauties ~~beauties~~ has that mountain got

Fig. 2. John Ruskin to John James Ruskin, May 1827. Charles Eliot Norton Papers, MS Am 1088, (5955), Box 32, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Ruskin wrote the letter on a folded sheet, starting in pencil on the outer side, with the fold to the right; continuing in pencil and ink on the opposite outer side, with the fold to the left (shown); and ending with poems fair-copied in ink, on the inside of the folded sheet.

serif and display fonts in his books, his cursive hand resembles his mother's.) Later, when Ruskin was allowed to write letters to his father on his own, he plundered Butterworth's copybook for fancy calligraphy (Figure 3).

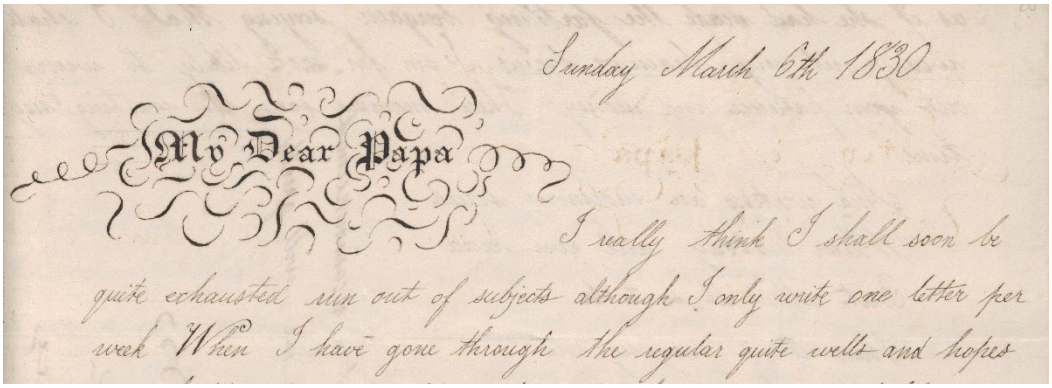
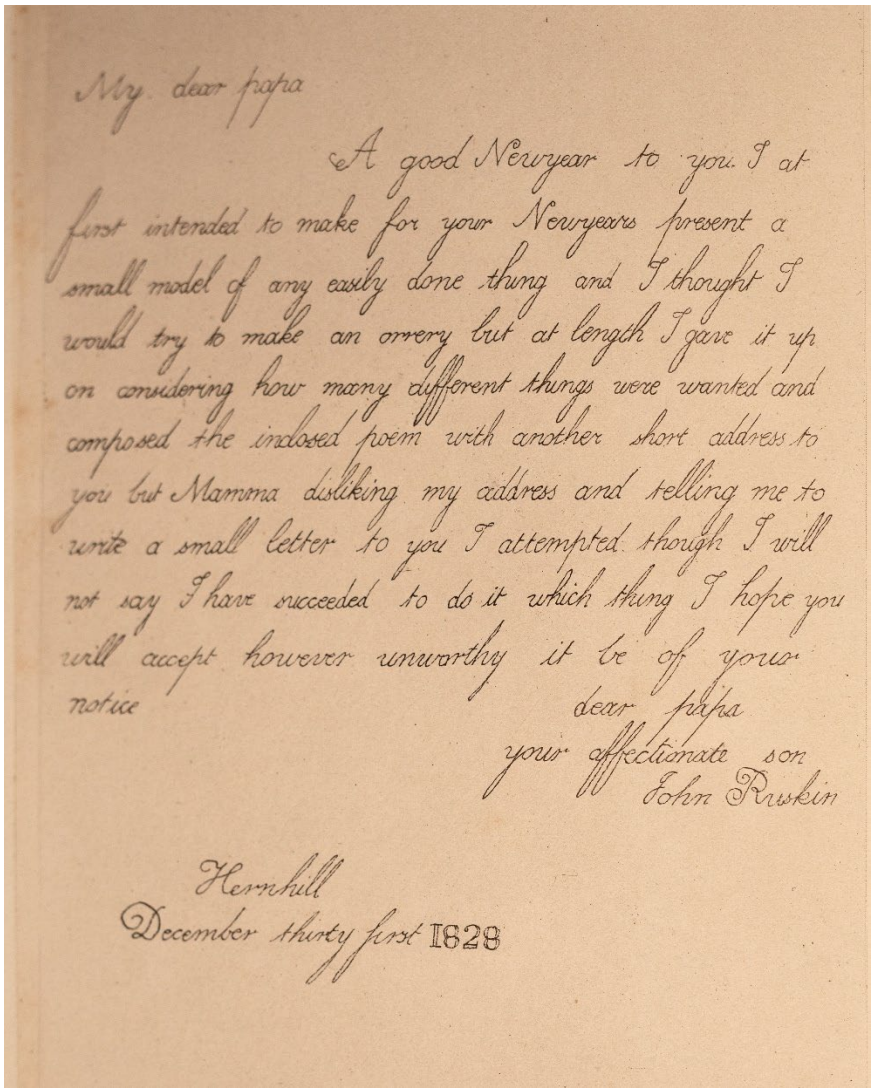


Fig. 3. John Ruskin to John James Ruskin, 6 March 1830, 1r (detail). Bound in MS XI, John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Ruskin's salutation combining black-letter text set in a florid oval resembles the section headers in Butterworth's Young Arithmeticians Instructor.

Over the ensuing two years (1827–29), as Margaret conveyed John's letters to his father only under cover of her own, sometimes judging them unfit to send at all (see, e.g., *RFL* 166), her interdictions seem fixated on material aspects of the letters. From May 1828, for example, there survives a fragmentary draft *for* a letter—not the letter itself—that Ruskin intended for his father's birthday but that foundered on Margaret's objections to its materials. The draft begins "a letter on your birthday," only to switch to what sounds like Margaret's criticism: "[B]ut this is merely wasting paper when there is no need for it. But, papa, alas I have just been up to mama and she says not to make such a long letter so papa good bye / My Papa / Your affectionate son / John Ruskin" ("a letter" 9r). Similarly, a letter for New Year's Eve, 31 December 1828, consists mainly of relaying Margaret's insistence on "a small letter" (*RFL* 170; Figure 4).

Margaret's insistence on scaling down John's efforts indicates that she would no longer "excuse" his preoccupation with "showing you his writing." While he kept his New Year's Eve letter obediently brief and neatly fair-copied in copperplate hand,[22] he took imitation of typography to extremes in two poems associated with the letter. In one, an untitled sixteen lines, his intention may have been to keep the poem brief and the hand "small," to correspond with the letter, by using a tiny (compared to his copperplate) print hand suggestive of a printer's serif font, with marginal line numbering (*RFL* 171; Figure 5). In a second poem, "A Battle: Irregular Measure," produced for presentation on that same New Year's Eve (Figure 6), Ruskin took on a project so grand that his persona, "Harry," boasted about the accomplishment in

the (incomplete) "Harry and Lucy Concluded" for that season (vol. 3): "All the poems which he had yet given to his father were in what Harry called single print but he was printing this [poem] double."[23] This *double lettering,* which Ruskin probably imitated from a display font used on the engraved title pages of his copies of Pope's *Iliad* and Dryden's Virgil (Figure 7),[24] first appears in volume 1 of his "Harry and Lucy Concluded" but was limited to decorating some capital letters. In "A Battle," almost every letter gets the double treatment.


My dear papa

A good Newyear to you. I at first intended to make for your Newyears present a small model of any easily done thing and I thought I would try to make an orrery but at length I gave it up on considering how many different things were wanted and composed the inclosed poem with another short address to you but Mamma disliking my address and telling me to write a small letter to you I attempted though I will not say I have succeeded to do it which thing I hope you will accept however unworthy it be of your notice

dear papa
your affectionate son
John Ruskin

Hernhill
December thirty first 1828

Fig. 4. John Ruskin to John James Ruskin, 31 December 1828, from a facsimile in The Poems of John Ruskin, *vol. 1, between pp. 20 and 21. Collection of the author; photo Dusty Cooper Productions.*

Margaret's attempts to curtail these exhibitions presumably arose from a concern that John's preoccupation with the material artefact impeded or masked the flow of

authentic feeling. Her decision soon after the New Year's Eve presentation to "let Johns letters come just as he writes them" may represent, not a concession to the artefact, but a shift in strategy to expose his feelings—a strategy possibly derived, ironically, from a writing manual. The *Classical English Letter-Writer* recommends sending children's letters without correction, "in the state in which they come from the pupils' own hands," in order to open the "feelings of their minds" to be viewed and encouraged by the parent:

