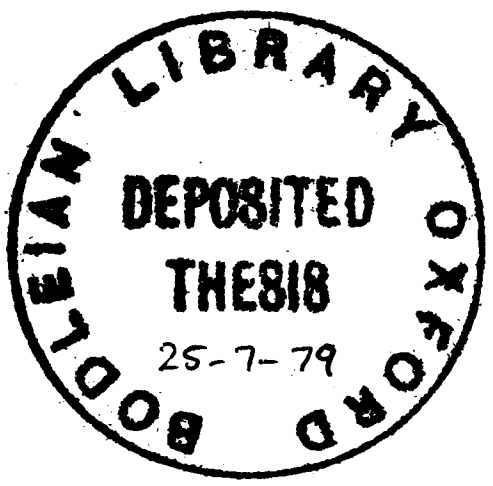
THE ARTISTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JOHN RUSKIN AND DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI

by

MARGARET ANNE BERG



Thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil.

Linacre College.

Michaelmas Term 1978 [ie 1979]

PLATE I (Frontispiece)

Photograph of John Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Bell Scott (taken in Rossetti's garden, end of June 1863)

See 'Introduction to correspondencé: The Personalities' n.7.; 'Hint of Tension' n. 69, 70; 'Final Letters' n. 20, 21, 23, 24 25.



W. B. Scott, Ruskin, and Rossetti
1863

PLATE I : Ruskin, Rossetti, and Bell Scott (1863).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

Preface 1

Chapter One: Ruskin's Insistence that Rossetti was the leader of the Pre-Raphaelites 4

Chapter Two: (Introduction to the Correspondence) The Personalities 36

Chapter Three: The Early Relationship 43

Chapter Four: The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855 86

Chapter Five: The Business Relationship 99

Chapter Six: Encouraging Rossetti's Independence 127

Chapter Seven: Regretting Rossetti's Independence 145

Chapter Eight: A Hint of Future Tensions 156

Chapter Nine: The Final Letters 187

Chapter Ten: The Sequel 211

Chapter Eleven: The Theoretical Basis 219

Chapter Twelve: Rossetti's 'Symbolizing' and Ruskin's Theory of the Grotesque 242

Chapter Thirteen: The Importance of Memory 274

Chapter Fourteen: Ruskin's Collection of Rossettis : His Public and Private Opinions of Rossetti's work 295

Conclusion 307

Illustrations

Footnotes

Bibliography

LISTS OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate I: Frontispiece: Ruskin, Rossetti and Bell Scott (1863)

Plate II: Beatrice meeting Dante at a Marriage-Feast Denies Him Her Salutation (1851)

Plate III: Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah (1855)

Plate IV: Arthur's Tomb (1855)

Plate V: Paolo and Francesca da Rimini (1855)

Plate VI: La Belle Dame Sans Merci (1855)

Plate VII: The Passover in the Holy Family: Gathering Bitter Herbs (1855-6)

Plate VIII: Study for Eating of the Passover (1854)

Plate IX: Golden Water (1858)

Plate X: Regina Cordium (1860)

Plate XI: Elizabeth Siddal reading (June 2 1854)

Plate XII: Elizabeth Siddal seated (June 1854)

Plate XIII: John Ruskin (1861)

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank: my supervisor Dr. Bernard Richards for his valuable suggestions, comments, and encouragement; Mr. R.E. Alton for a short but interesting period of supervision; my husband John for all he has done in the past; Pepe Diaz for solving a problem one day; Helen Fulton for translating a letter; but above all, my dear mater, without whose emotional and practical support this thesis would not now be submitted.

Abstract: The Artistic Relationship between John Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Margaret Anne Berg, Linacre College; thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil, Michaelmas Term 1978. [ie 1979]

This is the first single study of the relationship between John Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and the first to claim a similarity between their Aesthetic ideas. The assumption that Rossetti merely tolerated Ruskin for the sake of his patronage has discouraged the search for any significant intellectual exchange. No previous explanation has been sought for Ruskin's insistence, despite even Rossetti's opposition, that Rossetti was the intellectual leader of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. This analysis reveals that Ruskin favoured Rossetti's art for qualities which he is not usually held to have admired in Pre-Raphaelitism, and which he began to emphasise soon after meeting Rossetti.

Although Rossetti's reputed indifference to Ruskin is partly the result of the one-sided impression afforded by the imbalance of the extant correspondence it is also because all previous accounts of the relationship have been selective and have therefore perpetrated a superficial impression of conflict. A comprehensive and detailed examination of the correspondence has revealed that the particular disagreements were made possible by a fundamental sympathy. The relationship which emerged seems to have been, contrary to prevailing opinion, initiated by common aims, sustained by mutual professional respect, and dissolved by developing ideological differences.

Having established the possibility of mutual influence between Ruskin and Rossetti, the thesis analyses the common theory of creativity underlying the work produced during their ten-year friendship. There follows a discussion of two aspects of Rossetti's creative practice towards which Ruskin showed unequalled sensitivity, presumably as a result of his own artistic preoccupations: the Symbolic or Grotesque power, and the reliance upon Memory. Ruskin's collection of Rossettis is discussed, and an explanation offered for the apparent discrepancy between his public and private opinions of Rossetti's work. Finally it is claimed that Rossetti's affinity with Ruskin modifies his links with Aestheticism. This study hopes not only to justify the analysis of the Aesthetic ideas common to Ruskin and Rossetti, but also to consider its implications for both Pre-Raphaelitism and Aestheticism.

Abstract: The Artistic Relationship between John Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Margaret Anne Berg, Linacre College; thesis submitted for the degree of D.Phil, Michaelmas Term 1978. [i.e. 1979]

This is the first single study of the relationship between John Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and the first to claim a similarity between their Aesthetic ideas. The assumption that Rossetti merely tolerated Ruskin for the sake of his patronage has discouraged the search for any significant intellectual exchange. No previous explanation has been sought for Ruskin's insistence, despite even Rossetti's opposition, that Rossetti was the intellectual leader of the Pre-Raphaelite Movement. This analysis reveals that Ruskin favoured Rossetti's art for qualities which he is not usually held to have admired in Pre-Raphaelitism, and which he began to emphasise soon after meeting Rossetti.

Although Rossetti's reputed indifference to Ruskin is partly the result of the one-sided impression afforded by the imbalance of the extant correspondence it is also because all previous accounts of the relationship have been selective and have therefore perpetrated a superficial impression of conflict. A comprehensive and detailed examination of the correspondence has revealed that the particular disagreements were made possible by a fundamental sympathy. The relationship which emerged seems to have been, contrary to prevailing opinion, initiated by common aims, sustained by mutual

professional respect, and dissolved by developing ideological differences.

Having established the possibility of mutual influence between Ruskin and Rossetti, the thesis analyses the common theory of creativity underlying the work produced during their ten-year friendship. There follows a discussion of two aspects of Rossetti's creative practice towards which Ruskin showed unequalled sensitivity, presumably as a result of his own artistic preoccupations: the Symbolic or Grotesque power, and the reliance upon Memory. Ruskin's collection of Rossettis is discussed, and an explanation offered for the apparent discrepancy between his public and private opinions of Rossetti's work. Finally it is claimed that Rossetti's affinity with Ruskin modifies his links with Aestheticism.

This study hopes not only to justify the analysis of the Aesthetic ideas common to Ruskin and Rossetti, but also to consider its implications for both Pre-Raphaelitism and Aestheticism.

PREFACE

The relationship between the critic John Ruskin and the poet and painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti has not yet been considered worthy of a separate or detailed study. The prevailing opinion that their association was little more than a convenient business arrangement has discouraged deeper analysis, and the impression that Rossetti was an ungrateful and a passive recipient of Ruskin's patronage has made it seem that there was no significant intellectual relationship to discuss.

The discovery that Rossetti's poetry and paintings embodied ideas to be found in Ruskin's Modern Painters suggests that their personal relationship was of greater intellectual consequence than has hitherto been supposed. Although in 1909 E.T. Cook, joint editor of Ruskin's Complete Works, declared that the friendship between Ruskin and Rossetti formed "... not the least interesting episode in the personal history of English art and literature during the last century...",[1] no attempt has been made to discover its artistic or literary basis. Unfortunately Rossetti's niece, Mrs. Helen Rossetti Angeli, did not develop her solitary claim that it was Ruskin who "...best appreciated the quality of Gabriel's mind apart from his gifts as a painter".[2] It is surprising that a superficial view of the relationship has been allowed to persist, since its interpretation influences our understanding of both Pre-Raphaelitism and Aestheticism.

Selective accounts of the relationship have perpetrated the impression that Rossetti was indifferent to Ruskin. The original assumption was no doubt partly the result of the imbalance of source material: there are over sixty published letters from Ruskin to Rossetti but there remains only one reply. Such a conspicuous discrepancy should, however, have alerted scholars, but Oswald Doughty, for example, regarded as Rossetti's authoritative biographer, ignored all Rossetti's expressions of respect for Ruskin.[3] A comprehensive examination of the correspondence thus provides a re-assessment of the relationship.

Ruskin's letters show that Rossetti was not only an active correspondent, he also frequently sought the critic's company. Closer analysis reveals a mutually influential exchange of ideas, often resulting in altered opinions. This study of the relationship between Ruskin and Rossetti claims that it was not as incongruous as it is usually held to be: that it was initiated by a sympathy of artistic ideals; sustained, despite the surface conflict, by mutual professional respect, and finally dissolved because of developing ideological differences. Ruskin and Rossetti met on 12th April 1854, a crucial time in the lives and careers of both men: Ruskin had completed the first two volumes of Modern Painters and The Stones of Venice; Rossetti had written The Blessed Damozel and Hand and Soul, and had painted The Girlhood of Mary Virgin and Ecce Ancilla Domini. During the ten year friendship both produced what is often regarded as their best work. Ruskin considered the third volume of

Modern Painters, written soon after he met Rossetti, to be "...the full expression of what I knew best".[4] Nearly all Rossetti's watercolours, representing his more interesting and varied phase, were painted for Ruskin, sometimes to his specifications.

The fact that Rossetti achieved a characteristic style in response to Ruskin's enthusiasm suggests common artistic ground, yet scholars have been unwilling to compare the ideas of a theoretician to those of a practising artist who was, moreover, scornful of critics. A comparison is nevertheless facilitated by the imaginative nature of Ruskin's criticism and by the covert theorising of Rossetti's Hand and Soul and The House of Life. Both Ruskin and Rossetti were subjective, expressionist critics; they shared a common concept of the nature of artistic activity while frequently disagreeing about specific products of that activity.

For the first time, all Ruskin's comments upon Rossetti's art will be considered. It has never been established why Ruskin insisted, despite opposition even from Rossetti himself, that Rossetti was the leader of the Pre-Raphaelite school. Ruskin invited charges of inconsistency by praising artists so apparently different as Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites: Rossetti seems to have been the stylistic link.

CHAPTER ONE:

Ruskin's insistence that Rossetti was the Leader of The Pre-Raphaelites.

For many years after his death Rossetti was popularly regarded as the leader of the Pre-Raphaelites, to the extreme indignation of the other members. It is not generally recognised that it was Ruskin who, despite Rossetti's emphatic objections, imputed him with leadership. An examination of Ruskin's reasons for the apparent misnomer reveals that, according to his own, valid, understanding of Pre-Raphaelitism, he was justified in giving Rossetti eminence. In early days, apart from the favouritism implied by his patronage, Ruskin made no claims for Rossetti's superiority over the other members of the school, and yet in all the later criticism he insisted, despite opposition even from Rossetti himself, that Rossetti had been the founder, leader, and intellectual force behind Pre-Raphaelitism. Although Ruskin was not acquainted with the Pre-Raphaelites at the time of their formation into a brotherhood, he became intimate with them soon afterwards and had doubtless been told their early history many times, so that his claim was not the result of misinformation. Neither was it due to blind prejudice: Ruskin above all, had attempted an objective assessment of Rossetti's art, declaring that his retrospective 1883 lecture had been written:

> ...with the leading object of giving some permanently rational balance between the rhapsodies of praise and blame which idly occupied the sheets of various magazines last year on the occasion of the general exhibition of Rossetti's works; [1] (The Art of England, 1884. Appendix)

During the actual friendship between Ruskin and Rossetti Ruskin had regarded the various Pre-Raphaelite painters as equals, but by 1863 the emphasis had shifted to Rossetti; his insistence upon Rossetti's leadership seems to have been the result of a number of factors. Firstly, an interpretation of Pre-Raphaelitism which he is not usually represented as holding, and secondly, disillusion with all three of the prominent Pre-Raphaelites: Rossetti, Millais, and Holman Hunt, which proved to be temporary in the case of Hunt and Rossetti, but permanent and absolute with regard to Millais. Ruskin's championship of the Pre-Raphaelites is usually assumed to be on the basis of their truth to nature, an argument which has overlooked the fact that he chose as their leader the least mimetic of all the painters. A subtle shift in Ruskin's understanding of Pre-Raphaelite art occurred very early, when he became acquainted with Rossetti's work, which perhaps helps to explain why he came to regard Rossetti as the leader of the movement.

In 1883, a year after Rossetti's death, Ruskin thought it was "...now generally admitted"[2] that Rossetti had been the leader of the Pre-Raphaelites. Far from it; to Millais the idea of Rossetti's influence was "All nonsense! My pictures would have been exactly the same if I had never seen or heard of Rossetti".[3] Holman Hunt devoted nearly every page of his two-volume account of Pre Raphaelitism and The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (begun before 1886) to the assertion that it was himself, not Rossetti, who was the leader of the movement. Retrospective descriptions of the

Brotherhood are full of 'sour grapes'; Holman Hunt, for example, claims that these were John Everett Millais' remarks to him on the subject:

> You taught Gabriel to paint at terrible sacrifice to yourself... Gabriel stole a march on us to get the picture which you had helped him to paint seen in the Hyde Park Exhibition a week before ours appeared in the Royal Academy, and when he found that the penalty of public exhibition was to suffer abuse, he left us to bear it all alone, and when he felt that he could stand alone, he studiously kept out of our way.[4]

Although Rossetti's Girlhood of Mary Virgin was shown a week before the first Pre-Raphaelite pictures of Hunt and Millais in the 1849 Royal Academy Exhibition, it attracted very little attention, and certainly did not result in Rossetti being hailed as the leader of the new movement; Rossetti could hardly have been said to have 'stolen a march' on the others. He emphatically denied leadership on several occasions:

> 'The leader!".Please don't! I have ventured to strike this out bodily. If the thing can be organized by the elements supposed to characterize it as a movement, Holman Hunt is their representative. I for one never had anything of the sort.[5]

Rossetti's assertion that even if a coherent movement existed (and the implication is that it did not) he was not a part of it, makes the question of leadership irrelevant to him. In later years Rossetti cynically dismissed the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood as the "visionary vanities of half-a-dozen boys",[6] although his brother claims that in youth Rossetti "meant a great deal by calling himself Pre-Raphaelite, and meant it very heartily".[7] In contrast to Rossetti's denial of Pre-Raphaelitism Holman Hunt and Millais each considered himself to be the only persistent Pre-Raphaelite. Hunt

claimed that by 1880 "...it transpired that I alone still worked on the simple principle of Pre-Raphaelitism",[8] whereas Millais's son claimed that it was his father who as long ago as 1853 had:

> ...taken upon himself the championship of Pre-Raphaelite principles, he was determined to make the Academy acknowledge his power as the chief, if not the only, exponent of their principles, now that Hunt was off to the East, and Rossetti had wandered away on his own exclusive line;...[9]

Holman Hunt recognised that the problem of leadership was not one of chronology but of interpretation:

> ...this would be but of trivial importance if the issue were merely a personal one, to determine whether Millais, Rossetti or I had the responsibility of Pre-Raphaelitism, but it involves the question as to the exact purpose of Pre-Raphaelitism.[10]

Hunt thus suggests that the 'exact purpose of Pre-Raphaelitism' was inherent in his own work, and implies chronological precedence of his own ideas as a criterion of leadership. In a truer critical spirit, Ruskin accounted for all the various self-confessed or self-evident manifestations of Pre-Raphaelitism and attempted to establish common defining characteristics. Holman Hunt's denial of Rossetti's commitment to Pre-Raphaelite principles can be traced to his loathing for the Aesthetic school, which he claims perpetrated caricatures of Rossetti's art.[11] He wished to dissociate himself from anything which could be construed as the roots or inspiration of the movement. Ruskin disliked Rossetti's 'fleshly' period as much as Hunt did, but he recognised that the other members of the original Brotherhood had also abandoned their original principles, and objections could equally well be raised to the later work

of Hunt and Millais. In 1859 Ruskin warned students not to emulate the Pre-Raphaelites' use of colour, since in this respect they were, "...all more or less affected by enthusiasm and by various morbid conditions of intellect and temper".[12]

Although Hunt accused Rossetti of tergiversation, his own Pre-Raphaelite ideals underwent considerable transformation. When he first met Rossetti, Hunt explained that a return to Nature was "...the only sure means of eradicating the stereotyped tricks of decadent schools, and of any conventions not recommended by experienced personal judgement".[13] Nature was, then, a means to an end; what mattered was to avoid the apish conventions. Hunt and Millais had clearly singled out Rossetti as possessing the same spirit of revolt as themselves. As early as 1843 Rossetti joined the 'Cyclographic Society', forerunner of the P.R.B., which circulated sketches among its members for criticism. Rossetti's La Belle Dame Sans Merci, Genevieve, and an illustration to Faust, although highly imaginative and totally lacking in direct study of nature, were all warmly received by Millais and Hunt. Millais thought the Faust was "A very clever and original design beautifully executed"[14] (Millais's emphasis). Hunt declared that the design was "...in such perfect feeling as to give me a far higher idea of Goethe than I have before obtained", his only objection being that the devil in the picture was not so credible as the other figures, understandable "Through Mr. R. never having seen the evil one...".[15] Hunt had thus approved one of the weirdest products of Rossetti's imagination. He declared that Genevieve was "...a very beautiful and original

treatment of as beautiful a subject".[16] Holman Hunt later claimed that it was he who first opposed the stereotyped art taught in the Academy Schools, but the question of precedence of ideas is difficult and somewhat irrelevant since, as Ruskin once claimed, Rossetti, Hunt, and Millais would all have reached the same conclusions independently of one another.[17] Long before he met Hunt and Millais, Rossetti was strongly indisposed to academic convention; by the age of fifteen he developed an antipathy towards art produced by rule: in a letter to his mother of 1843 he expressed surprise at a recent exhibition of drawings:

> ...the English clothe their figures too much; that they conceal their ignorance of anatomy by working up satin and jewels and cloth of gold to the highest state of finish; and thus, by forcing the spectator as it were to admire these outside ornaments, cause him to overlook the want of correct drawing. Here, however, such artifices are utterly out of the question. In the first place the absence of colour renders it impossible that such stratagems should be resorted to; and in the second place, the subjects (principally taken from Milton and the early English history) make the naked figure positively necessary, and thus cut off effectualy any such means of escape.[18]

Hunt originally saw no reason to withhold the P.R.B. label from Rossetti's pictures, although he recognised that they were "of a different class from Millais's, not of newly culled facts,- but of knights rescuing ladies, of lovers in medieval dress, illustrating stirring incidents of romantic poets...".[19] When Hunt originally advocated to Millais a return to Nature (see reference note 8) it was for the sake of re-invigorating art with greater variety, but as time passed he reversed this, declaring that the artist should imitate the variety inherent in Nature herself; he subsequently denounced Rossetti for his:

> settled aversion to the vertebrate principle of Pre-Raphaelitism in its original inception, for this was primarily the exercise of discrimination in the individuality of every character in order the better to make manifest how various and bounteous Nature is in her gift of beauty to the world.[20]

Hunt thus came to believe that everything should be painted within the context in which it would naturally occur; he made only unselective studies, criticising a practice of Rossetti's which he had hitherto used himself:

> Rossetti began to depend more and more on the practice of making separate studies of the parts of his pictures, while this habit decreased with Millais and myself.[21]

By 1880 Hunt declared that "Rossetti, who never adhered to the original character of the movement, had spread his interpretation of it among his fellows and abroad".[22] Like Hunt, Millais had accepted Rossetti's more poetical art in the beginning, but changed his mind:

> I liked him very much when we first met, believing him to be (as perhaps he was) sincere in his desire to further our aims-Hunt's and mine-...his aims and ideals in art were also widely different from ours, and it was not long before he drifted away from us to follow his own peculiar fancies. What they were may be seen from his subsequent works. They were highly imaginative and original, and not without elements of beauty, but they were not Nature.[23]

If it is true, as is frequently assumed, that the Pre-Raphaelite adherence to Nature derived from Ruskin, then it is difficult to see why he gave such prominence to Rossetti, the least naturalistic of all. Percy Bate is among those critics who have questioned "...whether Ruskin really understood the Pre-Raphaelites, or whether he did not hem them round with narrower restrictions than they formulated for

themselves, and read into their motives much that was purely evolved from his own dreams of what the raison d'être of their art should be".[24] This seems entirely wrong: it is Ruskin who has been the victim of this practice of 'hemming round with narrower restrictions' than he intended, by later critics: he actually proposed study of Nature as a valuable preliminary, but not a sufficient end, to art. Ruskin's first explanation of Pre-Raphaelitism was written, as he himself emphasised, before he had actually met any of the artists concerned, but none of them objected to the definition he gave in the first letter to the Times on 13th May 1851, which could hardly have been less restrictive:

> These Pre-Raphaelites do not desire nor pretend in any way to imitate antique painting as such. They know very little of ancient paintings who suppose the works of these young artists to resemble them... They intend to return to early days in this one point only-that as far as in them lies, they will draw either what they see, or what they suppose might have been the actual facts of the scene they desire to represent, irrespective of any conventional rules of picture-making; and they have chosen their unfortunate though not inaccurate name because all artists did this before Raphael's time, and after Raphael's time did not this, but sought to paint fair pictures rather than represent stern facts.[25] (Arrows of The Chace I, 1880, from Letter to The Times, May 13, 1851.)

Although Ruskin felt that their title was somewhat misleading, he had himself, six years before meeting any of the Pre-Raphaelites, reached an entirely independent notion of art pre- and post- Raphael that enabled him to sympathise with the aims of the new school (except for a suspicion of their 'Romanist and Tractarian tendencies'). In a letter to his father, written on 10 July 1845, Ruskin expressed a conviction that the decadence of Venetian art began mid-way through Raphael's career. Arranging artists in order of merit he

placed 'Rafaelle' in both the highest class of "Pure religious art" and in the lowest class, "School of Errors and Vices: 1) Rafaelle in his last manner)"[26]. In the third volume of Modern Painters, which appeared in 1856, Ruskin declared that his hero, Turner, had learned from the great Venetian school of landscape which ended with Tintoretto, adding "There is no entirely great or sincere art in the seventeenth century".[27] He therefore completely understood the Pre-Raphaelite's desire to return, not to primitive methods, but to "archaic honesty". Millais and Hunt were quite willing to confirm Ruskin's understanding of their art whenever it was laudatory; Hunt declared that Ruskin's description of his late painting The Triumph of the Innocents gave "...the fullest description of the purpose I had tried to enshrine in my painting".[28] Ruskin's praise of the Pre-Raphaelite's naturalistic accuracy must not be regarded as his only requirement. Although his 1851 letters to the Times are almost totally concerned with technical accomplishments, this was in answer to specific criticisms of the Pre-Raphaelite's bad drawing, erroneous perspective, affected simplicity, crude primitive colour, and caricatured faces. Ruskin's defence was necessarily as fact-finding as possible; his criticism of Collins's Convent Thoughts is characteristic:

> But I happen to have a special acquaintance with the water-plant, Alisma Plantago in which the said goldfish are swimming; and as I never saw it so thoroughly or so well drawn, I must take leave to remonstrate with you when you say sweepingly that these men "sacrifice truth as well as feeling to eccentricity".[29]
> (Arrows of The Chace, I, 1880, from Letter to The Times, May 13, 1851.)

Although Ruskin declared that the painting would be valuable to him "as a mere botanical study"[30] he did not allege that

this constituted great art. He claimed that there was "no better study of drapery in the whole Academy" than these Pre-Raphaelite paintings, that they contained "no single error in perspective",[31] and that he had found "nothing so earnest or so complete...since...Dürer".[32] None of these remarks, however, applied to Rossetti's art: Ruskin had not yet seen any of his work. Millais's Mariana[33] and The Return of The Dove to the Ark[34], and The Woodman's Daughter[35] have an almost photographic quality; it is not surprising that Ruskin praised their accurate detail; he certainly did not foist the criterion of 'truth to Nature' upon them. Although in the preface to the 1851 pamphlet on Pre-Raphaelitism Ruskin rejoiced that here at last were young artists prepared to carry out "to the very letter" his advice in the first volume of Modern Painters published in 1843 to "go to nature in all singleness of heart"[36] and copy her faithfully and unselectively, this was partly to add weight to his defence, and partly was intended as preliminary advice. He made a very important qualification of this which is frequently overlooked:

> Yet let me not be misunderstood. I have adduced them only as examples of the kind of study which I would desire to see substituted for that of our modern schools, and of singular success in certain characters, finish of detail, and brilliancy of colour. What faculties, higher than imitative may be in these men, I do not yet venture to say; but I do say that if they exist, such faculties will manifest themselves in due time all the more forcibly because they have received training so severe.[37] (Pre-Raphaelitism, 1851, pamphlet, reprinted On The Old Road, 1885.)

Thus although Ruskin regarded the young Pre-Raphaelites' scrutiny of nature as the best possible foundation, he also wondered "what faculties, higher than imitative" might be in them. Twenty-seven years later he lamented that the

"principle of realism" which he had posited as groundwork in early days had been taken so literally:

> The lesson so far pleased the public of that day, that ever since, they have refused to listen to any corollaries or conclusions from it,...[38] ("The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism," The Nineteenth Century, Nov, Dec., 1878)

In 1854, the year Ruskin met Rossetti, his warnings became more insistent:

> ...so long as the Pre-Raphaelites only paint from nature ... their pictures can never have the characters of the highest class of compositions.[39] (Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1854, from Leture delivered Edinburgh, 1853, Addenda to Fourth Lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism.)

Thus the P.R.B. was originally a counter-movement to the sterile conventional art taught in the Royal Academy schools, and a return to nature was a sure means of re-invigorating art. Hunt, Millais and Rossetti had agreed that direct observation of the subject ensured fresh, original, unaffected conception. Ruskin applauded this aim, and was subsequently assumed to hold accurate natural observation as the sole criterion for his praise, whereas he had almost immediately qualified the admiration with speculation about the higher capacities that the young Pre-Raphaelites might possess, a demand which increased in proportion to the degree of mimeticism in Pre-Raphaelite art. Holman Hunt subsequently relegated sincere and original expression to second-place and aimed almost wholly at unselective, accurate observation of Nature.

Ruskin's early shift of emphasis upon alternative Pre-Raphaelite qualities coincided with his discovery of Rossetti's art. Ruskin developed from attempting to accomodate Rossetti's somewhat divergent expression of Pre-Raphaelitism into an

already formulated definition, towards the conviction that it was Rossetti who could lift Pre-Raphaelite art out of its mimetic beginnings. Ruskin's letters to the Times are usually considered together, yet there is a gap of three years between the first and last two during which the emphasis changed. It seems to be more than coincidence that in the intervening years Ruskin had met Rossetti. By 1854 Ruskin expected more than naturalistic accuracy of Pre-Raphaelite art, whereas in 1851 the nearest he approached to discussing the intellectual meaning of the works was to praise Hunt's "general conception"[40] in Valentine Rescuing Sylvia. Even this was considered in the light of technique: he claimed that the "...thoughtful conception and absolutely inimitable execution fail in making immediate appeal to the feelings"[41] simply because Hunt and Millais had chosen bad models. In contrast to this the letters of 1854 were solely concerned with the intellectual import of Hunt's paintings. This was not due to any fundamental changes in the pictures; Ruskin could have devoted as much explanation to Millais's Christ in The House of His Parents[42] in 1851 as he did to Hunt's The Light of the World[43] in 1854. The shifted emphasis was due, he admitted, to the fact that until recently he had not expected contemporary art to contain any meaning:

> ...we have been so long accustomed to see pictures painted without any purpose or intention whatsoever, that the unexpected existence of meaning in a work of art may very naturally at first appear to us an unkind demand on the spectator's understanding. But in a few years more I hope the English public may be convinced of the simple truth, that neither a great fact, nor a great man, nor a great poem, nor a

> great picture, nor any other very great thing can be fathomed to the very bottom in a moment of time...[44]
> (Arrows of The Chace, I, 1880, from Letter to the Times May 5, 1854.)

Ruskin wrote this just after he had become acquainted with what he called the "learned"[45] school exemplified by Rossetti. In April of 1853 Rossetti wrote to Woolner that Ruskin had just seen his "Dantesque sketches exhibited this year at the Winter Gallery".*[46] True to his previous Pre-Raphaelite critiques Ruskin had praised the "colour and grouping" which Rossetti thought "...as absurd as certain absurd objections which he makes to them".[47] Rossetti was somewhat indignant:

> It now seems that Ruskin had never seen any work of mine before, though he never thought it necessary to say this in writing about the P.R.B.[48]

Rossetti was piqued that Ruskin's definition of Pre-Raphaelitism had not taken him into account; he doubted that Ruskin would even now acknowledge this:"I hope...that he may have the honesty to say publicly in his new book what he has said privately-but I doubt this". At this time Ruskin had no knowledge of Rossetti's artistic aims, he had merely seen some of his work; the two did not meet until April 1854.

Five months previously Ruskin had delivered an important lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism in Edinburgh, which he had prepared on holiday with Millais. The outline of the lecture which Ruskin submitted on 8th August 1853, did not anticipate any discussion of Rossetti, although Ruskin had recently seen his paintings:

> Meaning of the word Pre-Raphaelitism. Character of art before and after Raphael. Causes of decline after Raphael's time. State of modern historical painting. Nature of the reaction which is taking place. Merits

* 'Winter Gallery' presumably refers to the Winter Exhibition of Sketches and Drawings at Pall Mall in 1852, since I can find no other reference to a Winter Gallery.

> and faults of the work of Hunt and Millais. Probable effect of the movement. Objects now principally to be kept in view by the modern artist and his patrons.[49]

There is no reason to think that Ruskin deviated from this plan: Cook and Wedderburn, Ruskin's editors, claim that the delivered lecture did not differ substantially from the manuscript. What is certain is that when Ruskin came to prepare the lectures for publication in 1854, he added footnotes, memoranda, and two addenda.[50] The lectures were published after Ruskin had actually met Rossetti for the first time: it certainly seems that Rossetti had been explaining his own understanding of Pre-Raphaelitism to the critic. The addendum to the lecture contains Ruskin's first public reference to Rossetti, and there is a footnote completely contradicting a statement made in the main body of the lecture which was clearly added to accommodate the newly discovered aspect of Pre-Raphaelitism. The addendum to the published lecture began with implied apologies for neglecting Rossetti's art:

> I could not enter, in a popular lecture, upon one intricate and difficult question, closely connected with the subject of Pre-Raphaelitism- namely the relation of invention to observation; and composition to imitation.[51]

(Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1854, from Lecture delivered at Edinburgh, 1853, Fourth Lecture, on Pre-Raphaelitism)

Rossetti clearly relied more than the other Pre-Raphaelites upon invention and composition. Not wishing to withdraw his earlier assertions that the distinctive Pre-Raphaelite qualities were unerring observation and imitation, Ruskin used this new-found 'poetic' art of Rossetti's as a rejoinder to a supposed charge that the Pre-Raphaelites were "..adverse to all exertion of imaginative power".[52] Ruskin rather tortuously

attempted to show that exacting realism was actually symptomatic of an intense imagination:

> ...but the man whose mind a thousand living imaginations haunt, every hour, is apt to care too little for them; and to long for the truth which he finds is not to be come at so easily.[53] (Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1854, from Lectures delivered at Edinburgh, 1853. Addenda to Fourth Lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism.)

Ruskin questioned whether "even the greatest men of old times possessed more exhaustless invention than either Millais or Rossetti",[54] claiming that it was "partly the very ease with which they invent which leads them to despise invention." Ruskin later found that Millais possessed less of the purely imaginative faculty than Rossetti. In the lecture which was actually <u>delivered</u> Ruskin had categorically stated that:

> Pre-Raphaelitism has but one principle, that of absolute, uncompromising truth in all that it does, obtained by working everything, down to the most minute detail, from nature and from nature only.[55] (Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1854, from Lectures delivered at Edinburgh, 1853, Fourth Lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism.)

The footnote which he added after meeting Rossetti was a complete contradiction:

> Or, where imagination is necessarily trusted to, by always endeavouring to conceive a fact as it really was likely to have happened, rather than as it most prettily <u>might</u> have happened. The various members of the school are not all equally severe in carrying out its principles, some of them trusting their memory or fancy very far; only all agreeing in the effort to make their memories so accurate as to seem like portraiture, and their fancy so probable as to seem like memory.[56] (Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1853, from Lectures delivered at Edinburgh, 1853, Fourth Lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism.)

Rossetti was the <u>only</u> 'PRB' who trusted his memory or fancy so far as to use it as a starting-point for his art. It will be seen in a later chapter that Ruskin regarded Rossetti's memory as perhaps the major constituent of his artistic genius. Whereas Hunt and Millais derived their inspiration from observed scenes, Rossetti explored literature,

legends, and perhaps chiefly, his own mind, and then went to nature for a realistic embodiment of his thoughts. Rossetti clearly used the Pre-Raphaelite tenet of truth-to-nature to confer greater veracity upon his imagined subjects. Ruskin recognised that it was possible for Pre-Raphaelite art to combine invention, imagination, and emotion, with naturalistic accuracy.

In the 1854 letters to the Times Ruskin explained the symbolic significance of the most ostensibly realistic of Hunt's paintings, The Awakening Conscience:

> There is not a single object in all that room, -common, modern, vulgar,...but it becomes tragical, if rightly read.....even the most trivial of objects force themselves on the attention of a mind which has been fevered by violent and distressful emotion.[57] (Arrows of The Chace, I, 1880, from letter to the Times, May 25, 1854.)

Soon after this Rossetti complained to Ruskin that he had conceived a similar subject long ago. Ruskin replied that the question of precedence was unimportant:

> Now, as to the original suggestion of the power which there is in modern life if honestly treated, I firmly believe that, to whomsoever it in reality may belong in priority of time, it belongs to all three of you equally in right of possession. I think that you, Hunt and Millais, would every one of you, have made the discovery, without assistance or suggestion from the other.[58] (Letters.)

It is difficult to see on what grounds Hunt dates this letter of Ruskin's as the beginning of Rossetti's 'pretensions' to leadership, because the emphasis is upon the equality of the Pre-Raphaelites. In 1858 Ruskin still regarded the leadership as equally distributed:

> Since Turner's death I consider that any average work from the hand of any of the four leaders of Pre-Raphaelitism (Rossetti, Millais, Hunt, John Lewis) is, singly,

> worth at least three of any other pictures whatever by living artists.[59] (Arrows of The Chace, I, 1880. from Letter on Pre-Raphaelitism in Liverpool, published by Liverpool Albion, January 11, 1858.)

By 1863, Ruskin had elevated Rossetti: in an open letter he directed an unknown editor to "make any use of this letter and these statements that you please".

> I believe at this moment the Pre-Raphaelite school of painting (centered in England but with branches in other countries) to be the only vital and true school of painting in Europe; and its English leader, Dante G. Rossetti, to be, without any compare, the greatest of English Painters now living.[60]
> (Letter to The Times, Oct. 24, 1862.)

Yet it was Hunt and Millais who had, he claimed in 1882, established the reputation of the new movement:

> But my real introduction to the school was by Mr. Dyce, R.A., who dragged me, literally, up to the Millais picture of "The Carpenter's Shop", which I had passed disdainfully, and forced me to look for its merits. Afterwards various friends asked me to look at this picture, or that; until Millais's "Huguenot" and Hunt's "Light of The World" asserted the power of the school without any further need of help from anybody.[61]
> (Letters.)

Although Ruskin denied altering his opinion of Rossetti's pictures "I am only more intensely now what I always was",[62] he certainly became increasingly intolerant of faults in the Pre-Raphaelites that he had, he claimed, recognised in the beginning. Ruskin's disillusion with Millais and Hunt respectively seems to have contributed to the later elevation of Rossetti.

In the above letter of 1882 Ruskin also recalled how it was Millais who "...first showed me the beauty of extreme minuteness and precision". The height of Ruskin's admiration for Millais was 1855-6 with the exhibition of The Rescue (1855)[64], Peace Concluded[65], and Autumn Leaves (1856)[66]. In his Notes

to The Royal Academy Exhibition of that year Ruskin pronounced The Rescue to be the only great picture there,"...but this is very great. The immortal element is in it to the full".[67] Ruskin noticed that the impatient execution was "in some respects imperfect", but that the hastiness was redeemed by its appropriateness "For there is a true sympathy between the impetuousness of execution and the haste of the action".[68] Ruskin thought Millais showed infinite potential "I see no limit to what the painter may hope in future to achieve".[69] By the very next year, 1857, that which Ruskin had deemed "impetuousness" was now "slovenliness". He claims to have noticed the previous year:

> ...a slovenliness and imperfection in many portions... which I did not speak of, because I thought them accidental -consequent, probably, on too exulting a trial of his new powers, and likely to disappear as he became accustomed to them.[70] (Notes on The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1857, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Ruskin was extremely disappointed with Sir Isumbras at The Ford, making the most incisive criticism that Millais's technique had fallen far short of the subject:

> ...the thought of the picture was a noble one... suggestive to us in a thousand ways-it would have brought home at once to the heart of every spectator, had the idea but been realized with any steadiness of purpose or veracity of detail. As it stands, it can only be considered as a rough sketch of a great subject, injudiciously exposed to general criticism, and needing both modification in its arrangement, and devoted labour in its future realisation.[71] (Notes on The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1857, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

The change in Millais, lamented Ruskin,

> ...from the years of "Ophelia" and "Mariana" to 1857, is not merely Fall-it is Catastrophe; not merely a loss of power, but a reversal of principle.[72] (Notes on The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1857, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Millais's only hope was, he warned, to return to "quiet

perfectness of work". The "carelessness" continued however; by 1859 Ruskin considered the "insolent" execution of The Vale of Rest to be "the scrabbled remnant of a scornfully abandoned aim".[73] Millais had, in Ruskin's view, relinquished unpretentious Pre-Raphaelitism in favour of popular sensationalism. Ruskin was thankful that Millais could not "arrest the advance" of Pre-Raphaelitism, since there were still "other painters to support its cause, who will disengage it from unnaturalness of error, and vindicate it from confusion of contempt".[74] By implication the onus was on Rossetti.

Ruskin did not experience the same sudden disillusion with the work of Holman Hunt, probably because he recognised from the beginning Hunt's tendency to be over-exacting, and despite this, or rather because of it, he represented the best contemporary example of Ruskin's exhortation to young artists. Ruskin's claim for Hunt's excellence nevertheless avoided purely artistic considerations: he emphasised the intellectual content thus distracting from the lack of aesthetic appeal in the pictures. Of The Triumph of the Innocents for example, Ruskin did "not care to speak of other virtues in this design than those of its majestic thought".[75] Although Ruskin recognised that Hunt's "careful rendering of inferior details"[76] in The Awakening Conscience was at first "offensive" he justified it on literary rather than picturesque grounds:

> But without entering into the question of the general propriety of such treatment, I would only observe that, at least in this instance, it is based on a truer principle of the pathetic...[77] (Arrows of the Chace, I, 1880, from Letter to the Times, May 25, 1854.)

Although in Hunt's work the lesson or moral is of primary importance, his depiction is minutely realistic; thus The Scapegoat and The Triumph of The Innocents[78] are naturalistic renderings of abstract concepts; the latter would certainly fall into Ruskin's category of the Grotesque. The Light of The World, with Christ knocking on the door of the human soul, is grotesque in the same way that Rossetti's Blessed Damozel leaning on the 'gold bar of Heaven' is,[79] except that it achieves a more successful union of spiritual theme and realistic treatment. Ruskin thought that The Light of The World combined Hunt's best qualities:

> ...the most perfect instance of expressional purpose with technical power which the world has yet produced.[80] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Hunt did not employ detail for aesthetic appeal (unlike Rossetti and Millais) but because of stern moral principles. His contempt for conventional beauty made him, in Ruskin's eyes, somewhat insensitive, or conversely, Ruskin suspected that art such as Hunt's could be produced only by someone with "little natural sense of beauty"[81] (the emphasis is mine). In defining the difference between Rossetti's and Hunt's colour, Ruskin detected a fundamental distinction:

> Rossetti composes with richer fancy, and with a deeper sense of beauty, Hunt's stern realism leading him continually into harshness.[82] (The Elements of Drawing, 1857.)

Ruskin could not ignore the lack of purely aesthetic appeal in Hunt's pictures: The Scapegoat was, he regretted:

> not good painting; and much as I esteem feeling and thought in all works of art, still I repeat, again and again, a painter's business is first to paint.[83] (Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1856, pamphlet, reprinted Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

The Scapegoat occasioned Ruskin's perception of Hunt's ambivalence:

> This singular picture, though in many respects faultful, and in some wholly a failure, is yet the one in all the gallery which should furnish us with most food for thought.[84] (Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1856, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures II, 1902.)

Ruskin asked spectators to "consider...the feelings involved in its conception and the self-denial needed for its execution...";[85] here was a painter who actually travelled to the Holy Land in search of subjects for his Biblical paintings; a man who painstakingly painted "grain by grain the pale ashes of Gomorrah",[86] and "a weary goat dying upon its salt sand"; a man who pursued his work "with patience through months of solitude":

> But, at the same time, this picture indicates a danger to our students of a kind hitherto unknown in any school:- the danger of too great intensity of feeling, making them forget the requirements of painting as an art. This picture regarded merely as a landscape, or as a composition, is a total failure. The mind of the painter has been so excited by the circumtances of the scene, that, like a youth expressing his earnest feeling by feeble verse (which seems to him good because he means so much by it), Mr. Hunt has been blinded by his intense sentiment to the real weakness of the pictorial expression; and in his earnest desire to paint the Scapegoat, has forgotten to ask himself first, whether he could paint a goat at all.[87] (Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1856, reprinted Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Although Hunt answered Ruskin's demand for artistic piety, his reverence for objects, which translated itself into an uncompromising realism, became too stark, too inexorable. The difference between Hunt and Rossetti was that Hunt was almost too dedicated. As Ruskin observed, the Bible to Rossetti was simply a great poem, whereas to Hunt it became "not merely the greatest of Realities, but the only Reality".[88] The extent to which Hunt singularly pursued truth was

concurrently the degree to which his art was narrow-minded, and restricted by his insistence upon a moral import which should also be replete with naturalistic accuracy. Hunt relinquished the element of mystery which Ruskin regarded as essential to great art, whereas Rossetti, like Turner, preserved an inexactness which conveyed infinite possibilities: Ruskin claimed that:

> Pre-Raphaelitism is quite as unintelligible as need be... You can make out your plantain head and your pine, and see entirely what they are; but yet they are full of mystery, and suggest more than you see. So also with Turner, the true head of Pre-Raphaelitism.[89] (Modern Painters, IV, 1856.)

Ruskin thus believed that Hunt was betrayed into error by his own Pre-Raphaelite principles:

> The habit of constantly carrying everything up to the utmost point of completion deadens the Pre-Raphaelites in general to the merits of men who, with an equal love of truth up to a certain point, yet express themselves habitually with speed and power, rather than with finish, and give abstracts of truth rather than total truth.[90] (Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 1854, from Lectures delivered at Edinburgh 1853, Lecture on Pre Raphaelitism.)

Similarly, the difference between Rossetti and Millais brought Rossetti closer to Turner in Ruskin's eyes, and since Turner was Ruskin's ideal, this indicated a high estimate of Rossetti. Ruskin posited two extremes of artistic temperament, embodied to a certain extent by Millais and Turner respectively:

> ...one of them is quiet in temperament, and has a feeble memory, no invention, and excessively keen sight. The other is impatient in temperament, has a memory which nothing escapes, an invention which never rests, and is comparatively near-sighted.[91] (Pre Raphaelitism, pamphlet, 1851, reprinted On The Old Road, 1885.)

Rossetti was one of the latter artists, for whom, like Turner, each outward scene was "confused with other images of his own

ceaseless, sleepless, imagination".[92] In contrast, Millais, although Ruskin conceded that he possessed "considerable inventive power", nevertheless represented the type of the artist who saw "everything, small and large, with the same clearness...but can remember nothing and invent nothing". Ruskin later thought that Millais became too pedestrian, too like the art which the Pre-Raphaelites claimed to oppose "...the "cattle-pieces", and "sea-pieces", and "fruit-pieces", and "family-pieces"; the eternal brown cows in ditches, and white sails in squalls, and sliced lemons in saucers, and foolish faces in simpers; ..."[94] Although Rossetti's natural observation was not equal to that of either Millais's or Hunt's, his gift for invention, and his strong memory, more than compensated in Ruskin's eyes. Rossetti proved to be the only original P.R.B. who heeded Ruskin's warnings:

> ...such work, however, as I stated in my first essay on this subject, in the year 1851, can only connect itself with the great schools by becoming inventive instead of copyist,...[95]. (Modern Painters V, 1860)

Rossetti's reputation as the leader of the P.R.B. was undoubtedly partially due to his prominence as the most vociferous disseminator of their early ideas. Rossetti had been the inspiration behind the magazine The Germ, whose aim was to express the thoughts of these artists" in another language beside their own..."[96]. The etchings, poetry, and prose contributed by all sympathisers indicates that their avowed tenet of "entire adherence to the simplicity of nature"[97] was originally interpreted as 'natural simplicity' rather than 'imitation of nature'. The poem by William Rossetti which appeared as the frontispiece to all four issues of The Germ,

asked only that art be sincere; the editors declared that they would accept work which was "...conceived in the spirit, or with the intent of, exhibiting a pure and unaffected style".[98] The first major "pure and unaffected" painting produced by the P.R.B. was Rossetti's Ecce Ancilla Domini[99], which, said Ruskin, "differs from every previous conception of the scene known to me".[100] He considered the shock that Rossetti's picture must have caused to those accustomed to traditionally embellished images of the Virgin. Millais's Christ in The House of His Parents had caused a similar scandal, but it was Rossetti who discovered the appropriate style for these new subjects; more than one modern critic has noticed that Rossetti anticipated abstract art. The critique of Ecce Ancilla Domini by Alan Bowness is worth giving in full because it supports Ruskin's claim that Rossetti was the intellectual leader of the Pre-Raphaelites:

> The revolutionary importance of The Annunciation lies in the way in which Rossetti expressed the symbolism of his subject primarily by abstract formal means, and in his readiness to abandon every pictorial convention of the day. The meaning of the picture is conveyed less by symbolic details, as in The Girlhood, than by the stark purity and simplicity of form and colour. It is essentially a white painting; the only colours that Rossetti introduces are the three primaries, blue, red and yellow, the last turning to a magical gold. The expected perspective construction for a scene taking place in a small room is deliberately rejected (it is impossible to believe that Rossetti could not have got it right had he tried) in favour of a very much flatter conception of space. This flattening enhances the picture's iconic quality: we are more aware of it as an object in its own right, less as some sort of illusionistic rendering of Nature."[101]

Bowness declared that his understanding of Rossetti's Ecce Ancilla Domini was possible only with the "hindsight that

passing time alone brings", and that "In 1850, the picture must have been incomprehensible".[102] Ruskin however was one of Rossetti's contemporaries who recognised his originality; in 1867, Ruskin announced in a lecture delivered at the British Institution that Dante Gabriel Rossetti was:

> ...the founder and leader of the school, in its more important relations to Christian Art... He was the first who set the example of a living dramatic truth in conceptions of events in sacred history.[103] (Lecture on The Present State of Modern Art with reference to the advisable arrangements of a National Gallery, delivered to The British Institution, June 7, 1867.)

A growing suspicion that Rossetti's art had been underestimated, even by himself, perhaps led Ruskin into overstatement: in a lecture on the Relation of Art to Religion delivered at Oxford during Hilary term 1870 Ruskin claimed that Rossetti had been the most influential of the modern 'realistic' school:

> And finally, there is the vigorous and most interesting realistic school of our own, in modern times, mainly known to the public by Holman Hunt's picture of The Light of The World, though, I believe, deriving its first origin from the genius of the painter to whom you owe also the revival of interest, first here in Oxford, and then universally, in the cycle of early English legend,- Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[104] (Lectures on Art, 1870, Lectures delivered at Oxford, Hilary Term 1870, Lecture on The Relation of Art to Religion.)

Millais and Hunt apparently heard these pronouncements with great equanimity:

> The rumours of Rossetti's leadership in our reform... were first circulated about 1856, but these were not traceable to any one with a right to claim authority, and neither Millais nor I regarded them as deserving attention. We still felt this, even after Ruskin had delivered his opinion in one of his Oxford lectures.. we felt that the critic was entitled to his own opinion and had arrived at the conviction on independent grounds.[105]

It was not until William Rossetti had apparently "repeatedly declared his brother to be our leader"[106] (though it is

difficult to find instances), that Holman Hunt felt it necessary to object to these claims in his book on Pre-Raphaelitism and The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which was finally published, after many years writing, in 1905-6. Hunt's bitterness seems somewhat unwarranted since Rossetti had, in his own lifetime, repeatedly denied leadership and attributed originality to Holman Hunt.

In 1868 Rossetti wrote a very interesting letter to the French critic Ernest Chesneau, after reading his passage on the Pre-Raphaelites in Peinture, Sculpture. Les Nations rivales dans L'Art. (1868).[107] Chesneau had read much of Ruskin's work and had corresponded with Ruskin requesting to translate some of his writings into French. It was probably from Ruskin that he derived his information about the Pre-Raphaelite school. Rossetti objected vehemently to Chesneau's description of himself as leader, and Ruskin as founder, of the P.R.B.; he wrote in French attempting to impress Chesneau with the need to rectify his misrepresentations; I give an English translation of the extant extract:

> Concerning the qualification of 'leader of the Pre-Raphaelite school' which you attribute to me according to your information, I must assure you as warmly as possible that it is not at all my due. Fame always clothes the unknown in certain mysterious qualities; and it is to this phenomenon that I owe the fuss on my account which I have found in your work and elsewhere. Far from being 'leader of the school' by priority or merit, I can scarcely acknowledge myself as belonging to it, if the style of the little painting I have done is to be compared with the works of other painters named as preraphaelites. Thus when I find a painter so absolutely original as Holman Hunt described as being my 'disciple' it is impossible for me not to feel humbled before the truth and not to assure you of the contrary with the greatest urgency. The qualities of realism,

> emotional but extremely detailed, which give the stamp to the style called preraphaelite, are seen mainly in all the paintings of Holman Hunt, in most of those by Madox Brown, in a few pieces by Hughes, and in the most admirable works of Millais's youth. It is close friendship rather than real collaboration of style which joined my name to theirs in the enthusiastic days of twenty years ago...
>
> The idea that Ruskin, through his writings, founded the pre-Raphaelite school, is a misapprehension which I have found to be almost universal, but which isn't any the less for that a total misapprehension. In truth, I believe that, among the productive painters of the school, not one of them up till then had read a single one of Mr. Ruskin's admirable books, and certainly no-one among them was personally known to him. It was only after two or three annual exhibitions of these paintings that this great writer generously constituted himself their defender against the fierce attacks of the press.[108]

Although Rossetti exaggerated the time it took for Ruskin to rise to the defence of the Pre-Raphaelites this was chiefly to emphasise the entire originality of his colleagues. He wished above all to deny that Holman Hunt was his 'disciple'. This is extremely interesting because although in England it was Ruskin who was responsible for this misnomer, so far as we know he did not refer to Hunt specifically as Rossetti's disciple until the lecture on the 'Realistic' school of painting in 1883. Perhaps Ruskin had used the term on previous unrecorded occasions, as the apology seems to suggest- "I trust that Mr. Holman Hunt will not think that in speaking of him as Rossetti's disciple I derogate from the respect due to his own noble and determined genius"[109] -, or perhaps he derived it from Chesneau. It is surprising to think of Ruskin being influenced by a comparatively uninformed observer of the movement, yet he had written to Chesneau that his <u>Peinture Anglaise</u> was: "Far, far beyond anything that has been done by Englishmen themselves"...[110]. In this

English School of Painting translated into English in 1885, with a preface written by Ruskin, Chesneau no longer subscribed to the view that the movement originated with Ruskin: he almost repeated the words of Rossetti's letter verbatim:

> I do not think that, at the time the school was founded, any of its first members had read his admirable works, and certainly he was personally quite unknown to them.[111]

Although Chesneau had abandoned the idea that Holman Hunt was Rossetti's disciple, he continued to imply Rossetti's leadership without actually naming him:

> Their leader was an eminent man, full of fire and energy, amounting even to violence, who strove with his whole soul, his fortune, and his peculiarly eloquent pen, to work a revolution in the existing style of art. The flame of this enthusiasm at length died out, yet, when first ignited, how bright and vivid was it![112]

Despite Rossetti's emphatic denial, Chesneau had persisted in regarding him as the leader of the Pre-Raphaelites, and yet, significantly, he made the claim on stylistic grounds; perhaps it was Ruskin who had advised him thus.

In discussing the Pre-Raphaelite picture Rachel and Her Flock[113] by F. Goodall, in his Royal Academy Notes for 1875, Ruskin declared that it was:

> ...one of the pictures which, with such others as Holman Hunt's "Scapegoat", and Millais's "Dove returning to the Ark", etc., the public owe primarily to the leading genius of Dante Rossetti, the founder, and for some years the vital force, of the Pre-Raphaelite school. He was the first assertor in painting, as I was myself in art literature (Goldsmith and Molière having given the first general statements of it), of the great distinctive principle of that school - that things should be painted as they probably did look and happen, and not, as by rules of art developed under Raphael,

> Correggio, and Michael Angelo, they might be supposed gracefully, deliciously, or sublimely to have happened.[114]

(Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1857, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902)

Ruskin's reference to the 'leading genius' of Rossetti was not the result of bad memory, because in 1882, he confirmed that the school had first been "asserted" by Millais and Hunt. Although Ruskin admitted that Hunt and Millais had established the abilities ("power") of the school, it was Rossetti who realised the "distinctive principle" of Pre-Raphaelitism, not only in terms of dramatic realism but in terms of the appropriate style. Although Millais's Christ in The House of His Parents was as innovatory as Rossetti's Annunciation in subject-matter, Ruskin seems to have suspected it of "Romanist and Tractarian tendencies".[115] Furthermore, by 1886 he seems to have doubted even its dramatic realism. In a series of Notes on Millais compiled by 'A. Gordon Crawford' chiefly from Ruskin's criticism, appeared the remark that Christ in The House of His Parents "implants itself at once as true", to which Ruskin appended the comment "It does nothing of the sort, and the picture is only an elementary, and in many respects an extremely faultful example of the master's first manner".[116] One of the most immediately striking original aspects of Rossetti's picture was its colour; William Rossetti recorded in the P.R.B. Diary for 25th November 1849 that Rossetti had begun studies for The Annunciation which "will be almost entirely white".[117] Elsewhere Ruskin observed that Rossetti's colour was a unique rendering of primitive or 'pre-Raphael' methods:

> Rossetti added to the before accepted systems of colour in painting, one based on the principles of manuscript

> illumination, which permits his design to rival the most beautiful qualities of painted glass without losing either the mystery or the dignity of light and shade.[118] (The Art of England, 1884, from Lectures delivered at Oxford 1883. Lecture on The Realistic Schools of Painting.)

Thus Ruskin's claim for Rossetti's leadership was not based upon chronological considerations. Rossetti was, he claimed, "the chief <u>intellectual</u> force in the establishment of the modern romantic school in England"[119] (my emphasis). Rossetti was more intellectual than the other Pre-Raphaelites in the sense that his pictures were the result of thought and emotion rather than visual conceptions; he was, said Ruskin, part of the "learned"[120] school, who derived subjects from literature and legend; Rossetti's paintings were narrative rather than descriptive, visionary rather than mimetic. Thus Ruskin declared that it was Rossetti's "poetical genius"[121] which had justified attributing leadership to him. Holman Hunt declared that in claiming Rossetti's eminence in the 'modern romantic school' Ruskin had referred solely to Rossetti as a poet',[122] but Ruskin's definition embraced writers and painters alike, being an attitude to the world: "the habit of regarding the external and real world as a singer of Romaunts would have regarded it in the Middle Ages".[123] In 1883 Ruskin made his most radical claim for Rossetti's leadership:

> ...I believe his name should be placed first on the list of men within my own range of knowledge, who have raised and changed the spirit of Modern Art: raised, in absolute attainment; changed, in direction of temper.[124] (The Art of England, 1884, Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1883 Lecture on The Realistic Schools of Painting.)

Rossetti had combined the qualities of the other two major Pre-Raphaelites. Holman Hunt had made a major contribution to the "direction of temper" of art by arresting its

conventionalism and hypocrisy, but his paintings were not pleasant to look at: he had not therefore raised "the absolute attainment" or the purely artistic standard of art. Millais's paintings were certainly attractive, but he had, in Ruskin's opinion, sacrificed truth for the sake of impression; Sir Isumbras at The Ford, for example, was totally lacking "veracity of detail".[125] Rossetti, however, achieved a "sternly materialistic, though deeply reverent, veracity",...[126] of conception, and in this lay his "originality". He had raised both the 'temper' and the 'absolute attainment' of art by uniting veracity with formal beauty; he had remembered that "a painter's first business is to paint" without sacrificing "either the mystery or the dignity" of his subject.

Ruskin's adamant denial that he had pioneered Pre-Raphaelitism was no doubt partly due to the subsequent misrepresentation of his artistic criteria. Ironically, Ruskin became linked to the Pre-Raphaelites for their dictum of 'truth to nature' whereas in fact, from an early date he had preferred Rossetti's more imaginative Pre-Raphaelitism. In 1886 Ruskin exaggerated the ineffectuality of his Pre-Raphaelite critiques in order to emphasise the independence of P.R.B.thought, but his opinions were more influential than he claimed; it was chiefly due to him that Rossetti came to be regarded as the 'leader' of the movement:

> ...I must in the outset broadly efface any impression that may be given...of my criticisms having been of any service to the Pre-Raphaelite school, except in protecting it against vulgar outcry. The painters themselves rightly resented the idea of mis-judging friends that I

> was either their precursor or their guide; they were entirely original in their thoughts, and independent in their practice. Rossetti, I fear, even exaggerated his colour because I told him it was too violent;...[127]

(In view of the emphatic denial of influence this last statement should not be taken too seriously). Ruskin's claim for Rossetti's leadership should perhaps be regarded as an overstatement, but it was certainly not an untruth. The fact that he reached the conclusion only with hindsight probably contributed to his wish to make amends for the lack of acknowledgement that Rossetti's originality received. It is reassuring, however, to notice that the twentieth-century critic Alan Bowness shared Ruskin's assessment of Rossetti, when he expressed surprise that Rossetti's Annunciation had originally remained unsold at £50:

> ...this indicates that Rossetti was regarded as a less important artist than Millais or Hunt. Yet this painting is one of the most original and forward-looking in the whole of the nineteenth century, a work which at last breaks with the insularity of English Art.[128]

CHAPTER TWO:

(Introduction to the Correspondence) The Personalities.

The simplest contrary evidence to the popular view that Rossetti merely tolerated Ruskin for the sake of his patronage is a photograph taken in 1863,[1] long after Ruskin had ceased to buy Rossetti's pictures. Despite their notorious unwillingness as photographic subjects, here were Ruskin and Rossetti arm in arm in Rossetti's garden. Although Ruskin later lamented that William Bell Scott had been included in the picture,[2] he did not regret the record of his intimacy with Rossetti. The photograph suggests that the association was more than professional expediency; a brief description of the personalities involved indicates possible reasons for mutual attraction.

When they met on 12 April 1854, Ruskin was thirty-five and Rossetti ten years his junior, which perhaps explains Ruskin's paternalistic attitude though not Rossetti's acceptance of it (since Rossetti was utterly averse to 'discipleship'[3]). Certain events which occurred soon after Ruskin and Rossetti met possibly created a mutual need: Rossetti's father died just as Ruskin's marriage was annulled. Derrick Leon has suggested, in a somewhat sensational diagnosis, that the two were united by personal suffering:

> Despite their differences in temperament and personality, Ruskin and Rossetti were curiously similar in their essential passionate appreciation of art and literature, as in their tragic fate. And, secretly linked in prolonged and unaltered suffering, each, at last, was to be hounded across the very borders of sanity by the ineffaceable image of a dead woman.[4]

The personal difficulties indicate (contrary to Leon's assertion) underlying similarities in temperament: both men experienced difficulties in their intimate relationships: Ruskin's marriage was never consummated, Rossetti's wife probably committed suicide because she felt herself to be the victim of unrequited love.

It seems that Ruskin and Rossetti recognised in one another an essential isolation. Both were considered incongruous by their contemporaries. Holman Hunt declared that Rossetti was anachronistic:

> ...when men were very different from the cultured of mediaeval days they were not poetic in his eyes; they had no right to be different from the people of Dante's time.[5]

Rossetti's niece claimed that Rossetti cherished an unfashionable,"...rather sentimental attitude towards Italy"[6] at a time when the masculine 'Teutonic' ideal was popular. Ruskin had already recognised that Rossetti was "...really not an Englishman but a great Italian tormented in the Inferno of London":[7] his sensitivity to this was probably the result of his own feelings of alienation.

Two totally independent descriptions of Ruskin and Rossetti at this time are surprisingly similar. Here is a description of Ruskin by a pupil, Canon Scott Holland:

> How quaint the mingling of...wistfulness in the face with the spotted blue stock and the collars and the frockcoat which made him look something between an old-fashioned nobleman of the Forties and an angel that had lost its way. The small bird-like head and hands and figure, had nevertheless, a curious and old-world pomp in their gait and their motions...He, somehow, moved one as with

> the delicate tenderness of a woman; and he looked frail, as if the roughness of the world would hurt and break him....[8]

The following description of Rossetti by Holman Hunt likewise emphasises his indifference to fashion, his aura of nobility, and a certain effeminacy:

> His shoulders were not square and only just masculine in shape... Altogether he was a lightly built man, with delicate hands and feet; ....he was careless in his dress, which was, as then not very unusual with professional men, black and of evening cut. So indifferent was he to the accepted requirements of society, that he would allow spots of mud to remain dry on his clothes for several days...but any one who approached and addressed him was struck with surprise to find all critical impressions dissipated in a moment, for the language of the painter was wealthy and polished, and proved to be courteous, gentle and winsome, generous in compliment, rich in interest in the pursuits of others, while he talked much about his own, and in every respect, as far as could be shown by outward manner, a cultured gentleman.[9]

Ruskin's too-formal dress and Rossetti's slovenly appearance are alike indicative of strong individuality. The extreme sensitiveness of both men seems to have manifested itself in their physical appearance. T. Hall Caine has eulogised Rossetti's sympathetic nature,[10] while Charles Eliot Norton described Ruskin as possessing "...an almost feminine sensitiveness and readiness for sympathy".[11] If we are to believe contemporary accounts, both were utterly compelling personalities, due chiefly to their magnetic and lyrical eloquence. T. Hall Caine described Rossetti's voice as:

> ...the richest I had ever heard. It was a deep, full baritone, with easy modulations and undertones of infinite softness and sweetness, yet capable, as I speedily found, of almost illimitable compass, having every gradation of tone at command for the recitation or reading of poetry.[12]

Rossetti likewise declared that Ruskin's speeches were something "never to forget...I doubted at the time if any written words of his were equal to it-such flaming diction, such emphasis, such appeal!"[13] (this tribute to Ruskin is overlooked by many critics of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship).

Such was the appearance of Ruskin and Rossetti when they met. A letter from Rossetti to William Allingham suggests that it was this very 'quaintness' about Ruskin which first impressed Rossetti; he seems to have been disarmed by the fact that Ruskin was "an absolute Guy"[14]. There were, of course, telling differences between the two: Ruskin's poise and correctness and Rossetti's abstractedness found analogous expression in their work: Ruskin was a sharp, accurate observer, Rossetti an introverted dreamer. Rossetti worked in fitful bursts of inspiration, while Ruskin made steady progress. Ruskin described his rigid routine thus:

> Healthy life is, however, for me impossible except with entirely settled hours-eight breakfast; nine, work; twelve, walk; one, lunch; etc. etc. etc. I believe it to be so for most people, and that if their work could be made to sink through the floor as the clock struck, it would be all the better for them.[15] (Letters.)

In complete contrast was Rossetti's method of work, described by Holman Hunt:

> When he had fairly got entangled in a new design he would refuse the attraction of home, meals, out of door engagements, or bed, and sit through the night, sleeping where he sat for an hour at a time, recommencing his work when he woke. He ate whatever was at hand when hunger suggested, and when time came for bed on the second night he would still ask me to leave him; in the morning I would still find him at his engrossing task.[16]

It is clear that neither Ruskin nor Rossetti could have

long tolerated a relationship without considerable unanimity; both were equally dogmatic. Soon after they met, Ruskin asked Rossetti for "fellowship in your thoughts and sympathy with your purposes"[17] and it was exactly this which sustained the relationship for ten years. Ruskin must have intuitively recognised in Rossetti one whose artistic ideals accorded closely with his own. Long before they met, Ruskin and Rossetti had both independently wished for a revival of the artistic dedication of the Middle Ages, and a restoration of the status art enjoyed at this time, springing from their belief that artistic expression was one of the highest activities of man. In the 1849 preface to the first volume of Modern Painters, Ruskin had written that:

> ...when public taste seems plunging deeper and deeper into degradation day by day, and when the press... vents its ribaldry on the most exalted truth,...it becomes the imperative duty of all who have any perception or knowledge of what is really great in art, and any desire for its advancement in England, to come fearlessly forward to declare and demonstrate, wherever they exist, the essence and the authority of the Beautiful and the True.[18] (Modern Painters I, 1842.)

Rossetti had attempted to do just this: in 1849 he had initiated The Germ, a periodical which exhorted a return to naturalism and sincerity in art. When they met, Ruskin and Rossetti were both attempting to counteract the devitalising effects of the conventional art taught at the Royal Academy Schools.

Ruskin and Rossetti probably remained unaware that their exacting artistic demands stemmed from an almost identical view of human nature. R.G. Collingwood declared that fundamental to Ruskin's theories was the notion of the "unity and

indivisibility of the spirit".[19] Ruskin therefore admitted no distinction between the various human faculties:

> ...art is not the product of a special part of the mind called the "aesthetic faculty", nor morality the product of a special "moral faculty", but each alike is an expression of the whole self.[20]

Rossetti similarly believed in the unity of the human spirit: hence the abundance of synaesthetic imagery in his poetry.[21] He once wrote to William Allingham that if Lizzie's soul were not realised through artistic expression it would be equivalent to degradation.[22] This is discussed at length in the chapter on the Theoretical Basis, but it is interesting to notice here that the enthusiasm for medieval art shared by Ruskin and Rossetti was a corollary of the belief that art is the expression of a man's innermost self: the highest art will therefore be a sincere attempt at truth, untrammelled by convention.

Ruskin met Rossetti at a crucial time in his religious life, when he had reached the conclusion, as he wrote to his father, that, "the highest class of thinkers" rejected doctrine while retaining belief in "a God".[23] Rossetti likewise asserted, according to Holman Hunt, that "...orthodox religionists made such claims to entrammel judgement, conscience, and will, that they drove thinking men to the extreme alternative of throwing away all faith in divine over-rule";...[24] Although Rossetti "had not....much religion of a definable kind," he "had a certain propensity towards it",[25] said his brother; "Would God I knew there were a God to thank when thanks rise in me",[26] Rossetti once wrote. Unlike Ruskin, Rossetti had no orthodox religious upbringing, but was naturally

inclined towards religious belief because the idea of a purely secular existence appalled him. Ruskin on the other hand, moved beyond the purely spiritual in order to embrace scientific accounts of existence. The important common factor is the emphasis each laid upon the spiritual life: both were to a certain extent idealists and Platonists, believing that the material world is merely the surface of a higher reality; (this is discussed, and qualified, in the chapter on the Grotesque). Purely mimetic art was anathema to both Ruskin and Rossetti, since it failed to represent this higher truth.

Although Derrick Leon's brief analysis of Ruskin and Rossetti failed to notice certain of the temperamental similarities which help to explain their ten-year friendship, his assertion that they were, "curiously similar in their essential passionate appreciation of art and literature" is perhaps the very basis of the following study.

CHAPTER THREE

The Early Relationship.

In order to compare the aesthetic ideas of Ruskin and Rossetti it is necessary to establish that a significant intellectual exchange took place. The numerous references in the correspondence to contemporary and medieval culture, literature, art and artists, and poetry and poets, are sufficient evidence of an intellectual basis to a relationship which is frequently considered irrational or incongruous.[1] The brief and sometimes obscure references to art and literature in the letters frequently presaged altered opinions, thus indicating mutual influence. However, since Ruskin and Rossetti both strongly resisted influence, this study is simply an attempt to highlight certain hitherto unappreciated similarities in their thought and art. Critics have too readily seized upon an impression of quarrelsomeness in the correspondence and concluded that Ruskin and Rossetti were essentially incompatible. This study claims that specific disagreements were facilitated by the underlying sympathy between their artistic ideals. An entry in Ford Madox Brown's diary unwittingly evokes the ambivalence of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship which this study hopes to recapture:

> /Gabriel/...is gone to Ruskin for this evening. Tomorrow he returns. After he has talked as much as his strength will bear, he becomes spiteful and crusty, denying everything, and when chaffed he at length grows bitterly sarcastic in his way, but never quite unpleasant nor ever unbearable.[2]

Critical assessments of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship are unreliable, probably due to the one-sidedness of the

source-material. Although there are over sixty published letters from Ruskin to Rossetti there remains only one reply, giving an erroneous impression of Rossetti's indifference. Although it is preferable to rely on the correspondence rather than on secondary sources for a reassessment of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship, it must be borne in mind that Rossetti's opinion of Ruskin can be ascertained only approximately from his remarks to others. Letters which Rossetti wrote to his friends concerning Ruskin are far from objective: they were naturally designed to amuse, reassure, or placate the recipient.

The first mention of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship in the correspondence is an example of this distortion: Rossetti had to tell his friend and former teacher Ford Madox Brown that new, and critically prestigious interest was being taken in his work. Ruskin had apparently recommended Rossetti's work to a prospective patron; at this time, 1 March 1853, Ruskin and Rossetti had not yet met:

> ...Ruskin has written him some extravagant praises (though with obtuse accompaniments) upon one of them- I cannot make out which-and McC/racken/seems excited, wanting it...[3]

Not only did Rossetti claim that Ruskin's admiration was exaggerated - "extravagant" implies affectation - but also that the accompanying insensibility invalidated the praise. However, Rossetti hardly concealed his pleasure at Ruskin's ostensibly worthless praise: why did he bother to tell Madox Brown at all? It seems highly possible that Rossetti hoped to forestall any professional jealousy in his former

teacher by assuring him that Ruskin's praise was mis-placed. There was, as Helen Rossetti Angeli has indicated,[4] a strong antipathy between Ruskin and Madox Brown which made it necessary for Rossetti to play down his relationship with the famous critic: in a later letter to Madox Brown he referred to Ruskin as "the Great Prohibited".[5] The mere fact that Rossetti chose to forebear embarrassing incidents like the one described in Ruskin: Rossetti: Pre-Raphaelitism,[6] from Madox Brown's diary, suggests that he valued the new friendship with Ruskin as much as his established intimacy with Madox Brown.

Rossetti wrote more about Ruskin's recommendation to his fellow 'P.R.B.' Thomas Woolner, on 16th April 1853:

> M'C. sent me a passage from a letter of Ruskin's about my Dantesque sketches exhibited this year at the Winter Gallery,...R/uskin/ goes into raptures about the colour and grouping which he says are superior to anything in modern art-which I believe is almost as absurd as certain absurd objections which he makes to them. However, as he is only half informed about art, anything he says in favour of one's work is of course sure to prove invaluable in a professional way, and I only hope, for the sale of my rubbish, that he may have the honesty to say publicly in his new book what he has said privately-but I doubt this. Oh! Woolner-if one could only find the 'supreme' Carlylian Ignoramus,-him who knows positively the least about Art of any living creature-and get him to write a pamphlet about one-what a fortune one might make. It now seems that Ruskin had never seen any work of mine before, though he never thought it necessary to say this in writing about the PRB.[7]

If this were indeed Rossetti's considered opinion of Ruskin there would be no thesis to pursue. There is, however, a transparently conspiratorial tone about the letter which indicates that again the motives were placatory. Ruskin knew nothing, Rossetti claimed, about 'Art' with a capital 'A',

which is what they, the P.R.B. produced. Ruskin's writings were, Rossetti suspected, probably wholly theoretical, in accordance with all the 'Carlylian Ignoramuses' whom he scorned. Rossetti no doubt considered his suspicions confirmed by the fact that although Ruskin had not seen any of Rossetti's paintings he had already made public statements generalising the Pre-Raphaelite ideals. Rossetti's declaration that his own pictures could be admired only by one who knew nothing about Art, was clearly facetious: he did not sincerely believe his own work to be rubbish; by the same token he did not seriously regard Ruskin as totally ignorant about art: the remarks about Ruskin are thus modified by the flippant context. As Helen Rossetti Angeli has recognised, "...in telling his old P.R.B. comrade that Ruskin was only half-informed, Rossetti tactfully offered comfort to the aggrieved sculptor to whose work the critic remained obstinately indifferent."[8] It is important to remember that Rossetti made these remarks before he had actually met Ruskin: he later discovered that Ruskin was not, like many critics, purely a theorist. Many years later Rossetti was to praise Ruskin's practical 'capability',[9] but at this time he knew of Ruskin only through Holman Hunt, whose admiration was based on a reading of Volume One of Modern Painters, so that Rossetti's knowledge of Ruskin's views on art was negligible. It is interesting to notice that in a letter to his father many years later Ruskin himself echoed Rossetti's pronouncement that in 1855 he had been only "half informed about art":

> When I wrote the first volume of Modern Painters I only understood about one-third of my subject...[10] (Letters)

We do not know what "absurd objections" Ruskin made to Rossetti's paintings. Rossetti was, perhaps justifiably, indignant that Ruskin had not deemed it necessary, in his defence of Pre-Raphaelite Art, to mention that he had not seen any of Rossetti's work. Rossetti probably felt that Ruskin's letters to the Times in 1851[11] did not apply to his own interpretation of Pre-Raphaelitism. The facetious tone of Rossetti's letters is probably largely symptomatic of irritation that his own important contribution to the Pre-Raphaelite movement had hitherto been completely ignored by its only champion. However, Rossetti's hope that Ruskin would "have the honesty to say publicly in his new book what he has said privately", was fully requited: in the third volume of Modern Painters, published in 1865, Ruskin cited the work of Watts and Rossetti as "the dawn of a new era of Art".[12]

In the same letter, Rossetti told Woolner that McCracken had asked for Ruskin's approval of Rossetti's pictures before making a purchase; Rossetti had objected, probably fearing that Ruskin's opinion would not be favourable. McCracken bought The Annunciation anyway, and sent it to Ruskin, who apparently praised Rossetti's work profusely:

> Said M'C. afterwards sent said white daub to Ruskin, to whom he had wanted me to submit it as a preliminary to the purchase, which I had sternly refused. Ruskin's opinion (I suppose) has induced him to give me a commission for £150, ...M'C. sent me a passage from a letter of Ruskin's about my Dantesque sketches....[13]

This was on 16 April 1853; almost exactly a year later Rossetti received his first letter from Ruskin, dated 10

April 1854:

My Dear Sir,

When I heard of Mr. McCracken's intention to ask you to send your drawing to me, I was ashamed to allow him to do so- but permitted my shame to be conquered by the strong desire I had to be allowed to have the drawing by me for a day or two; I was quite sure that I should be able at once to write to Mr. McCracken that any work of yours was quite above having opinions passed upon it; and I have now only to thank you for your condescension in allowing it to be sent to me on such terms-and still more-for the very great delight I have had in keeping it by me for a day or two. I think it a thoroughly glorious work-the most perfect piece of Italy, in the accessory parts, I have ever seen in my life-nor of Italy only-but of marvellous landscape-painting. I might perhaps, if if we were talking about it, venture to point out one or two things that appear to me questionable-but I shall write an unqualified expression of admiration to McCracken-and I can only to you-express my earnest hope that you will not allow any feeling of dissatisfaction with your own work to prevent you at anytime-from completing in such development as may be possible-your noble thoughts. I shall call on you in a day or two-hoping you will allow me the priviledge of knowing you-and remaining always most faithfully and respectfully yours-J.RUSKIN.[14]

Rossetti wrote to Brown that he thought the letter "incredible"[15]; in view of later ones it certainly was uncharacteristically deferential. The present holder of the letter, Janet Camp Troxell, says it is "very much soiled, and looks as if Rossetti had carried it about with him folded in a pocket-book".[16] It seems then, that Rossetti carried the letter as a secret morale-booster. Ruskin praised Dante Drawing an Angel on The Anniversary of The Death of Beatrice[17] primarily for its realistic background landscape. Although the 'perfect piece of Italy' is just a small view through a window, Ruskin intended much more than praise of detail. The implication was that Rossetti had captured the very essence of Italy: something that Ruskin had himself recently attempted in

The Stones of Venice. Ruskin probably knew of Rossetti's Italian heritage, and guessed that congratulations on this aspect would please the artist, and would not be considered unimportant. Ruskin must have been given an accurate account of Rossetti from someone, because he expressed concern that the artist should not allow self-doubts to impair his potential; throughout his life Rossetti had to overcome feelings of artistic inferiority.

When Rossetti actually met Ruskin his innate prejudice against critics diminished a little. On 13 April 1854, the day after Ruskin had called on Rossetti for the first time, Rossetti wrote to Ford Madox Brown that he had been agreeably surprised:

> MacCrac of course sent my drawing to Ruskin, who the other day wrote me an incredible letter about it remaining mine respectfully (!!) and wanting to call. I of course stroked him down in my answer, and yesterday he came. His manner was more agreeable than I had always expected, but in person he is an absolute Guy-worse than Patmore.
>
> However he seems in a mood to make my fortune.[18]

Oswald Doughty claims that Rossetti found Ruskin "hideous",[19] which is not quite true: a "Guy" is an effigy of Guy Fawkes, and can apply simply to a grotesquely-dressed person. Rossetti's comparison between Ruskin and Patmore implies fondness rather than abuse-the tone is affectionate. The rather cynical postscript should be read in the light of remarks made earlier about the antipathy between Madox Brown and Ruskin.

Rossetti's letters suddenly become full of brief references to Ruskin, indicating that they were often together.

He wrote to Barbara Leigh Smith, for example, that he wished she had heard Ruskin's praise of the poems of Bessie Parkes.[20] Again, he told Madox Brown that he intended showing Elizabeth Siddal's drawings to Ruskin, "...who was here again this morning, and who, I know, will worship her";[21] to Allingham he wrote "I have told Ruskin of my pupil, and he yearneth".[22] Thus Rossetti had already described the woman he loved to Ruskin, and Ruskin longed to meet her: the relationship was clearly more than a business one. Ruskin seems to have 'won over' the innately hostile artist: Rossetti actually chose to be with Ruskin rather than with other friends: a letter to Allingham, for example, excuses himself from an evening engagement, "...have lunched late to-day with Ruskin. We read half the Day and Night Songs together and I gave him the book. He was most delighted, and said some of it was heavenly".[23] Although this was intended to flatter Allingham, who was the author of the book, it also reveals a great deal about the early friendship of Ruskin and Rossetti: meeting for lunch, they had read poetry together until late into the afternoon, clearly with much enjoyment and discussion, and the event had been marked by a spontaneous present from Rossetti to Ruskin.

Almost immediately after Ruskin and Rossetti first met they were both distracted by personal loss and grief. Rossetti's father died on 26 April 1854, and it was at this time that Ruskin's wife was seeking an annulment of their marriage. This perhaps increased the mutual need for friendship, and helps to explain Ruskin's paternalistic

attitude; on 2nd May he wrote to Rossetti:

> Dear Mr. Rossetti,- You must have been surprised and hurt at my not having written to your before- but you may perhaps already have heard, or at all events will soon hear, that I have had much upon my mind during the last week, and have been unable to attend to my daily duties-of which one of the most urgent would at another time have been that of expressing to you my sympathy with you on the occasion of your late loss.
>
> I should be sincerely obliged if you will sometimes write to me (as I shall not, I fear, be able to see you before I leave town), telling me how you are, and what you are doing and thinking of. I am truly anxious that no sorrow, still less, undue distrust of yourself- may interfere with the exercise of your very noble powers, and I should deem it a great privilege if you would allow me to have fellowship in your thoughts and sympathy with your purposes.
>
> I have ordered my bookseller to send you copies of all that I have written (though I know not of what use it can possibly be to you); and if you will insist on having so great an advantage over me as to give me a little drawing of yours in exchange -as Glaucus gave his golden arms for Diomed's brazen ones-I shall hold it one of my most precious possessions-but <u>besides</u> this, please do a drawing for me as for Mr. Boyce, for fifteen guineas. Thus I shall have two drawings instead of one. And do them at your pleasure-of whatever subjects you like best.
>
> I send the piece of opal of which I spoke, by parcels-delivery company this afternoon. It is not a fine piece, but I think you will have pleasure in sometimes letting your eye rest upon it. I know no colours possessing its peculiar character, and a magnifying glass used to its purple extremity will show wonderful things in it. I hope to be back in London about the middle of August, and will immediately come to see your pupil's drawings. A letter directed here-Denmark Hill Camberwell-with "to be forwarded" on it, will always find me. Meantime believe me always faithfully yours, J.RUSKIN.[24] (<u>Letters</u>)

There are a number of important things to notice about this letter. The first is that in contrast to the later correspondence Ruskin's tone was almost obsequious, declaring that it would be a great <u>privilege</u> for him to share Rossetti's thoughts. The need for friendship was thinly disguised- Ruskin twice used the term "sympathy with" (which aptly characterised what the relationship was to become). Ruskin's

somewhat ostentatious present of all his works smacks of a desire to influence the young artist, but the words "I know not of what use it can possibly be to you" suggest that it was actually in response to a request made by Rossetti. A letter in the Bodleian transcripts confirms this: Rossetti seems to have written to Ruskin in Chamouni, from whence he received a reply on 21 August (1854):

> Dear Rossetti,-I am much pleased with your nice letter and will do all ~~I~~ we (sic) can for Deverell. I fear my father has no place at present. I can't answer your letter today but I am ~~annoyed~~ amazed (sic) at your speaking of borrowing my lectures. The order to send you all my ~~works~~ (sic) was accurately sent, when I advised you of it-and so was the bit of opal-did you /not/ get this? It was a small parcel and /may have/ been lost. Meantime Smith & Elder to enquire and see that they be sent. Yours faithfully J. RUSKIN[25]

Ruskin expressed surprise that Rossetti should ask to borrow his lectures, since he had, three months ago, directed all his work to be sent as a gift. In return Ruskin was to receive one of Rossetti's drawings; already then, there had been an exchange of work between the two. Ruskin's promise that he and his father would try to help Deverell, probably refers to Rossetti's scheme to raise money for the bereaved family of Walter Howell Deverell, Rossetti's very dear friend and fellow P.R.B. painter who had died on 2 February 1854. Ruskin's gift of an opal was unusual: although traditionally associated with fickleness, (see Twelfth Night II iv, 74: "thy mind is a very opal") and therefore perhaps appropriately sent to Rossetti, it is unlikely that Ruskin intended such at this stage of the relationship, however prophetic it may have been. It is much more probable that Ruskin had already

made the observation to Rossetti which he made in the 1883 lecture on the Realistic Schools of Painting: that Rossetti's colour-method achieved the effect of light diffused through tinted glass: he probably sent Rossetti the opal to show the purity of colour that could thus be achieved. Ruskin thought that the opal presented "the most lovely colours that can be seen in the world, except those of clouds",[26] and elsewhere he praised its "faculty of selecting for its lustre the most lovely combinations of the separated rays";[27] he clearly thought that his favourite gem would aid Rossetti's study of colour.

Although Ruskin must have been distracted at this time by personal problems, he exhibited far greater concern for Rossetti's artistic welfare, passing over his own unhappiness with the words "I have had much upon my mind...",[28] and repeating his previous anxiety that Rossetti should not allow his own problems to interfere with work. Rossetti, naturally curious about Ruskin's misfortunes, wrote to Allingham:

> On the day of my father's funeral...I heard from Ruskin who hints at some grievous family misfortune of which he says I have 'perhaps heard already or at any rate will soon hear'. This seems as if it must soon become public. Have you heard anything? He is leaving town till August about, and says he has given orders for all his works to be sent to me, so I suppose they are at my rooms now. He asks me to correspond with him, which I shall try to do.[29]

Oswald Doughty claims that Rossetti was indifferent to Ruskin's annulment, citing as evidence the remark to his brother that "Ruskin...seems to take his sell coolly".[30] The slang is not necessarily either cynicism directed at Ruskin, or symptomatic of callousness, but rather is a natural form of

communication between brothers. Other of Rossetti's remarks suggest that he sensed Ruskin's reticence, and felt that it would have been tactless and presumptuous to enquire about the state of Ruskin's marriage: he told Allingham "I wrote to R/uskin/ at some length the other day, but of course avoided that, except a mere allusion";[31] Rossetti was apparently fulfilling his resolution to write to Ruskin whenever he could, which is surprising, since he hated such obligations; clearly the letters were restricted to artistic matters; what impressed Rossetti was Ruskin's dedication to his work amidst turbulent personal problems: he wrote to Ford Madox Brown that Ruskin "seems to take it very cool, as he wrote to me during the row with a good deal about Art etc..."[32] Rossetti was apparently not, as Doughty claimed, unfeeling about the matter "That Ruskin business seems a wretched affair".[33] A further remark which Rossetti made to Madox Brown about the Ruskin marriage is perhaps evidence of his knowledge of Ruskin's writings at this early date in their friendship:

> Mrs. R. will get a divorce it seems-her husband is-or is not I know not what. There are other 'solitary habits' besides those which you indulge in-more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in even Turner's philosophy.[34]

The last phrase is possibly an intentional reference to Ruskin's quotation from Hamlet in the first volume of Modern Painters refuting those who claimed truth to be discoverable by instinct: "I have to prove to them that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in their philosophy".[35] However, the same letter reveals Rossetti's

resistance to Ruskin's attempts to 'inculcate' certain artistic tastes: "I suspect Mrs R's bolt must absolutely have taken place one day when I was at R's governor's house having Turner inculcated from specimens extant on that spot."[36] The irony is not wholly directed at Ruskin; Rossetti knew too well how easy it was to be wholly absorbed in Art at the expense of personal relationships; the cynicism with which he greeted Ruskin's attempts to 'inculcate' Turner is characteristic, although Rossetti was equally guilty of artistic evangelising. Although Ruskin was now abroad he had deposited his collected works with Rossetti in lieu of his personal guidance; when Rossetti told his aunt about the gift he seemed more impressed with the material than the spiritual value:

> I heard two days ago from Mr. Ruskin, who is at Chamonix, and received from him the very valuable present of all his works-including eight volumes, three pamphlets, and some large folio plates of Venetian architecture.[37]

He did, however, apparently pay attention to the contents of the books: he wrote to Allingham:

> I've also read some of the Stones of Venice having received all Ruskin's books from him, really a splendid present, including even the huge plates of Venetian architecture. I've heard again from him - at Chamonix.[38]

Rossetti was also impressed by Ruskin's letter to the Times on Hunt's Light of The World: as he told MacCracken: "Thanks for the paper containing Ruskin's admirable letter on Hunt's admirable picture. I had already seen it".[39] He was perhaps prompted to read The Stones of Venice by a question in McCracken's letter. This patron of Rossetti's who, as we have seen, valued Ruskin's opinion so highly, had apparently written to Rossetti asking whether he agreed with

Ruskin's view of colour in art. Rossetti's reply is interesting as one of the rare occasions on which he indulged in theorising about his own technique:

> I write rather under press of occupation, but will try to answer all your questions. I have not yet read the 3rd Stones of Venice. I believe colour to be a quite indispensible quality in the highest art, and that no picture ever belonged to the highest order without it: while many by possessing it-as the works of Titian-are raised certainly into the highest class, though not to the very highest grade of that class; in spite of the limited degree of their other great qualities. I suppose this must be something like Ruskin's meaning.[40]

This is not only surprisingly 'like Ruskin's meaning' but also very like Ruskin's style of writing: Rossetti had clearly been asked to elucidate a point made by Ruskin in the third volume of the Stones of Venice, and began his reply with a warning that he had not yet read it. Not only does the letter echo Ruskin's belief that "...if you colour perfectly you are sure to be able to do everything else if you like"[41], it also employs the tortured prose characteristic of Ruskin. Rossetti actually valued colour more highly than Ruskin, as their disagreements at the Working Men's College later revealed.[42] In the remainder of the letter Rossetti asserted that colour actually defines a picture, using Ruskinian terminology in the equation of beauty and goodness; it would be easy to mistake this as an extract from Modern Painters:

> Colour is the physiognomy of a picture; and like the shape of the human forehead, it cannot be perfectly beautiful, without proving goodness and greatness. Other qualities are its life excercised, but this is the body of its life, by which we know and love it at first sight.[43]

The belief in the supreme importance of colour was of course a Pre-Raphaelite ideal and would not have been adopted by Rossetti from Ruskin. In this and other respects it is difficult to ascertain whether Rossetti was influenced by Ruskin's written theories at all or whether their similarities are due to the common fundamental ideals discussed in the second section. The "works to date" which Ruskin had sent to Rossetti were volumes one and two of Modern Painters (published in 1843 and 1846 respectively), the Collected Poems (published for private circulation in 1850), the three volumes of the Stones of Venice (published in 1851 and 1853), the pamphlet on Pre-Raphaelitism (1851), and Giotto and His Works in Padua (1853 and 1854).[44] Rossetti's eager anticipation of the third volume of Modern Painters, suggests that he had in fact read and enjoyed the other two volumes: "Ruskin's new volume will be in my hands I believe, on Tuesday".[45] He professed to be both impressed and inspired by the new volume: on 6 February 1856 he wrote to Robert Browning:

> I'm about half-way through Ruskin's third volume which you describe very truly. Glorious it is in many parts- how fine that passage in the 'Religious false ideal', where he describes Raphael's Charge to St. Peter, and the probable truth of the event in its outward aspect. A glorious picture might be done from Ruskin's description.[46]

Rossetti thought, then, that Ruskin had achieved in prose what he himself was attempting in painting: realistic depiction of a symbolic event. Rossetti was at this time painting The Passover for Ruskin, in which he wished to emphasise, as he told Patmore-"its actuality as an incident, no less than

as a scriptural type"[47] exactly what he thought Ruskin had achieved in his description of The Charge to St. Peter. The desire for fidelity to the secular facts of the actual event was a principle held by both men before they met (see Ch. on the Grotesque).

Rossetti also eagerly awaited the publication of Ruskin's Lectures on Architecture and Painting[48] which had been delivered the previous year. Although Ruskin had not mentioned Rossetti when he actually gave the lectures, the addenda and footnotes which he had added soon after meeting Rossetti (see Ch. on Rossetti as leader of Pre-Raphaelites) carefully compensated for this. It was from Munro that Rossetti heard he had been mentioned in the lectures; on 17th May he wrote to his brother:

> Munro writes to me that there is mention of me with Hunt and Millais in Ruskin's lectures just out. Have you seen or can you tell me of it?[49]

Rossetti also wrote to Madox Brown that Ruskin"...has something anent me in his Lectures just published". When Rossetti eventually read the lectures he was disappointed: "Miss Smith has just lent me Ruskin's Lectures where there is only a slight though very friendly mention of me",[50] though he underestimated the tribute: although there were only two specific references to Rossetti the whole lecture extols his imaginative interpretation of Pre-Raphaelitism as opposed to the strict realism of, for example, Holman Hunt. Rossetti grudgingly conceded that the Lectures were "very interesting".