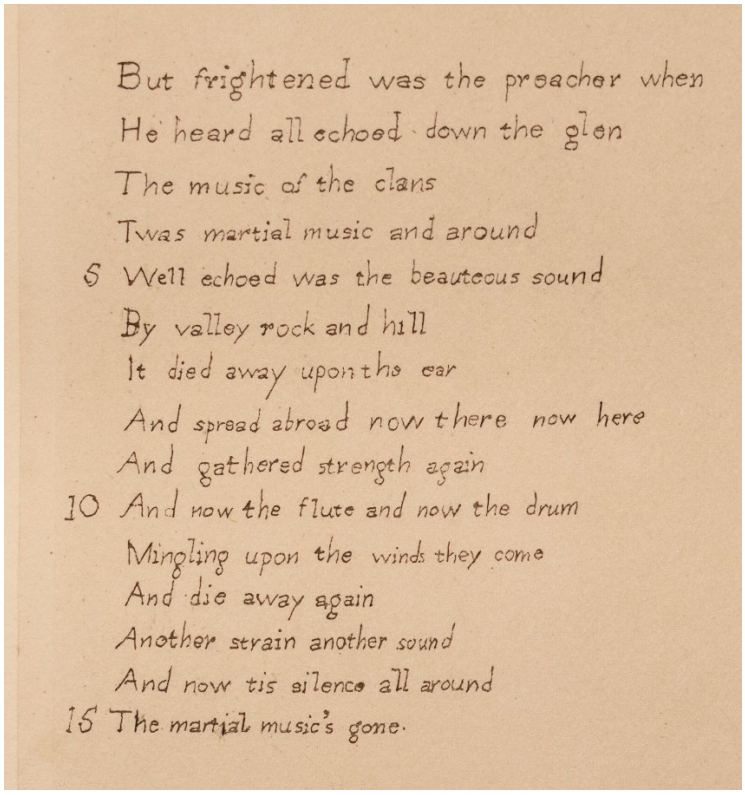
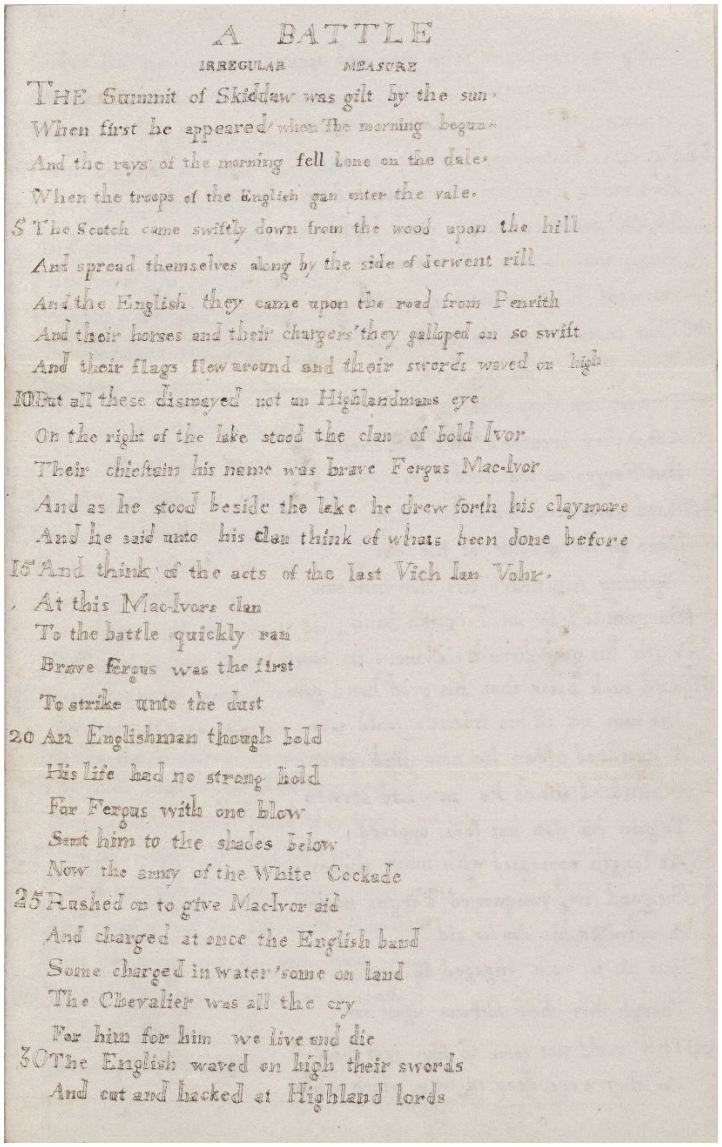

But frightened was the preacher when
He heard all echoed down the glen
The music of the clans
Twas martial music and around
Well echoed was the beauteous sound
By valley rock and hill
It died away upon the ear
And spread abroad now there now here
And gathered strength again
And now the flute and now the drum
Mingling upon the winds they come
And die away again
Another strain another sound
And now tis silence all around
The martial music's gone.

Fig. 5. John Ruskin, "But frightened was the preacher when," 31 December 1828, from a facsimile in The Poems of John Ruskin, *vol. 1, between pp. 20 and 21. Collection of the author; photo Dusty Cooper Productions.*

> [T]he letters should always be sent exactly in the state in which they come from the pupils' own hands, except the occasion be very important, and the writers very urgent to be allowed to correct and transcribe their little performances. Thus, will some of the best and most operative feelings of their minds be powerfully excited; their application, their desire of improvement, will be quickened; and they will probably look forward, with anxious expectation, to a future opportunity of gratifying themselves and their friends, by an

> exhibition of their enlarged abilities and attainments. It is scarcely necessary to add that these letters should be voluntary, not compelled; rather allowed as a privilege, than required as a task. (Frank viii)



A BATTLE

IRREGULAR MEASURE

THE Summit of Skiddaw was gilt by the sun
When first he appeared when the morning begun
And the rays of the morning fell lone on the dale
When the troops of the English gan enter the vale.
The Scotch came swiftly down from the wood upon the hill
And spread themselves along by the side of derwent rill
And the English they came upon the road from Penrith
And their horses and their chargers they galloped on so swift
And their flags flew around and their swords waved on high
But all these dismayed not an Highlandmans eye
On the right of the lake stood the clan of bold Ivor
Their chieftain his name was brave Fergus Mac-Ivor
And as he stood beside the lake he drew forth his claymore
And he said unto his clan think of whats been done before
And think of the acts of the last Vich Ian Vohr.
At this Mac-Ivors clan
To the battle quickly ran
Brave Fergus was the first
To strike unto the dust
An Englishman though bold
His life had no strong hold
For Fergus with one blow
Sent him to the shades below
Now the army of the White Cockade
Rushed on to give Mac-Ivor aid
And charged at once the English band
Some charged in water some on land
The Chevalier was all the cry
For him for him we live and die
The English waved on high their swords
And cut and hacked at Highland lords

Fig. 6. John Ruskin, "A Battle: Irregular Measure," 31 December 1828, 1r. Bound in MS XI, John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

As Margaret began passing along John's letters to John James without check, she echoed this manual's advice that, while an adult may point out errors "in orthography or in punctuation, in language or in sentiment," and explain how to correct them, "no fault" must "be corrected by a teacher or friend" (Frank viii). As Margaret explained:

"I do not like to check or point out faults lest I might make that a labour which is at present done with perfect ease & delight" (*RFL* 176; 14 February 1829).

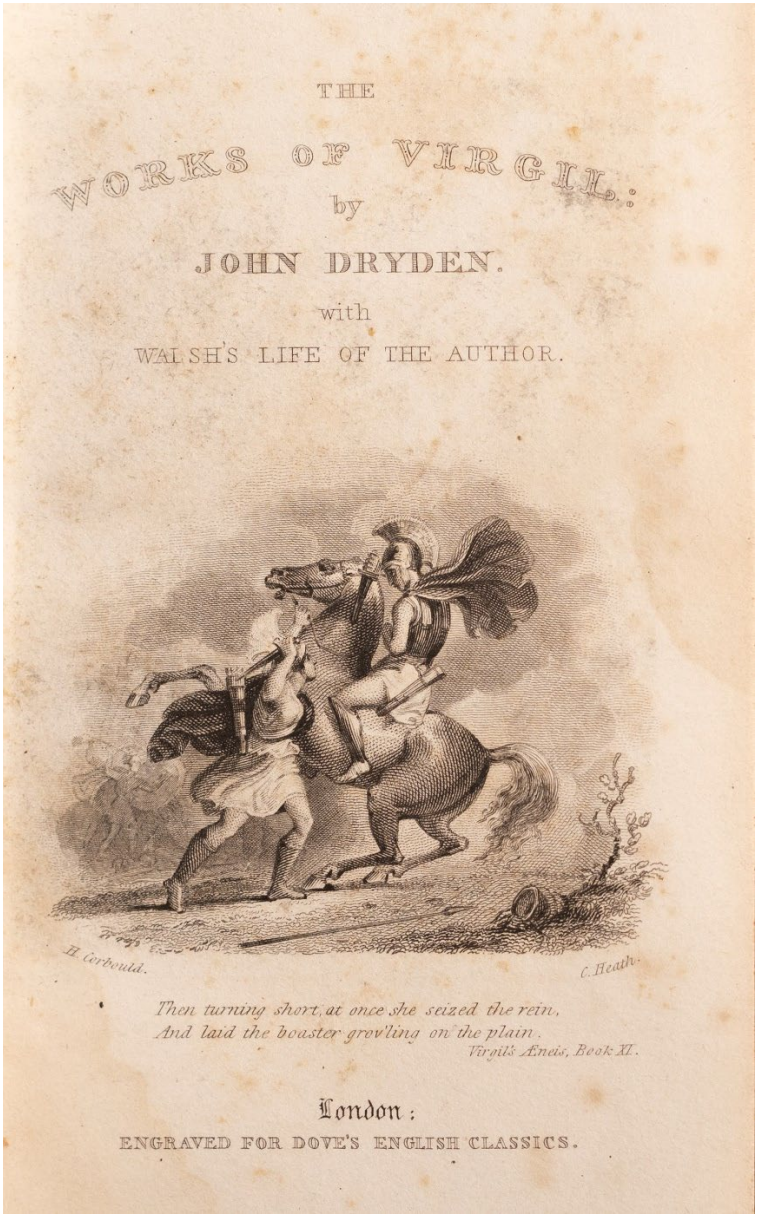


Fig. 7. The Works of Virgil, *translated by John Dryden (London: Dove's English Classics, [1825]), title page. The engraved typeface used for the publisher's name likely served as a model for Ruskin's* double lettering. *Collection of the author; photo Dusty Cooper Productions.*