The letter which Rossetti received from Geneva on 5 June

of the year he met Ruskin marks a conscious step forward in the intimacy of the two men:

> Dear ~~Mr~~ Rossetti,-I have just scratched out-the Mr. in the above address /and hope/ you will leave it out in your answer to me this time./We will not/ go on Mr.-ing each other.
>
> Since I got your letter /a week ago?/ I have been travelling in Normandy and Picardy, and I have /been so dread/fully vexed by seeing what is doing there that I could not /think of/anything else-but go moaning and foaming about the /place. Peace of mi/nd is beginning to return to me in the air of the /Alps and I now reply to your/ kind letter.[51] (Letters)

The next part of the letter seems to reply to a protest Rossetti had made about the respective popularity of the members of the P.R.B. Hunt had exhibited a modern subject The Awakening Conscience[52] which attracted a great deal of attention. Rossetti claimed that he had conceived Found,[53] a similar subject, long ago, but since it was still unfinished its impact would now be lost. Ruskin's reply is not printed in full either in the Collected Works or in William Rossetti's edition of the Ruskin-Rossetti letters. This was probably to evade the controversy which arose over Ruskin's suggestion in the letter that Hunt and Millais were indebted to Rossetti. Hunt especially resented this, and furthermore blamed this very letter as "...the beginning of Rossetti's pretensions".[54] (although Rossetti himself denied leadership). It is difficult to discover what Hunt objected to in the letter since Ruskin merely declared that he was not at all surprised that the three foremost members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had independently happened upon very similar subjects. However controversial the letter, it is extremely interesting as representative of Ruskin's estimate of Rossetti at this

time: it is published in full in Helen Rossetti Angeli's Rossetti: His Friends and Enemies. (with the torn parts in brackets)

> /I hope you are feeling/ a little more at ease with respect to the /trouble apparent in your/ letter, as well as the few words y/ou recently let drop speak/ing of some grief at not having been abl/e to give full expression to your thou/ghts; and a consciousness that there/is something unsatisfactory in the posi/tion which you occupy as compared with your /fellow-artists/. I know that, so far from being envious of them, you /are th/oroughly happy in their success; but yet you feel that there is as much in you as in them: and you have a kind of gnawing pain at not standing side by side with them. You feel as if it were not worth while, now, to bring out your modern subject, as Hunt has done his, first. Now as to the original suggestion of the power which there is in modern life-if honestly treated- I firmly believe that-to whomsoever it in reality may belong in priority of time, it belongs to all three of you equally in right of possession. I think that you, Hunt, and Millais, would every one of you, have made the discovery without assistance or suggestion from the other-one might make it quicker or slower than another, and I suppose that, actually, you were the first who did it. But it would have been impossible for men of such eyes and hearts as Millais and Hunt to walk the streets of London, or /watch/the things that pass each day, and not to discover also, w/hat there/was in them to be shown-and painted. I am much /mistaken/ also, in both Hunt and Millais, if they do not, as n/aturally being/ a question of interest with the public, confess the debt which they owed to you in this matter. But at present the /battle is still/ fighting; to all intents and purposes indeed it is won; b/ut there will be/ some hard work yet to secure it, and you must really enter the melée with all speed. I don't know if you ever r/ead such/ un-genuine books as Walter Scott's romances of past days. /The/ sketches of all that he had himself seen are glorious; b/ut/ I am sure you never had patience-even if you tried-to read such long descriptions. Otherwise I should tell you that I look on/you as being in the/ position of the Black Knight who held himself out of the tour/ney in the beginning/ and then exerted himself for the /defence of his side?- Victory-?/ I don't mean to say you have not /done your share of the work, but you/ must do it now in a different way- and take the/worst of the press/ure off Millais; who is in need of rest.[55]

The Black Knight analogy-implying that Rossetti would become

the most eminent of the Pre-Raphaelites-is the only part of Ruskin's letter that could have scandalised the other members; yet it is very probable that when Holman Hunt wrote his objections in Pre-Raphaelitism and The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (published in 1905,) he had seen only the expurgated version of the letter published by William Rossetti in Ruskin: Rossetti: Pre-Raphaelitism (1899).[56] Although Ruskin conceded, in this letter, that Rossetti may have been the first to discover the potentialities of a modern subject, he declared such priority to be unimportant, which hardly provides grounds for Hunt's resentment. It is interesting that Ruskin still talked in terms of a shared artistic battle despite the fact that the original P.R.B. had disbanded: he seems to have spoken of Millais having 'done his bit in order to pressurise Rossetti into activity.

Hunt was apparently correct in claiming that Rossetti's 'pretensions' originated with Ruskin's letter, but he was wrong in assuming them to be pretentions to leadership: Rossetti wrote to Hunt soon after receiving Ruskin's letter, but merely to point out that he had conceived of the subject Found long before Hunt's Awakened Conscience had become known:

> The subject had been sometime designed before you left England and will be thought, by anyone who sees it when (and if) finished, to follow in the wake of your "Awakened Conscience", but not by yourself, as you know I had long in view subjects taking the same direction as my present one.[57]

Most of the apparent favouritism in Ruskin's letter was simply intended as reassurance and encouragement to Rossetti.

The words "I am sure you are not envious" were an ironic reproach for the probable jealousy which Rossetti had displayed. Ruskin compensated for this 'dig' by persuading Rossetti to concentrate on his own talents and not to attempt to compete with the other 'P.R.B.'s' on unfamiliar ground: he advised Rossetti to leave Found and return to the Biblical subject:

> Now for your subjects. I like the two first-the "Found" and the "Mary Magdalene at the door of Simon's House"-exceedingly: the latter however, much the best, partly because I have naturally a great dread of subjects altogether painful, and I can be happy in thinking of Mary Magdalene, but am merely in pain while I think of the other subject. This first also (the "Found") is a dreadfully difficult one, and I can imagine you half-killing yourself in trying to get it what you want, in vain. There is one word I do not understand in your description of your third subject-the most important word; referring, I suppose, to some piece of literature I do not know. But as to what you say of your wish to unite several scenes on an elevated(?) horizon, I most entirely agree with you. No pictures are so interesting /as those/ which tell a story in this consecutive way; and it would /never have/ been given up but for the ridiculous "unities" which the bad /critics of the/ last two centuries insisted upon. The fact is-taking /the matter in the/ most prosaic and severe way-you merely paint three /several pictures, and/ unite them by interlude of background, instead /of painting them/ separately. What possible objection can there be to /this/?..[58] (Letters)

These apparently casual criticisms and comments are actually based upon Ruskin's carefully formulated artistic theories. His preference for the Mary Magdalene picture, ostensibly because it is a happier subject, actually had a more dogmatic basis: Ruskin was at this time working on the third volume of Modern Painters in which his examination of greatness in art included the question of the artistic merit of various subjects: in Ruskin's opinion Biblical themes were of the highest order, indicating that "the painter has a natural

disposition to dwell on the highest thoughts of which humanity is capable", whereas Found fell in the third category of the "passions and events of ordinary life"..[59] Ruskin's preference for the Magdalene[60] was due also to the apparent ease with which it was executed, evidence of true inspiration, whereas Found explicitly exhibited difficulties: by merely looking at the picture Ruskin declared he could imagine Rossetti "half killing" himself to get it right"in vain". Ruskin's words were prophetic: Rossetti never managed to finish the painting although he returned to it throughout his life.[61] In the future Ruskin was constantly to remind Rossetti that the painful striving after correctness only led to posturing. Hence his approval of Rossetti's disregard for the classical 'unities' of time and place. Pictures produced in accordance with these laws were, he declared in Modern Painters,

> ...in the strictest sense of the word, "compositions",- cold arrangements of propriety and agreeableness, according to academical formulas, the painter never in any case making the slightest effort to conceive the thing as it really must have happened, but only to gather together graceful lines and beautiful faces, in such compliance with commonplace ideas of the subject as might obtain for the whole an "epic unity", or some other form of scholastic perfectness.[62] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Rossetti's Mary Magdalene at The Door of Simon The Pharisee eschews perspective in favour of the primitive method of representing objects according to their significance. The practice of "uniting several scenes on an elevated horizon" produces the crowded effect of many medieval paintings: the composition of Rossetti's picture has much in common, for example, with that of The Adoration of The Magi by Fra Angelico

and Fra Filippo Lippi [63] (whom Ruskin had studied and admired in Florence). Both paintings feature a long train of rowdy people coming through a distant archway from a mountainous region, leading the attention towards the principal figure who has reached Christ's dwelling in the foreground and who is moved, unlike the others, by Christ's nearness. Rossetti's bare bricks replace the Gothic arches of the former painting, chickens replace peacocks, and a deer replaces a royal hound. It is not necessary to assert that Rossetti consciously emulated, or even knew, this picture, but it demonstrates the extent of his affinities with medieval art. Ruskin's early encouragement of certain of Rossetti's propensities was based upon his conviction that primitive artists made spontaneous and sincere attempts at dramatic truth. The remainder of Ruskin's letter suggests that something of this sort was indeed in his mind, for he reminded Rossetti of their shared enthusiasm for medieval art, declaring it to be more, "..pregnant and powerful", than anything since. He referred to a painting of Rossetti's which is no longer extant, but which was apparently indebted to the work of the Italian Renaissance painter Benozzo Gozzoli, whose inspiration is also seen in Rossetti's Boat of Love[64] painted much later, in 1874. The whole of the latter part of this letter was devoted to emphasising Ruskin's initial request to share in Rossetti's "purposes":

> /Laur?/ati's Hermits are packed a little too close, and /arranged too m/uch into a sort of Hermit pattern, with a Hermit for every square yard-but I am sure your arrangement will be /effective?/ as well as piquant. I think Benozzo Gozzoli is as /good a teller of/ stories as I know.

> /From what you have/ told me of them-as well as by the sonnet you /have sent me I feel sure I sha/ll like your thirteenth century poets. /I have no doubt we shall have/ much pleasure together in hunting that domain, when I have finished my /work in a year/ or 18 months-about Turner. /I mean to devote myself/ to an examination of the spirit of /medieval architecture, or m/ore accurately of the period 1150-1350, tw/o hundred/ years, I imagine the most pregnant and powerful which have /ever been in/ this world of ours. I shall examine all the architecture of this period in England, France, and Italy; and I hope to be able to get /some knowledge/ of the literature-the hope of your help /makes me mor/e sanguine than I was in this respect- and I shall study the politics carefully if I have time- in fact-concentrating what strength I have on this subject for, I daresay, the best part of my life. Please send me some more translations when you have time.
>
> At present I am resting among the mountains, and trying to draw them a little. I do wish, when you find yourself in need of a little change of thought-you would run me as far as Rouen-and look at the 13th century sculptures, going fast to decay, at the bottom of the doors of the south and north transepts: I am thinking of casting them, but they are so mouldered away - or choked with dust-that /I fear/ the additional bluntness of the cast will set them off /to poor/ advantage. You would, I think, be infinitely touched by them; they are on a level with the eye-little panels- /about the size of/ this square of paper-about 150 on each door, full /of beauty/- the finest things I know in all the world.[65]

Knowing Rossetti's commitment to all things medieval, Ruskin almost childishly boasted that he too intended devoting, "I daresay the best part of my life" to this subject. There is no evidence that Rossetti responded to Ruskin's request for help with researching medieval literature, but Rossetti's enthusiasm for, and knowledge of early writers clearly continued to encourage Ruskin, as the letter in which Ruskin asked Rossetti's opinion about the identity of Beatrice in the Vita Nuova[66] demonstrates. It will also be seen that Ruskin's knowledge of medieval verse was extended by his careful proof reading of Rossetti's Italian translations.

As soon as Ruskin returned from the continent at the end of the summer of 1854, he wrote to Rossetti anticipating a scheme in which he hoped to involve his new friend:

> Dear Rossetti....I congratulate you on the weather. When you have taken to your rooms again, please write me word, as I have a great deal to say to you about plans for teaching the workmen this winter-
> Ever faithfully yours, J. Ruskin.[67] (Letters)

The project which Ruskin and Rossetti had clearly already discussed was that of the Working Men's College, at which Ruskin gave free drawing lessons. Rossetti greeted what he considered Ruskin's customary over-enthusiasm with his own habitual wry scepticism: He wrote to Allingham in October:

> Ruskin is back again, and wrote to me, naming a day when he meant to call, but I was obliged to write I could not be at my rooms. He has written again since, saying he wants to consult with me about plans for 'teaching the masons'; so you may soon expect to find every man shoulder his hod, 'with upturned fervid face and hair put back'.[68]

Oswald Doughty regards this as evidence that Rossetti taught at the college primarily to please Ruskin, implying that the cynicism reveals an absence of social ideals of his own.[69] It seems more likely however that the quotation from Browning's Sordello,[70] was intended to mock not the workmen but Ruskin's enthusiasm, and was, moreover, Rossetti's defensive camouflage of his own nervousness about pursuing the same course as Ruskin. A short and brisk letter from Ruskin reveals that Rossetti was in fact unsure of his teaching ability:

> Dear Rossetti,-If you can come to the meeting specified in enclosed ticket it would be very nice. I shall be there D.V. But not at college on Thursday- session is over. There is no fear about teaching. All that the men want is to see a few touches done, and to be told where and why they are wrong in their own work,

> in the simplest possible way. Faithfully yours, J. Ruskin.[71] (Letters)

Ruskin's altruism clearly impressed Rossetti, who wrote to Allingham that Ruskin:

> ...has been back about a month or so, looking very well and in excellent spirits. Perhaps you know that he has joined Maurice's scheme for a Working Men's College, which has now begun to be put in operation at 31 Red Lion Square. Ruskin has most liberally undertaken a drawing class, which he attends every Thursday evening, and he and I had a long confab. about plans for teaching. He is most enthusiastic about it, and has so infected me, that I think of offering an evening weekly for the same purpose, when I am settled in town again.[72]

Since Ruskin's reassuring letter Rossetti's sarcasm had disappeared; in its place were serious plans, and a frank admission to Allingham of the infectiousness of Ruskin's enthusiasm. Although Doughty claims that Rossetti's motives for teaching at the Working Men's College were suspect, accounts written by pupils suggest the contrary: Thomas Sulman for example was impressed by Rossetti's genuine concern: "He was very kind and sincere".[73] Accounts of the art class in The Working Men's College 1854-1905[74] also suggest that Rossetti was as devoted to art teaching as Ruskin was. Rossetti may not have been politically motivated to assist in the College, but apparently neither did Ruskin preach 'Mauriceism', the Christian socialism of the College principal. Ruskin himself attested to Rossetti's genuineness many years later, in Praeterita, recalling "with loving honour" that Rossetti was "the only one of our modern painters who taught disciples for love of them".[75] J.P. Emslie remembers Ruskin speaking of Rossetti to his

pupils:

> Of Mr. Rossetti, Mr. Ruskin once told me that he (Rossetti) was in one respect like only one other artist, Cimabue, for he taught his pupils all that he knew, being quite free from that professional jealousy which caused most artists to withold some part of their knowledge from their pupils.76

Rossetti was equally impressed with Ruskin's teaching abilities: writing to his aunt to arrange for some influential people to visit the college, he emphasised:

> To see the system of teaching in full force, they ought by rights to visit Mr. Ruskin's class some Thursday evening as well-as his class is of longer standing and far better organised than mine.....I asked Mr. Ruskin about it and he said it would give him much pleasure. 77

Rossetti wrote to Allingham soon after he had begun at the College, saying how strongly he felt the onus of Ruskin's example. There was however, no awful need to 'please' Ruskin, as Doughty has suggested; on the contrary, Rossetti was given a completely free hand, and he clearly enjoyed the opportunity: he wrote to William Allingham on 23rd January 1855:

> .....I began my class last night at the Working Men's College: it is for the figure, quite a separate thing from Ruskin's, who teaches foliage. I have set one of them as a model to the rest, till they can find themselves another model. I intend them to draw only from nature, and some of them-two or three-show unmistakable aptitude-almost all, more than one could ever have looked for. Ruskin's class has progressed astonishingly, and I must try to keep pace with him. The class proceeds quite on a family footing, and I feel sure will prove amusing. 78

Rossetti's anticipation of enjoyment proved true: this was an especially happy period in the relationship between Ruskin and Rossetti: they amused both themselves and others by their heated artistic disagreements: Rossetti insisted

that his pupils use full colour from the beginning, but Ruskin felt that they should first master drawing: Rossetti once stood in at a class for Ruskin, and confiscated all the drawings that had been made under Ruskin's directions. J.P. Emslie, a pupil at the time, describes Ruskin's reaction:

> "I understand what is good and what is bad colour", said Mr. Ruskin, "but I wouldn't undertake to teach it, and as to figure painting, it's a thing that requires a life-time of practice". Mr. Rossetti much wished to have all the students in his class, "Mr. Ruskin'll spoil their eye for colour if he keeps 'em so long at that pencil and sepia drawing", he would say; while Mr. Ruskin would reply to some student who was ambitious of trying his hand at painting, "yes, Mr. Rossetti is such a colourist that he wishes everybody to be the same, and would have people practice colour before they understand light-and-shade and how colour is affected by it.79

Rossetti's enthusiasm expressed itself in somewhat over-ambitious schemes for teaching, which caused Ruskin, as director of the art-classes, some headaches: on one occasion Rossetti had given his pupils dead birds to study: the classes had to be hurried so that the models could be disposed of! Ruskin wrote to Lowes Dickinson requesting his assistance:

> Dear Dickinson- I think it will be best if you help Rossetti's men on with their birds etc., playing into his hands as much as you can, so as to get as much done on the movable and corruptible models as may be. On the Thursdays I shall keep mostly to stones and leaves, not disturbing your models. I have no doubt the whole thing will go on better, if we all keep to this somewhat humbler material of study-Most truly yours and gratefully, J. Ruskin. 80. (Letters)

Rossetti also wanted to introduce his pupils to oil-painting: Ruskin was very much against it: he wrote anxiously to Rossetti:

> I should like to consult with you and hear your reasons about <u>oil</u>-painting. I don't think that this

> form of study is quite necessary, and it will involve much trouble and expense. For one thing, I cannot have any oil-painting whatsoever in the room in which my class works, otherwise I could not leave my books and prints about. Please don't go into this further till I see you.[81] (Letters)

An incident described by Thomas Sulman, then a pupil at the College, illustrates the enjoyment derived by teachers and pupils alike from the lighthearted 'feud' between Ruskin and Rossetti; the way in which Rossetti took up, or rather failed to answer, the following challenge by Ruskin is revealing because so characteristic of Rossetti's 'method' of work:

> Ruskin,.. sent into our class-room a great hamper of birds..... He then challenged Rossetti, Lowes Dickinson, and Smetham, to paint a specimen for our instruction. Dickinson chose the pheasant...and in an hour had struck out a bold romantic sketch in browns and reds that was very convincing...Rossetti got the duck, and spent half an hour tying it on a drawing-board with string into a round heap. The grey dry brush went on, we watching with profound interest. The next evening he proceeded to cover it with bright chrome. We grew uneasy, we could see no yellow in the bird. For the next few nights he was absent, and before the drawing could proceed to another stage, the housekeeper for sanitary reasons had removed the model; we never knew what scheme he had in his mind.[82]

The differences between Ruskin and Rossetti apparently were not only practical but also idealistic:

> Mr. Ruskin, upon several occasions, when speaking at College meetings, said that men came into his class with an idea that they could soon become artists and earn more money than they could as workmen, that he (Ruskin) wished to discourage the idea. His wish was to teach men drawing in order that they might see greater beauties than they had hitherto seen in nature and in art, and thereby gain more pleasure in life; if they had the artistic gift it would ultimately display itself. I don't think this view of the matter was taken by Mr. Rossetti...[83]

The reference to Rossetti is provoking: it is difficult to tell with which of Ruskin's statements Rossetti did not agree: perhaps he felt that workmen could and should desire to become artists; perhaps he was sceptical about the value of art pursued simply as a hobby; perhaps he disagreed that genius would always prevail. It seems likely that Rossetti believed all these things, because throughout his life he maintained that the pursuance of art demanded total devotion:

> A promising member of his class had taken to the study of algebra, and Mr. Rossetti urged him to give it up, and asked him what use it could possibly be to painting ... He did not like the thought of his pupils joining any class...whose subject was unconnected with art. [84]

Despite their practical and theoretical differences, it is clear that Ruskin and Rossetti respected and admired one another's abilities. Ford Madox Brown noticed this, rather jealously, when he attended a meeting at the College: "Ruskin was eloquent as ever and as wildly popular with the men... He flattered Rossetti hugely...."[85] E.T. Cook describes Ruskin's relationship with Rossetti at this time: "He had conceived a great admiration for Rossetti's genius, as well as a warm affection for him personally".[86] A brief letter from Ruskin indicates that he regarded Rossetti as a competent and committed teacher:

> Dear R.,
> I am truly sorry to hear you are unwell. We must, I suppose, all have our turn.
> Don't go to the College just now - You do quite enough for them. That lesson in <u>moss</u> drawing to Edwards was <u>invaluable</u>.
> I will bring your picture back whenever you like- but you can't work with the <u>tic douloureux</u>. [87]

The year after Ruskin and Rossetti met, 1855, is well documented. Ruskin wrote nearly thirty letters to Rossetti, more than at any other time in their ten-year friendship, and Rossetti's letters to others were full of references to Ruskin. All Ruskin's letters, with the possible exception of one, were written from Denmark Hill, which means that the two were seeing one another as well as writing numerous letters. Rossetti painted eleven major pictures in this year, all of which were bought by Ruskin,[88] one of which he passed on. It would be fair to say, then, that in 1855 Rossetti's success was due entirely to Ruskin; as E.T. Cook has put it, Ruskin, "...set about, if not making Rossetti's fortune, at any rate relieving him from financial anxiety".[89] This was not entire self-sacrifice on Ruskin's part, since he was convinced of Rossetti's genius, and furthermore declared that he would accept only those pictures which he really liked, selling others on Rossetti's behalf. Ruskin was a very exacting patron, returning Fra Pace for example, because it was, "not my sort of drawing",[90] and repeatedly criticising The Nativity, until it was "much mended,"[91] whereupon he decided to keep it. Thus although Ruskin was undeniably responsible for Rossetti's livelihood in 1855 (he bought all Rossetti's paintings of this year with the exception of Ruth & Boaz whose style belongs to the apprentice-years) he did not go unrewarded, although perhaps he did not receive the emotional satisfaction from Rossetti that he craved.

The relationship between Ruskin and Rossetti was not, at the beginning of 1855, a business affair: the two were

simply artistic associates, continuing the lively exchange that had characterised their first year of friendship: a brief letter from Ruskin at this time is illustrative:

> Dear Rossetti-I think you are mistaken respecting that play. I have read a great deal. Portions are good descriptively, and some Potiphar's wife is good; but as a whole it is wrong. But can you dine with us on Thursday at 6? (and not be too P.R.B. as Stanfield is coming too!) -but I've no other time for a chat.- Ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin. 92 (Letters)

Ruskin was criticising Joseph and his Brethren (1824) by Charles Wells, an author whom Rossetti admired throughout his life. This play in particular Rossetti regarded as "... the solitary instance, within our period, of poetry of the very first class falling quite unrecognised".[93] Ruskin was clearly one of those who could not recognise the "exalted and primeval, if not the subtly etherealized qualities",[94] which Rossetti admired. Ruskin was characteristically dogmatic: "I think you are mistaken....", but the letter was playful, ending with a request that Rossetti should not be too provokingly Pre-Raphaelite when introduced to Ruskin's guest on Thursday.

Later that year the two men differed over another important literary matter: the work of their contemporary, Robert Browning. Men and Women was first published in 1855, and immediately pronounced "a magnificent series"[95] by Rossetti, who was a personal friend of the Brownings. In November Rossetti wrote to Allingham that he had been:

> ...bottled up ever since M/en/ and W/omen/ came out. Bye the bye, I don't reckon William-the intensity of fellow-feeling on the subject making the discussion of it between us rather flat. 96

Rossetti must then have been very stimulated by Ruskin's declaration that, "Men and Women is to me simply a set of 50 Conundrums of the most amazing & tormenting kind"[97]. He set out to convert Ruskin, a willing pupil who had been perplexed because he felt unable to praise Robert Browning as much as his wife. Elizabeth Barrett Browning had sent Ruskin Men and Women, not in the hope that he would, "say 'pleasant things' of them.....but...as a sign of the esteem and admiration of both of us".[98] Ruskin appealed to Rossetti to help him understand the poems, and Rossetti wrote delightedly to Allingham that the intellectual battle had been won:

> Ruskin, on reading Men and Women (and with it some of the other works which he didn't know before), declared them rebelliously to be a mass of conundrums, and compelled me to sit down before him and lay siege for one whole night: the result of which was that he sent me next morning a bulky letter to be forwarded to B/rowning/, in which I trust he told him he was the greatest man since Shakespeare.[99]

Rossetti's faith in the powers of his own persuasion was not quite justified: the 'bulky letter' which was sent to Browning as a result of the 'siege' repeated Ruskin's earlier charge of obscurity, and though Ruskin did, as Rossetti 'trusted', compare Browning to Shakespeare it was not with wholehearted approval:-

> There is a stuff and fancy in your work which assuredly is in no other living writer's,....There are truths & depths in it, far beyond anything I have read except Shakespeare.....I cannot write in enthusiastic praise, because I look at you every day as a monkey does at a cocoanut, having great faith in the milk-hearing it rattle indeed-inside- but quite beside myself for the Fibres. Still less can I write in blame. When a man has real power, God only knows how he can bring it out, or ought to bring it out. But, I would pray you, faith,

> heartily, to consider with yourself, how far you can amend matters, & make the real virtue of your work acceptable & profitable to more people.[100]

Ruskin later made a similar plea to Rossetti on behalf of "the public" for "entire clearness of modern and unantiquated expression".[101] Browning's reply, constituted, as one critic has claimed, "an important rationale of his art, at the high-point of his creativity",[102] Browning declared that although Ruskin would have him, "paint it all plain out", he himself believed that poetry should simply, "bear the conception from me to you".[103] Browning recognised that the same difference existed between himself and Ruskin as between Rossetti and Ruskin "We don't read poetry the same way, by the same law, it is too clear". Ruskin failed to mention that he had gone through Men and Women with someone who did indeed read poetry by the 'same law' as Browning: in fact he mentioned Rossetti only briefly at the end of the letter:

> However, I have found some great things in you already... That bit about the Bishop & St. Praxed, in the older poems, is very glorious. Rossetti showed it me.[104]

It was the very poem that Rossetti had shown which Ruskin quoted in the next volume of Modern Painters, as the consummate expression in English of "the Renaissance spirit",[105] and it was thanks to Rossetti that Ruskin had discovered in Browning a quality to which he could offer unqualified praise. In a following letter Ruskin promised Browning that he would be mentioned in the fourth volume of Modern Painters:

> What I am going to say will be about your wonderful understanding of painting & medievalism, unique among poets, and some reference to St. Praxeds under coloured stones. But for general witness to your standing

among poets, I am, quite as yet, incapable.[106]

Ruskin admired The Bishop Orders his Tomb in St. Praxed's Church on grounds similar to those for which he admired Rossetti's Dante Drawing an Angel: its capturing of the essence of the spirit of the past:

> Robert Browning is unerring in every sentence he writes of the Middle Ages; always vital, right, and profound; so that in the matter of art, with which we have been specially concerned, there is hardly a principle connected with the medieval temper, that he has not struck upon in those seemingly careless and too rugged rhymes of his.[107]

Rossetti had appreciated Browning's medievalism long before he discussed the poetry with Ruskin: in 1855 he wrote to Allingham: "I found his knowledge of early Italian Art beyond that of anyone I ever met-encyclopaedically beyond that of Ruskin himself"[108] (note the indirect tribute to Ruskin). Browning's work became associated in Ruskin's mind with Rossetti's: in February Ruskin wrote to him "I consider you a PreRaphaelite & include you always in the exceptions I make of that class to all that I say of modernism".[109] It was thus Rossetti who was chiefly responsible for Ruskin's lifelong admiration of Robert Browning.

Yet another literary disagreement between Ruskin and Rossetti at this time was to influence Rossetti's own work: he had long been engaged in translating early Italian poetry, including Dante's Vita Nuova, into English. Meanwhile C.B. Cayley had published three volumes of a metrical translation of Dante's Divine Comedy, which Rossetti greatly admired. In 1854 Rossetti sent Cayley his own translations for criticism and comment.[110] Early in 1855, when the last

of Cayley's translations had been published, Rossetti sent them to Ruskin, probably in order to prepare the way for his own work: Rossetti was disappointed: Ruskin did not receive them well, declaring that verse transaltion was doomed to failure:

> Dear Rossetti-Will you thank Mr. Cayley exceedingly for his kind present? I deeply regret that I cannot give him and you the pleasure which I am conceited enough to think you would both feel in my concurrence in your estimate of this translation. I think Mr. Cayley has failed simply by endeavouring the impossible. No poem can be translated in rhyme, for the simple reason that in composition a poet arranges his thoughts somewhat with respect to the rhyme. The translator cannot do this, and therefore must sacrifice all grace and flow to his rhyme, and often truth also. You call this a literal translation. .....[111] (Letters.)

Rossetti had apparently praised Cayley's literalness, "You call this a literal translation...,"retorted Ruskin, and proceeded to demonstrate that Cayley had substituted "insipidity for simplicity", for the sake of rhyme, and "nonsense" for "accuracy", concluding that "the apparent literalness of the new translation is actual infidelity". Rossetti had just written to Allingham before he received Ruskin's letter, declaring his wish to publish his own translation, which was also in verse, as soon as possible:

> Pray don't hurry about the Italian MSS., if hurrying is to prevent my having your fullest marginal attention to them, which I really feel anxious to see, and shall send another batch as soon as possible, being bent on publishing them at an early day with an acharnement almost Patmorian, though lately I have had no time to give to them. I have often turned in my mind your kind proposal about magazine publication for them, but cannot fully settle what I think about it till I have shown them to Ruskin, and tried what chance there might be of getting Smith and Elder to shell out something for them in a lump, which arrangement, if possible, I should prefer to any other, especially as it would spur me on to a speedy completion of the book.[112]

This was in January 1855: Rossetti did not finally publish until 1861, so the 'speedy completion' took six years! It seems likely that Ruskin's unfavourable reaction to Cayley's translation was a major source of discouragement: Rossetti's extreme sensitivity to the opinions of his literary friends is revealed by the numerous and anxious requests for amendments to his manuscripts. He obviously had intended showing Ruskin his manuscript of The Early Italian Poets with the hope of being recommended to Ruskin's publishers, but thought better of it when he learned of Ruskin's disapproval of verse translations. The conclusion to Ruskin's letter on Cayley was enough to outrage any self-respecting poet! "I write this for you only", he confided to Rossetti, "because I think your taste is as yet unformed in verse, and, so that the thought be good, you have not enough studied modes of expression".[113] Nothing could be further from the truth: the recent critic Joseph. F. Vogel has shown that Rossetti had,

> "...studied versification eagerly from early childhood, writing metrically correct blank verse at the precocious age of six, and producing at thirteen a poem in which he experimented successfully with several different meters.... At sixteen he had the skill to translate Burger's Lenore into accomplished verse. By nineteen he had written "The Blessed Damozel", and though he later polished a few details of its metre even the first version of that poem is a superb example of prosodic art.[114]

Yet Rossetti was twenty-seven when Ruskin declared that he had 'not enough studied modes of expression' ! Biographers are fond of showing how difficult Rossetti made the relationship with Ruskin, but Ruskin's provocations are frequently

overlooked. Three months later however, Rossetti did show Ruskin his translations, perhaps in order to prove that he was rather more proficient at versification than the critic had assumed, "I am glad to see you can stick up for your work.." commented Ruskin. Rossetti received no verdict for a month, until a letter came from Tunbridge-Wells dated 17th June:

> Dear Rossetti-You must have wondered at my never speaking of the poems in any of my letters- but I was for a long time when I first left London too ill to examine them properly.
>
> You have had an excellent critic in Allingham-as far as I can judge. I mean -that I would hardly desire for myself, in looking over the poems, to do more than ink all his pencil. But-as a reader or taster for the public- I should wish to find more fault than he has done, and to plead with you in all cases for entire clearness of modern and unantiquated expression.
>
> As a mass, the poems are too much of the same colour. I think a considerable number of the love poems should be omitted, as, virtually, they repeat each other to a tiresome extent. The dialogue with Death, which is the finest of all, should be finished up to the highest point of English perfectness; so also the war sonnets about Pisa and the wolves and so on-and if possible more of this general character should be found, and added to the series. Great pains should be taken to get the two despatches of ballads right; they are both exquisitely beautiful. You must work on these at your leisure. I think the book will be an interesting and popular one, if you will rid it from crudities.
>
> I am very glad to find you can stick up for your work, as well as burn it. We will say no more about the drawing until you see it again. I am beginning to have a very strong notion that you burn all your best things and keep the worst ones. Virgil would have done so, if he could; -and numbers of great men more.- Ever affectionately yours, J.R. [115] (Letters.)

Although Ruskin pleaded, as he had with Browning, on behalf of the ordinary reader for the simplest possible form of expression, archaisms are essential to Rossetti's style. The poems preferred by Ruskin use antiquated expression to its best advantage: the sonnets To The Guelf Faction[116] are reminiscent of the poetry of the Old Testament: the terseness of "ye"

instead of "you" expressing indignation and accusation. The "dialogue with death", A Dispute with Death[117] is similarly vigorous and masculine in contrast to the love poems which Ruskin thought rather monotonous: he clearly preferred poems with themes other than love. Rossetti's introduction to the Vita Nuova is a rejoinder to possible objections, on the grounds of insipidity, to the obsession with love: Rossetti thought it unfair "To tax its author (i.e. Dante) with effeminacy on account of the extreme sensitiveness evinced by this narrative of his love, when we find that, though love alone is the theme of the Vita Nuova, war already ranked among its author's experiences at the period to which it relates".[118] Ruskin's letter was not, however, as critical as Rossetti had probably expected: he had apparently overcome his hostility towards verse translation, declaring the ballads to be "exquisitely beautiful". It was in fact Ruskin who enabled Rossetti to publish his Early Italian Poets in 1861: he gave Messrs. Smith & Elder a guarantee of £100.[119] Rossetti apparently asked Ruskin to write a preface, which however, he refused to use. Val Prinsep recorded that one day he found Rossetti:

> ..., just before he published his translation of the early Italian poets, reading a MS. As I came into the room he burst out: "I say, just fancy that fellow Ruskin! I asked him to write a preface to my translation, and what do you think he has written? 'These poems are some of them good, most of them indifferent, and some few bad, but they have all lost in translation!' Catch me publishing that!" [120]

Instead, Rossetti wrote his own preface, taking the form of an 'apology' for verse-translation: "Much has been said, and in many respects justly, against the value of metrical

translation",[121] he admitted, clearly with Ruskin in mind, replying with an argument that would have appealed to Ruskin: "Poetry not being an exact science, literality of rendering is altogether secondary to this chief law (of beauty). I say literality,- not fidelity, which is by no means the same thing."[122] Despite earlier reservations, Ruskin was impressed with the finished product, writing to Rossetti: "I'm so delighted with the book: I opened at those sonnets about the year, and have been rambling on all the forenoon.... I like the 'inscription' so much"[123] The inscription read: "Whatever is mine in this book is inscribed to my wife".[124] There is evidence that Rossetti's translations did have an important influence on Ruskin. In the preface to the 1871 edition of Sesame and Lilies Ruskin spoke of his fundamental sympathy with Guido Guinicelli:

> In all that is strongest and deepest in me,-that fits me for my work, and gives light or shadow to my being, I have sympathy with Guido Guinicelli.[125] (Sesame and Lilies, 1865)

Ruskin's knowledge of this poet must largely have come from Rossetti's translation: he could not have read Guinicelli in the original, since, as he admitted in Praeterita, his Italian was far from proficient,[126] and the only other translation he knew was..."the two sonnets of Guido Guinicelli at p. 273 of Cary's Dante...."[127] Rossetti's Early Italian Poets contained six of Guinicelli's most characteristic poems.[128] Thus, as Ruskin's editors note, it is "...in Rossetti's volume that we may most surely find the clue to Ruskin's meaning...,"[129] and they quote a stanza from Rossetti's translation of Of The Gentle Heart to illustrate the "exoteric link of

sympathy with Ruskin's character that all his readers may seize".[130] Since there is, as Ruskin and Rossetti were both aware, almost as much of the translator as of the original poet in any translation, especially (as in Rossetti's case) in poetic translation, Ruskin implied a sympathy with Rossetti's particular interpretation.

There were as many agreements as disagreements in the early friendship of Ruskin and Rossetti, which provided mutual intellectual entertainment. They were united for example, in their admiration for Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Aurora Leigh published in 1856. Ruskin considered it "the greatest poem - in the English language, unsurpassed by anything but Shakespeare- not surpassed by Shakespeare's sonnets, and therefore the greatest poem in the language".[131] Rossetti's reaction was similarly extravagant: "...an astounding work, surely....I have felt something like a bug ever since reading Aurora Leigh. O the wonder of it!"[132] Interesting evidence of Rossetti's regard for Ruskin at this time is contained in a post-script to a letter which he forwarded to the critic. Rossetti had been asked to give a series of lectures at the Manchester Royal Institution. Considering himself unfit for the task, and knowing how dearly Ruskin wished to "spread right views on art just now", Rossetti forwarded the request to Ruskin. It is doubtful that Rossetti was merely flattering Ruskin into agreeing to lecture: the reference to his previous request for the critic's 'Dictum' on Browning indicates a genuine respect for his opinions, and the closing affection contradicts Rossetti's reputed indifference:

> I've of course answered this in the negative, not being fit for it. I send it YOU, lest there should be the least chance (as I know your wish to spread right views on art just now) of their obtaining a lecture from you at Manchester, which no doubt they'd reckon the best of all luck. Of course I've said as yet no word of showing you the letter, in my answer to Mr. Saffi.
>
> I mustn't forget the Browning errata, which are at the end of his note enclosed. I did most strangely forget yesterday in hurry to get your Dictum on Lippo Lippi and the others of his art-poems which seem to me perfection. Miss Heaton has kindly written wanting another drawing. Depend on the device soon, if I can manage it satisfactorily.
>
> Yours affectionately, D.G.R.[133]

The regard was apparently reciprocal. A letter from Ruskin in the Bodleian Library transcripts indicates that he and Rossetti had been discussing the Vita Nuova, and that Ruskin would probably have sided with Rossetti against Gabriele Rossetti's entirely Symbolic interpretation of Beatrice:

> Many thanks for explanation about D and B(Dante and Beatrice) Is it not very curious that there should be no mention of her marriage in the Vita. Do you know, I cannot help suspecting the antiquaries are wrong in her identification, and that she never was married. I understand every feeling expressed in the Vita Nuova but this calmness of silence on the supposition of her marriage, nor do I quite understand his continued worship being so absolute- the image of her being in no wise dethroned by her marriage, but put in heaven just as high as ever. What do you feel about this?[134]

Ruskin clearly assented to Rossetti's more literal understanding of the rôle of Beatrice.

In May Ruskin sought Rossetti's superior knowledge of painting processes:

> I want you to do me a troublesomeish favour. To come out next Saturday, and sit down, and make out for me as well as you can what certain colours are that Turner uses, and how they have been laid on. Come out as early as you can, and lunch.
>
> Meantime, the following is my list of colours... Could you kindly write those you find useful besides on another sheet of paper....[135]

A further short note of 1855 gives an interesting indication of Ruskin's attitude towards Rossetti at this time:

> Dear Rossetti-I expect Kingsley, the Alton Locke, to come out here on Monday in order to be converted to Preraphaelitism. I have borrowed one of Inchbold's pictures, but I can't show him anything with feeling in it. Could you lend me that end of Blackfriars Bridge-the black drawing, I mean-till Tuesday; and, if you have any other ideas by you that you could spare for me to talk over with him, it would be, I think, a thoroughly proper thing to send them for him to see-I mean by "proper" it would be wrong not. For he ought to understand what sort of work you and all of us are about. I can show him Miss Siddal's but he may think them morbid. Please don't be ridiculous and say you've nothing fit to be seen. I will bring what you send back with me on Tuesday, and have sent a folio in case you have not one at hand.[136] (Letters.)

Ruskin apparently expected the Christian socialist, Kingsley, to approve of the Pre-Raphaelite ideal. Inchbold's picture would certainly demonstrate the PreRaphaelite fidelity to truth, but Ruskin felt that Rossetti's work would atone for Inchbold's lack of 'feeling'. In 1852, Rossetti had attempted two illustrations of Kingsley's The Saint's Tragedy (1848),[137] but Ruskin thought that the social comment in Found would be more likely to appeal to Kingsley's artistic concern for social problems. Although Found was certainly representative of the social ideals of the PreRaphaelite Brotherhood, and in this sense would have shown Kingsley "the sort of work...all of us are about..", it is entirely atypical of Rossetti. Holman Hunt supports Ruskin's view that Found represented a conscience they all shared at this time: he wrote to Rossetti in 1855:

> I could wish we were all employed about such subjects if there be any power in a simple representation by Art of such terrible incidents wherein the guilty see

> the angels sorrowing for them to lead the unstained to guard their innocence.....I believe you have designed subjects bearing on every art, science, feeling, and virtue that exist in our world.[138]

Although Rossetti never again attempted a theme similar to Found, it was because of difficulties in execution rather than lack of sympathy with the subject: he probably took seriously Ruskin's declaration that it would be "proper" to show Kingsley what they were all about. It is amusing to notice that Ruskin now knew Rossetti well enough to anticipate his objections: "Please don't be ridiculous and say you've nothing fit to be seen".

CHAPTER FOUR

The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855.

The annual Royal Academy Exhibition held early in 1855, provided further debate between Ruskin and Rossetti. Although there is no detailed exchange of views in the correspondence, a post-script added to Ruskin's letter of 31 May 1855, indicates previous discussion:

> There was nothing noticed in the pamphlet that was out of my way. My business is to know all sorts of good- small and great, no matter how small-and to attack all sorts of bad, no matter how great...[1] (Letters)

The 'pamphlet' was Ruskin's recent experiment in writing a set of Notes To The Royal Academy Exhibition (1855), which Rossetti had apparently criticised. No doubt Rossetti was one of the "friends" mentioned by Ruskin in the Preface who had asked him to "mark for them the pictures in the Exhibitions of the year which appear to me the most interesting ...".[2] If Rossetti had expected Ruskin's Notes to strike a victory for Pre-Raphaelitism over 'Academicism' he must have been disappointed. Ruskin's hint to Rossetti in May that he intended retaliation- "I am.... filing my teeth for a snarl at Academy"-[3] was not wholly fulfilled. Having seen the exhibition, Rossetti wrote to Allingham that the Academy's customary anti-Pre-Raphaelite campaign had not abated, "They have been running wilder than ever this year in insolence and dishonesty..."[4] Even John Everett Millais, the most 'respectable' Pre-Raphaelite 'Brother', an Academician, was given trouble over his picture The Rescue:

> He had an awful row with the hanging committee, who had put it above the level of the eye, but J.E.M. yelled for several hours, and threatened to resign, till they put it right. 5

Rossetti recounted other "insults" from the hanging committee:

> ...They...have actually turned out a drawing by Hunt... put the four best landscapes in the place-three by Inchbold one by some new Davis-quite out of sight; kicked out two pictures by one Arthur Hughes..... and played 'warious games of that sort'... 6

John Inchbold, Arthur Hughes, and William Davis all possessed obvious Pre-Raphaelite characteristics, yet Ruskin's Notes ignored all but Inchbold's landscape, which was commended for its "appreciation of truth"; Ruskin did, however, agree with Rossetti that Inchbold's The Moorland had been badly hung, thus making one of his surprisingly rare 'snarls' at the Academy:

> It may well be supposed that my knowledge of this picture was not obtained by study of it in its present position. Those who happen to be interested in the system of hanging now pursued in the Academy will do well to verify my statement by an examination of the picture after the exhibition closes. 7 (Notes to the Royal Academy Exhibition 1855, pamphlet, reprinted Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Arthur Hughes' subject did not impress Ruskin: he wrote a brief note to Rossetti in May:

> Dear Rossetti- I can't come till late tomorrow and then perhaps only to look in, but can't go to exhibition. I saw Hughes things there. Not bad but pokery-too much as if the figures were only intended to stir the fire with and the flower to light it. 8

Rossetti had apparently suggested to Ruskin that they visit the exhibition together in order to discuss the various pictures. The post-script "There was nothing noticed in the pamphlet that was out of my way", must have been

Ruskin's retort to Rossetti's express surprise at those artists selected for special mention. Rossetti was well-acquainted with the work of many of the exhibitors, and had himself written Notes for past Royal Academy Exhibitions, so that he was not an inexperienced critic of Ruskin's first attempt. Rossetti was probably bewildered by Ruskin's praise of such relatively insignificant (in Rossetti's opinion) pictures as Miss Mutrie's Azaleas, noted merely for its "pure and yet unobtrusive colour",[9] while completely ignoring paintings which Rossetti thought had much more to recommend them. Ruskin retorted that it was his business as a critic to praise the small as well as the great. Rossetti himself was never slow to praise modest achievements, but he and Ruskin apparently reached different critical conclusions from the same artistic premises. For example J.C. Hook, whom Ruskin praised for his "true and earnest thought",[10] was considered by Rossetti to be a sham; in 1850 Rossetti had declared that Hook's "delightful" impressions did not bear closer examination: he said of The Departure of The Chevalier Bayard ...:

> There is a flimsy holiday-look about the picture when considered, at variance not only with the simplicity of the subject, but also with truth to nature. 11

Rossetti probably felt that Ruskin had been 'taken in' by the appearance of Hook's 1855 pictures Colin, and The Mother of Moses. Conversely Rossetti thought highly of C.W. Cope: in 1851 he had written:

> We do not recollect to have seen any work in which all the essentials of a subject were more nobly discerned

> and concentrated than they are in Mr. Cope's "Griselda Separated From Her Child". 12

Ruskin reserved his most cutting criticism of the 1855 exhibition for another of Cope's paintings, Penserosa, which:

> ...had better have been put into the architectural room, as it may materially promote the erection of Norman Arches in the gardens of the metropolis, for the better performance of pensive appearances to morning visitors. 13

(Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855, pamphlet, reprinted Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Ruskin thought that Cope had completely failed to discern the 'essentials' of his subject. Although these criticisms were directed at different pictures, it does not invalidate the fact that Ruskin's and Rossetti's overall estimates were utterly opposed.

A more direct comparison between the views of Ruskin and Rossetti is afforded by an examination of their views of specific paintings in the 1855 exhibition. Rossetti's account of the exhibition is found in a letter to William Allingham on 11 May 1855;[14] though less formalised than Ruskin's Notes it confirms the claim that Ruskin and Rossetti employed similar critical criteria although their conclusions frequently differed. They did, however, concur over the new artist Frederick Leighton, though it is impossible to determine whether, and to what extent, this was the result of influence: Rossetti's letter was written three weeks before Ruskin's Notes, and it is highly likely that the two had formulated and clarified their ideas during discussion. The criticisms are surprisingly similar: both likened Leighton to Paul Veronese, both considered the best qualities in the painting to be those in common with

Venetian art, both considered that Leighton had great potential as a colourist but was in need of further development, and both found evidence of an attempt to realise the conception accurately rather than a mere display of technical facility. Rossetti's judgement was rather more reserved than Ruskin's, probably because, as he confessed to Allingham, the picture was approved by the Academicians, thus making it more 'proper' for Pre-Raphaelites to find fault. On reflection, Rossetti considered this an injustice:

> There is a big picture of Cimabue carrying one of his works in procession, by a new man, living abroad, named Leighton,- a huge thing, which the Queen has bought, and which everyone talks of. The R.A's have been gasping for six years for someone to back against Hunt and Millais, and here they have him; a fact which makes some people do the picture an injustice in return. 15

Whether Rossetti thought that the 'injustice' was from fellow P.R.B's, or from the wrong kind of laudatory criticism, it is difficult to tell. Rossetti admitted that despite his innate indisposition towards a painting with such a reputation, he came to admire it:

> It was very uninteresting to me at first sight; but on looking more at it, I think there is great richness of arrangement- a quality which, when really existing, as it does in the best old masters, and perhaps hitherto in no living man-at any rate English- ranks among the great qualities. 16

Rossetti admired the 'earnestness' and the colour, favourite criteria of the P.R.B. painters:

> One undoubted excellence it has-facility without much neatness or ultra-cleverness in the execution, which is greatly like that of Paul Veronese, and the colour may mature in future works to the same resemblance, I fancy. There is much feeling for beauty too, in the women. As for purely intellectual qualities,

> expression, intention, etc., there is little as yet of them, but I think that in art richness of arrangement is so nearly allied to these, that where it exists (in an earnest man) they will probably supervene...17

Ruskin's criticism of Leighton's painting is rather unsubtle Pre-Raphaelite propagandising in its advocacy of 'truth to nature', but it draws exactly the same comparison as Rossetti's between the art of Leighton and that of Veronese, for the same qualities of colour and lack of pretentiousness:

> This is a very important and very beautiful picture. It has both sincerity and grace, and is painted on the very purest principles of Venetian art-that is to say, on the calm acceptance of the whole of nature, small and great, as, in its place, deserving of faithful rendering. The great secret of the Venetians was their simplicity. They were great colourists, not because they had peculiar secrets about oil and colour, but because when they saw a thing red they painted it red; and when they saw it blue they painted it blue, and when they saw it distinctly, they painted it distinctly. In all Paul Veronese's pictures, the lace borders of the table-cloths or the fringes of the dresses are painted with just as much care as the faces of the principal figures; and the reader may rest assured that in all great art it is so...Everything in it is done as well as it can be done. 18

(Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II 1902)

Although Rossetti agreed that the colour was akin to Veronese's, he felt that:

> ..the faculty for colour, which I suspect exists very strongly...is certainly at present under a thick veil of paint, owing, I fancy, to too much continental study. 19

Rossetti also found beauty and grace in the picture-"There is much feeling for beauty too in the women"- but he thought the "French" flavour was "the most disagreeable thing" about the work. Both Ruskin and Rossetti concluded that Leighton possessed greater potential than had hitherto been realised: Ruskin pronounced:

> It seems to me probable that Mr. Leighton has greatness in him, but there is no absolute proof of it in his picture; and if he does not, in succeeding years, paint far better, he will soon lose his power of painting so well. 20 (Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855, pamphlet, reprinted Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Rossetti was more precise:

> However, the choice of subject, though interesting in a certain way, leaves one quite in the dark as to what faculty the man may have for representing incident or passionate emotion. But I believe, as far as this showing goes, that he possesses qualities which the mass of our artists aim at chiefly, and only seem to possess; whether he have those of which neither they nor he give sign, I cannot yet tell. 21

The most striking and surprising difference between Ruskin's and Rossetti's analysis is that Ruskin's is comparatively vague, despite the fact that Rossetti's was not intended as scholarly criticism. Ruskin was guilty of making Leighton's picture instrumental to his favourite dogmas of the time. As a practising artist, Rossetti was sensitive to the technical aspects of the work, while Ruskin seems more concerned to make the painting intelligible to the layman (hence his explanation of the actual existence of the church in the background).

Another artist in the 1855 exhibition about whom Ruskin and Rossetti agreed was John Everett Millais: Rossetti thought that The Rescue was "the most wonderful thing he has done", employing the word in the sense of mysterious and inexplicable. Ruskin's highest praise in the Notes of that year was reserved, probably to Rossetti's surprise, for the man who had broken his marriage: The Rescue was pronounced:

> ...the only <u>great</u> picture exhibited this year; but this is <u>very</u> great. The immortal element is in it to the full... 22 (Notes to The Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855, pamphlet, reprinted Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902)

The concurrence over Millais was not surprising, though here again the words chosen suggest that Ruskin and Rossetti were, subconsciously perhaps, influenced by some previous discussion: both imply an abundance of 'spirituality' in Millais's painting.

An important artist in the 1855 exhibition about whom Ruskin and Rossetti reached different conclusions was Daniel Maclise (not mentioned in Rossetti's letter to Allingham). Ruskin allowed his criticism to be vehement because Maclise was already well-established, so that adverse opinion would not, he claimed, seriously endanger Maclise's livelihood.[23]

Ruskin regarded Maclise as insidiously "pandering" "more fatally every year to the vicious English taste" for "mere dramatic glitter and grimace"...Maclise failed, said Ruskin, in that most important Pre-Raphaelite virtue: the realisation of a scene as it probably would have happened in reality. Ruskin considered Maclise's 1855 exhibit, <u>Orlando and The Wrestler (As You Like It</u>), to be among the very worst class of picture, not merely a passive failure but "energetically or actively bad", and deserving "severe reprobations as wilful transgressions of the laws of good art". Ruskin conceded that Maclise's popularity was the result of genuine skill, but this only made him more morally reprehensible:

> Mr. Maclise has keen sight, a steady hand, good anatomical knowledge of the human form, and good

> experience of the ways of the world. If he draws ill, or imagines ungracefully, it is because he is resolved to do so. 24 (Notes to the Royal Academy Exhibition, 1855, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

From Ruskin's words it would seem impossible for anyone who valued true Art to admire Maclise, and yet Rossetti did. Writing in The Academy for 15 April 1871 about Maclise's early work, Rossetti declared that "...his wilful and somewhat scornful power did at last culminate in a perfect manifestation", suggesting that even during the experimental years Maclise had possessed great potential:

> His was a force of central fire whose conscious abundance descends at will on many altars, and has something to spare even for feux d'artifice,....after the production of much which, for all its variety and vigour, failed generally to represent him in any full sense 25

Although Ruskin and Rossetti focused upon different kinds of pictures, at different stages of development, they both made comments on the 'historical' pictures which facilitates a comparison. What upset Ruskin was that Maclise's ostensibly 'historical' and dramatic paintings were actually entirely unrealistic and sensational; Rossetti on the other hand recognised that Maclise's work had affinities with caricature: this would naturally have been more evident in the portraits drawn for Fraser's Magazine from 1830-38. Rossetti saw that these pictures, by avoiding the realistic detail which Ruskin usually required, achieved a unique suggestion of characteristic aspects:

> To convey a correct idea of the manner of these drawings to those who have not seen them would be

> difficult...realised with such a view to the actual impression of the sitter...Indeed no happier instance could be found of the unity, for literal purposes, of what may be justly termed "style" with an incisive and relishing realism... 26

Thus Rossetti regarded the "wilful and somewhat scornful power" of the historical pictures as evidence of "a man wrought whose instincts were absolutely towards the poetic":[27] thus the paintings were a fusion, sometimes uncomfortable, of historical and imaginative modes. Ruskin, however declared that Maclise's imagination, detail, and chiaroscuro were all "wrong"[28]. That which Ruskin regarded as "mere dramatic glitter and grimace", Rossetti saw as "tragic satire".[29]

The new artist William Davis, whose pictures Rossetti told Allingham in the letter on the Royal Academy Exhibition, were among "the four best landscapes in the place"[30] remained totally unnoticed by Ruskin in the first set of the 1855 Notes. In the subsequent edition of the Notes, published on 1 July, Ruskin added a supplement explaining his neglect of certain deserving paintings. The apology is an extension of his reply to Rossetti that "There was nothing noticed in the pamphlet that was out of my way"-by "way" Ruskin meant "out of character":

> Some surprise has been expressed to me by my friends at the small number of pictures marked in the preceding Notes, as if, in passing by the others I had intended to convey an impression of their being beneath criticism. I do not think that of all the pictures on the walls there are more than six or seven beneath criticism: but I do think that those which above are mentioned with praise are among the best in the rooms and that those which are blamed are fair examples of the worst: one or two omissions, made accidentally, in a somewhat hurried review, it is better, perhaps, thus late, than in nowise, to repair. 32 Supplement to 3rd. edition of Royal Academy Notes, 1855, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

The supplement indicates that Ruskin must have taken Rossetti's views seriously: "the friend" who had recommended Davis was doubtlessly Rossetti:

> In the work commended to me by my friend-Mr. Davis's "Spring Evening" (514)-I am disappointed. It is unfair to judge of it in its present position, but it appears to me merely good Pre-Raphaelite work, certainly showing no evidence whatever of inventive power, and perhaps less tact than usual in choice of subject; 33 (Supplement to 3rd. edition of Royal Academy Notes 1855, pamphlet, reprinted, Ruskin on Pictures, II, 1902.)

Neither Ruskin nor Rossetti altered their opinions of William Davis. Two years later Rossetti organised a Pre-Raphaelite exhibition, invited Davis to contribute, and was delighted to house his paintings for a while. Ruskin went to see them, and wrote to Davis through Rossetti, although Rossetti refused to forward the letter on the grounds that it would be too discouraging and he did not wish to identify with it. Ruskin agreed that the letter should not be sent: he had no intention of discouraging the young painter. The letter, found among Rossetti's papers, is interesting evidence of artistic differences between Ruskin and Rossetti. Ruskin told Davis that:

> Rossetti is himself so much delighted...(with the pictures) that I do not doubt their possessing qualities of peculiar interest to the artist in the conquering of various technical difficulties. 34

Ruskin, with the critic's interest, was more concerned with choice of subject and the quality of colour, both of which he felt left much to be desired. He advised Davis to choose "subjects of greater interest" if he wanted general recognition. Ruskin was later to make a similar criticism of Rossetti's poem Jenny, but his pronouncement on the

unsuitability of Davis's subjects was far more deprecatory:

> ...there seems to me hardly a single point of communion or understanding between you and me as to the meaning of the word "Subject". 35

Ruskin's letter to Davis reveals the extent to which he evaluated paintings according to pre-conceived ideals; as with Maclise, he rejected them for lack of explicit intention. By contrast, Rossetti commended pictures for their "conquering of various technical difficulties".

The differing reactions of Ruskin and Rossetti towards the various paintings in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1855 thus illustrate their critical differences. Rossetti's criticism of Leighton's picture implied an organic conception of a work of art, where harmony is of foremost importance. Rossetti claimed that wherever "richness of arrangement" is the basis or inspiration of a work, the "intellectual" qualities would inevitably interrupt, and hopefully dominate, the original intention,[36] thus tending towards the modern formalistic approach. Ruskin on the other hand regarded the "intellectual" qualities as primary: the 'thought' or content of a picture was far more important than its harmony, arrangement, or style: thus the 'vehicle of expression' or the 'language' as Ruskin called it, was secondary to what was being conveyed:

> It must be the part of the judicial critic carefully to distinguish what is language, and what is thought, and to rank and praise pictures chiefly for the latter, considering the former as a totally inferior excellence, and one which cannot be compared with, nor weighed against thought in any way, or in any degree whatsoever. The picture which has the nobler and more numerous ideas, however awkwardly expressed, is

> a greater and a better picture than that which has the less noble and less numerous ideas, however beautifully expressed. 37(Modern Painters I, 1842)

Both Ruskin and Rossetti placed immense importance upon the Pre-Raphaelite qualities of sincerity or earnestness, and truth to either nature or the probable facts of the event. The differences between Ruskin and Rossetti lay in the relative status which they accorded these criteria: Rossetti regarded the subject only as part of a whole in which the visual impression is of major importance: this was perhaps to be expected of a practising artist. Ruskin was primarily a literary critic, for whom the interpretation of a painting was the first consideration.

CHAPTER FIVE :

The Business Relationship

It is the financial arrangement between Ruskin and Rossetti which has elicited most critical interest; the bewildering array of opposing views demands clarification. Assessments of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship fall into two distinct camps, largely according to the attitude towards Rossetti's part in the affair. In 1933 R.H. Wilenski declared, for example that, "Rossetti, of course, did not care whether Ruskin was ill, or puzzled, or angry so long as he continued to fulfil his function. In his view Ruskin was a person who gave him money..."[1] This entirely contradicted the first biographer, William Rossetti, who had declared that the business arrangement was the best that could have been devised, that Ruskin was "...always friendly and accomodating, and Rossetti not unduly troublesome",[2] and that the relationship was one of mutual affection. In 1949, Rossetti's biographer, Oswald Doughty, declared that Rossetti....."....had no respect for a mere uncreative critic; but, aware of his (Ruskin's) influence, determined at once, especially for Lizzie's sake, to extract whatever profit he could from this new and powerful friendship".[3] Joan Evans in 1954 was even more caustic, "Ruskin seems never to have realised that Rossetti was a cold-hearted amorist".. ..."Rossetti was not particularly interested in Ruskin's emotions, but resented his professor-like adjurations and commands".[4] E.T. Cook, the joint editor of Ruskin's Works

and friend of Ruskin had declared entirely the opposite: that Rossetti,..."accepted the terms more gladly, because gratitude was accompanied both by respect for Ruskin's genius, and by a real liking for the man."[5] Janet Camp Troxell however asserted in 1937 that Rossetti "was quite indifferent to Ruskin personally and never regarded him as anything but an outsider"...[6], while in 1949 Mrs. Helen Rossetti Angeli attempted to contradict many of Mrs. Troxell's remarks in order to show that Rossetti was not quite the opportunist that many had drawn. Not surprisingly, the truth lies somewhere between these declarations of Rossetti's innocence and guilt.

The only account of the financial arrangement by a contemporary of Ruskin and Rossetti is William's, whose wish to vindicate his brother was natural:

> From an early date in their acquaintance Mr. Ruskin undertook to buy, if he happened to like it, whatever Rossetti produced, at a range of prices such as the latter would have asked from any other purchaser, and up to a certain maximum of expenditure on his own part. If he did not relish a work, Rossetti could offer it to anyone else. I cannot imagine an arrangement more convenient to my brother, who secured a safe market for his performances, and could even rely on not being teazed to do on the nail work for which he received payment in whole or in part. In this respect Ruskin appears to have been always friendly and accomodating, and Rossetti not unduly troublesome. He availed himself of Ruskin's easy liberality without abusing it. 7

The word 'unduly' gives William Rossetti away, for the fact is that Rossetti <u>was</u> troublesome; but then Ruskin was not always 'accomodating'. Almost as soon as the arrangement was secured Ruskin was 'teasing on the nail' for pictures:

> I don't care a bit whether you like what you do or not- only send me something quickly...and you shall have your cheque on the instant. 8

Nothing about this business relationship is easily defined: although Ruskin was undeniably generous he considered this a passport to Rossetti's personal affairs. The general impression of Ruskin's inexhaustive generosity must be modified by bearing in mind that he was purchasing what he considered to be works of genius at very low prices, and furthermore would not have the pictures until they did meet with his requirements; he sent Fra Pace back, for example, saying it was not his 'sort of drawing'. Indeed, to assume that Ruskin purchased indiscriminately in order to assist Rossetti would be an insult to his critical integrity; although he did buy almost everything that Rossetti produced during the year after they met, it was from genuine admiration for Rossetti's early style.

William Rossetti also claimed that the business arrangement left Rossetti free "...to consult his own likings...", whereas almost as soon as Ruskin became Rossetti's patron he wrote suggesting specific subjects for pictures. Rossetti had sent two alternative designs for a painting of The Passover in The Holy Family, and in his reply Ruskin gave Rossetti some passages from Dante's Purgatorio which he would like illustrated:

> I am very much struck by these two sketches of the Passover, and I want you to work out the doorway one as soon as possible, with as much labour as you like; but no more rubbings out. And when it is done, I want you to give me the refusal of it-at the price at which you would sell it to any indifferent person.

> I shall be very grateful if you would do this, and if you will do it soon. But my two sketches are, please, to be done first and fast. It may perhaps rather help you than encumber you if I suggest to you some, for example:-
>
> 1. Bounconte of Montefeltro and Pia of Siena waiting behind him, Buonconte uttering the line "Giovanna o altri", etc., with any possible suggestion of line 102-105-in the distance.
>
> 2. Purgatory, canto 7, verse 72 to 78, combined with canto 8, verse 8 to 15, and 26 to 30; choosing whichever you think it was of the spirits that sang "Te lucis", and one other as a type of the crowd. 9
>
> (Letters)

Ruskin suggested four other verse references which he thought suitable subjects, adding "I merely name them by way of example of the sort of thing I should like-don't limit yourself to these if you have been thinking of any other". However, if Ruskin simply wanted to give Rossetti an idea of the 'sort of thing' he liked, he would not have provided such a detailed account of the paintings he envisioned. Rossetti did take up two of the suggestions: The Vision of Rachel and Leah, and Matilda Gathering Flowers, both of which Ruskin purchased. Ruskin later admitted to Ellen Heaton that he regretted having interfered:

> The Rachel is a curious instance of the danger of interfering with R.- I wanted some illustrations from Dante for myself and chose seven subjects, of which this was one -& gave them to R. he didn't do any of them for a long time, until I got provoked & said I thought it was very bad of him-and then he did this. He never would fail in a subject of his own choice. 10

This belied his earlier protestation to Rossetti not to limit himself "to these if you have been thinking of any other"; it seems that Ruskin was prepared to wrangle until Rossetti complied, but the results taught Ruskin never again to suggest specific details, although he continued to attempt to influence Rossetti's style.

The letter which Ruskin wrote on 24th April 1855 confirming the financial arrangement betrays, however well-meant, tacit interference:

> Meantime, I should be very grateful if you thought it right to take me entirely into your confidence, and tell me whether you have any plans respecting Miss S(iddal) which you are prevented from carrying out by want of a certain income, and if so what certain income would enable you to carry them out.
> In case I should be run over, or anything else happen to me, I have written to my lawyer to-day, so that the plan we have arranged at present cannot be disturbed by any such accident. It may be as well that you keep this letter (if you can keep anything safe in that disreputable litter of yours), in order to identify yourself as the Mr. D. Gabriel Rossetti named in my letter-Believe me always respectfully and affectionately yours, J. Ruskin. 11(Letters)

Ruskin's concern for Miss Siddal was largely the result of his anxiety to protect Rossetti from problems that might impede work. In February, before he had even met her, Ruskin wrote to a prospective patron, Miss Heaton, on Lizzie's behalf:

> ...-by the bye there is one of Rossetti's pupils- a poor girl- dying I am afraid- of ineffable genius-to whom some day or other a commission may by encouragement & sympathy be charity- but there is no hurry as she don't work well enough yet, & Rossetti and I will take care of her till she does, if she lives. 12

Ruskin advised Rossetti, "to marry, for the sake of giving Miss Siddal complete protection and care, and putting an end to that peculiar sadness, and want of you hardly know what, that there is in both of you."[13] The advice was not solely for Lizzie's sake: Ruskin probably hoped that marriage would encourage a regulated existence which would benefit Rossetti's work. Aware that he may have been 'jumping the gun' Ruskin wrote again to Rossetti, with a

lengthy self-assessment. The letter is well worth quoting in full, not only because of the light it throws on Ruskin's character but also because it reveals Ruskin's commitment to the cause of artists in Rossetti's position. Furthermore the post-script contains a compliment to Rossetti that was the highest Ruskin could have paid to any living artist:

> Dear Rossetti,- I daresay you do not quite like to answer my somewhat blunt question in my last letter; I was somewhat too brief in putting it; I was unwell, and could not write at length. My motive in asking you was simply that I did not know how best to act for you, and what to propose about sending Miss S(iddal) to Wales or Jersey, or anywhere else that might not in some way be disagreeable to you; and also because I thought that the whole thing might perhaps be much better managed in another way, and your own powers of art more healthily developed, and your own life made happier.
>
> I daresay our letters now cross, but it doesn't matter, for, whatever may be the contents of yours, I am sure there will be one feeling apparent in it, and that will be a dislike of putting yourself under obligation to any one in carrying out any main purpose of your life.
>
> I think it well, therefore, to tell you something about myself, and what you really ought to feel about me in this matter.
>
> You constantly hear a great many people saying I am very bad, and perhaps you have been yourself disposed lately to think me very good. I am neither the one nor the other. I am very self-indulgent, very proud, very obstinate, and very resentful; on the other side, I am very upright-nearly as just as I suppose it is possible for man to be in this world-exceedingly fond of making people happy, and devotedly reverent to all true mental or moral power. I never betrayed a trust-never wilfully did an unkind thing- and never, in little or large matters, depreciated another that I might raise myself. I believe I once had affections as warm as most people; but partly from evil chance, and partly from foolish misplacing of them, they have got tumbled down and broken to pieces. It is a very great, in the long run the greatest, misfortune of my life, that, on the whole my relations, cousins and so forth, are persons with whom I can have no sympathy, and that circumstances have always somehow or another kept me out of the way of the people of whom I could have made friends. So that I have no friendships, and no loves.
>
> Now you have the best and worst of me; and you may

rely upon it it is the truth. If you hear people say I am utterly hard and cold, depend upon it it is untrue. Though I have no friendships and no loves, I cannot read the epitaph of the Spartans at Thermopylae with a steady voice to the end; and there is an old glove in one of my drawers that has lain there these eighteen years, which is worth something to me yet. If, on the other hand, you ever feel disposed to think me particularly good, you will be just as wrong as most people are on the other side. My pleasures are in seeing, thinking, reading, and making people happy(if I can, consistently with my own comfort). And I take those pleasures. And I suppose, if my pleasures were in smoking, betting, dicing, and giving pain, I should take those pleasures. It seems to me that one man is made one way, and one another-the measure of effort and self-denial can never be known, except by each conscience to itself. Mine is small enough.

But besides taking pleasure thus where I happen to find it, I have a theory of life which it seems to me impossible as a rational being to be altogether without-namely that we are all sent into the world to be of such use to each other as we can, and also that my particular use is likely to be in the things that I know something about-that is to say, in matters connected with painting.

Thus then it stands. It seems to me that, amongst all the painters that I know, you on the whole have the most genius, and you appear to me also to be-as far as I can make out-a very good sort of person. I see that you are unhappy, and can't bring out your genius as you should. It seems to me then, the proper and necessary thing, if I can, to make you more happy, and that I should be more really useful in enabling you to paint properly and keep your room in order than in any other way.

If it were necessary for me to deny myself, or to make any mighty exertion to do this, of course it might to you be a subject of gratitude, or a question if you should accept it or not. But, as I don't happen to have any other objects in life, and as I have a comfortable room, and all I want in it(and more), it seems to me just as natural I should try to be of use to you as that I should offer you a cup of tea if I saw you were thirsty, and there was plenty in the teapot, and I had got all I wanted.

I am not going to make you any offer till you tell me, if you are willing to do so, what your wishes and circumstances really are. It provokingly happens that, although I have three times as much as is really necessary in order to enable me to carry out my purposes, I have all this winter, been launching out in a very heedless way, buying missals and Albert Durers-not expecting any call upon me-so that it may be a month or two yet before I can send you what I should like; but after that all will go on quite smoothly. Meantime

> I hope this letter will put you more at your ease, and that you will believe me,
> Always affectionately yours, J. Ruskin.
>
> One thing, by-the-bye, I hope you will not permit even for a moment to slide into your head. That anything I am doing for work-men, or for anybody, is in any wise an endeavour to regain position in public opinion. I am what I always was; I am doing what I always proposed to do, and what I have been hindered by untoward circumstances from doing hitherto; and the only temptation which is brought upon me by calumny is, not to fawn for public favour, but to give up trying to do the public any good, and enjoy myself misanthropically.
> I forgot to say also that I really do covet your drawings as much as I do Turner's; only it is useless self-indulgence to buy Turner's and useful self-indulgence to buy yours. Only I won't have them after they have been more than nine times entirely rubbed out, remember that. 14.

Those who are cynical about the genuineness of the Ruskin-Rossetti intimacy surely underestimate the significance of this letter: it was Rossetti whom Ruskin chose as the recipient of this honest, carefully-considered self-assessment. The final 'by-the bye' must have made a deep impression on Rossetti: Ruskin's rhapsodic analysis of Turner's work in Modern Painters was well known; yet he now declared that he 'coveted' Rossetti's work as much as that of the very artist who had inspired Modern Painters! Rossetti probably suspected that Ruskin had added this at the end of the letter in order to reassure him that the patronage was by no means an act of charity. In order to combine altruism with self-indulgence Ruskin bought the work of living artists, as he explained to Miss Heaton "only in buying Turner you now do no good to art whatsoever-only to yourself"[15] Ruskin considered Rossetti the "greatest genius" among contemporary painters, who furthermore seemed to be "a very good sort of person",

(which for Ruskin was inextricably linked to other aesthetic criteria). Ruskin's desire to enable Rossetti to "paint properly" and "keep your room in order" was a transparent offer to help him sort out his bohemian life: Ruskin told Lizzie "One thing is very certain, that Rossetti will never be happy or truly powerful till he gets over that habit of his of doing nothing but what 'interests him'..." Ruskin thought that Rossetti's haphazard life interfered with his artistic fulfilment "You inventive people pay very dearly for your powers", he told Lizzie, adding that which he would not have presumed to state frankly to Rossetti: "there is no knowing how to manage you".[16]

An effective channel for Ruskin's desired 'management' of Rossetti had presented itself, or rather herself: on 17 March Rossetti wrote an astonished letter to William Allingham:

> About a week ago, Ruskin saw and bought on the spot every scrap of designs hitherto produced by Miss Siddal. He declared that they were far better than mine, or almost than anyone's, and seemed quite wild with delight at getting them. He asked me to name a price for them, after asking and learning that they were for sale; and I, of course, considering the immense advantage of their getting them into his hands, named a very low price, £25, which he declared to be too low even for a low price, and increased to £30. He is going to have them splendidly mounted and bound together in gold, and no doubt this will be a real opening for her, as it is already a great assistance and encouragement. 17

Ford Madox Brown, hearing of this, suspected Ruskin's motives:

> I had a letter from Rossetti, Thursday, saying that Ruskin had bought all Miss Siddal's ("Guggum's")

> drawings, and said they beat Rossetti's own. This is like Ruskin, the incarnation of exaggeration. 18

Brown probably recognised what Rossetti did not: that this was an effective way to help Rossetti: Ruskin admitted as much in a letter to Doctor Acland, to whom he turned for help:

> "....one of the chief hindrances to his progress in art has been his sorrow at the state of health of the young girl, some of whose work I showed you. I fear this sorrow will soon be sealed-and with what effect upon him I cannot tell; I see that his attachment to her is very deep, but how far he is prepared for the loss I know not..... 19 (Letters)

Although Ruskin told Lizzie that he hoped he had not "said too much of my wish to do this for Rossetti's sake"[20] it was undeniably a considerable motive. Rossetti wrote exultantly to Brown of Ruskin's proposals:

> You will be glad to hear that R(uskin) called on me yesterday to propose two plans for her:-one, that he should take whatever she did henceforward and pay for them one by one: the other that he should settle on her £150 a year forthwith, and that then she should send him all she did-he to sell them at a higher price (if possible) to her advantage, and if not, to keep them himself at the above yearly rate. I think myself the second plan the best, considering that there may be goodish intervals when she cannot work, and might run short of money: but she, to whom I spoke of it yesterday evening, does not seem to like so much obligation and inclines to the first plan. However she will be sternly coerced if necessary. Meanwhile I love him and her and everybody, and feel happier than I have felt for a long while. 21

Telling his brother of the plan Rossetti wrote, "This is no joke but a fact".[22] Although Rossetti's reaction certainly savours of 'cupboard love', it was only natural that amidst the high spirits due to respite from financial anxiety Rossetti's amiability should be aroused. There is

no need to conclude, with Joan Evans, that Rossetti was simply "a cold-hearted amorist", incapable of true friendship. Rossetti also told Madox Brown, despite the latter's antipathy, "I have reason to be most thankful to Ruskin for his great kindness"[23] towards Lizzie-there is no hint of condescension in the words. Rossetti's 'stern coercion' was evidently not sufficient to persuade Lizzie to accept the more generous, and the more onerous, of Ruskin's offers. Ruskin himself wrote a number of persuasive letters to Lizzie; the following extract is representative of his immense tact and good-nature: the humour and flattery alone would surely have melted the most stubborn of recipients:

> ...would not receive such a present from me, though you knew it was as much my duty to give it as yours to take it.
>
> The world is an odd world. People think nothing of taking my <u>time</u> from me every day of my life(which is to me life, money, power, all in all). They take that, without thanks, for no need, for the most trivial purposes, and would have me lose a whole day to leave a card with their footmen; and <u>you</u>, for life's sake, will not take that for which I have no use-you are too proud. You would not be too proud to let a nurse or friend give up some of her time, if you needed it, to watch by you and take care of you. What is the difference between their giving time and watchfulness and I giving such help as I can?.
>
> Perhaps I have said too much of my wish to do this for Rossetti's sake. But if you do not choose to be helped for his sake, consider also that the plain <u>hard fact</u> is that I think you have genius; that I don't <u>think</u> there is much genius in the world; and I want to keep what there is in it, heaven having, I suppose, enough for all its purposes. Utterly irrespective of Rossetti's feelings or my own, I should simply do what I do, if I could, as I should try to save a beautiful tree from being cut down, or a bit of a Gothic cathedral whose strength was failing. If you would be so good as to consider yourself as a piece of wood or Gothic for a few months, I should be grateful to you. If you will not, I shall not be.

> I don't see what more of objection there is. I have tried to fancy myself in your place, and I believe though certainly sorry I could not work, I should not torment myself about it. All I have to say is, finally, that I don't expect you to be able to work at all for about four months yet; that by that time I believe you may have gained strength enough to do a little water-colour drawing, and next year to begin the oil; and that if I hear of your being any more restive I shall be seriously saddened and hurt-and there an end-Believe me affectionately yours, J. Ruskin. 24 (Letters.)

The post-script rather gives Ruskin away: "If you would send me a little signed promise-'I will be good'- by Rossetti, I should be grateful; you can't possibly oblige me in any other way at present;"... Madox Brown believed Ruskin had sent Lizzie on holiday for Rossetti's sake, "...and I hope Gabriel will work all the better for it".[25] Perhaps Ruskin also hoped that Lizzie's absence would encourage greater intimacy between himself and Rossetti. A letter written just before Lizzie went away, now in the Bodleian transcripts, certainly suggests this. Ruskin expressly asked Rossetti to visit him alone, for a confidential talk; the letter also foreshadows artistic influence:

> You had better put in a lettuce or two. If you can come out here by yourself any day and look at the cherry blossoms-say Wednesday before two, or Thursday any time you like, I think you might get a notion or two for different things, and I could have a little chat. It is a perfect miracle to me that nobody has ever painted a picture of blossoms. 26

The reference to lettuces, presumably a humourous answer to a problem Rossetti had encountered in one of his paintings, is obscure. The reference to blossoms possibly refers to something Rossetti had already begun, perhaps Dante's Vision of Matilda Gathering Flowers, but it is more likely to be a suggestion.

Although Ruskin repeatedly claimed that it caused absolutely no inconvenience to finance his protégés, he was clearly answerable to his father for the money he spent. Unfortunately Ruskin senior was very much opposed to buying Pre-Raphaelite paintings, partly because of antipathy towards the man who had wrecked his son's marriage. It was probably more difficult than Rossetti realised for Ruskin to keep his side of the bargain:

> Dear R.,
> I could not manage to send you this before-I hope it is in time for what you want....
> Don't say anything about picture or money in answer to this, unless you send answer by bearer- because my father thinks me mad about Pre-Raphaelitism, and has been so provoked by Millais' behaviour that he is set against all of you, so that I am obliged to keep my pictures quiet, yet a while. I don't mean that my father does not like you personally-he likes you very much-but he don't like my getting thick again with any
> P.R.B.
> Ever Affectionately Yours, J. Ruskin.[27]

If Rossetti was unaware of Ruskin's difficulties it was partly because Ruskin made light of them, as a letter in the Bodleian transcripts shows:

> Write to me at the Athenaeum Club; my father cannot bear to see me put a letter in my pocket without telling him all that is in it, and if he were to know I was helping Ida at all, he would think I was going to fall in love with her. 28

Rossetti on his side was desperately short of money and unwilling to admit it. He once borrowed £10 from Brown rather than ask Ruskin for an advance payment:

> ...I am about to do immediately another small drawing for Ruskin, the proceeds of which will be rigorously appropriated to Guggum. It cannot take very long, being only a single figure with a background, and will bring, I have no doubt, £15 at least..... Can you,

> under these circumstances, very greatly oblige me with the loan of £10. 29

The difficulties arising out of this financial arrangement Ruskin and Rossetti apparently frequently kept to themselves, perhaps hoping to divorce business matters from their personal intimacy. The patronage was however an anomaly with which they could not adequately deal. Strains begin to appear in two successive letters from Ruskin on 11th and 12th May: it may appear that Rossetti was something of a money-grabber, but Ruskin was probably not aware of his desperate financial state:

> Dear Rossetti- The enclosed note, posted, will, I doubt not, bring you the £35 by return of post. But, unless it is really a question of sheriff's officers, I would <u>rather</u> you would make an effort to finish the picture and send it here to me, and let me remit you the money in a business-like way; for the fact is, I have not the sum by me, and cannot ask my father for it <u>in adv-ance</u> without ruining you in his mercantile opinion, which I don't choose to do; so my only other resource is to state the facts which I have done in the enclosed note, to my publisher, who will remit you the sum inst-antly, but I do not quite like his knowing that I do anything of this kind without my father's knowledge. Do not put yourself to inconvenience, but, if you can keep the wolf from the door without using the note, I would rather.
>
> When you send the drawing down, send a note with it merely saying "Dear R.-I promised you the refusal on this and I must part with it immediately; let me know as soon as you can if you would like to have it".
>
> You may be pretty sure I shall "like to have it"; but I wish you to put it in this way, as I shall state my arrangement with you to my father on these terms- that I am to have the drawings I like best. Besides I am sure you would like me to have this choice. 30 (Letters)

It is clear that Ruskin had not told his father of the true nature of the arrangement with Rossetti. Rossetti was apparently not able to 'keep the wolf from the door' because a letter from Ruskin the following day reads: "Dear Rossetti- I wrote in great haste and considerable puzzlement, merely

glancing your letter through yesterday. By all means, make use of the note. I did not then see how much you wanted the money."[31] This was indeed 'accomodating' of Ruskin, as William Rossetti has suggested. However, there is no need to assume that Ruskin allowed himself to be taken advantage of, as the following letter (written later) indicates:

> I send half of Ida's money, and the other half on Wednesday. I daresay you want some yourself, poor fellow, but I can't help you just now for a little bit. I have much on my hands. If you would but do the things I want it would be so much easier: That "Matilda" I commissioned ages ago, I could buy because I have reason to give, but the Monk illuminating I can't. But I hope I shall be of use to you if you let me have those things. 32 (Letters.)

William Rossetti's remark that Rossetti was 'not unduly troublesome' is not strictly true: on one occassion at least he came very near to abusing Ruskin's patronage. While Lizzie was in France, Ruskin generously offered to sponsor a working holiday for Rossetti in Wales. Although the brisk note was somewhat presumptuous, it presented an opportunity that few artists would have declined:

> Dear Rossetti-If I were to find funds, could you be ready on Wednesday morning to take a run into Wales, and make me a sketch of some rocks in the bed of a stream, with trees above, mountain ashes, and so on, scarlet in autumn tints? If you are later than Wednesday you will be too late; but if you can go on Wednesday, let me know by return of post or bearer. I will send funds. I want to go to Pont-y-Monach, near Aberystwith, and choose a subject thereabouts. I shall be very much obliged to you if you will do this for me-Most truly yours, J. Ruskin. 33 (Letters)

Rossetti must have replied that he would not go to Aberystwyth thank you, but he would gladly go to Paris to see Elizabeth Siddal. Ruskin was aghast:

> Dear Rossetti-You are a very odd creature, that's a fact. I said I would find funds for you to go into Wales to draw something I wanted. I never said I would for you to go to Paris, to disturb yourself and other people, and I won't....
>
> If you like to write to Browning and to manage it, you can,-but I won't. I am ill-tempered today-you are such absurd creatures both of you. I don't say you do wrong, because you don't seem to know what is wrong, but just do whatever you like as far as possible-as puppies and tomtits do. However, as it is so, I must think for you-and first, I can't have you going to Paris nor going near Ida, until you have finished those drawings, and Miss Heaton's too. ....Positively if you go to Paris I will. But you won't go, I am sure, when you know I seriously don't think it right. I will advance you what you want on this drawing, but only on condition it goes straight on.-Most truly yours, J. Ruskin. 34. (Letters)

Despite Ruskin's warning that "the less you excite Ida the better", Rossetti did go to Paris, ultimately funded by Ruskin, but unexpectedly so. Ford Madox Brown recorded in his diary that Lizzie had sent a letter to Gabriel asking for more money:

> Gabriel, who saw that none of the drawings on the easel could be completed before long, began a fresh one, Francesca da Rimini, in three compartements; worked day and night, finished it in a week, got 55 guineas for it from Ruskin,....This is how Gabriel can work on a pinch. 35

So much for Ruskin's attempt to keep Rossetti quietly at work on his commissions!

Perhaps the most insistent advice that Ruskin gave Rossetti at the beginning of his career was towards greater spontaneity. Rossetti required a more easy naturalism: Brown described Rossetti's painful attempts to paint the calf for Found:

> He paints it in all like an Albert Dürer, hair by hair, and seems incapable of any breadth; but this he

> will get by going over it from feeling at home. From want of habit I see Nature bothers him, but it is sweetly drawn and felt....Endless emendations, no perceptible progress from day to day. 36

As we shall see, nothing infuriated Ruskin more than Rossetti's 'endless emendations'. There are probably a number of reasons why Ruskin encouraged Rossetti to execute swift sketches: one was his belief in the "inimitable unattainable inspiration" of true genius (In the 1851 pamphlet on Pre-Raphaelitism Ruskin had claimed that: "No great intellectual thing was ever done by great effort.)[37], the other is that he probably thought Rossetti's lack of perceptible progress in difficult subjects was bad for his morale:

> Now about yourself and my drawings. I am not more sure of anything in this world (and I am very positive about a great many things) than that the utmost a man can do is that which he can do without effort. All beautiful work- singing, painting, dancing, speaking-is the easy result of long and painful practice. Immediate effort always leads to shrieking, blotching, posturing, mouthing.
>
> If you send me a picture in which you try to do your best, you may depend upon it it will be beneath your proper mark of power, and will disappoint me. If you make a careless couple of sketches, with bright and full colour in them, you are sure to do what will please me. If you try to do more, you may depend upon it I shall say "Thank you for nothing", very gruffly and sulkily.
>
> I don't say this in the slightest degree out of delicacy, to prevent you from giving me too much time. If I really liked the laboured sketch better, I would take it at once. I tell you the plain truth-and I always said the same to Turner- "If you will do me a drawing in three days, I shall be obliged to you; but if you take three months to it, you may put it behind the fire when it is done". And I should have said precisely the same to Tintoret, or any other very great man.
>
> I don't mean to say you oughtn't to do the hard work. But the laboured picture will always be in part an exercise-not a result. You oughtn't to do many careless or slight works, but you ought to do them sometimes; and depend upon it, the whole cream of you will be in them. 38 (Letters)

It seems however, that Rossetti's laboriousness continued: "Hunt is coming tomorrow but you mustn't come, I want to talk over all your bad ways and scratchings- out with him",[39] wrote Ruskin.

As the patronage progressed Ruskin's advice became increasingly authoritarian: his criticism of the Nativity[40] included illustrative sketches of how he considered things should be drawn! :

> ...pray understand that it is not mere caprice of mine that you may-or may not, hit, in doing other drawings. If you do right-I shall like it- if wrong- I shall not. This drawing is in many respects likeable-but in many more Wrong. A human arm-on the one hand is not this-(sketch) as the academicians draw it - but neither is it this,-(sketch) as you draw it. Flesh is not Buff colour-as Mr. Neabert draws it-but neither is it pea-green, as you draw it. Half of the angels noses are all turned on one side-the child's mouth is turned round into his right cheek: and the blue of the Virgins dress is ridiculously bright to be in full shadow-the Virgin's eye is beautiful-the entering angel very fine-some of the other angels well felt and in fine colour-the middle group confused-I can't make out in the least whether the virgin is sitting-kneeling-lying-or standing-or whether St. Joseph has got hold of her arm-waist-shoulder-or knee -If there is anything-in an idiosyncratic way-which I particularly dislike, it is dirty naked old men with the soles of their feet turned up. I have seen much /of/ both of them in Italy-and perceived with other senses as well as eyes. 41

There are a number of points to be made about this letter of June 1855. The first is the striking difference in tone from the one written a year ago which "might venture" to point out one or two "questionable" things in Rossetti's pictures. Now Ruskin not only posited himself as the sole arbiter of whether Rossetti did "right" or "wrong", he furthermore felt no compunction at objecting to something in the painting which he disliked for purely personal and

professedly 'idiosyncratic' reasons! Rossetti however seemed undaunted by Ruskin's disapproval, he wrote to his mother:

> While Ruskin was at the seaside I painted and sent him a water-colour of The Nativity, done in a week, price fifteen guineas. I thought and think it one of my best, but R/uskin/ disappointed me in not thinking it up to my usual mark. I shall do him another instead, and sell that to someone else. At present I am doing two for him, one from Dante and one begun some time ago of the Preparation for the Passover in the Holy Family. 42

The subject from Dante was probably Matilda Gathering Flowers,[43] the one suggested by Ruskin. The Nativity is no longer extant, but it seems from Ruskin's remarks that it was very similar to The Seed of David (Plate no. 139 in the Virginia Surtees catalogue). Ruskin persisted in criticising The Nativity, although more humorously:

> Please oblige me in two matters or you will make me ill again. Take all the pure green out of the flesh in the "Nativity" I send, and try to get it a little less like worsted-work by Wednesday.... 44 (Letters.)

Ruskin's increasingly dictatorial tone should not, however, be regarded as proof of growing dissatisfaction: it was more likely that he felt Rossetti could do much better if he would only get "over that habit of his of doing nothing but what 'interests him' "...[45] The fact that Ruskin was at this time introducing Rossetti's work to influential people indicates that he still regarded Rossetti very highly. Perhaps Ruskin felt that Rossetti needed the positive encouragement of outside interest to balance his own strictures! If so, it seemed to produce the desired effect: Rossetti wrote excitedly to his mother:

> An astounding event is to come off tomorrow. The Marchioness of Waterford has expressed a wish to Ruskin to see me paint in water-colour, as she says my method is inscrutable to her. She is herself an excellent artist and would have been really great, I believe, if not born such a swell and such a stunner...she was...gloriously beautiful, though now rather past her prime. Tomorrow she has appointed to come and see me paint, but whether I shall be able to paint at all under the circumstances I have my doubts... 46

On the same day (July 1st 1855) Ruskin wrote a note to the Marchioness of Waterford:

> I saw Rossetti yesterday and he will stay at his studio 14. Chatham Place-Blackfriars Bridge all tomorrow; if it should be in your power to call there he will put the principal head into a drawing he is working on, before you. He was rather in consternation at the idea of receiving you in his very chaotic study-but he would not paint comfortably anywhere else.- 47

The visit was a great success: Lady Waterford asked Rossetti to give her lessons, but prompted by Madox Brown, he declined.

Miss Ellen Heaton was to become, through Ruskin, another of Rossetti's admirers. She was drawn into the Ruskin-Rossetti business relationship early in 1855 because she had written asking for Ruskin's advice on buying paintings, and had been urged to purchase a Rossetti. The Ruskin-Rossetti-Heaton triangle forms a very interesting episode which can be followed in Virginia Surtees collection of letters, Sublime and Instructive. In his letters to Miss Heaton, Ruskin made a great many specific observations of Rossetti's pictures. Here it is interesting to notice the difficulties which arose when a third party was drawn into an already haphazard business affair. It seems that Miss Heaton did commission a Rossetti, for on 5th February

Ruskin wrote to her:

> ...I do not think you need calculate on being very speedily called upon for disbursement by Rossetti; (for the commission to whom I thank you most sincerely). I gave him a 15 guinea commission nine months ago-and hear nothing yet of anything done for me. 48

Ruskin was probably referring to The Nativity when he warned Miss Heaton that Rossetti was not in the habit of furnishing commissioned paintings with any alacrity! Ruskin then forwarded Rossetti's acceptance of the commission (dated 6th Feb. 1855):

> Madam, In answer to your kind note, I beg to say that I shall be happy to accept your commission; but will you allow me to add slightly to the already liberal attitude you give me as to subject? In this particular- that, should I fail to find two companion subjects from Dante coming within the scope of your commission, I may do one larger drawing(from Dante) instead, the price not to exceed at utmost 40 guineas...I am much indebted to Mr. Ruskin for the kind mention of me which led to your note. 49

Eight months later Rossetti was still working on The Passover for Ruskin, but nothing was forthcoming for Miss Heaton. As The Passover was well within the amount of Miss Heaton's commission, Ruskin suggested that she should have it instead, but Rossetti declared that he had re-worked it so much it was now worth 50 guineas. Ruskin thought it would be unfair to ask Miss Heaton to exceed the original agreement, and agreed to keep The Passover himself, persuading Rossetti to begin another painting for Miss Heaton and leave The Passover for the time being. Unfortunately Rossetti chose a favourite subject of Ruskin's, Beatrice Meeting Dante At A Marriage-Feast,[50] which Ruskin declared he wanted to keep. Rossetti began yet another for Miss Heaton, Paolo and Francesa da

Rimini,[51] which Ruskin feared would be unsuitable, and offered Miss Heaton his own Rachel and Leah[52] as an alternative. Rossetti apparently objected to the whole affair, and wanted to ask 50 guineas of Miss Heaton for The Passover; he was probably also irritated by Ruskin's prevarication. Ruskin was clearly torn between a feeling of obligation to the patron whom he had personally procured, and a desire to appease, and financially assist, Rossetti:

> Dear Rossetti-You are quite right in all you say, only I extend my notions of my deservings to such a conceited extent as to plead not only for myself but for my friends. That is to say, Miss Heaton and other people, when they put themselves into my hands and say "What pictures shall I buy?" ought, I think, not to be treated as strangers, but as in a sort my clients and protégés. And although Miss Heaton never heard of the "Beatrice" remember it was begun for her, and when I saw it was to be good, I took it for myself. Unless I had told her plainly this trick of mine, I could not have slept with a peaceful conscience; and, having played her this trick, I am bound not to let her pay as much for a drawing she will not like so well, which I think I do in fairness to you by raising my own payment. Indeed I think you drawings worth twenty times what you ask for them, and yet you must consider market-value in all things, and a painful and sad-coloured subject never fetches so much, on the average, as a pleasant and gay one. 53 (Letters.)