The term *ease* appears frequently in letter-writing manuals to characterise the English conversational style, but it carried a special resonance within the Ruskin

family. For Margaret, "ease & delight" signaled a shared identity between father and son as writers: John, she declared to her husband, "promises to inherit your talent of writing letters with astonishing ease," a quality she defines as the talent "of *expressing* all he wishes on paper with all his papas superiority," therefore assuring her that John's feelings were exposed and not just his material facility (*RFL* 176, emphasis added; 14 February 1829). For the Ruskins, ease of expression was cherished because there was a time when it was denied to John James.

In earlier, more difficult years, prior to marriage, John James suffered from a "habitual gloom" that, in "all my late Letters," he admitted to his mother, displaced "that Heart*sease* character that my juvenile writings possessed" (*RFL* 57; 5 October 1812). He struggled with the improvident debts of his father, John Thomas Ruskin, who, in 1815, fell into a severe mental disorder. Moreover, both his father and his mother, Catherine, distressed the young couple by opposing their marriage. Finally, in the terrible year 1817, Catherine unexpectedly died, as did Margaret's mother, and these losses were shockingly followed by John Thomas's suicide. Even before this catastrophe, John James felt oppressed by "[s]o many subjects of gloomy & weighty cast …" that he had "never felt" himself "sufficiently free to dwell on pleasanter thoughts or express them to others" (*RFL* 81; 20 May 1816). After John James and Margaret's long-delayed marriage in 1818 (by which time, both were in their thirties) and the birth of a healthy son in 1819, ease of expressivity became the measure of hard-won household happiness and peace.

Margaret rejoiced in John James's restored expressiveness, "lifted up" by the "sincerity" of a husband who could "be *candid*" and "freely expose his sentiments." In her view, a false idea of masculinity that prevented a man from exposing his feelings would reduce her to a merely passive "receiver" of letters, proving his lack of "esteem" for her. This "would greatly grieve me," she wrote, "for there" would be "something like contempt … running along under every calm word" (*RFL* 99; 2 April 1821). For Margaret, then, a sign that their son would "inherit" his father's "talent of writing letters with astonishing ease" confirmed that their troubled years lay behind them.

Margaret's watchfulness for authentic feeling in the family correspondence should not be obscured by her anxiety to regulate things on paper by resorting to writing-manual rules. In recent scholarship on letter writing, the influence of the manuals has increasingly been treated with skepticism, given that their advice was often contradictory both within and between manuals. As an alternative approach, Trev Broughton has demonstrated how a nineteenth-century family correspondence (in Broughton's example, the family letters of the painter John Constable) could "constitute a literature of advice" in itself (82). Broughton shows how Constable's mother, Ann, shrewdly deployed an epistolary persona of maternal anxiety, not merely to mete out static advice from manuals, but to maintain "an engaged and enhanced sociability" by negotiating the "family correspondence as transaction" (86, 82). In Margaret Ruskin's case, the currency for transactions of advice and response

was sincerity of expression. John James met this standard in his ardent, even erotic letters, and Margaret returned a promissory note of feeling, redeemable on her husband's homecoming.

In this moral economy of feeling, a child writer of course stood at a disadvantage, lacking the status to engage in an epistolary transaction of any sort, much less one of advice, and that is why John's initiation into the family correspondence called for a rite of passage (despite the somewhat contradictory expectation that he *prove* an ease of expression that he supposedly inherited). In a 19 January 1829 letter by John that Margaret considered "so much like some of" John James's "own early productions that" she "did not like to keep it back" (*RFL* 171–72; 21 January 1829), John seems to probe for a transactional opening in his parents' correspondence where he can gain a footing. His letter begins by risking a casual salutation, "My dear Daddy," prompting his mother to comment on overfamiliarity—"I am certain," she told John James, that "with all the freedom he has he has not a thought or feeling towards you inconsistent with the reverence and love a child ought to feel towards a parent" (*RFL* 172). Anticipating the concern, John immediately acknowledges the impropriety: "Pardon such a disrespectful beginning." He justifies this liberty on the grounds that his father had made an opening: "I thought that you having sent to mamma such a droll letter I might try to send to you a sort of a kind of a half of a half of a half of a half of a half of a jest" (*RFL* 172; 19 January 1829).[25] By matching his father's wit, he will win a place in the correspondence.

The droll event that John contributes was in itself a transaction of emotion, causing him to transition from passive listening and writing to active engagement. He and his cousin, Mary Richardson, were so taken by a "beautiful Sermon" delivered by their clergyman, Edward Andrews, that they were "putting it down" in writing for John James "to look at" when he came home. Not satisfied with their passive dictation of Edwards's voice, however, they decided to go "out in a hunt after" the preacher, whom they "really and truly met … running full-speed" in the street (*RFL* 173). This proactive gambit is elaborated in another letter marking John's advance as a correspondent—this one the first surviving letter to someone outside the family circle. In a letter written a few months later to Mrs. Monro, a parent of John James and Margaret's close friends the Grays, he describes the manoeuvres whereby they "jumped" into Andrews's path to meet the preacher "bounce in the face." Even the sermon dictation is characterised as less passive, more of a choice, as John explains he had "always liked" Dr. Andrews as a preacher, "but of late" he "began to attend to his sermons and write them in a book at home." The initiative was rewarded: Papa "seeing how fond I was of the doctor—and knowing him to be an excellent latin scholar ~~bought~~ got him for me as a tutor." John goes on to enthuse over Andrews's interactive teaching—an account that, in the manuscript, is written over top of a sketch of a male adult profile, showing a slight smile in the lower lip (Figures 8*a, b*), which Ruskin perhaps meant to capture how Andrews "makes" him "laugh almost

but not quite to use one of his own expressions" (although frowning profiles also lurk beneath the script):

> [H]e is so funny comparing Neptunes lifting up the wrecked ships of eenaes with his trident to my lifting up a potatoe with my fork or taking a piece of bread out of a bowl of milk with a spoon and as he is always saying of that kind as relating some droll anecdote as explaining the part of virgil the book which I am in very nicely I am always delighted when … he comes (Letter to Mrs. Monro, 16v)

In this coming of age simultaneously as a letter writer and as a Latin scholar—"the coming of the tutor for the first time" representing, as Ruskin later wrote, "a most important aera of my life" (*RFL* 200; 10 May 1829)[26]—he is still awkward in how he represents and participates in transactions. He commits the slip of treating his tutor as an object—a thing that his father "bought," as he first wrote—yet misses out the word *things* when referring to direct speech ("saying [things] of that kind"). He is excited, however, by the transactional "almost but not quite" experience of emerging from the "book which" he is "in" into Andrews's interpersonal exchange of "droll anecdote."