Ruskin insisted on offering Miss Heaton the choice between his own Rachel and Leah and Paolo and Francesca da Rimini (the 'painful') subject only partly because the latter was thought to be not quite suitable; it was also to appease his conscience over the "Beatrice" which he had appropriated for himself. A few days later Ruskin informed Rossetti that he had divulged their chaotic 'proceedings':

> Dear R.,-I have written to Miss H/eaton/ giving accurate account of all our proceedings, and how I have pounced upon the "Beatrice" which should have been hers offering her either "Rachel" at 25, or "Francesca" at 35 guineas.

> You must not make her pay more than I do. If she does not take it, I will give 35 for it. So instead of chance between 40 and 30, you have sure 35- Truly Yours, J. Ruskin. 54. (Letters.)

The interesting post-script to this letter is not included either in Ruskin's Collected Works or in William Rossetti's collection of the Ruskin-Rossetti correspondence,[55] perhaps because of its rather personal nature: the 'new' painting was presumably Paolo and Francesca da Rimini:

> You must not be vexed if she chooses the new one. It may do you credit at Leeds, and though I should like to have it, yet remember it has a certain bearing on my own history which would prevent me from ever showing it to anyone. 56

Perhaps becuase of his wife's known unfaithfulness Ruskin was embarrassed to exhibit this picture of an illicit love-affair. Ruskin was relieved to receive a sympathetic letter from Miss Heaton:

> I have just got enclosed from Miss H/eaton/ You see how kind she is to us both. Now I really must have both the drawings sent down to her for her to choose. This is not on refusal. For, first, consider both mine. Now I have certainly a right to sell them again, and to offer whom I choose choice of them. 57 (Letters)

Ellen Heaton was probably amused and surprised by what had taken place between Ruskin and Rossetti on her behalf. Ruskin's outline of the proceedings admirably illustrates the unsystematic nature of their business arrangement:

> 8th November /1855/
>
> Dear Miss Heaton,
>
> Rossetti and I are in a great puzzle about your drawing and this is chiefly my fault-as you shall hear. I thought it a great pity that R. should throw so many sketches as he does into the fire-and half spoil so many others by changing & scratching - so I have undertaken to be general recipient of his spoiled goods- and of all that he can finish, without scratching the whole

picture out more than twice.
-The result has been that I have at present one drawing which I don't like at all, and three which I like, but which have odd faults in them so that I cannot show them, to his credit. He has promised to make me a good drawing for-now-a year and a half-and it is high time I should have it-that I might justify to others the praise I have given him-
The drawing of the Passover was begun for me-but as it was at your price and I saw no chance of your getting any thing else for a long time, I said I would give it up to you-partly also in passion at R's having changed the white robe of Christ into a scarlet one which I did not like: but which did not however spoil the drawing-only altered it from the sketch which I wanted.
However-R. worked on & on- & scratched out the principal head three times-& then Cut it out bodily-and put in a patch-Also he added a bit here and a bit there till he said he must charge fifty guineas for it instead of forty. Then I said I would keep it-I have no idea how it will turn out-for it is not half done-but a patched drawing at fiftyg. is more in my way of business-and ought not to be sent to you as a fulfilment of an order for a whole one at forty.
Well-R. puts it aside-and began another for you. The moment I saw it begun I said I must have that too-for it was a pet subject of mine and I especially want to have one good drawing of his to show, this season-as I may be able to do him a great deal of good; besides, having so many imperfect ones, I think I ought to have one good one; but I don't know if you will take that view of the matter-or will say it is David taking the poor man's lamb! I may be punished for playing you this trick-yet, for the drawing is just coming to the scratch.
Well-that is put aside-and he begins another for you-not telling me the subject nor even that he intended doing it before finishing my Passover- and now this is just done-and what should it be but a most gloomy drawing-very grand- but dreadful-of Dante seeing the soul of Franscesca and her lover!
Thus we stand.
Now there is one of my imperfect drawings a five and twenty guinea one, which I think you might like. It is Rachel and Leah at the fountain in Paradise, and it is only imperfect because Rachel does not sit easily-but stiffly, in a Pre-Raphaelite way-at the fountains edge-and because her reflection is wrongly put in the water-but it is very lovely-and I think you might like to have it for some time at any rate-If you refuse this Francesca drawing without taking the other R. may get into a bad humour-for he likes it very much himself and can't understand people not liking gloomy drawings- He never sends drawings down on refusal-nor will allow me-if you choose either of them - you must keep it for the present-and I can't advise you -for the Rachel drawing-all sunshine and honeysuckle-has nevertheless these odd faults- and the

> other-thoroughly grand & noble is very gloomy. It is a thirty-five guinea drawing with six figures-on left hand-the fatal kiss-non leggeramo avante-in centre Dante & Virgil-on right hand the tormented souls. Prudish people might perhaps think it not quite a young lady's drawing. I don't know. All the figures are draped-but I don't quite know how people would feel about the subject. Please however write immediately if you will have either. or neither. I take the Francesca if you refuse it-but my advice to you would be at all events to take one-for either will do you good to look at for a while- his drawings are sure to rise in value-and you could change afterwards with me, without putting him at present into bad humour. If you like to have the Francesca-and change afterwards-do-but you must at all events keep it-if it is sent to you-for six months or R. will be out of humour.
>
> If my pet drawing turns out as I hope it will I shall never be able to show it you-lest you should not forgive me. Pray do-and I will always be as useful as I can-I have read no more M.S. yet-but will the moment my book is out. Most truly Yours J. Ruskin. 58

Three times Ruskin expressed his concern to avoid putting Rossetti into bad humour: despite his dictatorial treatment of his protégé he seems secretly to fear the artistic consequences of Rossetti's irritation. The letter draws a vivid picture of Rossetti obliterating huge portions of his picture in exasperation at not getting it right, and Ruskin fervently raking discarded drawings from the fire! As a result Ruskin possessed The Nativity (which he said he 'didn't like') La Belle Dame Sans Merci, Arthur's Tomb, and Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah (not all of which were salvaged.) (see illustrations).

Ellen Heaton agreed to choose between Ruskin's Rachel and Leah and the Paolo and Francesca da Rimini which was not yet completed:

> You are truly a good and kind lady, and you shall have both drawings down to choose from immediately. I will send mine on Monday and R. will send his the moment it is finished. 59 (Letters)

Rossetti however, declared that the Paolo and Francesca could not go to Miss Heaton for less than 40 guineas, although Ruskin had told her it was 35, as this was the price that Rossetti had asked Ruskin. Rossetti, desperately in need of money, seems to have demanded immediate payment from Ruskin for the unfinished Paolo and Francesca as soon as he heard that Miss Heaton had chosen the Rachel and Leah. Ruskin was, understandably, hurt by this ruthlessness:

> Dear Rossetti,-I am a good deal puzzled about this matter in various ways, partly likes of my own, partly respects for proper dealing with Miss Heaton, partly desire to manage well for you. The best I can do at present is to send you a cheque for £20. I have made it payable to Crawley, who will get it for you, if you like, at once-and please finish the new picture as well as you can, and then we will see, and at the eleventh hour I am going to put off my lesson of to-morrow, for I find my eyes quite tired to-day with an etching I expected to have finished and haven't; but as you have that drawing to finish you will still be kept in town now, so I may have my lesson when this nasty etching is done. Please apologise to William very heartily for this rudeness, but I shall enjoy you both so much more when this thing is off my mind. Last sheet to press on Monday- etching I hope finished on Tuesday or Wednesday. Shall we still say Saturday next for our lesson, and the weather will be better?-Always affectionately yours, J. Ruskin. 60 (Letters)

Oswald Doughty claims that the 'thing' on Ruskin's mind which caused him to cancel his 'drawing lesson' was his "disgust" with Rossetti.[61] It seems much more probable that the words "when this thing is off my mind" refer to the "nasty etching": If Ruskin was offended by Rossetti's demand for money, he would not have fixed the following Saturday for the lesson, and furthermore a letter written to Miss Heaton a few days later shows that he still had Rossetti's interests very much at heart:

> Dear Miss Heaton
> If I did not speak of your new commission to Rossetti it was only because I was entirely pleased, and in a hurry-& thought you would hold it a matter of course I should be pleased. You cannot I think do art, or me-a greater service than in thus helping Rossetti-keeping him from mortification among dealers, &c-and I doubt not- if he lives, the drawings will soon have great value. 62

Ruskin even recounted Rossetti's 40 guinea demand for the Francesca in such a way that it appeared to be a sacrifice on Rossetti's part!:

> As you do not keep the Francesca-I will tell you(as I tell all my shabby tricks to you)-one of my good ones. The price of the Francesca is properly 40 guineas-& it was done as your 40g. commission-but R. said he would not let me pay more than thirty for it. I said that you and I should at all events be on the same terms with respect to prices; and that, whether you, or I, took it, it should be 35-to which he at last agreed. 63

Thus the chaotic proceedings with Ellen Heaton occupied the first year of the patronage, subjecting Ruskin to embarrasment, Rossetti to exasperation, and both to considerable confusion! Nevertheless despite minor irritations, Ruskin's opinion of Rossetti's work remained high: the Paolo and Francesca, he told Miss Heaton, was "a most noble and perfect work", and he clearly expected Rossetti's pictures to increase in value. Rossetti for his part was very satisfied with the year's progress. He wrote to Allingham in November that his success had been largely due to Ruskin's encouragement:

> I've done lots of work lately (i.e. for me-), but all in water-colours, and nearly all for Ruskin. Among the later of my drawings finished are Francesca da Rimini, in three compartements; Dante cut by Beatrice at a marriage feast; Lancelot and Guenever parting at tomb of Arthur: at finishing of each of which, and of various others I have done, I have very much wished you were by to show them to. I'm sorry to say my modern picture remains untouched since last Xmas, but this has

> really not been through idleness, as I have done more during the past year than for a long while previously, and I think I can myself perceive an advance in my later work. 64

Nothing is more eloquent of Ruskin's influence upon Rossetti: Rossetti equates the work done for Ruskin with work done to please himself. Furthermore, not only had he abandoned, at Ruskin's suggestion, the modern subject Found, but he admitted to improvement in those paintings executed specifically for Ruskin. It seems Ruskin had succeeded in combating the feelings of failure to which Rossetti was prone, and Rossetti's admissions of personal progress as a result of his association with Ruskin is indeed a tribute to the critic.

CHAPTER SIX

Encouraging Rossetti's Independence.

Oswald Doughty sees 1856 as the year which witnessed Ruskin's alienation from Rossetti:

> Estranged by his protégé's emotional indifference to himself, by their intractability, disorderly life and general futility, he was gradually drifting away from them, growing remote. Long absences on the continent assisted this transition. There, solitary thoughtful, depressed, he increasingly brooded over the disappointments of human life, saw his relation to Gabriel and Lizzie in truer perspective, clearly realising that he had failed to win their affection by the benefits he had conferred, saw that he held them solely by his wealth and influence. Absent he was forgotten. They would not trouble to write to him-except when they needed money, which was not seldom. In August 1856 he had broken a long silence with an obviously perfunctory letter to Gabriel, expressing his disappointment at receiving none from them and giving his address for "if you like to send one now". 1

This is quoted in full because it misrepresents the situation in almost every particular. The letter to which Doughty refers did <u>not</u> 'break a long silence'; Ruskin's opening words "soon after I wrote to you" suggest that there were intervening letters, which is confirmed by a short note from Chamouni in the Bodleian Library transcripts dated 10 August, and tentatively 1856, though from the contents of the published letter of 14 August 1856, it is clear that this was the preceding communication:

> Dear Rossetti
>
> August
> I did not like to send the enclosed Ida's money. (s i c) till I could find a safe private hand-not knowing if you were staying in town or not. I wrote you a line to-day of chat, which I hope you will receive before you get this. Always affect. yrs.
>
> Love to Ida. J. Ruskin[2]

The letter from which Doughty quotes is far from "perfunctory": the length and tone certainly do not suggest obligation; the difficulty which Ruskin confessed in 'taking up a pen from the table' confirms rather than questions his regard for Rossetti, since he troubled to write, despite intense depression and lethargy, with concern for their welfare:

> I found soon after I wrote to you, on trying to draw a little, that I was really quite exhausted, and I have been so idle ever since, that now it is quite a trouble to me to take up a pen from the table. I do nothing but walk and eat and sleep, and get stupider and lazier every hour. You see I write even worse than usual, and I haven't a single idea in my head on any subject. There is the most exquisite view of Alps from my window at this moment under morning sunshine, but I am so stupid that I don't care much about it. I wanted to find out a few simple geological facts when I came here, but I am so stupid that I can't. I had promised a friend to draw him a bit of snow and a pine or two, and I have just sense enough left to see that it is no use trying. I slept from half-past nine last night to six this morning, and am half asleep now-nothing but breakfast will in the least brighten me. 3 (Letters.)

The words with which Doughty supports his view that Ruskin's communication was perfunctory "if you like to send one now", are extracted from their context, which in fact exhibits the contrary:

> I am very anxious to hear how you are getting on. I suppose it is my own fault that I have not; but I thought I had said in my last that any letters directed to me at 7 Billiter Street, with "to be forwarded" on cover, will reach me in due course. If you like to send one now, directed Hotel de Zähringen, Fribourg, Suisse, it will reach me quickly; but you must not despatch it before the 24th August, nor after the 30th or it may miss me. 4 (Letters.)

This suggests reasons for Rossetti's incommunicativeness: he was not the most conscientious of correspondents, and the restricted dates in which a letter could reach Ruskin

would certainly have discouraged him. At the beginning of the year Ruskin had written to Ida that he was "never angry when people don't write, for I know what a trouble-some thing it is to do". He had also affectionately teased the pair for their infectious bad habits: he certainly did not seem "estranged by his protégés' ....disorderly life":

> Certainly Ida, you and Rossetti have infected me with your ways of going on. Never did I leave a letter so long in hand before. One would think I had had to scratch out every word and put it in again, as Rossetti always does when he is in any special hurry. 5 (Letters)

Doughty also claims that Rossetti wrote to Ruskin only when he needed money, which he says was "not seldom"; yet only two weeks previously Rossetti had written to his brother that he had "plenty of tin at present....from woodcuts, and a water-colour I have just finished and which I suppose someone will buy", and from a banker's order which he had just received from a new patron T.E. Plint.[6]

Rossetti was now receiving more and more commissions, thanks to Ruskin's advocacy (which suggests that Doughty was wrong to date the estrangement from 1856). Rossetti's increasing independence of Ruskin's patronage must not be mistaken for a personal rift. That Ruskin still considered Rossetti a highly gifted artist is shown by the passage in a letter of this time referring to La Belle Dame Sans Merci:

> I think I like that duet between Ida and you better than anything you have done for me yet, for it has no faults and is full of power,.... 7 (Letters.)

Ruskin began in many different ways to encourage Rossetti's

independence: by advising him to ask higher prices for pictures, by attempting to persuade him to join the respected 'Old Water-Colour Society', and by sending his own Rossetti paintings to be exhibited in various places. Although in 1856 Ruskin attempted to play down his association with Rossetti it was to elicit recognition for the artist apart from the attention he had attracted as Ruskin's protégé. In February, having told Ellen Heaton, "I highly approve the idea of Rossetti exhibition"[8] Ruskin sent, for this purpose, Beatrice Denying Her Salutation, Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, and a frame for Miss Heaton's Rachel and Leah, expressly asking for his ownership of the other pictures to be kept a secret:

> ...-by all means let R's picture be shown at Literary Society. I send you a silver and black frame for it- the one I had it in. It looks well in it. 9
>
> I will have them nicely framed on purpose only in making any arrangements please observe Rossetti is to send them merely as sold without naming whom they belong to and all communications on the subject are to be addressed by general people to him. 10

Ruskin probably thought that concealing the ownership of the pictures would give the impression that they were widely sought-after. He sent instructions to Rossetti:

> I have written to Miss Heaton that 'Beatrice'(sulky) and 'Francesca' are to be exhibited on 19th instant somewhere when there is lecture on Dante.
> She knows all about it. I shall send the drawings to you nicely framed. You are to send them to the place merely as 'sold'. You may receive letters about it now soon, and will know what to say.
> Hunt saw the drawings last night-admired them so much I couldn't abuse you as much as I intended.-Always your affectionately. 11 (Letters.)

(Notice the characteristically provocative aside). Someone

by the name of Brayley apparently wrote to Ruskin asking when the picture would arrive. Ruskin, annoyed that his association with the pictures was known, replied to Miss Heaton:

> Rossetti has both drawings- surely I said in my last note that all communications needed on the business were to be addressed to him, as I could not more attend to it-please explain this to Mr. Brayley-as I won't undertake to answer letters- except yours-which I am always glad both to have and to answer. 12

When Rossetti received the paintings from Ruskin he decided to take the opportunity of showing some of his best work to prospective patrons. He wrote to Browning about the Dante subject on which he had been working (perhaps Dante's Dream):

> To tell you the truth, when finished, it looked so obviously inadequate as a goal to anyone's journey, that I determined on waiting till the Passover drawing, which you saw begun, should also be complete, and then borrowing the other from Ruskin to show with it. This is borne well in mind and will shortly come off...[13]

Rossetti apparently asked Ruskin whether he could borrow Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, and La Belle Dame Sans Merci, of which the latter was refused.[14] He asked Madox Brown to inform the picture dealer D. White of this little private exhibition:

> I've got by me the drawings of Dante and Francesca belonging to Ruskin, for some days, probably till the 15th; also have in hand a large drawing of Dante's vision of dead Beatrice, as well as Passover and Monk. Perhaps now would be the time for White, if there is nothing happening just now, to turn his human milk to curds and whey. 15

Ruskin encouraged such schemes, knowing that Rossetti was in

great financial difficulties at the begining of 1856. He tried to dissuade Rossetti from painting gratuitously, and even offered to sell his own favourite picture of Beatrice Denying Her Salutation "at this pinch":

> Dear R.,-You asked me if you might duplicate that sketch for Boyce. Does Boyce pay you for these drawings? If he does, offer him the sketch at the price I gave you for it. That will always be something in hand. But, if it is only friendship in which you paint for him, see if you can sell that drawing or the "Francesca" elsewhere; it will always be a help and I will wait for other drawings when you have time to do them.....
> If any of the dealers would give you a good price for even the "Dante" one(mine), you might take it at this pinch. 16 (Letters.)

Rossetti thought of asking Ellen Heaton for an advance on her latest commission, but Ruskin, afraid that Rossetti would not be tactful, offered to intervene:

> Dear Rossetti-You shall have the thirty pounds to-morrow and I will ask Miss Heaton to lend the twenty-five in a way which will leave it quite in her power to refuse comfortably; if she does, I will immediately supply the rest.... 17 (Letters.)

The money was for Ida who had run out of funds while travelling on the continent: "I am not at all put out", Ruskin reassured, "only I want Ida to stay in Switzerland"; Ruskin was going there himself: "Don't be jealous- I shall not be near her".[18] Miss Heaton willingly advanced the money; on 12th April Ruskin wrote:

> Dear Miss Heaton
> I am sincerely & gratefully obliged by your letter-and henceforward I will be entirely frank with you and without either hesitation or apology will tell you just what I want done and want help in; ... 19

Rossetti also thanked her:

> I assure you the need was a very pressing one...or I should not have ventured to trouble you, through Mr. Ruskin. 20

On 14th April Ruskin wrote to Rossetti:

> I am truly glad all has gone so well. Miss Heaton is truly a good and kind person. 21

Ruskin continued to exhibit his Rossetti paintings to influential people: a diary entry for 15th October shows his exasperation at the obtuseness with which the pictures were frequently received:

> Rossetti, Miss Fall, Fearon, and his partner and Mr. Smith at dinner. Note the utter incapacity of some people to perceive anything but the most prosy facts in pictures as conceivably true. 22

Miss Heaton apparently suggested that her Dante's Dream, which was just finished, and her Mary in the House of St. John, should be sent to Oxford for a while, perhaps in order to help Rossetti attract wider patronage. Ruskin thought it an excellent idea, as he wrote on 21st April:

> I am truly grateful to you for your kind offer about the drawing. I shall accept it at once in so far as it will be useful to Rossetti that I should, by sending it down to be seen at Oxford.....
> .....
> By all means, the Virgin in the House of St. John- it is one of his finest thoughts. While you are in Switzerland I think the picture might be wisely sent, for some time at least, to the charge of my friend Dr. Acland of Oxford. Many people would see it there- and right kind of people. 23

Ruskin then sent urgent instructions to Rossetti, who was no doubt rather bewildered:

> Please have the Dante and Francesca done up in a box, and sent down here by fast train to-morrow, directed to me at Dr. Acland's, Broad Street, Oxford; let Dickinson from Wardour St. pack them for me; you shall

> have them back soon. If Miss Heaton's is not gone to her and is done, send me that also, if you can. I will send it on to Miss H. If the Passover could come too I should like it exceedingly. I want to show them to people here while I am here- for fresco church. 24

Clearly both Miss Heaton and Ruskin were acting for Rossetti's sake, but Rossetti was naturally anxious about packing-off his precious paintings all over England: Rossetti wrote three times to Miss Heaton that week:

> I have not yet heard from Mr. Ruskin in acknowledgement of my letter & of the drawings belonging to him which I sent, & therefore do not know how to act about yours.

> I write one word to say that the drawing has gone to Oxford to Mr. Ruskin, though I am not sure if it will be back in time to catch him. In either case I have arranged that it shall be sent back to me almost immediately.

> The drawing has been to Oxford and is just back-I suspect unfortunately without catching Mr. Ruskin. 25

The orders to send his paintings off to various parts of the country irked Rossetti. In October Dante's Dream was with Arthur Hughes: Virginia Surtees rightly declares that Rossetti's trepidation about his precious paintings was justified:

> It is not clear why Dante's Dream, which, it will be remembered had spent the summer at Oxford with the Aclands, was even now with the Brownings (or would be by the following day) and was to be lent to Ruskin on their departure, should suddenly become the responsibility of Arthur Hughes; nor would it seem that Ellen had yet had a chance of seeing it. Rachel and Leah had suffered much the same nomadism and one wonders to whose advantage this constant interchange of domicile was directed; whether to Rossetti's to further his reputation, to please Ruskin who had urged the commissions, or to gratify Ellen as being their owner. It can hardly be supposed that the paintings gained by these migrations. 26

Perhaps Rossetti suspected that which Ruskin denied to Ellen Heaton the following month:

> It really looks as if I didn't care about the Dante, not to have come for it- but I could'nt. 27

By 1859 Rossetti's suspicions seemed to have been confirmed: he had, Ruskin admitted "lent Mr. Rossetti's Harp-sketch to somebody and forget whom."[28]

Ruskin even extended the 'advertising' on behalf of Lizzie Siddal, and was pleased by a response from Miss Heaton: "I shall be delighted to show you what I have of Miss Siddall's any day next week...."[29] Perhaps one reason for Ruskin's apparent indifference to the work of Ford Madox Brown was fear of detracting potential Pre-Raphaelite patronage away from Rossetti. Ironically, while Ruskin was away Rossetti took Miss Heaton to Madox Brown's studio: while Ruskin was 'bent on making' Rossetti's fortune Rossetti was assiduously undoing it: on 7th September Brown recorded in his diary:

> On Sunday while I was out, Gabriel called with his admirer and client Miss Heaton, of Leeds....Really Gabriello seems bent on making my fortune...Never did fellow, I think, so bestir himself for a rival before; it is very good and great to act so. 30

Rossetti urged Miss Heaton by letter to:

> ....have something as soon as possible from Madox Brown, since I find you have some thoughts of doing so..... I can assure you as certainly as if it were in the past instead of the future, that anything by Madox Brown will be sure to increase yearly in value now, & that no one's works, except those of Hunt and Millais, will ultimately be so highly esteemed or stand so high in the market as his. The tide of justice is at last beginning to set in towards him.[31]

Miss Heaton would not purchase any Madox Brown until she had heard Ruskin's opinion; but Ruskin seemed to prevaricate: "I will look up Maddox(sic) Brown's water colours & tell you about them - I'm not quite sure about them".[32] He made no more mention of it however until Miss Heaton seemed actually about to buy, in 1862:

> Do not buy any Madox Brown at present. Do you not see that his name never occurs in my books- do you think that would be so if I could praise him, seeing that he is an entirely worthy fellow? But pictures are pictures, and things that ar'n't ar'n't. 33
>
> (Letters.)

Ruskin's next plan on Rossetti's behalf was to get him elected to the respectable Old Water-Colour Society. Although the prestige was attractive, Rossetti did not wish, as he later explained to Ernest Gambart, to be known as a water-colourist:

> I know all that is to be said as to the advantage to me of joining the Old Water Colour Society; but I declined doing so some years ago, when Ruskin offered me his influence, on that ground, which I still adhere to, that I would not on any account become ticketed as a water-colour painter wholly, or even chiefly. 34

Rossetti wrote to Madox Brown for advice: "I enclose you a note of Ruskin's on which I shall want to consult with you. It is post-time." 35 Rossetti should have known what the reply would be: apart from Brown's antipathy towards Ruskin, he was also strongly opposed to any artistic institution: it seems Rossetti merely sought for support in his refusal to join: he wrote also to Allingham:

> Ruskin wants me very much to enter the Old Water-colour Society, and says John Lewis will do anything to facilitate my entrance. This would be a great advantage to the sale of my water-colours, but I fear it

might chance to bonnet my oil-painting for good. I don't know what to do. 36

Although election into the society was by a committee of members, Ruskin had apparently assured gaining the approval of its president John Lewis. Rossetti probably feared that he would be accepted merely on the basis of Ruskin's influence. He seems to have replied (anticipating Brown's objections) that he disapproved of the Society's method of selection: Ruskin's reply implies he regarded Rossetti's ostensible scorn of élitism as unadmitted fear of rejection:

> Dear Rossetti- I enclose a letter from John Lewis, and we must now have your final answer. I object, myself, to the whole system of candidateship, but, as it is established, neither you nor I can at present overthrow it. I don't believe there is the least risk of your rejection, because Lewis is wholly for you, and the others know that you are a friend of mine and that I am going to write a "notice" in 1857 as well as in 1856. I don't say that, if they rejected you, I might /not/ perhaps feel disposed to go into further analysis of some of their own works than might be altogether pleasant. But don't you think they will suppose so, and that your election is therefore rather safe?
>
> But suppose the reverse. All that could be said was that they rejected -not Rossetti but Pre-Raphaelitism. Which people knew pretty well before. But it would give me a hold on them if they did, which would be useful in after attacks on this modern system, so that, whether they took you or not, you would be helping forward the good cause. But all the chances are that you get in, and if you do, consider what good you may effect by the influence of your work and votes in that society, allied with Lewis and Hunt!
>
> So pray do this. Write to Lewis instantly, saying you accept. I will write to Oxford for "Dante". Morris will, I am sure, lend his, and I will lend my "Beatrice", and there we are, all right- Yours affectionately, J.R.[37] (Letters)

Rossetti, in a dilemma, wrote again to Madox Brown:

> I have heard further from Ruskin, who has heard from Lewis, but really hardly know what to do, as it must be answered at once. If you were here, I would ask

> your advice. Indeed on second thoughts I enclose the two letters to you, and should like an answer at once (though I may be forced to settle it before getting yours) unless you are to be immediately in town. 38

Throughout his career Rossetti aspired towards oil-painting but Ruskin seems to have been against it, perhaps for the same reasons that he explained to Arthur Goodwin in this letter of 1856:

> I have always felt deep regret at your taking to oil and to large canvases. The virtue of oil, as I understand it, is perfect delineation of solid form in deep local colour. It seems to me not only adverse to, but even to negative, partially, beautiful landscape effect.
>
> To see a blue mountain varnished is at once an offence to me, and the subtlest conditions of colour in lights which are opal in water-colour are japanning in oil. Farther, large canvases mean the complete doing of what they contain, and the painting of not more than three or four in the year, while I think you have eyes to discern every summer three or four and forty, of which it is a treason to your genius to omit such record as would on small scale be easily possible to you. 39 (Letters.)

In Rossetti's case the latter reason was probably foremost, since Ruskin knew from experience how painfully slow was Rossetti's progress even in water-colour. Rossetti's constant re-touchings, alterations and rubbings-out would no doubt be more devastating in oil.

Ruskin's entreaties to Rossetti to join the Water-colourists were then, no doubt partly prompted by Rossetti's behaviour towards Beatrice Denying Her Salutation, which Ruskin had returned for alteration:

> I have sent your "Beatrice" today to somebody who will like to look at it; it will be sent or brought to you on Monday. Please leave word about reception of it, if you must go out. Please put a dab of

> Chinese white into the hole in the cheek and paint it over. People will say that Beatrice has been giving the other bridesmaids a "predestinate scratched face"; also, a whitefaced bridesmaid in mist behind is very ugly to look at-like a skull or a body in corruption.[40] (Letters.)

Rossetti, despairing of ever changing the existing face, apparently painted it out in preparation for a new one. Meanwhile Ruskin called at Rossetti's studio in his absence and was infuriated to see what he had done:

> I suppose that the girl who let me in was up to telling you what I had said, and to show you what I had done. I had told her to tell you that I was in such a passion that I was like to tear everything in the room to pieces at your daubing over the head in that picture; and that it was no use to me now till you had painted it in again. And I told her to show you that I had carried off the "Passover" instead. However, I think it may be well for you to have that picture out of your sight a little before you begin to work on it again; so please send it me by bearer- Yours affectionately, J. Ruskin.
>
> How you could think I could look at it with any pleasure in that mess, I can't think. Before the whole thing was explained-there was only a white respirator before the mouth. You have deprived me of a great pleasure by your absurdity. I never, so long as I live, will trust you to do anything again, out of my sight. [41] (Letters.)

This was perhaps the climax to the problems caused by the patronage: it seems true that Ruskin never again 'trusted' Rossetti to do anything out of his sight: it was perhaps not merely coincidence that Ruskin bought only three more paintings whereas in the first two years he had purchased at least thirteen.

Ruskin was nevertheless placated by another of Rossetti's talents that came to the fore in 1856: that of writing poetry. Rossetti must have been surprised and suspicious when in August he received a note from Ruskin who was on the Continent:

> Dear Rossetti- I am wild to know who is the Author of the "Burden of Nineveh" in No. VIII. of Oxford and Cambridge. It is glorious. Please find out for me, and see if I can get acquainted with him.
> -Ever yours, J. RUSKIN. 42 (Letters)

Rossetti probably suspected that Ruskin knew he was the author and had meant to flatter him, but Ruskin had not yet seen any of Rossetti's original verse and Rossetti would have been the obvious person to ask about the authorship of this anonymous poem since he was intimately acquainted with the editors of (and many contributors to) the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine. Two letters to Miss Heaton confirm that Ruskin did not know Rossetti had written The Burden of Nineveh: (the second enclosed Rossetti's confession):

> -I don't know when I read a poem, since a boy I first read "the Assyrian came down"-which has given me such intense pleasure as the "Burden of Nineveh" in No. 8. of Oxford & Cambridge-Pleasure of course-of a different kind but I am quite wild about it-That profound last stanza- the infinite power and ease of all!!! 43

and then later:

> Fancy my delight at getting enclosed-sending to R. to know the author.-How odd, I should just have been telling you he knew a thing or two more about poetry than I did. 44

Ruskin's unqualified praise of The Burden of Nineveh prompted Rossetti, who was highly reticent in this respect, to show him some of his original poetry. Even more surprising (in view of the popular opinion that Rossetti was indifferent to Ruskin) was the fact that he actually acted upon some of Ruskin's suggestions, as he told William Allingham:

> Bye the bye, it was Ruskin made me alter that line in The Blessed D(amozel) I had never meant to show him any of my versifyings but he wrote to me one day asking if

> I knew the author of Nineveh, and could introduce him-being really ignorant, as I found-so after that the flesh was weak. Indeed I do not know that it will not end in a volume of mine one of these days. 45

Ruskin's suggested alteration was presumably made by word of mouth since there is no written reference by him to any line in the Blessed Damozel. 1856 saw the stirrings of a new project in Oxford which Rossetti enjoyed more than anything else in his whole career, but which alienated him somewhat from those back in London, including Lizzie and Ruskin. Ruskin later seemed jealous of Rossetti's new circle, but it was in fact through Ruskin that Rossetti met Benjamin Woodward, the architect of the new University buildings at Oxford:

> I first met him at dinner at Ruskin's....In the course of that evening I found that Woodward's designs had recently obtained the prize in a competition for the erection of the New University Museum at Oxford, his name till then I believe almost or quite unknown in England. 46

Woodward received Ruskin's support and assistance in reintroducing the Gothic style which Rossetti also admired. In March of 1856 Rossetti was assisting his new friend Woodward by persuading contemporary sculptors to submit work for the new building: he wrote to John Lucas Tupper:

> Have you heard that a Museum is building at Oxford in connection with the University? The architect, Mr. Woodward, is a friend of mine and a thorough thirteenth-century Gothic man. Among the features of the interior decoration are a goodish number of statues of celebrated men. Woolner is to do Bacon-Munro is doing Galileo.....On the score of connection and repute it struck me you might be willing to think about a commission not certainly very promising on other grounds. The Museum is attracting the greatest attention among excellent circles in Oxford I know, as indeed must necessarily be the case, and Ruskin takes the greatest interest in it. 47

Rossetti clearly considered Ruskin one of the "excellent circle". Ruskin's interest in the scheme was apparently overestimated in later years, for Rossetti found it necessary to state in 1861:

> I am sure no one would be readier than Ruskin to contradict the absurd reports which have gone abroad-and indeed I think he has done so publicly-as to his being the real author of Woodward's chief designs. The calumny-founded on the friendship and sympathy of the two men-deserves no mention; but it has been so jealously reported in some quarters as to require a word or two of denial which cannot be made too absolute.[48]

Ironically Ruskin encouraged Rossetti's involvement in a project which he began to resent because it estranged him. Rossetti described to Gilchrist in 1861 how he became engaged in decorating the Union Building at Oxford:

> .....My next leading connexion with him is again at Oxford. Going there one day in his company to see the progress of the Museum in 1857 at the outset of the long vacation, I was greatly struck also with the beauty of the building he showed me on which he was then engaged-the new debating room of the Union Debating Club. Thinking of it only as his beautiful work, and without taking into consideration the purpose it was intended for,-indeed hardly knowing of the latter-I offered to paint figures of some kind on blank spaces on one of the gallery window bays; and another friend who was with us-William Morris-offered to do the same for a second bay. Woodward was greatly delighted with the idea; as his principle was that of the mediaeval builders to avail himself in any building of as much decoration as circumstances permitted at the time, and not prefer uniform bareness to partial beauty. He had never before had a decided opportunity of introducing picture work in a building, and grasped at the idea. In the course of that long vacation, six other friends-Edward Burne-Jones, Arthur Hughes, V.C. Prinsep, John Pollen (the painter of the lovely roof of Merton Chapel), R.S. Stahope, and Alex Munro, joined in the project, which was a labour of love on all our parts, the expense of materials alone being defrayed from the building fund. Each of the five painters took one window bay, and the sculptor the stone shield above the porch, and the work proceeded merrily in concert for several months. 49

A letter of Rossetti's written on 25th June 1855, indicates that Ruskin was initially pleased to involve both Rossetti and his 'pupil':

> That building you saw at Dublin is the one. I must have met Woodward, the architect of it, at Oxford (where he is doing the new museum)....He is a particularly nice fellow...Miss S. made several lovely designs for him, but Ruskin thought them too good for his workmen at Dublin to carve. One, however, was done...[50]

We shall see that Ruskin's initial enthusiasm: "What glorious work Dante is doing at Oxford!"...[51] cooled.

Another project which increased Rossetti's financial, (and moral) independence was the restored Llandaff Cathedral in Wales, for which Rossetti was invited to provide an altar-piece. He wrote enthusiastically to Brown:

> I've got (I think) a commission to paint a reredos(altar-piece) for Llandaff Cathedral-a big thing, which I shall go into with a howl of delight after all my small work. I fancy it will pay wellish, too. 52

Ruskin approved:

> I shall rejoice in, and subscribe largely to, reredos and flower-border, provided proper studies are made first- Always yours, J.R.
>
> I only underline the last sentence in play, for I know you will not go into a work of this kind carelessly. 53
> (Letters.)

The increased patronage Rossetti elicited through Ruskin's assistance in 1856 was noticeable enough to cause resentment in at least one other professional rival (although the bitterness was not directed at Rossetti.) Madox Brown recorded in his diary:

> John P. Seddon is building a cathedral in Wales, he has persuaded the Bishop to have a painting on the

altar, and his brother asks if I think Rossetti would undertake it,- when he has bought my King Lear at an auction for £15, and knows I am on the point of being driven out of England through general neglect. It is to toady Ruskin. I do not grudge Rossetti the work, but in truth, Seddon need not ask me my opinion about it. However, let is pass like others. 54.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Regretting Rossetti's Independence

The correspondence for the years 1857-8 provides the first impression of Ruskin struggling to maintain a hold over the protégé who was himself nurturing the 'second generation' Pre-Raphaelites. Rossetti's interests began to take him into other circles: the painting of the Union Murals and the publication of The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine were two activities in which Ruskin could not participate. Early in 1857, Rossetti apparently asked Ruskin to sponsor a new journal, but was refused:

> About the new art paper, it is to be feared that it will not come to anything: Ruskin bites not. 1

Rossetti's detailed recall, many years later, of the 'jovial campaign' to paint the walls of the Oxford Union, reveals his dedication to a scheme which alienated Ruskin.[2] As has already been pointed out, Ruskin thought Rossetti's mural work at Oxford was 'glorious', but the new artistic 'clique' irked him: ".....the fact is they're all the least bit crazy, and its very difficult to manage them".[3] His criticism was to become far more fundamental.

Two things kept Ruskin and Rossetti together at the beginning of 1857: their continued services at the Working Men's College, and a joint scheme for Thomas Seddon. Ruskin organised, and Rossetti assisted, a means of purchasing Jerusalem and The Valley of Jehosophat from the Hill of Evil Counsel for the National Gallery. Seddon had died

of dysentery while painting in Cairo. Rossetti wrote to Ford Madox Brown at the end of February:

> There is a meeting at Ruskin's (for Seddon) on Monday night. I cannot go, because of College, but hope you will. 4

It is interesting to notice Rossetti's unusual conscientiousness: A note from Ruskin when Rossetti was unwell bears witness to this:

> Don't go to the college just now-you do quite enough for them. 5

When Ruskin had declared the previous year that he would never again trust Rossetti to "...do anything....out of my sight..."[6] he was apparently serious. Although he bought The Nativity, St. Catherine, and The Golden Water in 1857, the first two had been commissioned earlier, and he found serious faults in both. He acknowledged The Nativity early in 1857:

> I have the drawing safe, and enclose cheque....
> ....and just remember, as a general principle, never put raw green into light flesh. No great colourist ever did, or ever wisely will. This drawing by candlelight is all over black spots in the high lights. The thought is very beautiful-the colour and male heads by no means up to your mark.... 7(Letters)

Rossetti must have offered to eliminate the spots, because Ruskin refused to return the picture, probably for fear of worse damage:

> I will bring your picture back whenever you like- but you can't work with the tic doloureux.[8]

Ruskin anxiously witnessed the progress of St. Catherine, the first oil-painting that Rossetti had done for him. He

seemed afraid to criticise the picture during one of his many visits to Rossetti's studio, for he eventually wrote a letter about it:

> My Dear Rossetti- I was put out to-day, as you must have seen, for I can't hide it when I am vexed. I don't at all like my picture now; the alteration of the head from the stoop forward to the throw back makes the whole figure quite stiff and stupid; besides, the off cheek is a quarter of a yard too thin.
>
> If there is anyone else who would like the picture, let them have it, and let the debt stand over; but if you would like to have it off your mind, you must take out the head and put it in as it was at first, or I never could look at it. 9 (Letters.)

The criticism was counteracted by praise of Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee: "That 'Magdalene' is magnificent to my mind, in every possible way: it stays by me".[10] Rossetti misinterpreted this to mean that Ruskin intended keeping the painting: he seems to have become accustomed to work being snatched from him when hardly finished. Rossetti apparently retorted that he would refund the money for St. Catherine whether or not Ruskin found an alternative buyer, to which Ruskin replied:

> All's quite right. I don't want the money a bit, and I think your note reads rather sulky in talking about wanting to send it back. "Stays by me" meant stays in my eyes and head. But I do wish you could get the "Magdalene" for me. I would give that oil picture for it willingly, at 50 guineas.
>
> You are a conceited monkey, thinking your pictures right when I tell you positively they are wrong. What do you know about the matter I should like to know?
>
> You'll find out in six months what an absurdity that "St. Catherine" is. 11 (Letters.)

The humourous tone of this letter must not be missed- it is important because it forms a part of what we shall call the 'transitional' letters, written mid-way between Ruskin's

initial near-obsequiousness and his final despairing criticisms. Two other of Ruskin's letters at this time similarly reveal beneath a surface irritation, great hopes for Rossetti's potential. These are among the most entertaining of Ruskin's letters, being tough yet not unpleasant, and critically valid despite the ostensible facetiousness:

> Dear Rossetti,
> So you call that a 'begun' drawing do you? Well- I'm very sorry- but it'll serve to teach you to have proper boards and not paste one thing on top of another.[12]

> Dear Rossetti,
> The drawing is a pleasant surprise, as I have not the slightest doubt of its being at present in this state(sketch). I like it pretty well on the whole, having given it up when I saw it last. But what horses legs! Are they in armour too or only rheumatic? 13

Although Ruskin was perhaps criticising the paintings more freely in these 1857 letters, they do not differ significantly in tone from certain of the earlier letters in which he had countered Rossetti's indignation with amused affrontery:

> Dear Rossetti-In your growling letter you are Grief, and I am Patience on the monument.
> Nothing but Patience in propriâ personâ could stand it. 14 (Letters)

Despite his disappointment with St. Catherine Ruskin continued to recommend Rossetti's work. He wrote to Tennyson about the Pre-Raphaelite illustrations to his Poems saying that although he disagreed in principle with what they attempted he must congratulate the author on, "....Rossetti's Sir Galahad and Lady of Shalott, and one or two more...."[15] He also encouraged Rossetti's mural work, despite reservations he had confided to William:

> The Roof is and is not satisfactory. Clever but not right. You know the fact is they're all the least bit crazy, and its very difficult to manage them. 16 (Letters)

Ruskin offered to cancel the debt for St. Catherine in return for another Union mural: Rossetti wrote delightedly to Madox Brown:

> Ruskin has offered to remit my debt to him of £70 if I will paint a second picture at Union, so I think I shall. 17

He also told Lowes Dickinson:

> I am trusting to get back to Oxford for more work this long vacation, for what I did there last year is still unfinished. Moreover I wish to begin a fresh work in the same building, which Ruskin has commissioned me to do(the first you know was a 'labour of love') but fear I shall not find time for this at present. The kind of work is delightful, and I should like to give myself to it altogether, should (such) a thing ever become possible by the changes of taste in England. 18

Rossetti subsequently began studies for a mural of Sir Lancelot in the Queen's Chamber. By 1859 Ruskin regretted ever encouraging these new interests: he wrote to Norton:

> It's very odd I don't keep writing to you continually, for you are almost the only friend I have left. I mean the only friend who understands and feels with me.....
> Rossetti and the P.R.B. are all gone crazy about the Morte d'Arthur. 19 (Letters)

Clearly it was not just the theme of the murals that upset Ruskin. His alienation from the second generation Pre-Raphaelites was not purely personal, but was the result of a growing suspicion on his part that their art was becoming increasingly escapist, an indication that they were abdicating their former 'committed' art at a time when Ruskin was

becoming increasingly aware of social responsibilities: he told Norton in the same letter that he couldn't decide "whether Art is a Crime or only an Absurdity"..[20] In December of 1859 he wrote to the Brownings that:

> Among us at present there is little progress..... Rossetti is half lost in mediaevalism and Dante, leaving the opposite party most untoward advantage, and nearly all the smaller fry have been led astray in Rossetti's wake. 21 (Letters.)

The "smaller fry" whom Rossetti was apparently leading astray were William Morris, Burne-Jones, Arthur Hughes, Val Prinsep, John Pollen, R.S. Stanhope, and Alexander Munro,[22] who all assisted with the interior of the Union Hall; it was rather unfair to blame Rossetti for their Arthurian propensities, since Morris and Burne-Jones had certainly conceived great admiration for the Morte d'Arthur before they met Rossetti. The 'opposite party' was either non-P.R.B. artists or, more probably, Millais, whose work Ruskin now regarded as antithetical to the interests of Pre-Raphaelitism. His Sir Isumbras at the Ford, exhibited in 1857, prompted Ruskin publicly to place it among work which might have "arrested" the cause of Pre-Raphaelitism had there not been other artists to "vindicate" it from "contempt"[23]

Ruskin became increasingly intolerant of Rossetti's neglect of outstanding commissions. A mutual friend Charles Eliot Norton was forced to wait endlessly for a portrait of Ruskin(which was never completed). In July of 1858 Rossetti wrote to Norton about his other commission Before The Battle, adding:

> Of Ruskin I have no news lately. He has been some time out of England, in Switzerland and elsewhere. We have spoken more than once of his portrait, and he is ready, I believe, whenever I am, and he is in town. I trust it will not be long before I begin.[24]

At the end of the month he assured Norton, "You shall hear before long something about Ruskin's portrait"..[25] but two years later Ruskin wrote:

> It has not been my fault that the Rossetti portrait was not done. I told him, whenever he was ready, I would come. But when I go home now, I will see to it myself and have it done. 26 (Letters)

This was in July of 1859; in December Ruskin reported:

> The first thing I did when I got home was to go to Rossetti to see about the portrait. I found him deep in work- but, which was worse, I found your commission was not for a little drawing like Browning's but for a grand, finished, delicate oil-which R. spoke quite coolly of taking three or four weeks about, wanting I don't know how many sittings. I had to go into the country for a fortnight, and have been ill since I came back with cold and such like, and I don't like the looks of myself-however I'm trying to see R. about it again immediately;... 27 (Letters)

The following year, on 15th April 1860, Ruskin wrote to Norton: "I pressed Rossetti hard about the portrait, till I got so pale and haggard-looking over my book that I was ashamed to be drawn so".[28] On 2nd June of the following year Norton heard further news of the portrait which he had commissioned at least three years ago. Ruskin had just been "....to abuse Rossetti into sending your drawing; never were such wicked good-for-nothing people as he and I".[29] Four years later, on 11th September 1865, Norton learned that the portrait for which he had waited seven years had been abandoned: Ruskin wrote:

> I sat to Rossetti several times and he made the horriblest face I ever saw of a human being. I will never let him touch it more. 30 (Letters.)

Although this 'horrible' likeness was executed towards the end of their friendship, Ruskin should not perhaps have taken it so personally. Rossetti admitted to being an inept portrait-painter:

> I must frankly say that, whenever I have undertaken a portrait as such I have always felt myself so encumbered with anxiety as to getting a good likeness (without which it is of no value to friends) that I have generally failed in this more than in any other kind of work. 31

After 1858 Ruskin and Rossetti ceased to meet at the Working Men's College: Ruskin gave up his teaching and Rossetti considered doing the same: Rossetti suggested Ford Madox Brown as an alternative:

> My Dear Brown,
> I enclose a proof prospectus for next term at the College. My drawing class (on Monday) is left blank, and you will see that Ruskin's name does not appear this term, and that Dickinson's does. I should like greatly to resume my class, but really do not know how able I may be to do so as to whereabouts. I have been asked on all hands whether I could find a suitable substitute, and on Ruskin's last asking me, I mentioned you as barely possible, and he wished I would find out whether you would come. Of course my class is a perfectly independent one there, neither R. nor anyone but myself being heard of in it, and the same exactly would be the case with you. I therefore write to you on the chance-a bare one no doubt. 32

Although Rossetti continued to teach at the College for at least another three years, (shown by references in letters as late as December 1861) one of the most pleasant and co-operative aspects of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship had come to an end.

A further contribution to Rossetti's growing detachment was the lapsing of Ruskin's financial assistance to Elizabeth Siddal. While Ruskin was on holiday in 1857 Lizzie returned the cheques that he customarily sent. The precise reason is uncertain, but since Lizzie's work was eliciting interest she probably felt she could not longer accept Ruskin's benevolence with a clear conscience. C.E. Norton had purchased her Clerk Saunders in July, and Ruskin apparently knew of this, although he knew nothing of the returned cheques until he came back from holiday, when he immediately explained his silence over the matter:

> Dear Rossetti,- I don't know when I have been more vexed at being out of town, as I have been since Saturday; as Ida's mind and yours must have been somewhat ill at ease thinking I was vexed, or something of that kind.
> I shall rejoice in Ida's success with her picture, as I shall in every opportunity of being useful either to you or her. The only feeling I have about the matter is of some shame at having allowed the arrangement between us to end as it did, and the chief pleasure I could have about it now would be her simply accepting it as she would have accepted a glass of water when she was thirsty, and never thinking of it any more. 33 (Letters.)

The letter continues with what Oswald Doughty sees as "a clear indication" of "growing estrangement",[34] and indifference:

> As for Thursday, just do as you and your sister and she feel it pleasant or find it convenient..... I hope to see you and arrange to-morrow if you can be at home about four o'clock. If I don't see you or hear from you I shall expect you to dinner at two if it be fine. If Ida can't come, it's no reason why Miss Rossetti shouldn't. Yours affectionately-
> J. Ruskin
>
> If it would be more convenient to you to put it off for a week, or even till full strawberry time, do. The garden is duller than I expected just now. I shall be at home these three weeks yet... 35 (Letters.)

Doughty received the impression that Ruskin was postponing the visit indefinitely. He clearly had not seen the letter which is in the Bodleian Library transcripts, written only a month later, in which Ruskin sent Rossetti the last of the strawberries: thus by "full strawberry time", he must have intended only a fortnight at the most:

> Dear Rossetti-It was a shame of you not to come on Saturday. I suppose you did it to plague me, because I couldn't take you on Friday. I can't have you to-day however, now-ever so many other people are coming-but I send you the last strawberries on the ground- the peaches are coming on-and you shall come to gather them if you like. Meantime, please give this book to Miss Siddal - I would write her name in it- but if I write her name in all her books what will people say?
>
> I am sure my picture must be done by this time. Please send it by bearer. Best regards to Ida, and send me word how she is. Truly yours always, J.R. 36

Clearly it was not Ruskin but Rossetti who was drifting away("It was a shame of you not to come on Saturday"), but Rossetti had never been particularly conscientious about his social obligations, so this was not out of the ordinary. The tone of Ruskin's letter does not indicate indifference: it contains all the earlier ingredients: a teasing reprimand, a flirtatious reference to Lizzie, an enigmatic refusal to see Rossetti at his convenience, and a nagging remark about his latest commission. By September Ruskin's fears that the increasing independence of his protégés would mean personal alienation were growing; alarmed at their taciturnity, yet afraid to meddle, Ruskin wrote to Rossetti's brother to enquire about the couple, under cover of a very transparent excuse:

I have a confused notion of having intended to thank you particularly for those recollections of Turner which you got from your friend for me.....
I am anxious to hear of Gabriel's doings. I heard a malicious report the other day from an envious person that "he was going to Florence and we should hear no more of him". Please write me word to Post Office, Manchester, what he is about. 37

(Letters)

CHAPTER EIGHT

A Hint of Future Tensions.

By 1859 Ruskin's robust and teasing letters had come to an end; he had not written once during 1858, although this was partly the result of general depression, as he explained to Elizabeth Barrett Browning:

> You must, of course, be quite sure by this time that something has been the matter with me. Well, it is quite true. I have had cloud upon me this year, and don't quite know the meaning of it; only I've had no heart to write to anybody. I suppose the real gist of it is that next year I shall be forty, and begin to see what life and the world mean, seen from the middle of them-and the middle inclining to the dustward end. I believe there is something owing to the violent reaction often after the excitement of the arrangement of Turner's sketches; ..... -but, however it may be, I am not able to write as I used to do, nor to feel, and can only make up my mind to the state as one that has to be gone through, and from which I hope some day to come out on the other side. .....
>
> I merely write this, not by way of a letter, but just that you may know there is something the matter with me, and that it isn't that I don't think of you nor love you.[1] (Letters.)

1859 began badly for Ruskin and Rossetti, with the colour fading on Ruskin's St. Catherine:

> You shall have the picture again immediately. I have never scrubbed it - more by token it has never once been out of the frame since I had it. It has the most curious look of having been rubbed-but it is impossible unless it was taken out of frame by you. But this is not the only case of failure of colour from your careless way of using colours. My pet lady in blue is all gone to nothing, the green having evaporated or sunk into the dress-I send her back for you to look at-and I think the scarlet has faded on the shoe. You must really alter your way of working and mind what you are about.[2] (Letters.)

Ruskin seems to have been tactfully overseeing Rossetti's progress on The Seed of David:[3]

> I am unfortunately hindered from coming to-morrow-but hope to be with you on Wednesday at 3. I won't say "I hope Miss Herbert isn't coming to-morrow", for I want you to get her beautiful face into your picture as soon as possible-but I hope it will take a long time, and that I shall be able to come next time.[4]
> (Letters.)

Ruskin's attitude at this time was ambivalent: although he strongly criticised Rossetti's work he was surprised when others found fault, saying to Mrs. Simon for example: "I'm so glad you like the Passover. Why don't you like golden water-she's like a German and the Germans are lovely".[5] He nevertheless felt Rossetti was falling below his mark, as he wrote to Miss Heaton about Mary in the House of St. John:

> I went and saw your Rossetti the other day. It is good, but not as good as he ought to do. Still-a possession; but I expected far more of this subject.[6]
> (Letters.)

Ruskin was becoming anxious for Rossetti's reputation because Rossetti seemed to be falling-short at the very time when the way was prepared for acceptance of Pre-Raphaelitism. In a letter to his publisher George Allen, Ruskin explained his increasing severity with Rossetti:

> Tell Mr. Rossetti to mind and do the best he can; for he and the good P.R.B's may really have Europe for their field some day soon. The German art is wholly and everywhere imbecile to a degree quite unspeakable. The P.R.B's are the only living figure-painters of this age.[7]
> (Letters.)

Ruskin's condemnation of Norton's commission Before The Battle was partly from fear that the Americans should think this representative of either Rossetti or Pre-Raphaelitism:

> The drawing he has done for you is, I think, almost the worst thing he has ever done, and will not only

> bitterly disappoint you, but put an end to all chance of R's reputation ever beginning in America.[8] (Letters.)

The painting, as Rossetti told Norton, was the result of his recently-revived Arthurial propensities:

> The drawing which I have for you is called Before The Battle and represents a castleful of ladies who have been embroidering banners which are now being fastened to the spears by the Lady of the castle. ..... These chivalric Froissartian themes are quite a passion of mine, but whether of yours also I do not know.[9]

They were clearly not a 'passion of' Ruskin's; he wished America to see something more characteristic of Rossetti's work, and so determined on sending Norton an earlier example:

> Under which circumstances, the only thing to be done, it seems to me, is to send you the said drawing indeed, but with it I will send one he did for me, which at all events has some of his power in it. I am not sure what it will be, for I don't quite like some bits in the largest I have, and in the best I have the colour is changing-he having by an unlucky accident used red lead for vermilion. So I shall try and change the largest with him for a more perfect small one, and send whatever it is for a New Year's token. I shall put a little pencil sketch of R.'s in with it-the Virgin Mary in the house of St. John-not much-yet a Thing such as none but R. could do.[10] (Letters.)

The sketch which Ruskin wished to send as an example of "such as none but R. could do" was a study for the water-colour of Mary In the House of St. John; the other painting that he finally elected to send was the Beatrice Meeting Dante at a Marriage Feast which he had appropriated from Ellen Heaton. Norton was delighted: "I am so very glad that you like the Rossetti",[11] wrote a relieved Ruskin, but he was anxious that Norton should not overrate the picture to others:

> I fear you have not received my last letter...to tell you how happy I was that you liked the Rossetti, and also to warn you against liking it too much, either for my sake or his, it being by no means above his average work(rather, below it), but still the best I could send.[12](Letters.)

Rossetti meanwhile began to rework Before The Battle: significantly, he altered his opinion of the picture, and agreed with Ruskin about its excessive mediaevalism, as he later explained to Norton:

> First, of the drawing which has been so long by me and yet your property. There is only one shadow of reason which I can give for this-namely, that I found it did not prove a favourite among my drawings with our mutual friend Ruskin, who had not seen it, having been absent (unless my memory plays me false) up to the time of my last writing to you about it, and your accepting the offer of it. I do not wish to convey the idea to you that Ruskin thinks it bad, which is not the case, as he has at various times praised it to me as it hung on my walls; but I was sufficiently sure that it was, as I say, no favourite with him, comparatively with some other doings of mine, to regret somewhat that just this drawing should be destined for you, who as I know (though of course you are far indeed from being alone in this) place so high a value on his opinion. Nor will I disguise it from you that, on mature consideration of the drawing, I myself think it rather ultra- mediaeval,- it having been produced during a solitary stay in the country of some length, at a time when I was peculiarly nourishing myself with such impressions.[13]

Thus Rossetti admitted that his more mature consideration of the painting concurred with Ruskin's immediate reaction. Later that month Ruskin wrote to Norton:

> One weight upon my mind, slight but irksome, is, however, at last removed. Rossetti was always promising to retouch your drawing and I, growling and muttering, suffered him still to keep it by him in the hope his humour would one day change. At last it has changed; he has modified and in every respect so much advanced and bettered it that though not one of his first-rate works, and still painfully quaint and hard, it is nevertheless worthy of him, and will be to you an enjoyable possession. It is exceedingly full and interesting in fancy, and brilliant in colour, though

> the mode of colour-treatment is too much like that of the Knave of hearts. But at last it is really on the way to you; ....."[14] (Letters.)

Ruskin's anxiety about Rossetti's artistic reputation was perhaps increased by his growing awareness of Rossetti's devotion to poetry. In Ruskin's view this meant a lessening of his Artistic powers as shown by his later reference to "....many of the poems to which he (Rossetti) gave up part of his painter's strength".[15] Ruskin was probably right in thinking that Rossetti's divided affections prevented him from applying himself wholeheartedly to the techniques of painting. Nevertheless Ruskin seems to have admired certain of Rossetti's poems as much as his early pictures. His enthusiasm caused Rossetti considerable embarrassment, during the Christmas of 1859, with their mutual friend William Allingham who had recently edited an anthology entitled Nightingale Valley, including contemporary poets. Advance copies were sent to both Ruskin and Rossetti. Rossetti immediately acknowledged the book, adding "I was agreeably surprised to see my sister's name on your list,-deservedly, I think."[16] He then wrote a more considered opinion, with an enigmatic first sentence:

> Apart from the defect found by Ruskin in N.V. (Nightingale Valley)-and more apparent(sincerely) to him than to me, as I should wish almost any printed poem of mine to appear when next printed with certain revisions-there are various holes I have to pick in the book.[17]

The former editors of this letter, George Birkbeck Hill, and Oswald Doughty with John Robert Wahl, all considered that the 'defect' found by Ruskin was probably "Allingham's

revision of some of the poems".[18] Apparently none of them had seen the letters which Ruskin wrote to Allingham about Nightingale Valley now in the Bodleian Library transcripts:

Denmark Hill.
14th or 15th December, 1859.

Sir,
I have just received your book Nightingale Valley and have sat up reading it till I don't know what the date is till the clock strikes.
I never saw so beautiful and rich a gathering of poems; I sincerely thank you for sending it to me.
Would you please tell me who "Christina Rossetti" is? I do not ask because of the pretty little bit of hers, (though it is-very pretty) but because one or two poems of Gabriel Rossetti's ought also to have been in the book.
Believe me, Sir,
Faithfully & gratefully yours,
J. Ruskin.[19]

Thus the 'defect' was not Allingham's revisions but the absence of poems by Dante Gabriel Rossetti! This explains Rossetti's embarrassed reference to Ruskin in his letter to Allingham. Ruskin doubtless told Rossetti that he had complained to Allingham about the omission, and Rossetti had hurriedly written to reassure Allingham that he himself 'sincerely' did not regard it as a fault; Rossetti's mention of 'revisions' almost certainly refers not to the anthology but to his own work. It seems that Allingham had not invited Rossetti to contribute to Nightingale Valley but this was probably because he knew that Rossetti was contemplating a complete work of his own poetry. Rossetti was, as Allingham doubtless knew, extremely averse to being, "forced before the public in a sudden and incomplete way",[20] and was extremely fastidious about the presentation of his poems. This was probably the gist of Allingham's reply to Ruskin's complaint, for Ruskin was entirely

satisfied with the explanation:

> I think you were quite right in selection in all points- your own as other people's, now that you tell your reasons for missing Rossetti's.
> Can you give me a guess why he has never introduced me to his sister? Mayn't I ask him?.[21]

Perhaps it was this that prompted Rossetti to send his cherished poem Jenny to Ruskin the following year, with the request that he forward it to Thackeray, then editor of the Cornhill magazine, for publication. Ruskin's refusal to submit the poem is the first indication of his increasing dissatisfaction with Rossetti's art on moral grounds; his objection to the 'amoral' protagonist anticipates the famous 'fleshly' controversy by ten years. Having devoted a long paragraph to what he considered an anomalous principal character, Ruskin claimed that his chief reason for rejecting the poem was stylistic, although he is extremely vague about its technical shortcomings. William Rossetti claimed that Ruskin had misunderstood the casual encounter between the protagonist and the prostitute Jenny, but certain of Ruskin's objections raise the question of whether he saw a different version of the poem: the protagonist of the final Jenny is neither drunk nor brutal. This is unlikely however, because Ruskin did acknowledge that the protagonist had some "right feeling" which would suggest that the overall implications of the poem were substantially the same as they are now. It seems much more likely that the inappropriateness of Ruskin's criticisms are the result of a cursory reading of Jenny, prejudiced by the risqué nature of the subject. He regarded the 'throwing' of money into the

prostitutes hair as 'disorderly' whereas in the context of the poem it was a gentle and charitable act, and the money was not actually 'thrown'. Ruskin's letter seems to search in vain for specific stylistic objections: as William Rossetti pointed-out, the objection to rhyming 'Jenny' to 'guinea' was ignored. Love's Nocturn and The Portrait, which Rossetti did not regard as technically equal to Jenny, were entirely acceptable to Ruskin, being poems of more conventional love:

> Dear Rossetti- I have read Jenny, and nearly all the other poems, with great care and with great admiration. In many of the highest qualities they are entirely great. But I should be sorry if you laid them before the public entirely in their present state.
>
> I do not think Jenny would be understood but by few, and even of those few the majority would be offended by the mode of treatment. The character of the speaker himself is too doubtful. He seems, even to me, anomalous. He reasons and feels entirely like a wise and just man- yet is occasionally drunk and brutal: no affection for the girl shows itself-his throwing the money into her hair is disorderly-he is altogether a disorderly person. The right feeling is unnatural in him, and does not therefore truly touch us. I don't mean that an entirely right-minded person never keeps a mistress: but, if he does, he either loves her-or, not loving her, would blame himself and be horror-struck for himself no less than for her, in such a moralizing fit.
>
> My chief reason for not sending it to Thackeray is this discordance and too great boldness for common readers. But also in many of its verses it is unmelodius and incomplete. "Fail" does not rhyme to "Belle", nor "Jenny" to "guinea". You can write perfect verses if you choose, and should never write imperfect ones.
>
> None of these objections apply to the Nocturn. If you will allow me to copy and send that instead of the Jenny I will do it instantly. Many pieces in it are magnificent,- and there is hardly one harsh line.
>
> Write me word about this quickly. And could you and William dine with us on Wednesday-to-morrow week? I hope to see you before that, however,
> Ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin.

> Or I will take The Portrait if you like it better. Only you must retouch the two first stanzas. The "there is not any difference" won't do.[22] (Letters.)

As in his criticism of the 1855 Royal Academy exhibition, Ruskin was not willing to 'suspend disbelief', but assessed contemporary works of art according to preformulated criteria. Unlike Rossetti, Ruskin did not allow the work to dictate its own rules. Replying to more vehement criticism of Jenny many years later in the 'Fleshly' controversy, Rossetti declared that:

> .....the motive-powers of art reverse the requirements of science and demand first of all an inner standing-point. The heart of such a mystery as this must be plucked from the very world in which it beats or bleeds; and the beauty and pity, the self-questionings and all-questionings which it brings with it, can come with full force only from the mouth of one alive to its whole appeal, such as the speaker put forward in the poem,-that is, of a young and thoughtful man of the world. To such a speaker, many half-cynical revulsions of feeling and reverie, and a recurrent presence of the impressions of beauty (however artificial) which first brought him within such a circle of influence, would be inevitable features of the dramatic relations portrayed.[23]

Having claimed that much of what could be construed as offensive in the poem is justified by its dramatic context, Rossetti then answered the charge that he made sensuality pre-eminent:

> ...I may...take a wider view than some poets or critics, of how much, in the material conditions absolutely given to man to deal with as distinct from his spiritual aspirations, is admissible within the limits of Art,-... ..nor do I wish to shrink from such responsibility. But to state that I do so to the ignoring or overshadowing of spiritual beauty, is an absolute falsehood....[24]

However questionable the validity of Ruskin's criticism of Jenny, Rossetti probably took it seriously as an indication of how it would be regarded by "common readers", (as Ruskin

himself claimed to be). Ruskin's reaction to Jenny caused Rossetti to seek for other opinions: he wrote to Allingham:

> I am sending you them things at last, i.e., the MSS. which Ruskin has only just returned to me; I having asked him to send one-viz. Jenny to the Cornhill for me-he of course refusing to send that, and offering to send some of the mystical ones which I don't care to print by themselves.[25]

Allingham did not seem to react unfavourably to Jenny, though Rossetti questioned him closely about the other poems he criticised in order to discover whether his impressions were anything like Ruskin's: "Are your objections..on poetic or dogmatic grounds? and does Dennis Shand displease you for anything but its impropriety?".[26]

Despite Ruskin's ostensibly stylistic objections to Rossetti's original poems, he did not seem to think that the translations lacked the necessary craftsmanship. In1861 he paid Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. £100 to secure publication of The Early Italian Poets:

> Dear Rossetti,
> Put your mind at ease about the book. I fancy S & E will want an edition of 1,000 if they give you 50 for it, but anyhow it will soon be settled.....[27]

When the book appeared in May Ruskin was very impressed with it:

> Dear (I had nearly written Bear) Rossetti- I am so delighted with the book: I opened at those sonnets about the year, and have been rambling on all the forenoon...[28](Letters)

Ruskin's refusal to submit Jenny for publication was resistance to what he saw as Rossetti's increasing artistic laxity in both subject and treatment. Unfortunately

Rossetti's apparent relinquishing of 'committed' art coincided with Ruskin's disillusionment with the ethical effectiveness of art: Ruskin came to believe that Rossetti's paintings had never "been useful anywhere".[29] Rossetti had come to terms with the social ineffectiveness of art long ago, while writing Hand and Soul but he had not abandoned the aim of indirect appeal to the reader's social or ethical conscience. To Rossetti, political documents were anathema: they totally failed to communicate with the essential passions of individuals; he was thus wholly unsympathetic towards Ruskin's increasing concern with economics expressed by a series of articles in the Cornhill magazine which began in 1860. Rossetti wrote to Allingham:

> As to Ruskin's ten years' rest, I do not know about his writing, but I will answer for my reading, if he only writes like his article in the Cornhill this month. Who could read it, or anything about such bosh?[30]

Ruskin explained to Elizabeth Barrett Browning that he wrote the series of essays entitled Unto This Last because of:

> ....the disappointment of discovered uselessness, having come to see the great fact that great Art is of no real use to anybody but the next great Artist; that it is wholly invisible to people in general-for the present-and that to get anybody to see it, one must begin at the other end, with moral education of the people, and physical, so I've to turn myself quite upside down, and I'm half broken-backed and can't manage it.[31] (Letters)

At the same time that Ruskin was questioning the possibility of extracting from Art any practical moral assistance, Rossetti began to turn to an intensely individual, removed, unrelated art. It is very important to recognise that

the alienation of Ruskin and Rossetti had its origins not in personal irritation but in intellectual divergence.

There was at this time no personal animosity: Rossetti still regarded Ruskin as an excellent critic:

> And what do you think of Faithful for Ever? And have you seen Ruskin's letter to the Critic about it, in answer to a spiteful attack there?[32]

> I have no copy of the letter of Ruskin's about Patmore in the Critic, or would have sent it you.[33]

Ruskin retained his conviction of Rossetti's 'greatness', as he wrote to Thomas Plint that an artist:

> ....should not be paid by his greatness but by his labour. Rossetti is far greater than Brett. But Rossetti puts perhaps a week's work only in one of his average drawings and gets forty or fifty guineas for it.[34]

In his dissatisfaction with Rossetti's present work, Ruskin took refuge in the earlier pictures: this letter to the Marchioness of Waterford has a noticeably wistful tone:

> I have always opposite me at my worktable, a sketch of Rossetti's of the princess-(Parizade; the story is the last in the Arabian nights) wearing a dress of woven gold, with green-blue lining-showing in a series of waves or indentations at the edge of the robe: her long golden hair falling over all.[35]

It is almost as though the picture replaces the former Rossetti.

Rossetti's marriage on 23rd May 1860 delighted Ruskin not only because he hoped it would have a stabilising effect but also for the purely artistic reason that it might encourage Rossetti to retain the more naturalistic studies of Lizzie rather than to devote himself to the newer idealised portraits:

> This is the first letter I have written since my return. I specially wished to congratulate you and Ida by word of mouth rather than by letter: but I could not get your address at Chatham Place yesterday. Please let me come and see you as soon as you can, and believe in my sincere affection and most earnest good wishes for you both.-Ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin.
>
> I am trying to get into a methodical way of writing letters; but, when I had written this, it looked so very methodical that I must put on a disorderly post-script.
>
> I looked over all the book of sketches at Chatham Place yesterday. I think Ida should be very happy to see how much more beautifully, perfectly, and tenderly you draw when you are drawing her than when you draw anybody else. She cures you of all your worst faults when you only look at her.[36] (Letters.)

He explained this to Charles Eliot Norton:

> It is very pretty....to see how much better he draws his wife than any other model. When he was merely in love with her he used to exaggerate all the faults of her face and think them beauties, but now that he's married he just draws her rightly, and so much more tenderly than other women that all his harshness and eccentricity vanish whenever she sits.[37](Letters.)

Ruskin complained to Norton that Rossetti frequently spoiled his art with absurd aberrations:

> He has just been and painted a Madonna with black hair in ringlets like a George the 2nd wig, and black complexion like a Mulatto-nigra sum- not that he meant that, but he took a fancy to the face.[38](Letters.)

There is no extant 'Madonna' answering to Ruskin's description: the quotation meaning "we are black" from the Song of Solomon seems to be related to Rossetti's The Beloved[39] inspired by the same, which features a young negro servant, but since none of the studies were begun until 1863 this seems to be coincidence.

Ruskin confided to Norton that he was experiencing personal and artistic alienation:

> I see hardly anybody now. I've got so fastidious and exacting that I never praise anybody enough to please them-so they turn me out of their rooms in all haste. One or two love me; but though I admire their work, it's quite out of my way.....Jones is always doing things which need one to get into a state of Dantesque Visionariness before one can see them, and I can't be troubled to get myself up, it tires me so.....Read my last bit of Political Economy please, in Cornhill Magazine for this month. I think there's some force in it.[40](Letters.)

In the autumn of 1860 Ruskin wrote one of his most heart-rending letters to his former protégés, which hitherto has not been published in full:

> Thank you for your kind letter. I did not care about the B. business, for I quite understand your ways and way of talking, and it did not worry me in the least (having much worse worry underneath so that it fell numb)
>
> But what I do feel generally about you is that without intending it you are in little things habitually selfish- thinking only of what you like to do, or don't like: not of what would be kind. Where your affections are strongly touched I suppose this would not be so- but it is not possible you should care much for me, seeing me so seldom. I wish Lizzie and you liked me enough to-say-put on a dressing-gown and run in for a minute rather than not see me; or paint on a picture in an unsightly state, rather than not amuse me when I was ill. But you can't make yourselves like me, and you would only like me less if you tried. As long as I live in the way I do here, you can't of course know me rightly.
>
> I am relieved this morning from the main trouble I was in yesterday; and am very affectionately yours,
>
> J. Ruskin.
>
> Love to Lizzie.
>
> I am afraid this note reads rather sulky-it is not that; I am generally depressed. Perhaps you both like me better than I suppose you do. I mean only, I did not misinterpret or take ill anything yesterday: but I have no power in general of believing much in people's caring for me. I've a little more faith in Lizzie than in you, because though she don't see me-her bride's kiss was so full and queenly-kind; but I fancy I gall you by my want of sympathy in many things, and so lose hold of you.[41](Letters.)

The last sentence is especially significant, being Ruskin's

own diagnosis of the relationship at this time, supporting the view that the relationship began to collapse when the professional sympathies of the colleagues diverged. Ruskin was beginning to feel Rossetti's want of sympathy in those problems which increasingly absorbed him. The letter is not given in full in Ruskin's Works: the beginning is omitted, probably to protect "B". It is extremely probable that "B" is Butterworth, Ruskin's personal assistant, a former pupil of the Working Men's College, whom Rossetti disliked. Apparently Ruskin had entrusted Butterworth with some of Rossetti's paintings: as he wrote to his father on 25th September 1861:

> ....He has repeatedly had my small Turners to travel with.....with Rossetti's Passover, and Hunt's- the best I had....[42]

(Ruskin later gave Butterworth Lancelot and Guinevere also). This infuriated Rossetti who doubted Butterworth's integrity: he later called him a "mistakenly transplanted carpenter",[43] which apparently was euphemistic: many years later in Praeterita Ruskin admitted that Butterwoth had been:

> ..... a carpenter of ....skill and great fineness of faculty; but his pride, wilfulness and certain angular narrowness of nature kept him down-together with the deadly influence of London itself, and of working men's clubs as well as colleges.[44] (Praeterita, 1885-1889.)

Ruskin's plea for attention at this time was perhaps unreasonable; Rossetti wrote to William soon after his marriage:

> My wife has been in very fluctuating health, and still is so, but on the whole has had fewer violent fits of illness since I saw you than before. Still I need not say what an anxious and disturbed life mine is

> while she remains in this state. And this is increased by the absolute necessity of setting soon to work again while in fact her health at times demands my constant care.[45]

Rossetti did little work during 1860, except, revealingly, some sketches of Lizzie's head on the pillow, and of friends who visited her. Since Rossetti could not even pursue his most cherished desires, it is hardly surprising that he did not give Ruskin the wholehearted attention which the older man seems to have desperately needed at this time. Rossetti was frequently prevented from seeing his dearest friends. On 9th. January 1861 he wrote to his aunt:

> Will you tell William that Lizzie's health makes me doubtful whether we shall be able to see Ruskin here on Friday evening which was the one we fixed. I will let him know in time however, if we do not, otherwise the appointment holds good.[46]

The appointment apparently did "hold good", because Rossetti wrote to Madox Brown on Saturday 12th: "We saw Ruskin here last night and I have only just got your note". The note was a request that Rossetti should exhibit one of the paintings then owned by Ruskin at the Hogarth Club; although Rossetti wrote on 30th. January "I have not had the drawing from Ruskin nor heard from him",[47] a letter dated 10th February indicates that his work was actually being shown at one of the semi-private exhibitions.

In 1861 Rossetti's Early Italian Poets was published with the financial assistance of Ruskin. Perhaps it was the success of this that prompted Rossetti to seek Ruskin's assistance on behalf of his sister Christina; he wrote hopefully to William on 18th January:

> I asked Ruskin whether he would say a good word for something of Christina's to the Cornhill, and he promised to do so if she liked. If so, would she send me by book-post the book containing the poem about the two Girls and the Goblins?[48]

The next day he wrote:

> I mentioned to Ruskin Christina's Goblins as one having a subject. But we must see. But has she not a tale too? If so, would she send it me?[49]

Ruskin read Goblin Market, and on 24th January returned his verdict:

> Dear Rossetti-I sate up till late last night reading poems. They are full of beauty and power. But no publisher-I am deeply grieved to know this-would take them, so full are they of quaintnesses and offences. Irregular measure (introduced to my great regret, in its chief wilfulness, by Coleridge) is the calamity of modern poetry. The Iliad, the Divina Commedia, the Aeneid, the whole of Spencer, Milton, Keats, are written without taking a single license or violating the common ear for metre; your sister should exercise herself in the severest commonplace of metre until she can write as the public like. Then if she puts in her observation and passion all will become precious. But she must have the Form first. All love to you and reverent love to Ida-Ever affectionately yours-
> J. Ruskin.[50](Letters.)

Rossetti was 'disgusted' with the letter: he wrote to William:

> It is with very great regret and disgust that I enclose a note from Ruskin about Christina's poems-most senseless, I think. I have told him something of the sort in my answer.[51]

When the poems were published the following year, however, Ruskin apparently expected them to be "...very, very beautiful".[52]

1861 was a very troublesome year: on 2nd May Lizzie delivered a still-born child. Rossetti also found himself in difficulties over a commission, and wrote to Ruskin who

had been abroad since June. According to another anxious letter which Rossetti wrote to William, one of his patrons, Thomas Plint, had died after advancing 680 guineas for work which Rossetti had not completed. Plint's trustees had employed the art-dealer E. Gambart to act on their behalf, who had begun to threaten court action if Rossetti did not immediately deliver work to the full value of the commission: Rossetti felt that it was: "..... impossible... to combine justice to the estate (i.e. to the full value of the pictures) with hurry in their completion".[53] Rossetti, considering this "the most difficult fix I was ever in", wished to appeal directly to the trustees: "With Gambart I will have nothing further to do....his letters being very offensive, and attempting intimidation with talk of law etc...."

Rossetti suggested to the trustees that Ruskin should mediate but he received distressing news:

> I have been suggesting to them to transact through Ruskin on my behalf; but now it seems unfortunately that it was Ruskin who advised them originally to employ a dealer, and they went to Gambart.
>
> Ruskin, who has been away, is just back, and I shall see him today, so perhaps some suggestion may turn up. You may be sure I am altogether in a most anxious state.[55]

Rossetti asked Ruskin to advise Plint's trustees to wait until Dr. Johnson at The Mitre could be properly completed, or accept other work. It seems from the sarcastic opening to Ruskin's reply that he had not heard from Rossetti until this plea for help:

> My Dear Rossetti-I was very glad to hear from you, and will certainly recommend Mr. Plint's executors- if I am refered to by them- to act for their own or the

> estate's interest as you propose. But I hope somebody will soon throw you into prison. We will have the cell made nice, airy, cheery, and tidy, and you'll get on with your work gloriously. Love to Ida.
> Ever affectionately yours-J. Ruskin.
>
> I will not mention your name. I should recommend the arrangement you propose entirely in their interest.[56]
> (Letters.)

Ruskin's intervention seems to have been effective: on 5th November 1861 he wrote to his father, "Very glad to hear of Plint arrangements going smoothly".[57]

Although by 1862 Ruskin and Rossetti had ceased to be frequently in one another's company, they remained concerned and interested in each other's affairs. On 14th January 1862 Rossetti wrote to Charles Eliot Norton:

> Ruskin (I have never yet begun his portrait for you, but still hope to do it before he is much older-there are few men as yet on whom age tells so little) is not back yet, I believe, in England, or if he is back it must be only just, as I have not yet seen him. His health some months ago seemed to be more a matter for anxiety than I have ever known it, and his spirits also seemed to have suffered either from mental or bodily causes, or both. But the last time I saw him, between two continental trips, I was rejoiced to find much of this worn away, and he seemed more himself again. I trust to find this even more the case now.[58]

Although Ruskin had begun to feel that Rossetti was slipping away from him, the rift was professional rather than personal: although the two men were irritated by one another's developing artistic propensities and preoccupations, they had not lost their original affection and underlying sympathy.

On 10th February Lizzie died; Violet Hunt claims that the nature of her death made Ruskin bitterly resentful towards Rossetti,[59] but her account is unreliable: it is

very unlikely that Ruskin would have heaped blame upon Rossetti's grief and guilt. Oswald Doughty declares that Ruskin was, "...shocked, sympathetic, more baffled than ever by life and death now that his "Ida" had come to so sad an end".[60] Doughty asserted that "It was William... not Gabriel, who received Ruskin when he called on hearing the news", whereas Violet Hunt declared that when Ruskin arrived it was Ford Madox Brown who "..had the pleasure of telling Ruskin, on the mat, that Gabriel was not well enough to see him".[61] The implications are the same however: that Rossetti had no desire to see his patron at this time: it should not be assumed that this was the result of indifference or disinclination: in view of Ruskin's devotion to Ida, it was more probably because Rossetti could not bear the weight of Ruskin's grief with his own.

The brief but significant references to Rossetti in Ruskin's letters of 1862 indicate that he still admired Rossetti's artistic talent. Norton's 'Banner picture' had at last improved, and Ruskin wrote to Miss Heaton, "...I am so glad you like your St. George. I did not see it quite finished"[62] (although this could have been a tactful avoidance of giving his own opinion). Ruskin paid Rossetti an indirect tribute in speaking of the work of Burne-Jones at this time: "....in imagination and sterling power there is nothing like it but Rossetti's". In May Ruskin implied to Ellen Heaton that the recent alienation between himself and Rossetti was not the fault of the artist:

I cannot <u>see</u> anyone.
I have not seen Rossetti himself for six weeks.[63]

This was written on 13th May 1862, indicating that Ruskin had seen Rossetti since Lizzie had died twelve weeks ago: perhaps they met infrequently because it made them both grieve. Ruskin told Miss Heaton, with obvious sympathy, that Burne-Jones had been very ill because he was "....deeply depressed about Rossetti";[64] Ruskin probably felt the same: in July he wrote to Lady Trevelyan that he had,... "lost all the best of Rossetti-and of his poor dead wife, who was a creature of ten thousand".[65]

Although this, written on 20th July 1862, implies a severance, Ruskin had written to Rossetti on 12th., from Milan, attempting to revive their intimacy:

My Dear Rossetti-So often I've tried to write, and could not, having had to fight with various fears and sicknesses such as I never knew before, and not thinking it well to burden you with them. I write now only to thank you for your kind words in your letter to Jones. I do trust that henceforward I may be more with you, as I am able now better to feel your great powers of mind, and am myself more in need of the kindness with which they are joined. There are many plans in my thoughts: assuredly I can no more go on living as I have done. Jones will tell you what an aspen-leaf and flying speck of dust in the wind my purposelessness makes me. They are dear creatures, he and his wife both, and have done much to help me; and I believe there is nothing they would not do if they could.....
.....

Among the shadowy plans above spoken of, the one that looks most like light is one of spending large part of every year in Italy, measuring and copying old frescoes. Perhaps some time we might have happy days together, if there were any place in Italy where you cared to study, or be idle. I've been thinking of asking if I could rent a room in your Chelsea house; but I'm so tottery in mind that I have no business to tease any one by asking questions.

Jones has done me some divine sketches. How he does love you and reverence your work! Did Norton-of

> course he did-write to you about the Banner picture? I've kept his letter to me about it. How he appreciated it! I never knew a picture so enjoyed.
>
> I don't deserve a letter, but I've had things sometimes before now that I didn't. I'm here at all events, if you have word to say to me. Remember me with deep and sincere respect to your sister, and believe me ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin.[66] (Letters.)

What a strange mutation of the same ingredients as the 1853 and 54 letters: there is the assertion of Rossetti's great mental power, and the request to share in it; there is the repeated suggestion that they share some research into medieval art; there is the old tone of blatant flattery, and the self-deprecation, with the difference that the words "I don't deserve a letter", seem now to be in earnest. The significant difference between this and Ruskin's early letters is that the former gusto is conspicuously absent. Ruskin's suggestion that he move-in with Rossetti was not pursued. This was not because of Rossetti's disinclination, but because Ruskin himself thought better of it: he wrote to his father the following month that the intention had indeed been to revive their formerly shared enthusiasms:

> There was a question in my mind until lately, between this Swiss house, and taking part of a house with Rossetti: to follow out our work together in London, but the experiment I have made in painting at Milan has shown me that I must for the present rest, and rest in mountain air..... I feel as I said in much more comfort and peace than I have done for years.[67]

Ruskin and Rossetti no doubt met during the brief time that they were both in London in November of 1862, but while Rossetti was away in Newcastle Ruskin returned to the Continent. As soon as he returned in June of 1863 Ruskin wrote to William:

> I'm going to Hunt up Gabriel, but am so good-for-nothing and full of disgusts that I'm better out of his way: still, I'm going to get into it.[68] (Letters.)

This apparently led to a renewal of the constant meetings between Ruskin and Rossetti; at the end of June 1863 they were photographed together in Rossetti's garden: it seems to have been a spontaneous picture, because William Bell Scott is somewhat awkwardly included. This photograph is extremely interesting: as has already been claimed, it offers counter-evidence to the belief that the relationship between Ruskin and Rossetti depended upon the patronage. This photograph, and letters which relate to it, provoke much speculation, and are examined in the closing chapter of this section. However, it is interesting to notice a letter written by Mary Bradford to Margaret Bell, the principal of Winnington Hall School, the day the photograph was taken:

> Mr. Ruskin told me he had been photographed that afternoon in Rossetti's garden, Rossetti with him, leaning on his arm, a truth telling position for Rossetti, & he knew it, & Mr. Ruskin loves him for it, though he says Rossetti also knows how well his own power & genius would have raised & supported him without his helping him. He promised to show the photograph to us, tho' he said he would not show it generally.-but I think he will relent & give it us- Rossetti has taken a house in Chelsea, & most of Mr. Ruskin's friends, he says, are gathering round that pretty part of the River.[69]

The impression this letter gives, that Ruskin was bragging about the financial help he had given Rossetti, is unlikely; much more characteristic of Ruskin is the declaration that Rossetti would have been successful without his aid. Furthermore the description of the photograph is inaccurate: the 'truth telling' position was actually reversed: it was

Ruskin who leant upon Rossetti's arm;[70] however, Miss Bradford could only have derived her knowledge of the photograph from Ruskin's description, and the inaccuracies do not alter the fact that Ruskin had spoken fondly of Rossetti.

The affection was reciprocated: in August Rossetti wrote to William Allingham of his fondness for Ruskin while expressing his opinion about the recently published Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the present position of the Royal Academy in relation to the Fine Arts; together with the Minutes of evidence. Ruskin was among those invited to make formal statements regarding the policy of the Royal Academy: Rossetti declared his unqualified admiration for Ruskin's contribution. The letter suggests that Rossetti wished Ruskin had stuck to criticism of the arts: it was Ruskin's attempt to be an economist that irritated Rossetti: Rossetti's mingled affection and scorn indicate that his vehement criticism of Unto This Last was probably perplexity at the 'downfall' of one whom he so admired:

> Have you seen the blue book on the Royal Academy-and would you like to see it? If so, I will send it you as a good cupboard skeleton in return for your bogies. There is abundance of rotten and decayed matter shovelled up in it, with much overfed sweltering thereby engendered..... The only evidence of the lot which is worth reading as original thought and insight is Ruskin's. Him I saw the other day, and pitched into, he talked such awful rubbish, but he is a dear old chap too, and as soon as he was gone I wrote my sorrows to him.[71]

It is a great pity we cannot read Rossetti's apology to Ruskin: it would certainly give a more balanced view of the

relationship than is generally perpetrated. It is not surprising that Rossetti applauded Ruskin's statement to the Royal Academy, as it expressed beliefs that they had shared since they met. Ruskin criticised the method of election by existing members, proposing that the selecting body should:

> ...consist both of artists and of the public...so that we might have the public feeling brought to bear upon painting as we now have upon music; and that the election of those who were to attract the public eye, or direct the public mind, should indicate also the will of the public in some respects; not that I think that "will" always wise, but I think you would then have pointed out in what way those who are teaching the public should best regulate the teaching; and also it would give the public itself an interest in art, and a sense of responsibility, which in the present state of things they never can have.[72] (On The Old Road, I, 1885, from The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the present position of The Royal Academy in Relation to the Fine Arts, 1863)

Assuming a didactic function for art, Ruskin then proposed ways to increase its effectiveness and appeal: this was the idealism with which Rossetti was familiar. Ironically Ruskin had begun to suspect that art in general, and Rossetti's in particular, was morally useless.

In 1863, Ruskin's habit of lending-out his Rossettis increased. Apart from allowing Butterworth to travel with a selection of paintings, he had lent The Passover to Winnington School, from where he wrote to his father that he was in the library surrounded by "...Rossetti's Passover, which I lent them, and all kinds of pretty things".[73] On 8th September he wrote to the pupils of the school:

> I am looking out things & having mounts cut for you. You shall have Rossetti's "Golden Water" when I leave for the continent.[74]

This does not necessarily suggest that Ruskin no longer enjoyed the pictures: he had taken the artistic welfare of the pupils to heart and probably wanted to show them some examples of really good painting. He asked Miss Heaton to lend hers also: "..pleasant chat about Winnington....I am very much obliged to you for lending them your Rossettis ....".[75]

In November of 1863 Ruskin wrote urgently to Miss Heaton about Dante's Dream; also expressing grave concern for Rossetti:

> I wish this week chiefly to ask you to give me immediate authority to take the Dante's vision away from Rossetti- he may any day take a fancy to rub it half out; and he is in a state of transitional and enfeebled powers just now, in which every touch would be destructive. Never let the drawing get near his house again-I will send it wherever you like, but don't leave it there .....The better way to manage about the Dante will be to write immediately to Rossetti, making him promise not to touch it, and to tell him to let me have it if I ask for it. I will ask in a few days, and when you get it back, don't send it about any more to any one. It should never be moved, or somebody will always be asking for it.[76] (Letters.)

Rossetti had begged the original water-colour of Dante's Dream from Miss Heaton in September in order to begin an oil-painting of the same subject:

> For this purpose it would be very serviceable to me to have the loan of the water-colour if you will kindly confide it to my care for a short time. Would you do so?.[77]

Seeing the picture once more Rossetti was dismayed by its awkwardness: he wrote again:

> ... I find much in it which I could now revise greatly to its advantage should you wish it. However I know that if I once began on it I should do so much in the

> way of heightening its colour & removing stiffness, smallness of execution, etc. in parts all over the picture, that it would be a week's or fortnight's work to me & could only be undertaken (to be plain & businesslike) as a commission, should you wish it.[78]

Ruskin wished to protect the picture from Rossetti's interference, fearing that he would destroy the very Pre-Raphaelite qualities which made it a work of genius. The two became engaged in a 'tug-of-war': on 21st November Rossetti wrote grudgingly, to Miss Heaton:

> The picture has not been touched, & shall not now be, of course, except that I really must make Dante's feet a little smaller, they being (I know not by what hallucination on my part) of the canoe class in shape & size. Otherwise I am now disposed to agree with you, having got used to the work, and feeling fond of it as it is, that it is better untouched. You misunderstand me in supposing that I said I had already made use of the picture for my purpose of reproduction. Such is not the case, & I will trust you will kindly leave it me till I am able to do so, as you are willing to defer its return to you for a much less important object-namely its loan to Mr. Ruskin.[79]

Rossetti was piqued that Miss Heaton would rather lend the picture to Ruskin than allow the artist himself to keep it: perhaps Miss Heaton had used the excuse to Rossetti that she wanted the painting back herself. On 23rd. Ruskin wrote:

> I've been to Rossetti's today; the picture is safe, and I have made him assured that I should think it entirely unfriendly and false of him if he touched it. He can't bear to be forced to anything, and so muttered that "it wasn't going to be touched" so my mind is at rest about it for the present. I had no excuse for taking it away, as I'm not at Denmark Hill just now; but after he has had it a little longer, if he has not used it, I shall insist on having it.[80]

Ruskin did insist on taking the picture, unknown to Miss Heaton, who wrote several months later asking Rossetti to

return it: on 19th April 1864 Rossetti replied:

> The Dante was taken from here- as I thought by your wish-by Mr. Ruskin on the day before his father's death, & he undertook to get a photograph made, of which I have not heard since.[82]

Miss Heaton then apparently wrote to Ruskin offering to have a photograph made herself of Dante's Dream; Ruskin replied:

> I carried off the Dream from Chelsea only two days before my father's death; so that my promise to Rossetti to photograph it was, with many other engagements-roughly hindered- I shall be glad that you undertake it-as I am afraid to take it out of the frame-You shall have it in a week-and never let it out of your power more. I look upon it as having had a narrow escape.[82]

Rossetti was not satisfied with the resulting photograph and again requested the original Dante's Dream from Miss Heaton; Ruskin warned her not to give in, advising her to ignore "Rossetti's nonsense about the photograph, one person will bring out one effect and another another - but don't let him have it again".[83]

Ruskin's refusal to return Dante's Dream to Rossetti clearly made Rossetti resentful, adding salt to the wound already created by rumours that Ruskin was either selling or giving away his 'Rossettis'. Ruskin's reply to Rossetti's irritated enquiries marks the beginning of the break-up in their relationship:

> My Dear Rossetti- What a goose you are to go about listening to people's gossip about me! I have never parted with any of your drawings but the "Francesca". I leave the "Golden Water" and "Passover" at a Girls' School, because I go there often, and enjoy them more than if they were hanging up here- because here I dwell

> on their faults of perspective and such like. Am I so mean in money matters that I should sell Lizzie? You ought to have painted her better, and known me better. I'll give you her back any day that you're a good boy, but it will be a long while before that comes to pass.
>
> You scratched the eyes out of my "Launcelot", and I gave that to Butterworth-that was not my fault. If you could do my Dante's Boat for me instead of money, I should like it-but I don't believe you can. So do as you like when you like.-
> Ever yours affectionately, J. Ruskin.[84] (Letters.)