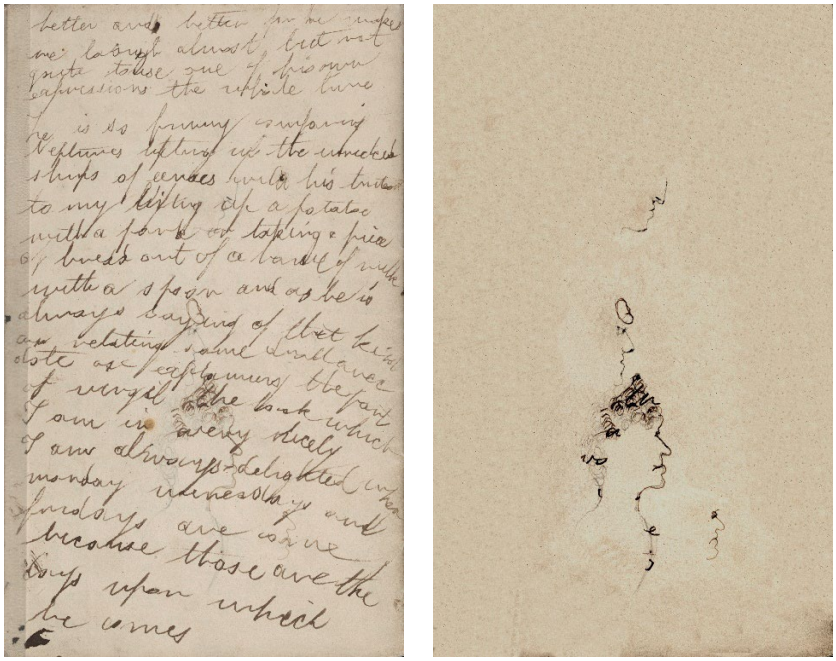
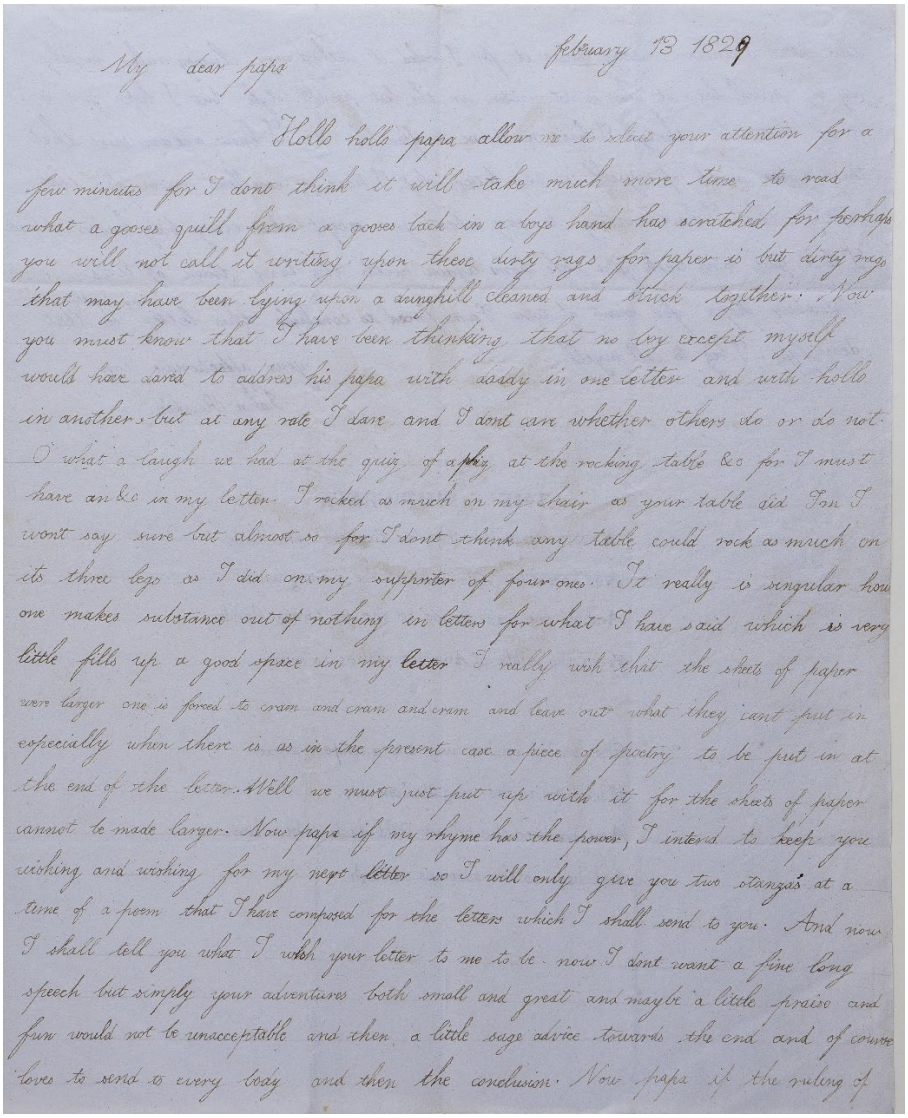


Fig. 8. (a) Draft of John Ruskin to Mrs. Monro, n.d. (ca. 1829), 16v. In MS II, John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. (b) Same detail with handwriting digitally erased to reveal the underlying pen-and-ink drawings. Photo Dusty Cooper Productions.

Ruskin emerges from this experience by inversely mirroring his mother's ambivalence about the value and propriety of "putting things on paper" as compared with the authenticity of "saying" them. Abandoning the dullness of transcribing Andrews's speech word for word, he devises interpersonal transactions on paper. In the next letter to his father following the "hunt" for Andrews, Ruskin contrives "to keep" his father "wishing and wishing for" his "next letter" with the lure of a thing on paper. He intends to play out a poem "only two stanzas at a time" having "composed" the poem expressly "for the letters which I shall send to you" (*RFL* 175; 13 February 1829).[27] As Broughton explains, in order for a family correspondence to succeed as a series of transactions, it must function pragmatically by "making things happen" and "self-perpetuating" the exchange (82). John's exchange functions, not on Margaret's terms as a confession of emotion, as close to the spoken word as possible, but ostentatiously as a thing on paper, a discourse of the thingness of writing in itself, and a discourse that will no longer be confined to a "small letter":

> Hollo hollo papa allow me to solicit your attention for a few minutes for I dont think it will take much more time to read what a gooses quill from a gooses back in a boys hand has scratched for perhaps you will not call it writing upon these dirty rags for paper is but dirty rags that may have been lying upon a dunghill cleaned and stuck together. Now you must know that I have been thinking that no boy except myself would have dared to address his papa with daddy in one letter and with hollo in another, but at any rate I dare and I dont care whether others do or do not. O what a laugh we had at the quiz of a phiz at the rocking table &c for I must have an &c in my letter. I rocked as much in my chair as your table did. Im, I won't say sure, but almost so for I dont think any table could rock so much on its three legs as I did on my supporter of four ones. It really is singular how one makes substance out of nothing in letters for what I have said which is very little fills up a good space in my letter I really wish that the sheets of paper were larger (*RFL* 174–75; Figure 9)

Substance is made out of nothing in the Falstaffian sense that Ruskin generates words from words, but the words are strikingly fixated on the materiality of writing them—the quill the boy is holding, the goose it came from, the rags from which the paper is manufactured, the table he writes on with its uneven legs, even the typographic ampersand that makes an etcetera. John James holds up his end in order to keep the poem stanzas coming, by replying with things on paper of his own—calligrams, shapes formed from words arranged as a pyramid or a tail (*RFL* 205, 210; 26 October, 6 November 1829).



My dear papa

February 13 1829

Hollo hollo papa allow me to solicit your attention for a few minutes for I dont think it will take much more time to read what a gooses quill from a gooses back in a boys hand has scratched for perhaps you will not call it writing upon these dirty rags for paper is but dirty rags that may have been lying upon a dunghill cleaned and stuck together. Now you must know that I have been thinking that no boy except myself would have dared to address his papa with daddy in one letter and with hollo in another but at any rate I dare and I dont care whether others do or do not. O what a laugh we had at the grig of a pig at the rocking table &c for I must have an &c in my letter. I rocked as much on my chair as your table did. For I wont say sure but almost so for I dont think any table could rock as much on its three legs as I did on my supporter of four ones. It really is singular how one makes substance out of nothing in letters for what I have said which is very little fills up a good space in my letter. I really wish that the sheets of paper were larger one is forced to cram and cram and cram and leave out what they cant put in especially when there is as in the present case a piece of poetry to be put in at the end of the letter. Well we must just put up with it for the sheets of paper cannot be made larger. Now papa if my rhyme has the power, I intend to keep you wishing and wishing for my next letter so I will only give you two stanzas at a time of a poem that I have composed for the letters which I shall send to you. And now I shall tell you what I wish your letter to me to be. now I dont want a fine long speech but simply your adventures both small and great and maybe a little praise and fun would not be unacceptable and then a little sage advice towards the end and of course loves to send to every body and then the conclusion. Now papa if the ruling of

Fig. 9. John Ruskin to John James Ruskin, 13 February 1829, 1r. 1996L01677
© The Ruskin, Lancaster University.

Things and Interactions in Ruskin's Fictional Family Dialogues

BEFORE Ruskin had any role in the family correspondence, aside from his dictated letter to his father from 1823, his fictional dialogues were driven by the desire to conjure his father. The opening sentence of his "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" (1826–27) introduces the topic of Papa's absence, with "Lucy" observing to "Mamma" that "Papa has gone out to town earlyer than usual" (1). In this dialogue, however, desire is quieted as the chapter pursues a conversation between its personae that is strongly transactional. Based on the mother-daughter dialogues in a favorite

book of Ruskin's, *Evenings at Home* by John Aikin and Mrs. Barbauld,[28] and clearly drawing on actual life at the Ruskin home, Herne Hill, in Camberwell, the tenor of the conversation is characterised by what a "Mamma" in a dialogue by Aikin and Barbauld describes as "the discourse of rational and well-educated people" ("Dialogue of Things to Be Learned," *Evenings at Home* 1: 94).[29] For example, Ruskin's "Mamma" puts to rest Lucy's question about Papa's early departure by explaining that Papa must visit his warehouses, which are located at the docks in the City. Therefore, he is commuting from Camberwell to the City of London, a journey that takes longer than just crossing the bridge into town.