Ruskin apparently preferred to see certain of Rossetti's paintings infrequently in order to avoid dwelling on their faults; this was to become one of Ruskin's major counts against Rossetti at the crisis of their professional association. The Golden Water Ruskin later gave to Mrs. W.H. Churchill, but The Passover remained with him to the end of his life, so he seems to have admired it despite its faults. The "Francesca" (Paolo and Francesca da Rimini) which Ruskin had praised to Miss Heaton when she was choosing between that and Rachel and Leah, soon lost favour with him:

> If you have quite done with poor Francesca you can send her to me....but I don't want her a bit, if you would like to keep her longer.[85]

Perhaps it was simply because of the picture's associations with Ruskin's ex-wife. The "Lizzie" was a portrait of Elizabeth Siddal, probably Regina Cordium,[86] although this is surprising since the one Virginia Surtees gives as the original is similar in style to the very painting, Venus Verticordia,[87] which Ruskin loathed. There is another version of Regina Cordium, which is a closer likeness to Lizzie, and would therefore be a more likely candidate for

Ruskin's picture, but Miss Surtees nevertheless supposes the original to be Ruskin's. Although Ruskin indignantly retorted that he would not be 'mean' enough to sell the Lizzie portrait, he was apparently not satisfied with it: "You ought to have painted her better". Ruskin considered himself justified in giving the "Launcelot" (Arthur's Tomb) to Butterworth because Rossetti had ruined it with retouchings. He finished with a counter-attack on Rossetti about the outstanding commission whose subject he had suggested, The Boat of Love[88]. This picture is very early in style, perhaps begun soon after Ruskin and Rossetti met; Ruskin doubted whether Rossetti would complete the picture since he had apparently departed from Pre-Raphaelite simplicity. The closing sentence of the letter "..do as you like when you like", betrays the contrary: Ruskin seems far from resigned to Rossetti's wilfulness. Rossetti's accusations that his patron was giving up his pictures obviously touched Ruskin's conscience because he wrote subsequently to the principal of Winnington School:

> .... I must have those Rossettis home now- R. has been very cross about them- and besides-I've made up my mind finally that its no use for you to have such things-if you can put up with those old nonsense sketches of mine-you don't want anything else. But I want now the Passover: Golden Water....[89]

Rossetti's fears for his pictures proved well-founded: Miss Bell refused to return the paintings, claiming that they had been gifts; Ruskin was outraged: his letters to the school had not implied any more than that they were loans. By 1872 according to William Rossetti, or 1873

according to Van Akin Burd, Miss Bell, "...had auctioned off some of the pictures that Ruskin had brought to the school, including several by Rossetti, and at least one by Ruskin himself".[90]

Rossetti's objections to Ruskin lending-out his paintings were probably symptoms of a blow to his pride rather than purely practical considerations. Ruskin's attempted justification heralds the rift in the relationship. However much he may deny it, Ruskin was clearly now less covetous of and more critical of, his Rossetti collection. His prevarication probably further irritated Rossetti who wanted an explanation of Ruskin's recent disillusion. Rossetti seems to have forced the issue, for the remaining letters contain their final debate.

CHAPTER NINE

The Final Letters (1865).

Although by 1865 Ruskin and Rossetti had begun to develop in different directions, the change was a direct outcome of the artistic idealism which they originally shared. At the beginning of their careers both had believed that Art could reform society, but disillusionment caused them to abandon opposing parts of the premiss: Ruskin renounced art as the means of reforming society, and turned to more direct social criticism, whilst Rossetti abrogated the reforming or evangelical rôle of the artist and began to produce totally detached, self-indulgent art. Ruskin's final letters to Rossetti emphatically diagnosed the rift in their relationship as intellectual, and yet this is flagrantly ignored by most critics, who rely on the overall impression of argumentativeness, concluding that the conflict was personal. Personal feelings were inevitably involved in matters that were so near to their hearts, but the question is one of emphasis.

Although Ruskin's last letters to Rossetti insist that the difficulties were not originally or fundamentally personal, Evelyn Waugh for example has asserted that, "It was this failure in personal affection that finally caused the breach between the two men..."[1] and Oswald Doughty that, "...soon a quarrel, their bitterest and last, broke out..."[2] producing a "ridiculous" (which implies unfounded) storm. There is, however, very little in the last letters which is

either stormy or ridiculous. William Rossetti devoted much space to a spurious demonstration of Ruskin's inconsistency, claiming, with the aid of extracts that:

> ...Ruskin, after encouraging Rossetti to call upon him at once, stringently forbade him to do so. I will in no wise discuss whether Ruskin was right or wrong in all this; but of one thing we may be tolerably certain-that Rossetti did <u>not</u> call upon him.[3]

Even if it were true that Ruskin suddenly recanted, William Rossetti has made too much of it: Rossetti would not have been offended by the capriciousness to which he himself was subject. Furthermore, the extracts used by William Rossetti, although from various letters, were quoted consecutively, giving a false impression of chronological sequence. Originally Ruskin asked Rossetti to visit him so that they could discuss their differences, but Rossetti sent a written reply; then Ruskin wrote suggesting they revive former interests and ignore the sources of dissent; in a third letter, perhaps preceded by a visit from Rossetti, Ruskin concluded that despite their mutual affection the two could no longer be intellectual 'companions'. The fact that it took time for Ruskin to reach this decision indicates that it was neither irrational nor totally groundless. In his very last letter Ruskin declared that he was gratified by Rossetti's personal affection but saddened by his recent loss of intellectual sympathy:

> I am very grateful to you for this letter, and for the feelings it expresses towards me...yet they conclusively showed me that we could not at present, nor for sometime yet, be companions any more, though true friends, I hope, as ever.
>
> I am grateful for your love-but yet I do not

> want love. I have had boundless love from many people during my life.... But the thing, in any helpful degree, I have never been able to get...is "understanding". ..... I had rather, in fact, be disliked by a man who somewhat understood me than much loved by a man who understood nothing of me.[4] (Letters.)

Only very significant differences could have such a devastating effect on a friendship: many of the so-called "petty details"[5] (Oswald Doughty) in the last letters must hold much deeper implications. The very fact that Ruskin mentioned numerous artists, techniques, and even places without any further expansion indicates that there had been previous discussions about which we now know nothing. Although our present lack of knowledge of the verbal debate which preceded the letters prevents full insight into the causes of the split between Ruskin and Rossetti, it is important to attempt to rediscover the meanings of Ruskin's brief and frequently obscure references, because they conveyed infinitely more to Rossetti than they do to us. We must beware of dismissing as "petty details" points which are not immediately accessible. Ruskin may have been in what Mrs. Angeli calls a "crotchety state of mind",[6] but this is inappropriate as an explanation of his detailed rational, diagnosis of the final disagreement with Rossetti. Although Ruskin wrote to William Rossetti that he had become, "... entirely sulky, miserly, and ill-natured .... "[7] his disillusions were artistic. Had the break with Rossetti been instantaneous there would be some justification for attributing it to irascibility, but this was not the case.

The letter with which Rossetti provoked Ruskin into stating his disillusion apparently declared that if Ruskin no longer admired The Passover, Golden Girl, Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, and Arthur's Tomb, he had at the least altered, and at worst totally invalidated, his previous opinions. Ruskin replied that it was not himself but Rossetti who had altered, and that Rossetti's latest pictures were explicit evidence. Rossetti no longer seemed to admire painters such as Titian and Tintoretto for whom he and Ruskin had once shared a common enthusiasm:

> Dear Rossetti-It is all right- do not come till you are quite happy in coming- but do not think I am changed. I like your old work as much as ever. I framed (only the other day) the golden girl with black guitar, and I admire all the old water-colours just as much as when they were first done. I admire Titian and Tintoret-and Angelico- just as I used to do, and for the same reasons. The change in you may be right- or towards right- but it is in you, not in me. It may not be change, but only the coming out of a new element. But Millais might as well say I was changed because I detest the mode of painting the background and ground in his Roman soldier, while I praised and still praise "Mariana" and the "Huguenot", as you say that I was changed because I praised the cart-and-bridge picture and dislike the Flora.
>
> It is true that I am now wholly intolerant of what I once forgivingly disliked-bad perspective and such like-for I look upon them as moral insolences and iniquities in any painter of average power; but I am only more intensely now what I always was (since you knew me), and am more intensely, in spite of perspective indignation, yours affectionately, J. Ruskin.[8]
>
> (Letters.)

The reference to Titian and Tintoretto constitutes a fundamental criticism of Rossetti's art. Ruskin's reminder to Rossetti that he admired these painters "for the same reasons" as always, recalls the pamphlet which he wrote in 1853 maintaining the superiority of Tintoretto and Titian to modern artists; since the pamphlet was republished

several times it seems that Ruskin retained the view throughout his life:

> In our modern art we have indeed lost sight of one great principle which regulated that of the Middle Ages, namely that chiaroscuro and colour are incompatible in their highest degrees. Wherever chiaroscuro enters, colour must lose some of its brilliancy.....The best pictures, by subduing their colour and conventionalizing their chiaroscuro, reconcile both in their diminished degrees; but a perfect light and shade cannot be given without considerable loss of liveliness in colour. Hence the supposed inferiority of Tintoret to Titian. Tintoret, is, in reality, the greater colourist of the two, but he could not bear to falsify his light and shade enough to set off his colour. Titian nearly strikes the exact mean between the painted glass of the thirteenth century and Rembrandt.....[9] (Giotto and His Works in Padua, I, 1853)

The virtue of being primarily a colourist, said Ruskin, is that it is relatively easy to adopt the necessary chiaroscuro:

> the colourists can always adopt as much chiaroscuro as suits them, and so become perfect; but the chiaroscurists cannot, for their part, adopt colour, except partially.....[10] (Lectures on Landscape, 1897, delivered Oxford, Lent Term, 1871, Lecture on Light and Shade.)

Rossetti was a competent colourist, but unlike Titian and Tintoretto, he had not achieved the necessary mean between colour and light and shade. This was, in Ruskin's opinion, because he wilfully neglected the necessary study of chiaroscuro.

Ruskin denied that his praise of Found and criticism of Venus Verticordia ('Flora') constituted a change of heart. Although he had once criticised the subject of Found, the "cart and bridge picture" for its morbidity, Ruskin nevertheless admired the spirit in which it had been painted, described by Brown as "hair by hair".[11] The Venus Verticordia

was comparatively hasty and lax, aiming at mere effect. The trepidation with which Rossetti once tackled his work translated itself on the canvas as reverence for the object (which he and Ruskin had agreed was a major quality in medieval art). Rossetti had, however, more recently baulked at the necessary effort:

> I am sure that among the many botherations of a picture where design, drawing, expression and colour have to be thought of all at once...one can never do justice even to what faculty of mere painting may be in one.[12]

Ruskin's letter implied that Rossetti was deteriorating along the same lines as Millais, in allowing increased technical skill to substitute for emotion. As Rossetti well knew, Ruskin regarded technical faults as 'moral iniquities' because their presence in a finished painting indicated a lack of artistic integrity. Rossetti had certainly read Ruskin's dictum in the Third Volume of Modern Painters that:

> ...it is only by honest reverence for art itself, and by great respect in the practice of it, that it can be rescued from dillentanteism, and raised to honourableness, and brought to the proper work it has to accomplish in the service of man.[13] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Ruskin thus felt that Rossetti had abrogated the very ideal which had prompted not only the formation of the 'Brotherhood' but also their own friendship.

Rossetti must have questioned Ruskin about the relevance of Titian and Tintoretto to the accusation of change in his own artistic practices, because Ruskin's next letter attempted to explain "what you say you wish me to tell you":

My Dear Rossetti-It is very good and pretty of you to answer so. I have little time this morning, but will answer at once so far as regards what you say you wish me to tell you.

There are two methods of laying oil-colour which can be proved right, each for its purposes-Van Eyck's (or Holbein's) and Titian's (or Correggio's): one of them involving no display or power of hand, the other involving it essentially and as an element of its beauty. Which of these styles you adopt I do not care. I supposed, in old times, you were going to try to paint like that Van Eyck in the National Gallery, with the man and woman and mirror. If you say "No-I mean rather to paint like Correggio"- by all means, so much the better; but you are not on the way to Correggio. And you are, it seems, under the (for the present) fatal mistake of thinking that you will ever learn to paint well by painting badly-i.e., coarsely.

At present you lay your colour ill, and you will only learn, by doing so, to lay it worse. No great painter ever allowed himself, in the smallest touch, to paint ill-i.e., to daub or smear his paint. What he could not paint easily he would not paint at all-and gained gradual power by never in the smallest thing doing wrong.

1. You may say you like coarse painting better than Correggio's, and that it is righter. To this I should make no answer-knowing answer to be vain.

2. If you say you do not see the difference, again I only answer-I am sorry. Nothing more is to be said.

3. If you say, "I see the difference and mean to do better, and am on the way to do better", I answer I know you are not on the way to do better, and I cannot bear the pain of seeing you at work as you are working now. But come back to me when you have found out your mistake-or(if you are right in your method) when you can do better.

All this refers only to laying of paint.

I have two distinct other counts against you: your method of study of chiaroscuro; and your permission of modification of minor truths for sensational purposes.

I will see what you say to this first count before I pass to the others.

I am very glad, at all events, to understand you better than I did, in the grace and sweetness of your letters-Ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin.[14]
(Letters.)

The fact that Ruskin once thought Rossetti would paint "like that Van Eyck in the National Gallery", suggests that what he had admired in Rossetti was not subtle and gradual light and shade, but the "daring assumption of massy light",[15] employed by Van Eyck. Ruskin admired the Portrait of

Arnolfini and his Wife primarily for its colour: he once told Miss Wedderburn that she should look at Van Eyck's picture to see "what I mean by precious colour".[16] His detailed description of the Portrait of Arnolfini written in 1848 could equally well have applied to Rossetti's Dante Drawing an Angel on the Anniversary of The Death of Beatrice, the picture which had originally aroused Ruskin's admiration for Rossetti:

> .....eminently remarkable for reality of substance, vacuity of space, and vigour of quiet colour; nor less for an elaborate finish, united with energetic freshness, which seems to show that time has been much concerned in its production and has had no power over its fate.....uniting imperishable firmness with exquisite delicacy; as approaching more unaffectedly and more closely than any other work to the simple truths of natural colour and space; and as exhibiting, even in its quaint and minute treatment, conquest over many of the difficulties which the boldest practice of art involves.[17] (Review of Eastlake's History of oil-painting, in The Quarterly Review March 1848, reprinted, On The Old Road, 1885)

Ruskin claimed that Rossetti had abandoned his "simple truths of natural colour" for mere technical display, which was something different from the essential skill of Correggio and Titian. Ruskin defined the two alternative methods of successful colourists as either explicit or unnoticeable skill, exemplified by Correggio on the one hand, and Van Eyck on the other. Correggio's technical blatancy did not betray him to superficiality; he became, in Ruskin's eyes:

> ....master of the art of laying colour so as to be lovely... The great men rise from colour to sunlight... though we are only at present speaking of technical matters, every one of them, I can scarcely too often repeat, is the outcome and sign of a mental character...[18] (Lectures on Art, 1870, from Lectures delivered at Oxford, Hilary Term 1870.)

Ruskin thought that Rossetti's increasing adroitness made him neglect the essentials of his picture, and rely upon

mere sensationalism: his formerly carefully-realised detail had been abandoned in favour of an overall impression. Rossetti's "modification of minor truths for sensational purposes", was, for Ruskin, symptomatic of "a mental character", or disposition.

Rossetti's reply may be inferred from Ruskin's next letter: it seems that, unable to justify himself, he attacked Ruskin's identification of Correggio and Titian. Rossetti apparently had no objections to emulating Titian but maintained that he still despised Correggio as much as Ruskin once had, and seems to have hinted that since Ruskin could change his mind about Correggio he was equally capable of retracting his admiration for Rossetti: having said formerly that the flowers in the Venus Verticordia were 'wonderfully' painted, Ruskin now confessed intense dislike.

The response from Ruskin was brusque:

> Dear Rossetti- You know as much about Correggio as I knew in the year 1845, and feel exactly as I did then. I can't give you the results of twenty years' work upon him in a letter so I say no more.
>
> I purposely joined him with Titian to poke you up. I purposely used the word "wonderfully" painted about those flowers. They were wonderful to me, in their realism; awful- I can use no other word-in their coarseness; showing enormous power, showing certain conditions of non-sentiment which underlie all you are doing-now, and which make your work, compared to what it used to be-what Fannie's face is to Lizzie's. Forgive me this. But if there is anything in my saying this which you feel either cruel or insolent, -I ask your pardon.[19] (Letters)

This then was the crux of the matter: the reference to Lizzie and Fanny is omitted from the two principal collections of Ruskin's correspondence with Rossetti at the time, the

Rossetti Papers and the Collected Works, yet it is of major importance. Ruskin was drawing an analogy between the change of model and Rossetti's artistic change from delicacy, refinement, and subtlety, to sensuality, coarseness, even grossness (although Fanny was not the model for this painting). Ruskin felt that Rossetti had become emotionally indifferent towards his subject: there was no evidence of any feeling for, or mental disposition towards, the flowers in the Venus Verticordia; the 'awe' had disappeared. The letter then turns, apparently unwarrantably, upon Rossetti's recent friends:

> You take upon you, for your own interest, to judge to whom I should and should not give or lend your drawings. In your interest only- and judging from no other person's sayings, but from my own sight, I tell you the people you associate with are ruining you. But remember I have personally some right to say this-for the entirely blameable introduction you gave to a mere blackguard, to me, has been the cause of such visible libel upon me going about England as I hold worse than all the scandals and lies ever uttered about me. But, if there is anything in my saying this which you feel either cruel or insolent, again I ask you pardon.
>
> Come and see me now if you like. I have said all I wish to say, and can be open-which is all I need for my comfort. I have many things here you might like to see and talk over-Ever affectionately yours-J. Ruskin.[20] (Letters.)

The "blackguard" could refer to one of two people, depending upon whether the "visible libel" is the photograph of Ruskin, Rossetti and Bell Scott, taken in Rossetti's garden in 1863,[21] or the photograph of Ruskin alone, leaning on a walking-stick, which was apparently taken at the same time.[22] William Rossetti claims the latter, probably to protect his brother, although it was unnecessary, because Ruskin was objecting only to the inclusion of Bell Scott. Ruskin wrote to his father that he had 'scolded' Rossetti for letting that particular

photograph 'get abroad', and explained his association with Bell Scott, although it did not cross his mind to justify being photographed with Rossetti.[23] At the time Ruskin wrote the above, an antipathy had developed between himself and William Bell Scott, which became public in 1875, when Ruskin wrote that he had always avoided Scott, "though, to my regret, he was once photographed in the same plate with Mr. Rossetti and me".[24] The other candidate for Ruskin's invective was the photographer Downey, who reported that on the occasion of the photographs he had angered Ruskin by asking him to be seated for the group photograph. Ruskin's reply, "....Sit, in the presence of Rossetti? Never!",[25] is unfortunately open to opposing interpretations: Ruskin refused to sit because it implied either inferiority or seniority and superiority; it is impossible to know. Although this is the only hint of a personal quarrel in the last letters, Ruskin's criticism of Rossetti's social circle has artistic roots: Ruskin felt that the people with whom Rossetti associated exercised a detrimental influence on his art: the changes in Rossetti's art had corresponded to his living with Swinburne and Fanny. The business about the photograph is not, however, the main issue in the letter: what Ruskin wished to suggest was that as Rossetti developed in line with his new associates he abandoned earlier ideals. An associate of the Whistler circle in which Rossetti now moved was Graham Robertson, whose later reflection upon Ruskin's criticism of Venus Verticordia characterises the increasingly fashionable 'Aesthetic' attitude:

> What does that extraordinary Ruskin mean when he speaks of the 'coarseness' of the flowers? He can't be referring to their execution, as they are painted with Pre-Raphaelite delicacy. I suppose he is reflecting upon their morals, but I never heard a word breathed against the perfect respectability of a honeysuckle. Of course roses have got themselves talked about from time to time, but really if one were to listen to scandal about flowers, gardening would become impossible.[26]

Although very amusing, this wilfully misinterprets Ruskin. By 'coarse' Ruskin meant both technically and aesthetically, as interrelated symptoms of the artist's attitude. Interestingly, Holman Hunt made a very similar criticism to Ruskin's of Bocca Baciata painted in 1859:

> ....very remarkable in power of execution- but still more remarkable for gross sensuality of a revolting kind..... Rossetti is advocating as a principle mere gratification of the eye.....[27]

The severity of Hunt's criticism is symptomatic of his uncompromising moral standpoint, but the censure is exactly the same as Ruskin's: that Rossetti's increased technical skill resulted in unfeeling realism.

The next, and final letter from Ruskin suggests that Rossetti had replied by professing admiration for Ruskin, but declaring that although the critic was undoubtedly 'great' this did not entail infallibility (particularly, it seems, regarding Correggio, in whose tradition Rossetti had no wish to be):

> Dear Rossetti- I am also very thankful these letters have been written-we shall both care more for each other. Please come now the first fine evening-tea at seven. I will stay in till you do come, so you will be sure of me.
>
> Before I see you, let me at once put an end to your calling me, whatever you may think (much more,

any supposing that I think myself) a "great man". It is just because I honestly know I am not that I speak so positively on other known things. I entirely scorn all my own capacities, except the sense of visible beauty-which is a useful gift-not a "greatness". But I have worked at certain things which I know that I know, as I do spelling.

I never said you were not in a position and at an age to know more of Correggio than I did in '45. I said simply you did know no more of him. But your practice of painting in a different manner has been dead against you-it is much to allow for you that you know as much of him as I did then. You hardly do, for then I knew something of his glorious system of fresco-colour-which you very visibly do not; and had gathered a series of data and notes at the risk of my life on the rotten tiles of the Parma dome, with a view of "writing Correggio down". It was one of the few pieces of Providence I am thankful for in my past life, that I did not then write a separate book against Correggio. I know exactly how you feel to him, and would no more dispute about it than I would with Gainsborough for knowing nothing about Albert Dürer, or saying he, A.D., drew nothing but women with big bellies.

But we won't have rows; and when you come, we'll look at things that we both like. You shall bar Parma, and I Japan; and we'll look at Titian, John Bellini, Albert Dürer, and Edward Jones; and I'll say no more about the red-eyed man and the phot/ograph/s.-Ever your affectionate J. Ruskin.[28] (Letters)

Rossetti must have asked why he should be considered incapable of having as much knowledge of Correggio as Ruskin had twenty years ago. Ruskin replied that he had not said Rossetti was too young or inexperienced to judge Correggio but simply that he did not know any more about him than Ruskin had at Rossetti's age because Rossetti had never studied Correggio whereas Ruskin had made the effort to scrutinise him at close quarters (in Parma Cathedral) even at a time when he disliked him. In 1845 Ruskin had thought Correggio's work was "rank blasphemy", and called him the '...vulgar, coarse, obscene, paltry desecrator of sacred subjects',[29] but later ranked him among "...the great painters, properly so called".[30]

Ruskin was not, he reassured, critical of Rossetti's ignorance of Correggio's work since it was not relevant to Rossetti's style. What Ruskin did feel, justifiably, was that this was one area in which he was evidently better able to judge than Rossetti was. Likewise there were other things which Ruskin had systematically studied, "But I have worked at certain things which I know that I know, as I do spelling", and which he felt qualified to assess. The paragraph in which Ruskin denies 'greatness' yet claims certain aptitudes exhibits clear-headed self-appraisal, refuting Wilenski's claim that both Ruskin and Rossetti were at this time "mental invalids".[31] Wilenski was right, however, in his assertion that Ruskin made the effort to avoid a quarrel, ...we won't have rows", he determined: Rossetti may exclude all talk of 'Parma' i.e. Correggio's work, and Ruskin will prohibit 'Japan', i.e. Japanese Art (a recent passion of Rossetti's despised by Ruskin). In an attempt to revive fellow-feeling Ruskin concluded the letter by reminding Rossetti of those artists whom they both admired.

The last letter from Ruskin shows quite clearly that Rossetti had professed great personal affection for his former patron but had nevertheless insisted that he was mistaken in certain of his artistic opinions, especially, presumably, regarding Rossetti's latest tendencies. Ruskin replied, justifiably I think, that although Rossetti was undeniably the greater creative artist of the two, he himself was the more informed critic, and that it was Rossetti's failure to acknowledge Ruskin's talents in the way that Ruskin

had always recognised his, that made the relationship one-sided.:

> My Dear Rossetti-I am very grateful to you for this letter, and for the feelings it expresses towards me. I was not angry, and there was nothing in your note that needed your asking my pardon. You meant them- the first and second-just as rightly as this pretty third, and yet they conclusively showed me that we could not at present, nor for some time yet, be companions any more, though true friends, I hope, as ever.
>
> I am grateful for your love-but yet I do not want love. I have had boundless love from many people during my life. And in more than one case that love has been my greatest calamity-I have boundlessly suffered from it. But the thing, in any helpful degree, I have never been able to get, except from two women of whom I never see the only one I care for, and from Edward Jones, is "understanding".
>
> I am nearly sick of being loved-as of being hated- for my lovers understand me as little as my haters. I had rather, in fact, be disliked by a man who somewhat understood me than much loved by a man who understood nothing of me.
>
> Now I am at present out of health and irritable, and entirely resolved to make myself as comfortable as I can, and therefore to associate only with people who in some degree think of me as I think of myself. I may be wrong in saying I am this or that, but at present I can only live or speak with people who agree with me that I am this or that. And there are some things which I know I know or can do, just as well as a man knows he can ride or swim, or knows the facts of such and such a science.
>
> Now there are many things in which I have always acknowledged, and shall acknowledge, your superiority to me. I know it, as well as I know St. Paul's is higher than I am. There are other things in which I just as simply know that I am superior to you. I don't mean in writing. You write, as you paint, better than I. I could never have written a stanza like you.
>
> Now in old times I did not care two straws whether you knew or acknowledged in what I was superior to you, or not. But now (being, as I say, irritable and ill) I do care, and I will associate with no man who does not more or less accept my own estimate of myself.[32]
>
> (Letters.)

I cannot agree with Mrs. Angeli's reaction to this:

> It is hardly necessary to pursue this matter further. These candid words make the position quite clear. Ruskin had reached the stage when a man requires disciples, acquiescent followers, or sycophants, and Gabriel was no longer the man for him.[33]

Ruskin was certainly not asking for sycophants; his need for people who "in some degree" concurred with his own view of himself was not a search for self-aggrandisement, since his self-estimate embraced inferiorities as well as superiorities. It had become necessary for Ruskin to draw attention to his own talents simply because they had been called into question. Until now it had not mattered that the relationship had centered on Rossetti's genius; Rossetti had hitherto either accepted or rejected Ruskin's advice without questioning his fundamental critical faculty. It is true that most of the praise and encouragement had gone in Rossetti's direction, but at the same time Rossetti had allowed Ruskin's pronouncements to pass unchallenged. The two men had accepted one another's criticisms amiably because they had not impinged upon what each considered his personal incontrovertible domain, that is Rossetti's artistic inclinations and Ruskin's aesthetic judgements. The recent developments had, however, completely altered this; until now Ruskin had criticised the shape of an arm, the position of a head or even the choice of subject, but he had never questioned Rossetti's style or the artistic conception underlying that style; but the recent criticism was directed at the very motivation behind Rossetti's newer work. Conversely, Rossetti had frequently contested Ruskin's opinion of particular artists or poets without ever questioning Ruskin's fitness to pass judgement. Ruskin's aesthetic judgement, his "sense of visible beauty" was the one faculty of which he was absolutely confident.

The last letter then turns to another disagreement in which Ruskin had recently been involved. Ruskin's emphasis on the word "bosh" suggests that he had heard of Rossetti's pronouncement upon Unto This Last, and that this was a subtle rejoinder:

> For instance, Brett told me, a year ago, that a statement of mine respecting a scientific matter(which I knew à fond before he was born) was "bosh". I told him in return he was a fool; he left the house, and I will not see him again "until he is wiser".[34] (Letters)

The next section of the letter is somewhat obscure, but it seems from the quotation marks that Rossetti had protested that any faults Ruskin now found in his Rossetti-pictures were either the flaws that are inevitably present in the external world or were no worse than the faults which Ruskin accepted in the work produced for him by others. This latter interpretation is borne out by the reference, apparently to Rossetti's remark about a "mistakenly transplanted carpenter", another of Ruskin's protégés, Butterworth, whose artistic talent Rossetti obviously doubted:

> Now you in the same manner tell me "the faults in your drawings are not greater than those I put up with in what is about me", and that one of my assistants is a "mistakenly transplanted carpenter". And I answer-not that you are a fool, because no man is that who can design as you can-but simply that you know nothing of me, nor of my knowledge, nor of my thoughts, nor of the sort of grasp of things I have in directions in which you are utterly powerless; and that I do not choose any more to talk to you until you can recognise my superiorities as I can yours.
>
> And this recognition, observe, is not a matter of will or courtesy. You simply do not see certain characters in me, and cannot see them: still less could you (or should I ask you to) pretend to see them. A day may come when you will be able. Then, without apology, without restraint-merely as being different from what you are now, - come back to me, and we will be as we used to be.[35] (Letters)

Having explained in greater detail what he meant by requiring Rossetti to accept his estimate of himself, Ruskin then referred, apparently, to the implied 'sentence' which he had passed upon Rossetti's pictures by lending them out or giving them away. He declared that the rift was not caused by this but by the changes in Rossetti's work coupled with his own increasing intolerance of artistic faults:

> It is not this affair of the drawings-not this sentence- but the ways and thoughts I have seen in you ever since I knew you, coupled with this change of health in myself, which render this necessary- complicated also by a change in your own methods of work with which I have no sympathy, and which renders it impossible for me to give you the kind of praise which would give you pleasure.
>
> There are some things in which I know your present work to be wrong: others in which I strongly <u>feel</u> it so. I cannot conquer the feeling, though I do not allege that as a proof of the wrongness. The points of knowledge I could not establish to you, any more than I could teach you mineralogy or botany without some hard work on your part, in directions which it is little likely you will ever give it. It is of course useless for me, under such circumstances, to talk to you.[36](<u>Letters</u>.)

Thus Ruskin protested that the faults he found in Rossetti were not simply a matter of taste; the chiaroscuro and the perspective both required "some hard work on your part"; whereas Rossetti's early work made up in spirit what it lacked in technique, the recent work failed in those fundamental aspects which can only be perceived intuitively (which is why Ruskin felt justified in claiming that he simply could not conquer the <u>feeling</u> that Rossetti's latest work was wrong). Ruskin wished fervently that Rossetti would revivify his earlier conceptions, so that he in turn could revive his praise. This led to an extremely important

passage in the letter, constantly ignored by critics, in which Ruskin explicitly denied that the estrangement between Rossetti and himself was the result of personal irritation:

> The one essential thing is that you should feel(and you will do me a bitter injustice if you do not feel this) that, though you cannot now refer to me as in any way helpful to you by expression of judgement to the public, my inability is no result of any offence taken with you. I would give much to see you doing as you have done-and to be able to say what I once said.[37] (Letters.)

This was of course Ruskin's way of emphasising that his dissatisfaction with Rossetti was purely critical and objective, and therefore doubly valid. Ruskin then referred to an artist for whom he held less hope than Rossetti. The identity of the artist is disguised in The Collected Works by the initial 'G'., although it is difficult to know why Cook and Wedderburn altered their transcript copy which reads:

> With respect to Holman Hunt, the relation between us is far more hopeless. His last picture is to me such an accursed and entirely damnable piece of work that I believe I have been from the beginning wrong in attributing any essential painter's power to him whatever- and that the high imitative results he used to obtain were merely accidental consequences of a slavish industry and intensely ambitious conscientiousness-I think so ill of it that I cannot write a word to him-though otherwise I should have felt it my duty to warn him, before I spoke to others. I cannot of course allow such work to pass as representing what I used to praise-but I speak of it, as I do at present of yours, as little as I can:-for you there is all probability of recovery - of him I am hopeless. - Ever affectionately yours,
> J. Ruskin.[38] (Letters.)

Ruskin did of course change his mind about Holman Hunt with The Triumph of The Innocents, (1883), which is perhaps why Cook and Wedderburn disguised his identity. Itshows however, that at this time Ruskin was completely disillusioned

with Pre-Raphaelite art. His assertion that Hunt's case was hopeless seems to imply that Rossetti's was not. Ruskin could not bring himself to believe that Rossetti's earlier work was unrepresentative, and in fact his lectures on Rossetti read as though Rossetti's later work did not exist. Hoping that Rossetti was merely passing through a temporary deterioration, Ruskin concluded this long debate with the artist whose works he once coveted as much as Turner's with the words "For you there is all probability of recovery".

Thus the rift between Ruskin and Rossetti was of demonstrably artistic or professional origin. Helen Rossetti Angeli has made one of the rare perspicacious observations about the end of the Ruskin-Rossetti relationship:, saying that it was caused by Ruskin reaching out "...in so many directions, social and socialistic" while "Rossetti... centered...in his art, became yet further removed. He was unable to enter into the new Ruskin spirit, so alien from his own."[39]

Ruskin must have been silently self-congratulatory when, a year later, (according to William Rossetti) he visited Rossetti's studio and found him once more painting Lizzie's face in preference to Fannie's. If Rossetti had begun serious work on this Beata Beatrix in 1865 he would probably not have lost Ruskin's championship, but they had, it seems, grown apart in the intervening year; at any rate Rossetti did not return the call:

> The only sequel that I know of to this correspondence of 1865 is that on 4 December 1866 I dined with Mr. Ruskin and his family....Ruskin expressed to me a wish to resume seeing my brother and I suggested whether he would call in Cheyne Walk, and if he did so, would be cautious of avoiding any topic of possible irritation. On the following day, Ruskin did, in the friendliest spirit, make the visit. I was not present but learned that "all went off most cordially-Ruskin expressing great admiration of the Beatrice in a Death Trance (Beata Beatrix)" on which my brother was then engaged.[40]

The question of whether Ruskin was right to condemn the mode of painting the Venus Verticordia is important not only because it would be ironic if the ostensible cause of the break-up had not actually been present, but also from an intrinsically critical view-point. It is certainly true that the group of erotic portraits epitomised by the Blue Bower (and including Monna Vanna, Fiametta, Bocca Bacciata, Joli Coeur, and Lady Lilith) exhibit the "conditions of non-sentiment" which so appalled Ruskin. The point has been made in a slightly different way by Virginia Surtees who claims that these women are "sensual and voluptuous, mystical and inscrutable, but always humourless". However, the phase in which Rossetti celebrated both 'fleshliness' and materialism in his art lasted only until 1868, when he moved to yet another style for the portraits of Jane Morris; when Ruskin visited Rossetti's studio in 1866, he was already on the way to "recovery", painting the Beata Beatrix, which Ruskin admired, probably because it depicted Elizabeth Siddal. It would be interesting to know which painting Rossetti was working on when Ruskin again visited him in September 1868, perhaps Palmifera or Aspect Medusa. In the interval, on the 7th June 1867, Ruskin had delivered his lecture on The Present State of Modern Art to the Royal

Institution, in which he praised the "living dramatic truth" of Rossetti's Biblical subjects. Although Ruskin was right about Venus Verticordia it was a shame that he implied an extension of the criticism, because it was not, as he well knew, representative of the best of Rossetti (in all his public discussions of Rossetti's art Ruskin spoke as though this period did not exist). Even in 1855 and 6, when Ruskin accused Rossetti of abandoning his earlier artistic predilections, Rossetti had in fact produced a number of distinctively 'Pre-Raphaelite' pictures and studies. The Merciless Lady of 1865 has been recognised by Virginia Surtees as "closer to Rossetti's work of the 1850's"[41] in style. Hamlet and Ophelia, painted in 1864, is based on the sketch of 'The Man and His Blue Wife' which Ruskin once declared the best thing that Rossetti had ever done. The Fight for a Woman painted in the year of the break-up is different from Rossetti's early work, but has nothing in common with the erotic portraits; neither does King René's Honeymoon, nor the frontispiece to Christina's Prince's Progress which could all be considered examples of "living dramatic truth". Rossetti found that his Pre-Raphaelite paintings began to be extremely difficult to sell: The Fight for a Woman was intended for Gambart but he would not buy it 'being likely to prove unpopular'[42] so Rossetti eventually sold it to George Rae for £50. In contrast, Gambart immediately purchased The Blue Bower for £120 and re-sold it soon afterwards for £500!. (Rossetti heard a rumour that the sum was 1,500 gns.)[43]

It seems that John Nicoll is correct in asserting that Rossetti could not resist what he called the 'lure' of 'lucre'.[44] Nicoll does not wholly blame Rossetti, since:

> ...he could not have satisfied the market with less erotic, formalized, and symbolic creations..the specific economic and cultural demands of the 1860s and 1870s combined to destroy the demand for the kind of picture that he had been producing in the 1850s.[45]

Nicoll's view supports Ruskin's claim that in 1865 Rossetti began compromising his earlier artistic ideals:

> Essentially the changes in his own art that were to take place as a result of his relations with his patrons were firstly an increasing tendency to subordinate his creativity by repeating themes that had already proved popular with clients, and secondly to adopt not the more searching, studied and various styles...but to lapse increasingly into a florid, hasty and sometimes only passably competent mannerism that betrays both the shallowness of his inspiration and the technical improficiency which his originality, commitment, and pictorially expressed personality had hitherto transcended.[46]

This is substantially the same criticism as Ruskin's; the critic's 'perspective indignation' or exasperation at Rossetti's lack of technical skill, was once outweighed by the impressive intensity of the depicted emotions; Ruskin's accusation that Rossetti's paintings began to exhibit "certain conditions of non-sentiment" was, as has already been mentioned, a criticism of both form and intention: they were coldly realistic <u>because</u> they were painted without integrity.

Ironically, Rossetti came to agree with Ruskin's judgement; in 1872, after painting a number of replicas of <u>Beata Beatrix</u>, (which Ruskin had admired in 1866: see

note 40) Rossetti remarked that he had "...degraded the work and got rid of the debt I suppose".[47] On 20th May 1874, he confessed to Brown that he had been surprised and upset to see Ecce Ancilla Domini once again:

> I have got the little Annunciation-alas! in some of the highest respects I have hardly done anything else so good. It is quaint enough, but really has inspiration, of the kind infectious to those born to feel it; but how many such are there? Of course it is very faulty in mechanical respects, but nothing can be done to it to any purpose...The good blessed Graham boggled a good deal at giving Agnew £425 for it; and as I told him, he has spent about 1300£ on absolute rubbish of mine bought here and there, which I would be only too glad to know burnt. Such is taste, even with one's best buyers.[48]

In 1878, Ruskin declared paradoxically that the originality of The Annunciation lay in its realism.[49] Rossetti's own estimate that the genuine inspiration atoned for its 'quaintness', was echoed in Ruskin's praise of Rossetti's naturalistic intentions:

> We may think erroneously, but at least we will think honestly and earnestly, and paint what seems to us likeliest to have been the fact.[50] (Lecture On The Present State of Modern Art with reference to the advisable arrangements of a National Gallery, to the British Istitution, 1867. published Collected Works.)

CHAPTER TEN

The Sequel

Despite their physical separation Ruskin and Rossetti remained in one another's thoughts for a long time. On 2nd December 1866 Ruskin concluded a letter to William Rossetti with the wistful words: "love to Gabriel always...."[1] The following year he criticised William for allowing himself to be influenced by Gabriel's admiration for 'Japan art':

> When we had our last talk over Japan art my soliloquy to myself was simply this 'What a pity that fellow- ingenious as he is- lets his brother cram his crotchets down his throat-I wish I hadn't lost sight of him for so long, I would have kept him straighter.[2]

In his lecture on The Present State of Modern Art delivered on 7th June 1867, Ruskin declared that Rossetti was the 'founder and leader' of the Christian element in Pre-Raphaelite art. In the following year, according to William Rossetti, Ruskin attempted to revive the friendship:

> I think that the very last occasion when the old friends met was in September 1868. Ruskin then called on Rossetti and raised some question whether the latter would not join him in efforts for social ameliorations on a systematic scale; but this was not the painter's line, and he did not take any practical steps about it.[4]

"To the best of my belief", ended William, there was, "no further personal meeting". In October of 1868, Ruskin recorded in his diary that he had seen the ruins of a beautiful Norman Castle "Orchard of inconceivable fruit, like a Rossetti picture, exquisite- all exquisite- but neglected".[5]

Rossetti continued to be interested in Ruskin; William tells us that "...up to 1870 or thereabouts, my brother continued to hear a good deal about Mr. Ruskin, as Mr. Howell remained as yet his secretary".[6] It was thanks to Rossetti that Charles Howell became Ruskin's secretary: he was apparently seeking a salary of £400 per annum, "It may have been when seeking for recommendations in this connection that Gabriel first put him in touch with Ruskin: shortly afterwards he was acting as the great critic's secretary".[7] Howell was also a great friend of the Rossetti brothers:

> ....and in the late sixties was the main link between Denmark Hill and Tudor House, Chelsea, covering the intervening miles as fast as the four hooves of his hansom horse would carry him.[8]

Howell kept Rossetti informed of Ruskin's private life, but Rossetti was unusually discreet:

> Of the strange and pathetic love for a young girl nurtured by the great critic in his advancing years, in which he sought the help of Howell as intermediary, the latter gave some account in guarded and respectful terms in confidence to Gabriel, who, as his habit was, told his brother, and the story would certainly not have gone further had it not been published elsewhere after Ruskin's death...[9]

This link between Ruskin and Rossetti was broken in 1870: "Towards the close of 1870, Gabriel told his brother that Ruskin and Howell were then about to part company".[10] Ruskin finally moved to Oxford.

A letter from Ruskin to Rossetti which was almost certainly written before 1875 was found in a copy of Rossetti's Dante and His Circle presented by him to Alice Wilding in 1875. Ruskin was asking for information:

> Dear Rossetti- What is the exact meaning of 'di mano in mano' in Leonardo's first chapter? I've always read Italian carelessly merely to get at the main import, and now I am constantly stumbling on phrases I am not sure of...William has been sending me some nice books lately. I hope to see you both when I've done that Oxford work...Ever your affecty,, J. Ruskin.[11]

In 1870 Rossetti apparently sent Ruskin a complimentary copy of his Poems, just published, which Ruskin seems to have acknowledged "...there is a letter from Ruskin to Rossetti, as late as August 1870, perfectly amicable, and including a reference to the Poems..."[12] A manuscript letter from Brantwood, written in 1872 was perhaps a final plea for friendship; or even a refusal of an invitation from Gabriel:

> Dear Rossetti,
> I've turned entirely sulky, miserly, and ill-natured-and never go anywhere or do anything for other people, but expect them to do everything for me. When are you going to finish up Dante in the boat at the bottom of the steps.
> Ever affectionate, J. Ruskin.[13]

Another letter of 1872, on black-edged paper thanks both Rossetti brothers for a letter of sympathy, presumably at the death of Ruskin's mother:

> My dear Rossetti,
> Thanks for your note and answers to my questions- I have never thanked your sister for her Dante but I will. I've been terribly ill and sad, this many a day,... but always affectionately your brothers' and yours.
> J. Ruskin.[14]

In 1872, Miss Bell, the principal of Winnington School, held two auction sales:

> ...Mr. Howell bought up for a friend all the Rossetti specimens of minor account, excepting two which had been done at Hastings, representing Miss Siddal: these two (and probably also a Girl playing the Harp,

> which fetched £10) were purchased, for about £15 each by Mr. F.S. Ellis, the publisher of Rossetti's poems... The subjects thus obtained by Howell are specified as follows: Luke Preaching; Dante and Beatrice; a drawing for a water-colour belonging to Mr. Leyland; Dante Seated, in pencil and ink, £11; a man who is being knighted, the head done from Benjamin Woodward..; St. George and The Dragon (a slight specimen); a female sketch. No doubt all these works, sold by Miss Bell, had originally belonged to Ruskin. The latter, according to Mr. Howell's account had some years before sent the Regina Cordium (portrait of Mrs. Dante Rossetti) to America, and now retained only The Passover in The Holy Family and The Golden Water.[15]

If Ruskin did send his version of Regina Cordium to America this adds weight to the suspicion that the copy which Virginia Surtees identified as Ruskin's would not have appealed to him at all, since this version was apparently sold in London and presented to Johannesburg art-gallery.[16] We do not know whether Rossetti was angered by the sale of his pictures, since there is no mention of it is his letters, but we may be sure that Ruskin was enraged. F. Shields recorded in his diary that he went to tell Ruskin:

> ...how for a very small sum, his wonderful drawing of the façade of St. Mark's which Miss Bell had pawned might become his again-Alas, the mere mention of her name sent him into such anger that I grieved I had interfered.[17]

We may be assured that Miss Bell's sale of the pictures which Ruskin had 'lent' her was not with his consent. After 1872, Ruskin retained, through choice, only The Passover in The Holy Family and Golden Water.