With Papa's whereabouts settled, Lucy embarks on her activities, prompting a series of negotiations with her mother over desire versus duty. Advice is given and taken, as Mamma warns Lucy against going outdoors since rain is impending, and, when Lucy decides instead to stay indoors and continue drawing a "head," which she started the night before, Mamma advises that she had "better go on with that landscape which you were doing last week": "Do one thing at once" (2). Lucy's voice is not absorbed by her mother's, like the voice of Charles in Barbauld's *Lessons,* who is half Lucy's age. Rather, like the dialogues in *Evenings at Home,* the exchange between Ruskin's characters is carried on entirely in direct discourse, with neither indirect discourse nor a third-person narrator deflecting from the characters' rational and amiable transactions. In such a reasonable exchange, material things serve simply as counters: there is a numbering exercise involving Lucy's rabbits, which are multiplying, and a treasure hunt for Lucy's pencils, which have gone missing.

This model of discourse is displaced in chapter 2, which introduces a narrator into the direct dialogue, a style more typical of the final parts of Maria Edgeworth's *Early Lessons*—the books *Frank: A Sequel* and *Harry and Lucy Concluded.* Ruskin's narrator announces that "Papa by this time had come home," and "we shall now have time to attend to harry," whose "history we have hitherto forgot" (9, 10). With personae switched from Lucy and Mamma to Harry, Lucy, and Papa, the episodes become less transactional as the agency of the child personae becomes distinctly more assertive. On Papa's return home, Lucy "marche[s] up to him," demanding that he "hear" her "lessons" (8). Ruskin is reversing the outcome of an episode in *Frank: A Sequel*, in which Papa refuses to hear Frank's Latin lesson because he is too busy. In Edgeworth's tale, when Papa is finally ready to hear Frank's lesson, Frank disgraces himself, having in the meantime procrastinated in learning his Latin properly, distracted by an illustrated edition of English poetry among other entertainments (1: 61–96). Ruskin's Harry and Lucy never disgrace themselves. In fact, Lucy's mother rewards her for reciting her lesson perfectly to her father, although remarking that the child delivered the performance entirely on her own terms: "I was wondering what made Lucy not come to say her lesson to me and now I find out the cause"—that Lucy was temporising until Papa arrived. "Yes said her father" (9).

Edgeworth's objective in *Frank: A Sequel* is, according to the preface, to demonstrate "by what means every father, and still more every mother," can manage a boy's home education to instill the "habit of self-control," thus preparing him to resist danger when away from home at school. The recommended method is to avoid "teazing" the child "with admonition upon every slight occasion," instead "inspiring in his own mind the wish to control himself." This end is to be gained by experience, the "daily, gradual exercise in early childhood" (1: x–xi), consisting of Frank repeatedly thwarting himself as his parents allow him to pursue his outsized ambitions to inevitable ruin. This bracing treatment, a notorious aspect of the Edgeworths' "practical education," was grounded in their revolutionary insight that education must be made systematically gradual and progressive (Douglas 97–101). The influence of Edgeworthian practical education is evident in Ruskin's "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I," but the progressive plan is undermined since rewards are immediate. When Ruskin's Harry and Lucy break a window, their virtuous choice of "coming and telling" Mamma "of it" is rewarded so instantly that the process of internalising self-control is all but eliminated: "Ho ho so that is the reason [for the reward] mamma. Yes that is it my dears" (21).

Similarly, Ruskin played his self-aggrandising adaptation of Edgeworthian practical education to his advantage in his letters. In the 31 December 1828 New Year's Eve letter mentioned earlier, he concedes Margaret's insistence on a "small letter" but frames that concession with a story of having intended "to make for" his father's "Newyears present a small model of any easily done thing and I thought I would try to make an orrery" (*RFL* 170; Figure 4 above). An *orrery* is a model of the solar system, which, as Ruskin's parents may have remembered from Edgeworth's tale, formed one of Frank's unwise attempts at an overly ambitious project. An orrery was a "bold undertaking," given that Frank "did not yet know half" of the "motions" of the planets, but Frank figured "he could learn" the foundational astronomical knowledge "as he went on with his work" since he possessed "a description and an engraving of an orrery" in a book. In keeping with Edgeworth's agenda, Frank's mother allows him to proceed, predicting that "'you will soon find out, by your own experience, what you can, and what you cannot do'" (2: 168–69). In Ruskin's New Year's Eve letter, however, he claims to have forestalled that trial, having "at length" given up the orrery "on considering how many different things were wanted" (*RFL* 170). Does this story represent a transactional contribution to the family correspondence, Ruskin drawing on his fund of wisdom from his books in response to his mother's urging to rein in his exhibitions? Or does he deploy Edgeworth's story in order to push back against Margaret's constraints by laying claim to grandiose ambitions, even as he instantly reaps the reward of having himself tamed his overreaching? We know too little about the letter's context—for example, specifically who was in on the joke based on Edgeworth's text—to gauge any possible self-irony on Ruskin's part.[30] One piece of context available to us, however, suggests that beneath Ruskin's parrying of Margaret's obstruction lay feelings of loss and

disappointment that do not linger with Edgeworth's characters. In the fragmentary poem that accompanies the letter (Figure 5 above), music "die[s] away" until "tis silence all around." Whether one reads Ruskin's transactions in his fictional dialogues as manipulative or cooperative, the theme of loss is a constant.

Sadness and alarm feature also in poems that Ruskin appended to "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I," although here these emotions are resolved. The "Poetry" section appears to have been unplanned at the start of the project since it is not mentioned on the title page, but two or more of the poems reveal that Ruskin understood what was at stake in his mother's moral economy of confession and management of emotion. Excess or mismanaged emotion poses a threat to household peace. In "On Papa's Leaving Home," the sorrow of those left behind by Papa's departure—a sorrow and lack of control that, in the preceding dialogues, is overcome by the rationality or strong agency of the child characters—is exposed more dramatically:

> Papas leaving home was a moment of sorrow
> because he was not to come back to-morrow
> but we thought that the whole was a travel and now
> he might come back in days with the ladies that bow
> The ladies that bow are the pictures and presents
> and we thought that we might have a peep at the peasants
> so we cheered ourselves up with the hope of the days
> When papa might come back again show us the ways
> and please him and please him till all was so well
> that from joy to his sorrow he never has fell. (103–04)

The poem's conditional tenses disquietingly hint at anxiety. Papa *might* come back with "pictures and presents" (oddly named "the ladies that bow," an image suggesting Margaret's self-deprecation in her letters to John James), and the gifts *might* repair Papa's absence. The poem resolves this uncertainty by deflecting sorrow from those at home to Papa himself, who in the end receives the consolation ("please him … that from joy to *his* sorrow *he* never has fell" [emphasis added]). The deflection from the grieving *we* of the poem reveals in part a dependency on Papa's power to "show us the ways," but it may also indicate that Ruskin shared his parents' apprehension of the fragility of the peace and stability they had achieved. Just so, another poem in the anthology, "The Defiance of War," wards off armies from "our peaceful home" (101), although of course no actual military activity threatened Camberwell in 1826–27. Thus, Ruskin evinces some awareness of his parents' apprehension of the past horrors underpinning his mother's urging of confession and management of emotion in the letters, and these poems seem to deliver the confession that Margaret sought

in the family letters. At the same time, the confession is compartmentalised, contained in a distinct genre, and relegated to the back of the manuscript.

The poems in MS I, then, show Ruskin trying out poetry as a genre for resolving or at least exposing negative emotion, while the dialogues reveal his strategies for empowering himself as a player in the family dialogue. The genre of the dialogue serves his empowerment, just as poetry allows for his confession. Greg Myers remarks about the nineteenth-century popular scientific dialogue that "what keep[s] any of these dialogues going" are the "boundless ignorance of the questioners and equally boundless knowledge of the teachers" (178).[31] Over the course of "Harry and Lucy Concluded" in volume 1 and carrying into the following volumes, Ruskin increasingly empowers Harry as the all-knowing teacher and reduces Lucy to a sidekick. In a prompt borrowed from Edgeworth, Ruskin's Lucy urges Harry to "go on with science" (10, 19, 55, 83; see also Edgeworth, *Harry and Lucy Concluded* 1: 5, 19). Harry does so, taking over the role of lecturer that Papa holds in the earlier chapters. Along with that appropriation, notably, Ruskin's inventiveness devolves from the experiments that he devised for "Papa," which are original (if improbable) and grounded in a convincing understanding of the scientific principles involved,[32] whereas, for Harry as lecturer, Ruskin merely plagiarises portions of experiments verbatim from Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* ("Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" 55–81, 83–91).

In the increasing performativity and pedantry of his Harry persona, Ruskin fails a mission of Edgeworth's in *Harry and Lucy Concluded,* namely to model a "system of mutual instruction" by child learners. While Ruskin's Harry can be construed as carrying out Edgeworth's plan of "the young brother … teach[ing] his sister what he has learned, either from his father, or from his books" (1: xiii), Edgeworth means for Harry and Lucy to help one another with their respective and contrasting talents as well as to offset one another in their foibles. Edgeworth's Harry is able to focus and apply himself doggedly to difficult scientific concepts, but he is bewildered by Lucy's wit and tends to become "unsociable" and sullen. Lucy is able to make mercurial and imaginative connections, but she is prone to a "birdwitted" reluctance to light for long on a consistent idea (1: 282–83, and see 23–30, 61–74). Ruskin does make compatriots of his personae, putting Lucy up to conspiring in Harry's "grand scheme[s]" (33, 81) and solving his riddles. However, instead of assigning his respective personae the complementary strengths and "opposite faults" of Edgeworth's characters (1: 282), he ascribes both of their respective virtues, learnedness and wit, primarily to Harry. He "goes on" with science for Lucy's edification but also contrives "nonsense" such as staging a parade of animals, at which their mother "laughed heartily … and so did Lucy for harry had kept it a secret even from her" (36). In Edgeworth's tale, Harry bestows on Lucy a teasing name of "Mrs. Quick-Quick" for her quick wit but also her impatience (1: 97, 120), but Ruskin's Harry calls Lucy "Mrs hic haee [i.e., haec] hoc"—a Latin declension that Lucy calls an "odd allusion" and that she is perhaps not meant to understand (41).

In Ruskin's New Year's Eve letter, written two years after the dialogues in MS I, and on the eve of his gaining independence as a family correspondent, one can read his allusion to Frank's failed orrery scheme as self-irony, an admission of his self-aggrandisement in his fictional dialogues, just as in Edgeworth's *Harry and Lucy Concluded* the Papa expects Harry and Lucy to apprise one another of their character faults. In Ruskin's 1829 letters to his father, however, just as in his dialogues, Lucy's nonsense and wit are combined with Harry's learning in a single persona, seemingly without any ironic check on either of those precocious abilities. Ruskin brags, after all: "[N]o boy except myself would have dared … but at any rate I dare and I dont care whether others do or do not." At least at this stage in the development of this paradoxically autobiographical writer, the clever things on paper swamp the confessional voice; and the materiality of Ruskin's writing, which reflects the burgeoning print culture in the decades of his youth,[33] is shared solely between him and his father, to the exclusion of Margaret, just as the "Mamma" character is sidelined in "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" after chapter 1.

The one notable place in "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I," besides chapter 1, in which Ruskin makes a place for the maternal is the concluding episode of the dialogues, in which he combines a scientific observation taken from Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues* with the Witch of the Alps episode from Byron's *Manfred*. The recurrence of the maternal is both dramatic and tangential. Although Byron's verse drama has struck some critics as less like a play than a dialogue (Behrendt 121) or a confession (Bernhard Jackson 802), Ruskin's adaptation of the Witch episode does not explore Margaret's attention to voice; rather, he takes from Byron the immateriality of the Witch, a female shape formed from aerial mist, thus relegating the maternal to the *opposite* of the material discourse shared between father and son, instead of recognising Margaret's concern with the authenticity of voice as an *alternative* to the materiality of discourse. Ruskin's Witch is more image or mythic figure than character or persona. Unlike Manfred's character, she does not speak, and Harry invokes her with a magical incantation that is "unintelligable [*sic*]," less articulate even than Manfred's "muttering the adjuration" that raises her (Ruskin, "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" 96; Byron 71).

In his autobiography, *Praeterita,* Ruskin facsimiled this episode in MS I as proof of the "interwoven temper of" his "mind," whereby imagination and science inform one another (*Works* 35: 56). The boy writer's original intent with this episode was probably to elevate Harry's series of experiments copied from *Scientific Dialogues* to a sublime ending. As source material, he leapt from Joyce's volume on pneumatics to the volume on electricity and galvanism, likely attracted by the sublimities promised in the title of conversation 13, "On Atmospheric Electricity—Of Falling Stars—Of the Aurora Borealis—Of Water-spouts and Whirl-winds—Of Earthquakes" (6: 134). The science in this dialogue is obscure, speculative, and derivative of Priestley[34]—surely too difficult for Ruskin to have understood—but the dialogue is amply

embellished with poetry from James Thomson's *Seasons* and David Mallet's *Excursion*. Joyce himself probably meant to support the sublime by interweaving science and poetry, and in *Harry and Lucy Concluded* Edgeworth advanced the combining of science and poetry to an educational program, with Harry learning from Lucy "some of her taste for poetry, while she acquired from him some of his love of science" (1: 133). In Ruskin's scene, he again concentrates both talents in the Harry persona alone, with Lucy's role reduced to bringing onstage the excerpt from Joyce's "Atmospheric Electricity" chapter. Yet the *image* of the Witch does convey an authority that Harry has not encompassed solely in himself.

In Ruskin's telling, Lucy summons Harry to witness the approach of a cloud, which registers a positive electrical charge, and then to observe another cloud registering a negative charge. A whirlwind arises from the ground, and lightning is exchanged between the clouds, whereupon the clouds "dissolved in rain which presently cleared the sky." Harry wonders "how electricity could get where there was so much water"—a version of questions posed by Joyce's student—but the main emphasis is on the sublime collision resolving into peace. As a sign of peace, Harry witnesses a rainbow (a phenomenon in *Manfred* but not in the *Dialogues*). At this point Harry "remember[s] the witch of the waters at the Alps" ("Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" 95; see Joyce 6: 147–48):

> he soon observed a rainbow and a rising mist under it which his fancy soon transformed into a female form. He then remembered the witch of the waters at the Alps who was raised from them by takeing some water in the hand and throwing it into the air pronouncing some unintelligable words though it was a tale it affected Harry now when he saw in the clouds something like it (96)

As a sign of the Lord's covenant never to repeat a dark past of destruction, the rainbow was a meaningful symbol for the Ruskins' achievement of household peace. John spanned his entire manuscript with this emblem, from the frontispiece, in which a drawing of a rainbow arches over a house, to the closing poem of the "Poetry" anthology, "On the Rainbow," a poem that effectively reverses the darkness of the poems on Papa's departure from home and on the warlike threat to household peace (105–06). Harry is "affected" by witnessing in the clearing of the sky "something like" the raising of the Witch in the mist beneath a rainbow, as depicted in *Manfred*. Emblematically, then, Ruskin does end his dialogues with "something like" Margaret's power and authority to restore peace through the revelation and management of emotion.

Nonetheless, Ruskin's personae remain stubbornly silent and unintelligible. In *Manfred,* the hero invokes the Witch only in order to "gaze" and "look upon thy beauty—nothing further," and that beauty is maternal ("the hues of youth,— / Carnation'd like a sleeping infant's cheek, / Rock'd by the beating of her mother's

heart"), if also chilling ("tints, which summer's twilight leaves / Upon the lofty glacier's virgin snow"). Pressed by the Witch to speak, Manfred confesses: "My pang shall find a voice" (2.2.32, 38, 17–21, pp. 71–72). The account of his youth that Manfred narrates might have applied to a single child of Evangelical parents who were anxious to shield the child from "the world":

> From my youth upwards
> My spirit walk'd not with the souls of men,
> Nor look'd upon the earth with human eyes;
> The thirst of their ambition was not mine,
> The aim of their existence was not mine;
> My joys, my griefs, my passions, and my powers,
> Made me a stranger. ... (2.2.50–56, p. 72)

Whether or not this speech helps to explain the appeal of *Manfred* in this context, Ruskin's Harry makes no such confession, perhaps because Ruskin was, like Manfred, reluctant to open "the core of" his "heart's grief" (2.2.99, p. 73). Harry and his imagined Witch do not speak to one another or to the reader. Instead, this ending is the first of more to come, in which Ruskin reaches for the sublime by dematerialising the substance of his writing—particularly the representation of a human body (see Hanson, "Ruskin in the 1830s" 146–47)—and thereby deflects and silences the confiding of emotion that, for Margaret, assures the security of mutual respect and household peace, while with his father he maintains a connection through things on paper.

NOTES

[1] The work of Mitzi Myers brings attention to how the dialogue form epitomises an educational methodology that, in the case of Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth's *Practical Education*, validated "interaction and reciprocity" by recording "the real words of children"—a discourse that the Edgeworths represented as "not monologic but a dialogic space foregrounding 'the simple language of childhood.'" For late-Enlightenment and Romantic female writers, the dialogue form therefore became a "space where a woman author can be seen negotiating a duality of positions and voices, identifying with both 'authority' and the children who are its subject" ("'Anecdotes from the Nursery'" 236). In literary history, Myers sees this "birth of a pragmatic female teaching tradition" as cultivating "the relational selves in learning community that were women's goal" as an alternative to "valorizations of a romantic pedagogy and literature, tailored to construct subjectivities—individualist, autonomous, and masculine" ("Mice" 258).

[2] These roman-numeral designations were originated by W. G. Collingwood in the "Preliminary Note on the Original MSS. of the Poems," in Ruskin, *Poems* (1: 262–68),

and revised and extended by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn in the "Notes on the Original MSS. of the Poems," in Ruskin, *Works* (2: 529–34). The reddish-brown calf- or roan-covered stationer's notebooks were known in the family as John's *red books*. See the note, "Red Book," in *ERM*. These manuscripts are held as part of the John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[3] For the dating of Ruskin's dialogues, see the apparatus to "Harry and Lucy Concluded," *ERM*.

[4] *RFL*, 175 (13 February 1829). The Ruskins were casual about punctuating a full stop with periods and starting a new sentence with a capital, often instead indicating separation between sentences with extra space. In *RFL,* Burd reproduces the extra space without editorially correcting the missing punctuation and capitalisation (see xlv). I have followed the same practice in offset quotations from the letters, but in run-in quotations I have occasionally inserted sparing punctuation in square brackets to avoid possible confusion.

[5] Prior to the 1829 letters to his father, Ruskin did present his father with fair-copy poems as New Year's gifts, two of which survive from 1 January 1827 and 31 December 1828 (*RFL* 150–51, 171). Van Akin Burd includes these and other occasional poems in *RFL* as if they bear the status of epistles. While these New Year's presentations bear the superscriptions "To my papa" on their outside leaf, the poems contain no discourse that can be likened to a family dialogue, although Ruskin did sometimes include poems within or along with his discursive letters.

[6] Whyman finds that, prior to the mid-eighteenth century, "children's penmanship and formats had remained unique to the writer," but that, with the rise of standardised instruction in round hand by writing masters, "letters of children in different families and ranks tended to look more alike" (35).

[7] John James Ruskin's household accounts are contained in the Account Book. In the 1830s, having exhausted the red books, John used larger, ledger-like volumes.

[8] Brant advises applying the term *personal* rather than *private* to the form of correspondence that in the eighteenth century was called the *familiar letter* since the addressee had discretion to share such letters with other family members and friends (5). For example, John James Ruskin confided an early letter by his son to his close friend Richard Gray, who returned it to John James docketed with a note of admiration for the "extraordinary production from first to last" (*RFL* 180; 4 March 1829, on a letter of 21–23 February 1829). John James did address *private* letters to Margaret and to his mother that they would not have shared with other adult family members and friends, much less with a child, without exercising extreme discretion (see, e.g., *RFL* 20, 25, 53, 69, 72, 102).

The earlier family letters collected in *RFL*—documenting John James's emigration to London in pursuit of a career in the final years of the Napoleonic Wars; his long courtship of Margaret, his English cousin, who lived in Scotland as a companion to her aunt and uncle, John James's parents; and the Ruskins' marriage and the youth of their son, John—give the impression of being confined to the couple and then to the trio of parents and child, excluding the broader networks of kin that characterise the case studies of family correspondence in Whyman and Broughton. In *RFL,* Burd does include surviving letters exchanged between John James, Margaret, and their respective parents. Letters exchanged between John James, Margaret, and their respective siblings must also have existed but have not survived. While Burd makes the reader aware of that busy periphery through his perceptive annotation, the letters in *RFL* seem to

immerse the reader in an extremely close, almost insular parent and child relationship. The most important archives of letters connected with the early Ruskin family letters appear to be limited to the Gray family (see *RFL* xxvi–xxvii, and n16 below).

[9] On Mrs. Rice's Academy, see Viljoen 84. I have been unable as yet to find a reference to a specific letter-writing manual in the Ruskins' library. However, as shown in this article, several of Margaret's strictures about John's writing point unmistakably to such a source, as does his mockery: "Tell me papa in your next letter whether my discourse has an exordium, a statement of subject; a narrative or explanation, a reasoning or argument, a pathetic part, and a peroration, or conclusion. … I believe my discourse has a conclusion, and a beginning too though that is not mentioned among the learned terms of Rhetoric. I should also think that this same discourse of mine has a pathetic part being all rather merrily carried on" (*RFL* 192-93; 10 March 1829).

[10] Mahoney suggests that the English preference for a conversational epistolary style originated with the rhetorician Hugh Blair (418). John James Ruskin purchased a copy of "Blair Lectures" for 26*s*/6*d* in January 1827 (Account Book, "Sundries" for 1827, 2r).

[11] The *Classical English Letter-Writer* was compiled "for the amusement and instruction of young persons" (iii) by the York writer Elizabeth Frank, who was an assistant to the grammarian and textbook writer Lindley Murray (1745–1826). Advice for children's familiar address to parents is similarly hedged in *Dialogues and Letters … for the Improvement of Young Female Minds* by the children's writer Dorothy Kilner (1755–1836), cited by Brant (35). A mother, commenting on her daughter's first letter to her, explains that the girl should plan her letter "knowing what to say next" and "consider the subject" she is "going to enter upon, and then proceed to write it, in the same manner as if" she were "relating it in conversation." Nonetheless, the daughter "must always be careful and pay due attention to the *manner* of" her "writing, as well as the *matter*." For example, while the daughter heads her letter properly with "Honored Madam," she wishes she "might begin Dear Mamma, for" she likes "that much better." The mother explains gently: "I have no other desire for you to say Honored Madam, than any way you like better." Still: "I would wish you, upon every occasion, to accustom yourself to do things in a *proper* manner; and as that ['Honored'] is the address customary in this country, when writing to parents, or masters and mistresses, I think you had better continue it" (Kilner 31, 38, 40).

[12] In "The Psychology of Fragmentation," I have traced how Ruskin responded to this criticism, although in that article I did not recognise the probable source of Margaret's advice in letter-writing manuals.

[13] On John James as a reader of poetry, see Ruskin, *Praeterita,* in *Works* 35: 61. On Margaret as a reader to the children, see *RFL* 197. She typically mentions reading prose (e.g., *RFL* 185–86).

[14] The biographical tradition of Ruskin's "first letter" appears to have begun with Collingwood (18–19). See also Ruskin, *Works* 1: xxvi.

[15] John refers to Bridget Richardson, his mother's sister, of Croydon; and "John," according to Burd, is his cousin, Bridget's eldest child, John George Richardson (1803–1845) (*RFL,* 129n3).

[16] Richard and Mary Gray, along with Mary's mother, Mrs. Monro, were the Ruskins' close friends and neighbours in Camberwell (*RFL* 59–60n8).

[17] Robbins acknowledges that, in Barbauld's *Lessons,* the "interpreting" mother's voice remains always present. Faring into "the world beyond the home," Charles "'reads' its meaning through the lens of his mother's managing questions," and "the series of

interconnected episodes consistently recognizes the presence of the guiding female voice" (140–41).

[18] Burd cautiously annotates the "first written letter" as "unidentified" (*RFL* 157n4), holding open the possibility that this letter may be lost, rather than identifying it with the May 1827 letter (*RFL* 157–59), which he prints following Margaret's 28 April 1827 letter. He tentatively associates the May 1827 letter with the one Margaret mentions in a slightly later letter of 8 May 1827 (*RFL* 160, 161n2). It is not clear, however, whether her mentions in her 28 April and 8 May letters refer to the same letter by John or two distinct letters.

The surviving May 1827 letter by John, which is presently held by the Houghton Library, Harvard University, was presented by Ruskin in February 1869 as a gift to his American friend Charles Eliot Norton. In a cover letter to Norton, Ruskin jested: "The enclosed is not a Washington autograph, but I think you will like to have it—as evidently the first sketch of the Moral Theory of his work by the great author of Modern Painters." In a 1904 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly,* Norton first published edited versions of both the cover letter and the 1827 letter, along with the poems contained in the latter, as part of a multipart selection of his correspondence with Ruskin ("Letters of John Ruskin" 163–64).

[19] Ruskin learned to write in ink during a period of transition, when quills remained very common, but were being replaced by steel pens (i.e., steel nibs, which the user fitted into a holder; see Hall 92–93). In a 13 February 1829 letter quoted below, Ruskin refers to his using a quill, but that reference is embedded in a performative display that may or may not reflect reality. Hall's essay on the materiality of nineteenth-century letter-writing focuses largely on the later nineteenth century, after Ruskin's boyhood, following the introduction of the penny post and increased rail travel.

[20] See "Wales" and "Spring: Blank Verse," *ERM*.

[21] In his Account Book, in "Sundries" for June 1827, John James Ruskin entered "writing Butterworth 7/6" (2r). See Heal 25; and the notes "Edmund Butterworth" and "The Ruskin Family Handwriting," *ERM*.

[22] For the development of the English *copybook* or *copperplate* hand, see Heal xxxiii.

[23] The passage continues "he was printing this [poem] double in this manner"—and to illustrate the *manner,* Ruskin inserts at this point a lowercase letter *m* with each of the three downstrokes doubled, like three columns ("Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol. III" 7). The poem, now bound in MS XI, is dated 31 December 1828 (Ruskin Collection, Beinecke Library).

[24] Ruskin's copies of the Pope translation of Homer and the Dryden translation of Virgil were volumes in the Dove's English Classics reprint series. Products of the print revolution in the 1820s, each volume in the series carried a steel engraving as a frontispiece, often along with an engraved title page. See the note "Books Used by Ruskin in His Youth—Physical Descriptions—*Evenings at Home* (Discussion)," *ERM*.

[25] John James's drollery—which, according to John, entailed a "boy's tumbling into the shop" (*RFL* 173)—has not survived. No letters for 1829 previous to 19–21 January are included in *RFL*.

[26] For an overview of the Ruskins' relations with the clergyman and his family, see the note "Edward Andrews," *ERM*.

[27] The poem is "The Shipwreck" (*RFL* 176, 180, 181–82n7).

[28] For Ruskin's appreciation of *Evenings at Home,* see Lightman. For his boyhood edition of the book, see "Books Used by Ruskin in His Youth—Physical Descriptions—*Evenings at Home* (Discussion)," *ERM*.

[29] Ruskin uses the word *discourse* in "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" (5).

[30] Edgeworth brings the episode to a climax with the collision of a variety of emotions—Frank's misplaced vainglory, contrasted with the suppressed laughter of his father, when Frank finally exhibits his unfinished, ramshackle, and unraveling project; the apprehensiveness of Frank's cousin Mary, who fears his disgrace for failing in other duties, which his preoccupation with the orrery has caused him to neglect; and his mother's seriousness in relating a brief tale of an "ingenious man" whose "want of resolution to do that which he intended" ended with his having "ruined himself and his whole family." The episode ends well, however, with Frank's parents shedding "tears of pleasure" over his candour about his failure. He disassembles the remains of the hapless project and promises to apply himself to finishing more useful things. He has internalised self-control (2: 174–93).

[31] This is so, Myers argues, because the popular scientific dialogue detached the student's consumption of knowledge from the professional production of knowledge. Therefore, the dialogue did not invite cooperative exploration of ideas but simply set up know-it-all lecturers and passive listeners. Qualifying this viewpoint, Fyfe has shown that authors of dialogues ranged in the relative passivity or active inquiry they bestowed on their child interlocutors according to the authors' religious position.

[32] See "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I" (12–16) and contextual notes, *ERM*. Ruskin invents his original experiments on the basis of an understanding of the speed of sound, which is explained in vol. 1, *Pneumatics*, of Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues*.

[33] In "Ruskin in the 1830s," I discuss how Ruskin's juvenilia, particularly of 1833–34, was responsive to the illustrated travel writing of that decade.

[34] See the contextual glosses in "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I," 93–96, *ERM*.

WORKS CITED

Works frequently cited have been identified by the following abbreviations:

ERM Ruskin, John. *The Early Ruskin Manuscripts*. Edited by David C. Hanson. https://erm.selu.edu/.

RFL *The Ruskin Family Letters: The Correspondence of John James Ruskin, His Wife, and Their Son, John, 1801–1843*. Edited by Van Akin Burd, 2 vols., Cornell UP, 1973.

Aikin, J[ohn], and Mrs. [Anna Letitia] Barbauld. *Evenings at Home; or, The Juvenile Budget Opened: Consisting of a Variety of Miscellaneous Pieces, for the Instruction and Amusement of Young Persons*. 12th ed., Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy; and R. Hunter, 1819. 6 vols. *HathiTrust*.

[Barbauld, Anna Letitia.] *Lessons for Children: Part I, for Children from Two to Three Years Old*. J. Johnson, 1801. *Hockliffe Project*.

———. *Lessons for Children: Part II, Being the First for Children of Three Years Old*. J. Johnson, 1801. *Hockliffe Project*.

Behrendt, Stephen C. "*Manfred* and Skepticism." *Approaches to Teaching Byron's Poetry,* edited by Frederick W. Shilstone, Modern Language Association of America, 1991, pp. 120–25.

Bernhard Jackson, Emily A. "*Manfred*'s Mental Theater and the Construction of Knowledge." *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900,* vol. 47, no. 4, Autumn 2007, pp. 799–824.

Brant, Clare. *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Broughton, Trev. "Anxiety in Action: Letters of Advice between the Constables of East Bergholt in the Early Nineteenth Century." *Nineteenth Century Studies*, vol. 26, 2012, pp. 81–98.

Butterworth's Young Arithmeticians Instructor Containing Specimens of Writing …. Butterworth & Son, [1805]. *HathiTrust*.

Byron, George Gordon, Lord. *Manfred, a Dramatic Poem*. *The Complete Poetical Works,* edited by Jerome J. McGann, Clarendon, 1980–83, vol. 4, pp. 51–102.

Collingwood, W. G. *The Life of John Ruskin*. 2d ed., Methuen, 1900.

The Complete Letter-Writer, Containing Familiar Letters on the Most Common Occasions in Life …. William Darling, 1789. *HathiTrust*.

Edgeworth, Maria. *Frank; A Sequel to Frank in Early Lessons*. 2d ed., R. Hunter/Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1825. 3 vols. *HathiTrust*.

———. *Harry and Lucy Concluded; Being the Last Part of Early Lessons*. R. Hunter/Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1825. 4 vols. *HathiTrust*.

Emerson, Sheila. *Ruskin: The Genesis of Invention*. Cambridge UP, 1993.

[Frank, Elizabeth]. *Classical English Letter-Writer; or, Epistolary Selections: Designed to Improve Young Persons in the Art of Letter-Writing, and in the Principles of Virtue and Piety*. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown/Wilson and Sons, 1814. *HathiTrust*.

Fyfe, Aileen. "Young Readers and the Sciences." *Books and the Sciences in History,* edited by Marina Frasca-Spada and Nick Jardine, Cambridge UP, 2000, pp. 276–90.

Hall, Nigel. "The Materiality of Letter Writing: A Nineteenth-Century Perspective." *Letter Writing as a Social Practice*, edited by David Barton and Nigel Hall, John Benjamins Publishing, 2000, pp. 83–108.

Hanson, David. "The Psychology of Fragmentation: A Bibliographic and Psychoanalytic Reconsideration of the Ruskin Juvenilia." *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies*, vol. 10, 1998, pp. 237–58.

———. "Ruskin in the 1830s: Emerging Authorship and the Print Culture of Travel." *Continental Tourism, Travel Writing, and the Consumption of Culture, 1814–1900,* edited by Benjamin Colbert and Lucy Morrison, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 119–76.

Heal, Ambrose. *The English Writing-Masters and Their Copy-Books, 1570–1800*. Cambridge UP, 1931.

Joyce, J[eremiah]. *Scientific Dialogues, Intended for the Instruction and Entertainment of Young People*. New ed., J. Johnson, 1809. 6 vols. *HathiTrust*.

[Kilner, Dorothy]. *Dialogues and Letters on Morality, Oeconomy, and Politeness, for the Improvement and Entertainment of Young Female Minds*. John Marshall, [1780]. *Google Books*.

Lightman, Naomi. "'No Man Could Owe More': John Ruskin's Debt to Anna Barbauld's Books for Children." *Anna Laetitia Barbauld: New Perspectives,* edited by William McCarthy and Olivia Murphy, Bucknell UP, 2005, pp. 259–76.

Mahoney, Deirdre M. "'More Than an Accomplishment': Advice on Letter Writing for Nineteenth-Century American Women." "Studies in the Cultural History of Letter Writing," *Huntington Library Quarterly,* vol. 66, nos. 3–4, 2003, pp. 411–23.

McCarthy, William. "Mother of All Discourses: Anna Barbauld's *Lessons for Children*." *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* vol. 60, no. 2, Winter 1999, pp. 196–219.

Myers, Greg. "Science for Women and Children: The Dialogue of Popular Science in the Nineteenth Century." *Nature Transfigured: Science and Literature, 1700–1900,* edited by John Christie and Sally Shuttleworth, Manchester UP, 1989, pp. 171–200.

Myers, Mitzi. "'Anecdotes from the Nursery' in Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education* (1798): Learning from Children 'Abroad and at Home.'" *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* vol. 60, no. 2, Winter 1999, pp. 220–50.

———. "Of Mice and Mothers: Mrs. Barbauld's 'New Walk' and Gendered Codes in Children's Literature." *Feminine Principles and Women's Experience in American Composition and Rhetoric*, edited by Louise Wetherbee Phelps and Janet Emig, U of Pittsburgh P, 1995, pp. 255–88.

Robbins, Sarah. "*Lessons for Children* and Teaching Mothers: Mrs. Barbauld's Primer for the Textual Construction of Middle-Class Domestic Pedagogy." *The Lion and the Unicorn*, vol. 17, 1993, pp. 135–51.

Ruskin, John. "a letter." MS II, 9r, John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

———. "The Defiance of War." https://erm.selu.edu/apparatuses/the_defiance_of_war_apparatus.

———. "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol I." https://erm.selu.edu/web/pages/witnesses/harry_and_lucy_vol1_msi.php.

———. "Harry and Lucy Concluded … Vol III." MS III, John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

———. Letter to Mrs. Monro. MS II, 15v–16v, John Ruskin Collection, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

———. "Letters of John Ruskin." Edited by Charles Eliot Norton, pt. 4, "1868–72," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 94, 1904, pp. 161–70.
———. "On Papa's Leaving Home." https://erm.selu.edu/web/pages/witnesses/on_papas_leaving_home_msi.php.
———. "On the Rainbow: In Blank Verse." https://erm.selu.edu/web/pages/witnesses/on_the_rainbow_msi.php.
———. *The Poems of John Ruskin*. Edited by W. G. Collingwood, George Allen, 1891. 2 vols.
———. *The Works of John Ruskin*. Edited by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, Library Edition, George Allen, 1903–12. 39 vols.
Ruskin, John James. Account Book (1827–45). RF MS 28, The Ruskin, Lancaster University.
Viljoen, Helen Gill. *Ruskin's Scottish Heritage: A Prelude*. U of Illinois P, 1956.
Whyman, Susan E. *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers, 1660–1800*. Oxford UP, 2009.