At the end of 1873, on 3rd December, Rossetti wrote to Brown about the Slade Professorship at Cambridge for which Brown was about to apply; Rossetti was offering advice about referees:

> Ruskin may I suppose be just out of the question... The question is, how far do they mean to unite practical with theoretical teaching?...Poynter is a real artist, and Ruskin quite capable of serious teaching...[18]

This offers significant evidence of Rossetti's opinion of Ruskin, and furthermore something which Rossetti did not admit during their friendship: that he regarded Ruskin as a very capable artist as well as theoretician. Rossetti's expressions of admiration for Ruskin have never received sufficient attention. It was a long time after the relationship had ceased that Rossetti reminisced with T. Hall Caine about Ruskin's eloquence and personal magnetism:

> On one occasion, however, I heard him deliver a speech, and that was something never to forget. When we were young, we helped Frederick Denison Maurice by taking classes at the Working Men's College, and there Charles Kingsley and others made speeches and delivered lectures. Ruskin was asked to do something of the kind and at last consented. He made no sort of preparation for the occasion; I knew he did not; we were together at his father's house the whole of the day in question. At night we drove down to the College, and then he made the finest speech I ever heard. I doubted at the time if any written words of his were equal to it! Such flaming diction!. Such emphasis! Such appeal! - yet he had written his first and second volumes of Modern Painters by that time.[19]

Rossetti was one of the first to notice that Ruskin had been re-elected Slade professor at Oxford in 1873:

> I see today that Ruskin was re-elected unanimously at Oxford on 14th, and am most anxious to know whether the Cambridge matter is decided.[20]

In March of 1878 Christina Rossetti wrote to William that their brother was "I fear...not in genuine good spirits", but she added "By the by Gabriel also spoke with friendly concern about Ruskin".[21] Perhaps because of their mutual

ill-health, Ruskin was very much in Rossetti's thoughts in 1878. On 5th March he wrote to Jane Morris:

> I suppose you have heard that Ruskin is dangerously ill with brain fever. However I view his constitution as very strong.[22]

On 18th he again wrote that he was very perturbed about the illness in "our circle": "Ruskin, as you doubtless know, is in the most precarious state with brain fever".[23] In the post-script to a letter of 1 April 1878, he again wrote:

> I was forgetting about Ruskin. I hear it reported that there is a fear, since brain fever has not yet killed him yet he does not recover, that softening of the brain is setting in. But this I only hear said, and don't want to be an alarmist....[24]

The following year, on 25th July 1879, Rossetti made a self-deprecating reference to himself when telling Jane about Ruskin's financial situation:

> I heard the other day that Ruskin has only 9000£ left and lives on his capital, out of which he pays 2000 a year to helpless incapables whom he has on his back, having never all his life aided any man who was worth his salt but idiots only. One honest man alone he has- a certain Allen who published his Fors, and this bloke manages to get him in 80£ a year, which he really lets him have, so it is to be feared he will not starve.[25]

Rossetti had returned to the ironical tone which he had initially adopted towards Ruskin twenty-three years ago; it seems that Rossetti was exasperated by the obtuseness and gullibility of Ruskin, just as he was when he declared to Brown that Ruskin was a "dear old chap"[26] although he talked rubbish; the facetiousness hides affection. Rossetti greatly admired Ruskin's generosity until others exploited it, and then he became angry with Ruskin for being weak

enough to allow it, as he had with Butterworth. Rossetti had never actually exploited Ruskin's generosity, since he received money only in return for pictures. Butterworth among others had capitalised on Ruskin's credulity, and it was Rossetti's objection to this that was a contributory cause of the break-up; this perhaps explains why Rossetti seems to have become rather sour towards Ruskin in 1878-9: on 24th Dec. 1879 he wrote to Jane: "I wish I had any more news-for instance such tidings as that Ruskin was hanged or something equally welcome..."[27]

Even as late as 1883, Ruskin still thought about his old friend; in the Brantwood diary he records having "...thoughts of my own, on Edwards not interpreting Chaucer as Chaucer-nor Rossetti Tennyson as Tennyson".[28] This was written a year after Rossetti's death on 9th April 1882. Ruskin was apparently not among the small band of mourners at Rossetti's funeral, probably because he had suffered a nervous collapse the previous month. He had not, however, forgotten Rossetti: the following year he gave a lecture on Holman Hunt and Rossetti intending to balance the eulogistic and condemnatory accounts that had been published since Rossetti's death with an objective assessment of his art:

> The foregoing lectures were written, among other reasons, with the leading object of giving some permanently rational balance between the rhapsodies of praise and blame which idly occupied the sheets of various magazines last year on the occasion of the general exhibition of Rossetti's works.[29] (Appendix to The Art of England, 1884. Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1883.)

Ruskin hoped that his objective assessment would be more

enduring than these ephemeral articles. His introduction to the lecture on Rossetti's art was, however, far from unbiased, and the tribute serves to conclude the thesis that the relationship between Ruskin and Rossetti was essentially one of personal affection and professional respect:

> I may be permitted, in the reverence of sorrow, to speak first of my much loved friend, Gabriel Rossetti. But, in justice, no less than in the kindness due to death, I believe his name should be placed first on the list of men, within my own range of knowledge, who have raised and changed the spirit of modern Art: raised in absolute attainment; changed, in direction of temper.[30] (The Art of England, 1884. Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1883. Lecture on The Realistic Schools of Painting.)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Theoretical Basis.

Thus Ruskin's observation that the Venus Verticordia was painted under 'certain conditions of non-sentiment' caused a breach in his personal relationship with Rossetti. This is less surprising when we discover that Ruskin's notion of 'sentiment' as "thought coloured by, or arising out of, emotion", was central to the theory of creativity which he shared with Rossetti, so that he was actually accusing Rossetti of abandoning a vital part of the creative process. Ruskin's theory of creativity is formulated in Modern Painters, written whilst he knew Rossetti; Rossetti, professing to eschew art theory, made many covert, and some explicit, aesthetic statements in The House of Life, Hand and Soul, and other prose writings. If the following comparison of the aesthetic theories of Ruskin and Rossetti seems to exaggerate implicit factors, the reader should bear in mind R.G. Collingwood's precursory remarks to his analysis of Ruskin's philosophy, that it is the fundamental assumptions of a writer that are least likely to be explicitly enunciated, since they are literally "taken for granted"[1] in the work.

Ruskin and Rossetti held two important related common convictions: that the various human faculties are indistinguishable (noted by R.G. Collingwood in Ruskin's work), and that matter and spirit are utterly interdependent. The latter resulted in what Ruskin defined as the "unison of

the grotesque with the realistic power"[2] in Rossetti's work, and will be dealt with in a later chapter. The former explains the essentially, but not wholly, expressive art-theory common to Ruskin and Rossetti. R.G. Collingwood noticed that Ruskin regarded art as the product not of some isolated 'aesthetic' faculty, but of the whole personality. The abundance of synaesthetic imagery in Rossetti's poetry reveals a similar rejection of the distinction between the various faculties. Ruskin claimed that if we examine the

> ...qualities required in great art, and put all together, we find that the sum of them is simply the sum of all the powers of man...Hence we see why the word "Great" is used of this art. It is literally great. It compasses and calls forth the entire human spirit...[3]
> (Modern Painters III, 1856.)

For this culmination of intellectual, emotional and imaginative effort, both Ruskin and Rossetti used the term 'soul'. When Elizabeth Siddal was too ill to paint or write, Rossetti wrote to William Allingham expressing fear that her supressed creativity was almost equivalent to the imprisonment, and hence the condemnation of, her soul:

> I wish, and she wishes, that something should be done by her to make a beginning, and set her mind a little at ease about her pursuit of art...It seems hard to me when I look at her sometimes, working or too ill to work, and think how many without one tithe of her genius or greatness of spirit have granted them abundant health and opportunity to labour through the little they can do or will do, while perhaps her soul is never to bloom, nor her bright hair to fade, but after hardly escaping from degradation and corruption, all she might have been must sink out unprofitably in that dark house where she was born. How truly may she say 'No man cared for my soul'.[4]

This is implicitly an expressionist theory of creativity: the "lightening of emotions" through expression is central

to the theory of R.G. Collingwood, whose Principles of Art is a major contribution to expressionist aesthetics:

> ...the emotion expressed is an emotion of whose nature the person who feels it is no longer unconscious. It also has something to do with the way in which he feels the emotion. As unexpressed, he feels it in what we have called a helpless and oppressed way; as expressed he feels it in a way from which the sense of oppression has vanished.[5]

Ruskin expressed the same sentiment regarding Rossetti's pursuit of art: "I am truly anxious that no sorrow-still less, undue distrust of yourself-may interfere with the exercise of your very noble powers...",[6] elsewhere hoping that Rossetti's distress would not "prevent you from bringing out your genius as you should".[7]

Ruskin emphasised the 'great distinctive principle':

> ...that art is valuable or otherwise, only as it expresses the personality, activity, and living perception of a good and great human soul;..It is the expression of one soul talking to another, and it is precious according to the greatness of the soul that utters it.[8](Stones of Venice III, 1853.)

Thus the creative process is seen as an externalisation or projection of the 'soul'. Professor Landow's examination of "Ruskin's conception of poetry and painting as expressive arts"[9] quotes M.H. Abram's definition of Romantic art as predominantly expressive:

> ...the internal made external, resulting from a creative process operating under the impulse of feeling, and embodying the combined products of the poet's perceptions, thoughts, and feelings.[10]

Although Ruskin and Rossetti were part of this Romantic tradition, art was not for them simply the internal made external, it was rather the reaction of the internal to the external,

made external: to use Abram's famous analogy borrowed from Yeats, they attempted to place equal emphasis upon the 'mirror' and the 'lamp'.

Rossetti's "autopsychological" St. Agnes of Intercession suggests that for him art was the realisation, and hence the clarification, of originally indistinct conceptions or emotions:

> What was then the precise shape of the cloud within my tabernacle, I could scarcely say now; or whether through so thick a veil I could be sure of its presence there at all.[11]

Ruskin and Rossetti did not, however, subscribe to the Romantic view of art as the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings..."[12] because this elevated the imagination to the exclusion of the other faculties. Strictly speaking, expressionism makes no distinction between form and content, or between the inspiring emotion and its final formulation. The Croce/Collingwood theory claims that if art is the externalisation of an internal state, that idea or intuition is not known to the artist until it is realised,[13] and cannot therefore be said to exist in any form other than that in which it is expressed:

> Until a man has expressed his emotion, he does not yet know what emotion it is. The act of expressing it is therefore an exploration of his own emotions. He is trying to find out what these emotions are. There is certainly here a directed process: an effort, that is, directed upon a certain end; but the end is not something foreseen and preconceived, to which an appropriate means can be thought out in the light of our knowledge of its special character. Expression is an activity of which there can be no technique.[14]

This radical position of Collingwood's led him to the somewhat

absurd claim that:

> If the difference between tragedy and comedy is a difference between the emotions they express, it is not a difference that can be present to the artist's mind when he is beginning his work; if it were, he would know what emotion he was going to express before he had expressed it. No artist, therefore, so far as he is an artist proper, can set out to write a comedy, a tragedy, an elegy or the like. So far as he is an artist proper, he is just as likely to write any one of these as any other.[15]

Although Ruskin and Rossetti would have agreed with the premiss that art is fundamentally the projection of emotion, they would have opposed Collingwood's implication that "art-proper" is extemporaneous. Their conception of the interdependence of the faculties enabled them to regard the creative act as a <u>gradual</u> process of externalisation:

> ...by the work of the soul, I mean the reader always to understand the work of the entire immortal creature, proceeding from a quick, perceptive, and eager heart, perfected by the intellect, and finally dealt with by the hands, under the direct guidance of these higher powers.[16] (<u>Stones of Venice</u> III, 1853)

Rossetti despised "...the modern habit...- treating material as product, and shooting it all out as it comes".[17] Perhaps it was Rossetti's own battle with words and paint which led him to value the craftsmanship in art:

> I think...that the pouring forth of poetical material is the greatest danger against which an affluent imagination has to contend, and in my own view it needs, not only a concrete form of some kind, but immense concentration brought to bear on that also, before material can be said to have become absolutely anything else.[18]

Ruskin agreed with Rossetti that "Poetical feeling, that is to say, mere noble emotion, is not poetry":

> But the power of assembling, by the <u>help of the imagination</u>, such images as will excite these feelings, is

the power of the poet, or literally of the "Maker".[19] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Although Ruskin and Rossetti distinguished between 'conception' and 'execution' they emphasised content, as in Rossetti's often-quoted words to T. Hall Caine:

> You have much too great a habit of speaking of a special octave, sestette, or line. Conception, my boy, FUNDAMENTAL BRAINWORK, that is what makes the difference in all art. Work your metal as much as you like, but first take care that it is gold and worth working.[20]

Rossetti thus gave priority to the constituent material. Ruskin agreed that no amount of fine workmanship could compensate for inferior conception:

> It is not by the mode of representing and saying, but by what is represented and said, that the respective greatness either of the painter or the writer is to be finally determined.[21] (Modern Painters, I, 1842.)

Ruskin's theory of 'Ut Pictura Poesis' was founded on the belief that what mattered was not the medium of expression but the quality of the thought:

> He who has learned what is commonly considered the whole art of painting, that is, the art of representing any natural object faithfully, has as yet only learned the language by which his thoughts are to be expressed.[22] (Modern Painters, I, 1842)

He claimed that whereas "versifier" and "painter" referred to the artist's technical ability, "poet" applied solely to his genius:

> Speaking with strict propriety, therefore, we should call a man a great painter only as he excelled in precision and force in the language of lines, and a great versifier as he excelled in precision and force in the language of words. A great poet would then be a term strictly, and in precisely the same sense, applicable to both, if warranted by the character of the images or thoughts which each in their respective languages conveyed.[23] (Modern Painters, I, 1842.)

The artist discovers the appropriate 'language' for his thoughts only by subjecting imagination to the powers of reason:

> ...a far more important subject of inquiry than any respecting the various kinds or powers of imagination is the degree in which all of them are subject to the control of the will....[24] (Modern Painters II, 1846.)

Such a statement is antithetical to Romantic theory; Ruskin and Rossetti represent a reactionary development in literary criticism. Ruskin was appalled by the Romantic artist's subjectivity "it does not much matter what things are in themselves...that nothing, therefore, exists but what he sees or thinks of..";[25] Ruskin distinguished between

> ...the ordinary, proper, and true appearances of things to us; and the extraordinary, or false appearances, when we are under the influence of emotion, or contemplative fancy.[26] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Rossetti also, though less perceptibly, recognised the need for objectivity, "Seek thine ideal anywhere except in thyself".[27] despite the characteristically Romantic dream-like quality of much of his poetry, the imagery is predominantly intellectual and the structure is logical.

Ruskin believed, however, that art is valuable <u>because</u> it embodies the human reaction to external reality, enabling others to share the artist's perception of the goodness and beauty that exist in the world:

> These sources of beauty...are not presented by any very great work of art in a form of pure transcript. They invariably receive the reflection of the mind under whose influence they have passed, and are modified or coloured by its image.[28] (Modern Painters II, 1846.)

Ruskin recognised that Rossetti's 'portraits' were just such transformations of reality, declaring that "For subject of head it does not matter whom he paints-if he takes the fancy".[29] Ruskin would not have been as critical as Holman Hunt was of the necessarily distorting influence of Rossetti's imagination:

> Rossetti's tendency then in sketching a face was to convert the features of his sitter to his favourite ideal type....you had to make believe a good deal to see the likeness, while if the sitter's features would not lend themselves to the pre-ordained form, he, when time allowed, went through a stage of reluctant twisting of lines and quantities to make the drawing satisfactory.[30]

Although Ruskin's critical demands appear to be unreconcilable, he evolved a theory which successfully combined the need for naturalistic truth with imaginative intensity: The artist's expression, however imaginative and distorted, must be the result of what he honestly saw:

> And thus, though we want the thoughts and feelings of the artist as well as the truth, yet they must be thoughts arising out of the knowledge of truth, and feelings arising out of the contemplation of truth. We do not want his mind to be like a badly blown glass, that distorts what we see through it, but like a glass of sweet and strange colour, that gives new tones to what we see through it; and a glass of rare strength and clearness too, to let us see more than we could ourselves, and bring nature up to us, and near to us.[31] (Modern Painters I, 1842)

Rossetti likewise demanded that the artist be faithful to his own vision: the artist-hero of Hand and Soul is instructed by the spirit of Art within him to portray her with the utmost possible fidelity:

> Chiaro, servant of God, take now thine Art unto thee, and paint me thus, as I am, to know me:weak, as I am, and in the weeds of this time; only with eyes which seek out labour, and with a faith, not learned, yet

> jealous of prayer. Do this; so shall they soul stand before thee always, and perplex thee no more.[32]

Like Ruskin, Rossetti grafted a mimetic onto a predominantly expressive theory of art. The prose-poem Hand and Soul was Rossetti's attempt, early in his career, to resolve the artistic dilemma between his subjective vision and the need for objectivity. Hand and Soul was, claimed William Rossetti, "...a very serious manifesto of art-dogma", but it is less a pre-formulated theory than an actual working-out of a problem. The conclusion reached by Rossetti in the tale reveals his dissatisfaction with a straightforward Romantic conception of art. Rossetti's first impulse was to be, like the hero of his story, expressionist: "Chiaro's first resolve was, that he would work out thoroughly some one of his thoughts, and let the world know him".[34] Chiaro was the paradigm Romantic artist:

> The extreme longing after a visible embodiment of his thoughts strengthened as his years increased, more even than his sinews or the blood of his life; until he would feel faint in sunsets....[35]

Rossetti's artist-hero began to suspect that the Romantic position was, as Ruskin claimed "..a hearty desire for mystification, and much egotism...";[36] Chiaro "..became aware that much of that reverence which he had mistaken for faith had been no more than the worship of beauty".[37] After many "days passed in perplexity" Chiaro decided to deny his soul's longing for expression:

> From that moment Chiaro set a watch on his soul, and put his hand to no other works but only to such as had for thier end the presentment of some moral greatness that should influence the beholder: and to

> this end, he multiplied abstractions, and forgot the beauty and passion of the world.[38]

Thus the 'argument' of Hand and Soul moved from a Romantic thesis to the antithetical view that art should be didactic, treating moral problems in explicitly allegorical terms, utterly precluding the personal impulses of the artist. Predictably (Chiaro's decision above, implies its own inadequacy) the moral allegories failed to engage the sympathies of onlookers, being devoid of imaginative life and feeling. Rossetti's exploration of artistic methods in Hand and Soul finally resolved into a theory which combined the opposing demands of objective and subjective truth. Chiaro satisfied both his numinous impulse and his desire for sensual experience by discovering an external object which was at the same time a symbol of his soul. In Rossetti's own art, the beautiful woman is the objective correlative of his inner state, but she is also intrinsically compelling. Like Ruskin, Rossetti recognised that for art to avoid the obscurity of purely personal vision, it must reflect externals; he instructed himself, in his notebook, to:

> Seek thine ideal anywhere except in thyself. Once fix it there, and the ways of thy real self will matter nothing to thee, whose eyes can rest on the ideal already perfected.[39]

Although the art-theories of Ruskin and Rossetti were thus not entirely expressionist they shared many critical criteria with this school of thought. The primary demand common to Ruskin, Rossetti and the expressionists, is that art should be highly individualised, and even idiosyncratic.

If art is the expression of emotion, generalisation would be meaningless, since art is thus valuable in so far as it is the genuine experience of a particular individual. Collingwood explained:

> The reason why description, so far from helping expression, actually damages it, is that description generalizes. To describe a thing is to call it such and such a kind: to bring it under a conception, to classify it. Expression, on the contrary, individualizes. The anger which I feel here and now.....is a peculiar anger, not quite like any anger that I ever felt before, and probably not like any anger that I shall ever feel again.[40]

Ruskin likewise declared himself to be:

> ...directly opposed to that constantly enunciated dogma of the parrot-critic, that the features of nature must be "generalized",... Generalised! As if it were possible to generalise things generically different.[41] (Modern Painters I, 1842.)

Every single feature of the world had, said Ruskin, "distinct pleasures to be conveyed". There is "..nothing in common among them, nothing which is not distinctive and incommunicable..."[42] Although Ruskin was speaking of natural objects, and Collingwood of emotions, the criterion of individualisation remains the same. Rossetti similarly emphasised the uniqueness of experience: "If man be a noun of multitude, let me sue in formâ pauperis, for alone am I".[43] Individuality was for him an important critical yardstick: he said of Keat's Hyperion for example, "This wonderful poem... if less intuitive than Shelley's work, is more individual...".[44] Maclise's portrait of Carlyle was "...a very beautiful complete piece of individuality".[45]

Ruskin's demand for sincerity in art, though now unfashionable, is justified in terms of his expressive theory; Collingwood indicated that "If art means the expression of emotion, the artist as such must be absolutely

candid, his speech must be absolutely free".[46] Ruskin demanded not only sincerity of content[47], but also of subject:

> The reader will, I hope, understand how much importance is to be attached to the sentence in the first parenthesis, "if the choice be sincere"; for the choice of subject is, of course, only available as a criterion of the rank of the painter when it is made from the heart.[48] 5·49

It is genuineness which distinguishes mere description from true expression:

> Expressing an emotion is not the same thing as describing it. To say 'I am angry' is to describe one's emotion, not to express it. The words in which it is expressed need not contain any reference to anger as such at all. Indeed, so far as they simply and solely express it, they cannot contain any such reference...A genuine poet, in his moments of genuine poetry, never mentions by name the emotions he is expressing.[49]

Ruskin used exactly this criterion for detecting the presence of true Imagination in a work of art. In volume two of Modern Painters he declared that whereas 'Fancy' describes, gives "a portrait of the outside",[50] the Imagination "goes into the very inmost soul" of everything;[51] thus the purely descriptive quality of Imagination is often inferior:

> The imagination sees the heart and inner nature, and makes them felt, but is often obscure, mysterious, and interrupted in its giving of outer detail.[52] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Sincere expression would eschew all cliché:

> Take an instance. A writer with neither imagination nor fancy, describing a fair lip, does not see it, but thinks about it, and about what is said of it, and calls it well turned, or rosy or delicate, or lovely, or afflicts us with some other quenching and chilling epithet.[53] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

For Ruskin 'sight' was extremely important: in the course of his analysis of the Grotesque for example, he claimed that no matter how bizarre or idiosyncratic the artists' vision, it would bear evidence of Imaginativeness if it was the result of what the artist actually saw;[54] in the fifth volume of Modern Painters he claimed that "sight and sincerity" went together.[55] Returning to the example of the artist describing a fair lip, 'Fancy' gives "...the real, red, bright being of the lip," but is not expressive: "But it is all outside; no expression yet, no mind".[56] Finally, the artist with Imagination "goes into the very inmost soul".: "There is the essence of lip, and the full power of the imagination".[57] Sincerity was clearly also important to Rossetti, who caused the artist-hero of Hand and Soul to be reprimanded for painting what he thought he should paint rather than what he wanted to paint: "How is it that thou, a man, wouldst say coldly to the mind what God hath said to the heart warmly? Thy will was honest and wholesome...", "What He hath set in thine heart to do, that do thou; and even though thou do it without thought of Him, it shall be well done".[58]

The individualising of emotions necessarily requires originality: "..art does not tolerate clichés. Every genuine expression must be an original one",[59] said Collingwood. Ruskin likewise saw originality as the result of sincerity:

> And that virtue of originality which men so strain after is not newness as they vainly think (there is nothing new) it is only genuineness....[60] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Rossetti also regarded originality as essential:

> Also I must say that more special originality and even newness (though this might be called a vulgarising word), of thought and picture in individual lines ...-seems to me the very first qualification of a sonnet-...[61]

He nevertheless agreed that originality cannot be contrived: and thus condemned "..the ludicrous side of wilful 'newness'".[62]

A further corollary of the expressive theory is that of emotional intensity in art. Rossetti was himself a paradigm of the artist who experiences the cathartic effect of art described by Collingwood: witness his description of his own creative activity:

> I lie on the couch, the racked and tortured medium, never permitted an instant's surcease of agony until the thing on hand is finished.[63]

This produced Rossetti's intense, even tense verse:

> One benefit I do derive...as a result of my method of composition; my work becomes more condensed. Probably the man does not live who could write what I have written more briefly than I have done.[64]

Rossetti admired the sonnet above all other genres, being "condensed and emphatic";[65] he declared that all poetry was "best where most impassioned";[66] his sonnet on the sonnet advised that it should be..."Of its own arduous fulness reverent":[67] he thus believed that poetry is the expression of emotions at their highest pitch of pressure:

> So in the Song, the singer's Joy and Pain,
> Its very parents, evermore expand
> To bid the passion's fullgrown birth remain,
> By Art's transfiguring essence subtly spann'd;[68]

Rossetti declared, on completing the King's Tragedy, that it

..."was as though my life ebbed out with it".[69] Ruskin would have approved of this fervour:

> ...wholly in proportion to the intensity of feeling which you bring to the subject you have chosen, will be the depth and justice of your perception of its character.[70] (The Two Paths, 1859)

Imagination functions, claimed Ruskin, "...by intuition and intensity of gaze".[71] George Landow has illuminated Ruskin's criterion of intensity:

> As Ruskin explains, since we perceive by means of the imagination's emotional processes, the more intense our emotion, the deeper will be the imagination's glance, the surer its grasp of truth...[72]

Ruskin claimed that intensity is interrelated with sympathy:

> There is reciprocal action between the intensity of moral feeling and the power of imagination; for on the one hand, those who have keenest sympathy are those who look closest and pierce deepest, and hold securest; and on the other, those who have so pierced and seen the melancholy deeps of things are filled with the most intense passion and gentleness of sympathy.[73] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

This "...Shakespearean sympathy with all forms of life and growth", as Rossetti called it, was regarded by Ruskin and Rossetti as essential: the artist must enter fully into whatever he portrays:

> So, in the higher or expressive part of the work, the whole virtue of it depends on his being able to quit his own personality, and enter successively into the hearts and thoughts of each person....[75] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Rossetti agreed that "the creative grasp of alien character"[76] was a fundamental "gift and instinct" of the artist, but he went further and claimed that in the very moment of creation the artist should sympathise also with the imagined audience:

> Above all ideal personalities with which the poet must learn to identify himself, there is one supremely real which is the most imperative of all; namely, that of his reader. And the practical watchfulness needed for such assimilation is as much a gift and instinct as is the creative grasp of alien character. It is a spiritual contact, hardly conscious, yet ever renewed, which must be a part of the very act of production.[77]

This anticipates Collingwood's assertion that the artist's relation to his audience is not "a mere by-product of his aesthetic experience" but:

> an integral part of that experience itself. If what he is trying to do is to express emotions that are not his own merely, but his audience's as well, his success in doing this will be tested by his audience's reception of what he has to say.[78]

Hence the moral allegories of Chiaro in Rossetti's Hand and Soul are judged by the lack of impression they made on the citizens. It is a fundamental tenet of the expressionist theory that the artist must engage the emotions of the spectator: Ruskin conceived the part of the spectator as active communion with a greater soul:

> ...the artist not only places the spectator, but talks to him; makes him a sharer in his own strong feelings and quick thoughts; hurries him away in his own enthusiasm; guides him to all that is beautiful; snatches him from all that is base; and leaves him more than delighted,-ennobled and instructed, under the sense of having not only beheld a new scene, but of having held communion with a new mind, and having been endowed for a time with the keen perception and the impetuous emotions of a nobler and more penetrating intelligence.[79] (Modern Painters I, 1842)

Collingwood likewise claimed that the experience of the spectator:

> ...does not repeat the comparatively poor experience of a person who merely looks at the subject; it repeats the richer and more highly organised experience

> of a person who has not only looked at it but painted it as well.[80]

This led Ruskin to the concept of what Collingwood calls "the audience's function as collaborator"[81] in the work of art:

> ...all great art is the work of the whole living creature, body and soul, and chiefly of the soul. But it is not only the work of the whole creature, it likewise addresses the whole creature .....I am not to spend my utmost spirit, and give all my strength and life to my work, while you, spectator or hearer, will give me only the attention of half your soul. You must be all mine, as I am all yours; it is the only condition on which we can meet each other.[82]
>
> (Stones of Venice III, 1853)

This engenders the notion that the critic must likewise attempt to meet the artist half way. Rossetti claimed that it was the obligation of the critic to 'suspend disbelief', or allow the work of art to suggest its own criteria: "The critic of the new school sits down before a picture, and saturates it with silence",[83] he declared. The belief that the work of art must be allowed to dictate its own rules anticipates the modern formalistic approach which has its roots in expressionist theory: pre-formulated rules of art just do not exist for the expressionist critic, because the artist is not even aware of the emotions he expresses until they are formulated. Although Collingwood exaggerated the total inadequacy of pre-formulated ideas regarding genre, for example, Ruskin would have agreed in spirit:

> These distinctions, therefore, have only a very limited value....When a work of art is complete it can be labelled ex post facto as tragic, comic or the like, according to the character of the emotions chiefly expressed in it...If artists only find out what their

> emotions are in the course of finding out how to express them, they cannot begin the work of expression by deciding what emotion to express.[84]

For both Collingwood and Ruskin what matters is the character of the emotions expressed: "It is altogether impossible", asserted Ruskin, "to say beforehand what details a great painter may make poetical by his use of them":

> We cannot say that a painter is great because he paints boldly, or paints delicately; because he generalises or because he particularizes; because he loves detail, or because he disdains it. He is great if, by any of these means, he has laid open noble truths or aroused noble emotions.[85] (Modern Painters, III, 1856)

The critic must have no pre-conceived expectations: criticism should originate in passivity:

> ...true criticism of art never can consist in the mere application of rules; it can be just only when it is founded on quick sympathy with the innumerable instincts and changeful efforts of human nature...[86] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Rossetti similarly 'founded' his criticism on 'quick sympathy', declaring that "The man who, on seeing a work with claims to regard does not perceive its beauties before its faults, is a conceited fool".[87] This, claimed Robert M. Cooper, is the key to Rossetti's criticism: "Sympathy... was the quality that Rossetti most earnestly desired in other critics, and most strikingly displayed in his own criticism".[88]

The expressionists evaluate art according to its affectiveness: since art aims to evoke in the spectator emotions similar to those experienced by the artist, it follows that criticism should aim to evoke in the reader a

response similar to the critics'. Criticism should not be a description of formal elements, but a creative expression of the emotions which it aroused, and how it did so. G. Robert Stange has claimed that Ruskin's prose is an example of expressionist criticism, because Ruskin wished "...to go beyond commentary and analysis, to illuminate the work, ...by creating something equivalent to it".[89] Rossetti's criticism was similarly creative rather than analytic, being "...at best, only the criticism of the creator",[90] claimed T. Hall Caine, adding that although Rossetti had no gift of analysis or classification, he had a sure "...instinct for what is good".[91] Rossetti consciously eschewed pre-formulated rules; he praised Swinburne's criticism of Blake done, "...not by piece-work or analysis, but by creative intuition".[92] Ruskin likewise had no wish, claimed Stange to "offer an account of the formal elements of painting":

> ...instead he concentrates on its affective aspects and provides the reader with cues to an emotional response. He pointedly ascribes to the work precisely those features which are impossible to painting: literary comparison, movement in space, extension in time, and even sound.[93]

Ruskin and Rossetti both interpreted paintings as a literary mode, as a single moment in a narrative sequence. Rossetti's own pictures encourage speculation about the events surrounding the depicted scene. His criticism of Kennedy's L'Allegro ascribes those very literary qualities characteristic of expressionist criticism:

> The figures...will play out the rest of the sunlight, no doubt, in that garden; in the evening their wine

> will be brought them, and the music will be played less sluggishly in the cool air, and those white-throated ladies will not be too languid to sing.... Surely it shall be high noon when they wake; there shall be no soil on their silks and velvets, and their hair shall not need the comb, and the love-making shall go on again in the shadow that lies again green and distinct;...[94]

The literary interpretation of painting clearly worked in reverse: perhaps it was because Rossetti's paintings were often inspired by literature that he was naturally disposed to treat other pictures as such. Ruskin's dissatisfaction with the artificiality of Raphael's painting of the Charge to St. Peter produced a magnificently imaginative account of his own conception of the biblical event which deeply impressed Rossetti, who declared to Robert Browning that it had inspired in him the desire to paint the same subject:

> I'm about half-way through Ruskin's third volume which you describe very truly. Glorious it is in many parts- how fine that passage in the 'Religious false ideal', where he describes Raphael's Charge to Peter, and the probable truth of the event in its outward aspect. A glorious picture might be done from Ruskin's description.[95]

Rossetti frequently found that prose was inadequate for expressing his response to works of art: he wrote sonnets on pictures, including his own. He once showed a sonnet which he had written for a projected painting to the artist James Whistler who asked "Why trouble to paint the picture at all? Why not simply frame the sonnet?"[96] Whistler had no sympathy with the literary conception of fine art: for him a painting was an aesthetic arrangement, not a narrative. Rossetti's sonnet for his own painting Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon The Pharisee which Ruskin coveted and greatly

admired, allows the main character, Mary, to speak:

> "Oh loose me! Seest thou not my Bridegroom's face
> That draws me to Him? For His feet my kiss,
> My hair, my tears He craves to-day: and oh!
> What words can tell what other day and place
> Shall see me clasp those blood-stained feet of His?
> He needs me, calls me, loves me: let me go![97]

Ruskin's criticism of Holman Hunt's Awakening Conscience expects the spectator to participate in the depicted events: the work of art is regarded not as an aesthetic object but as an experience which includes the spectator. This example of Ruskin's criticism demands more of the spectator than Rossetti's does. Hunt's painting represents a girl in the moment of realising her adulterous ways. Ruskin expects a dislocation in our contemplation of the various parts of the picture. He sympathises with those who find the minute detail of the drawing-room obstructive, but expects the spectator to view the surroundings through the eyes of the main character:

> Nothing is more noticeable than the way in which even the most trivial objects force themselves upon the attention of a mind which has been fevered by violent and distressful emotion.[98] (Arrows of The Chace, I, 1880, from letter to the Times, May 25, 1854.)

The girl in the picture is not part of a pleasing arrangement, but is a vehicle of the spectator's cathartic experience:

> There is not a single object in that room-common, modern, vulgar,...but it becomes tragical if rightly read. That furniture so carefully painted...nothing there that has the old thoughts of home upon it... Those embossed books, vain and useless-they also new-marked with no happy wearing of beloved leaves; the torn and dying bird upon the floor; the gilded tapestry, with the fowls of the air feeding on the ripened corn; the picture above the fireplace, with its single drooping figure-the girl taken in adultery; nay the very hem of the poor girls dress, at which the

> painter laboured so closely, thread by thread, has story in it, if we think how soon its pure whiteness may be soiled with dust and rain, her outcast feet failing in the street; and the true fair garden flowers, seen in that reflected sunshine of the mirror,- these also have their language-
>
> Hope not to delight in us, they say,
> For we are spotless Jessy-we are pure.
>
> I surely need not go on.[99] (Arrows of The Chace, I, 1880. from Letter to the Times May 25, 1854.)

Ruskin's dissatisfaction with the art-criticism of his time was partly an expressionist's impatience with formulated yardsticks, which deny the individuality of expression:

> When we pass to the examination of what is beautiful and expressive in art, we shall frequently find distinctive qualities in the minds even of inferior artists which have led them to the pursuit and embodying of particular trains of thought, altogether different from those which direct the compositions of other men, and incapable of comparison with them.[100]
> (Modern Painters I, 1842)

Ruskin perhaps had Rossetti in mind when he declared that the only "capable" critics were:

> ...those whose principles of judgement are based both on thorough practical knowledge of art, and on broad general views of what is true and right, without reference to what has been done at one time or another, or in one school or another. Nothing can be more perilous to the cause of art, than the constant ringing in our painter's ears of the names of great predecessors, as their examples or masters... such references to former excellence are the only refuge and resource of persons endeavouring to be critics without being artists.[101] (Modern Painters I, 1842.)

The criticism of Ruskin and Rossetti is among the best creative or expressionist criticism, but more important is that it indicates a similar underlying attitude towards art itself. We have seen that Ruskin and Rossetti shared many critical criteria, yet the demands for sincerity, intensity, and originality in a work of art all resolve

into the view of art as the expression of emotion. It is not surprising that Ruskin seems to have anticipated many of the aspects of the theory of art formulated by R.G. Collingwood in The Principles of Art, in 1938 since the Encyclopedia of Philosophy tells us that

> His father, W.G. Collingwood, friend and biographer of John Ruskin educated him at home until he was old enough to enter Rugby and imbued him with a Ruskinian devotion to craftsmanship and art.....[102]

Both Ruskin and Rossetti developed the egocentric basis of Romanticism, while anticipating the twentieth century expressionist and formalistic views of art. They are, however, entirely 'Victorian' in their demand for materialistic verification of experience. Ruskin's prose, and Rossetti's poetry and paintings, attempt in very different ways, to graft a necessary objectivity onto an essentially personal vision, or conversely, they offer highly imaginative conceptions of external reality.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Rossetti's 'Symbolizing' and Ruskin's Theory of the Grotesque.

In the third volume of Modern Painters Ruskin offered a somewhat surprising definition of Rossetti's art as "...a true unison of the grotesque with the realistic power".[1] Although neither grotesqueness nor realism are customarily associated with Rossetti, it will be seen that Ruskin is unique in his appreciation of Rossetti's ambivalence.

Throughout his life Rossetti had a taste for what he termed "Bogey Books"[2], anything pertaining to "the weird and ominous".[3] His three favourite poets, Edgar Allen Poe, Robert Browning, and Coleridge, have all be characterised as grotesque writers.[4] At the age of eighteen Rossetti made a number of illustrations to Poe's The Raven[5], some horrific illustrations to Faust,[6] and a number of other drawings of weird people and mythical figures.[7] All Rossetti's artistic experimentation before The Girlhood of Mary Virgin shows a distinct predisposition to the grotesque. In 1873 Rossetti declared that Marat's oral autobiography in Dumas' Ingénue was "...enough to make the hair stand on end all over one's body"[8]., and although Flaubert's Salammbô was an "adamantine abomination", it was nevertheless "a great book undoubtedly".[9] Rossetti did not, however, condone Flaubert's uncompromising horror:

> Flaubert...is not only destitute of pity, but one could not judge from his book, teeming as it does with inconceivable horrors, that such an element ever existed or ever had existed in human nature...[10]

He likewise expressed serious reservations about Hugo's

exploitation of fear:

> Hugo's book astounds one with horrors, but they seem called up more for the purpose of evoking the extremes of human pity and for the author's own luxury in that passion, than for any other aim.[11]

Although Rossetti found such literature fascinating, he did not approve of thorough-going horror in art; he preferred the ambiguous and often undefined horrors characteristic of grotesqueness.

Ruskin declared that ambiguity was the key-note of the grotesque, since the habitual contemplation of evil produces something 'ignoble'. In Ruskin's view the 'noble' or true grotesque is essentially a departure from another predominating vision,[12] the result of a temporary relaxation of customarily strictly-controlled creativity; "the mind, under certain phases of excitement, plays with terror".[13] Rossetti's grotesque imagery is largely the result of his ambivalent attitude towards the workings of his own imagination; although he regarded the surrendering of rationality as a prerequisite of creativity, he possessed, like Coleridge, a sense of taboo in the exploration of the subconscious (Hence his sensitivity to Coleridge's "ambivalence": "The sense of the momentuous is strongest in Coleridge; not the weird and ominous only, but the value of monumental moments"[14]) For Rossetti the "monumental moments" of heightened awareness were the eruption of the soul, or the subconscious, into consciousness:

> A Sonnet is a moment's monument,-
> Memorial from the Soul's eternity
> To one dead deathless hour.[15]

but he recognised that this experience frequently also produced the "weird and ominous".

Rossetti claimed that in order to produce the symbols which constituted his verse, it was necessary to suspend "progressive" or directed thinking. This "dozing style" of art he considered the only worthwhile artistic method "...the pursuit of art is a bore, except when followed in the dozing style";[16] he described the activity in a letter to Ford Madox Brown:

> I lie often on the cliffs, which are lazy themselves, all grown with grass and herbage, not athletic as at Dover, not gaunt as at North Shields. Sometimes through the summer mists the sea and sky are one; and, if you half shut your eyes, as of course you do, there is no swearing to the distant sail as boat or bird, while just under one's feet the near boats stand together immovable, as if their shadows clogged them and they would not come in after all, but loved to see the land. So one may lie and symbolize till one goes to sleep, and that be a symbol too perhaps.[17]

Narrowing the eyes causes external objects to become something like ink-blots, which allow full play of the imagination while retaining their intrinsic identities. This facilitated the production of a highly impressionistic, imaginative scene, enabling Rossetti to depict external reality coloured by personal vision. Rossetti's pictures frequently originated, according to a pupil at the Working Men's College, in "a sketch which appeared to be neither outline nor shadow, but something of a combination of the two"[18]; his poetry was a similar blend of evocation and precision; the occasion described above resulted in the following:

> But the sea stands spread
> As one wall with the flat skies,
> Where the lean black craft like flies
> Seem well-nigh stagnated,
> Soon to drop off dead.[19]

The imagery illustrates that process defined by Ruskin as the "Contemplative" faculty of the imagination, "...depriving the subject of material and bodily shape, and regarding such of its qualities only as it chooses for a particular purpose ..."[20] Rossetti's "symbolizing" was an intuitive form of cognition; "...a process intensely conscious, but patient and silent,-an occult evolution of life",[21] during an interval when "...your brain takes quiet and your whole sense hears".[22] This intuitive perception Ruskin claimed to be the highest mental power of man:

> It may seem to the reader that I am incorrect in calling this penetrating possession-taking faculty Imagination. Be it so; the name is of little consequence; the faculty itself, called by what name we will, I insist upon as the highest intellectual power of man. There is no reasoning in it; it works not by algebra, nor by integral calculus; it is a piercing pholas-like mind's tongue that works and tastes into the very rock heart; no matter what be the subject submitted to it....[23] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

The Platonic belief that there is a higher reality which can be perceived only by intuition is fundamental to Ruskin and Rossetti. There is in "all things amidst which we live" claimed Ruskin:

> ...a deeper meaning within them than eye hath seen, or ear hath heard; and...the whole visible creation is a mere perishable symbol of things eternal and true.[24] (Stones of Venice, III, 1853)

Rossetti similarly wrote that:

> ...sky-breadth and field-silence and this day
> Are symbols also in some deeper way.[25]

Ruskin believed that the "penetrating possession-taking" faculty admitted the individual into this world of "things eternal and true". Thus truly imaginative art is frequently obscure:

> It is often obscure, often half-told; for he who wrote it, in his clear seeing of the things beneath, may have been impatient of detailed interpretation:...[26] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Ruskin claimed that Grotesque art enabled a much-needed exploration of "the realms of fantastic imagination" which "have hardly yet been entered...a universe of noble dream-land lies before us, yet to be conquered."[27] Rossetti similarly believed in a trenchant vision capable of entering a "new world": the Beata Beatrix (1864) was painted to represent this: "...under the resemblance of a trance...she sees through her shut lids, is conscious of a new world..."[28]

Elsewhere Rossetti described this mystical experience as almost identical to his 'symbolizing' on the cliffs at Dover: "...that state before death when the forms of things may be supposed to be lost, while their colours throb, as it were, against the half-closed eyelids, making them to ache with confused lights".[29] This produced what Ruskin called "...the abstract shadeless hues which are eminently fitted for grotesque thought".[30] Ruskin believed that grotesqueness resulted from man's inevitable inability to deal with the sublimity of certain visions:

> Now, so far as the truth is seen by the imagination in its wholeness and quietness, the vision is sublime; but so far as it is narrowed and broken by the inconsistencies of the human capacity, it becomes grotesque; and it would seem to be rare that any very exalted truth should be impressed on the imagination without some grotesqueness.[31] (Modern Painters III, 1856.)

Thus 'grotesque' in Ruskin's terminology was far from pejorative: Grotesque art had indeed been the vehicle of the highest truths:

> And thus in all ages and among all nations, grotesque idealism has been the element through which the most appalling and eventful truth has been wisely conveyed, from the most sublime words of true Revelation to the... oracles, and the more or less doubtful teaching of dreams; and so down to ordinary poetry. No element of imagination has a wider range, a more magnificent use, or so colossal a grasp of sacred truth.[32] (Modern Painters III, 1856.)

Ruskin's detailed critical analysis of the Grotesque is unprecedented in English letters, elevating it to the status of a serious art-genre; his application of the term to Rossetti's art should not be underestimated, especially since he carefully qualified the adjective to account for Rossetti's equally strong realistic element. Ruskin's description of Rossetti's (and Watts') art as "a true unison of the grotesque with the realistic power" (my emphasis) suggests a psychological rather than stylistic analysis. Like Sir Walter Scott, whose essay on Hoffman's grotesque was clearly an influence,[33] Ruskin was concerned with the mental propensities most likely to produce grotesque art. Scott declared that an imagination capable of conceiving great beauty would have an equal capacity for the horrible. Agreeing that if such an imagination were "ill-regulated" it would have "an undue tendency to the horrible and the distressing"[34], Ruskin discouraged Rossetti from pursuing Found, "because I have naturally a great dread of subjects altogether painful".[35] He thanked Miss Heaton for 'forbidding' melancholy in her commission to Rossetti because "it is as bad for Rossetti as disagreeable for others".[36] Suspecting

that personal depression would exert a detrimental effect on his art, Ruskin advised Rossetti to marry Elizabeth Siddal in order to put "...an end to that peculiar sadness, and want of your hardly know what, that there is in both of you.."[37] Ruskin nevertheless admitted that Rossetti's artistic gloom had a certain value, declaring that although Paolo and Francesca was indeed "most gloomy", it was "very grand-but dreadful-of Dante seeing the soul of Francesca and her lover!... thoroughly grand and noble".[38] Ruskin warned Miss Heaton not to upset Rossetti by criticising the picture because Rossetti "can't understand people not liking gloomy drawings".[39] In The Stones of Venice, however, Ruskin justified melancholia:

> ...there is an occult and subtle horror belonging to many aspects of the creation around us, calculated often to fill us with serious thought, even in our times of quietness and peace...the blasted trunk, the barren rock, the moaning of the bleak winds, the roar of the black, perilous, merciless whirlpools of the mountain streams, the solemn solitudes of moors and seas, the continual fading of all beauty into darkness, and of all strength into dust, have these no language for us?[40] (Stones of Venice III, 1853)

Thus on the basis of a dualistic conception, Ruskin claimed that the contemplation of beauty has as a necessary counter-part, the awareness of horror: "The healthiest state into which the human mind can be brought is that which is capable of the greatest love and the greatest awe".[41]

The third branch of the grotesque outlined in Modern Painters resulted from "..the confusion of the imagination by the presence of truths which it cannot wholly grasp";[42] the imagination cannot wholly embrace immanent significance. The distortion frequently characterised as grotesque is due to the artist's sense of "...an infinite power and meaning

in the thing seen, beyond all that is apparent therein, giving the highest sublimity even to the most trivial objects so presented and so contemplated".[43] Rossetti claimed such a sensibility for himself, saying to the beloved in the House of Life:

> Sometimes thou seems't not as thyself alone,
> But as the meaning of all things that are;
> ......
> The evident heart of all life sown and mown.[44]

Ruskin's example, for the third branch of the grotesque, of Spenser's image of Envy riding upon a "ravenous wolfe" and chewing a "venemous tode",[45] is strikingly similar to Rossetti's image of a Toad for lust in the poem Jenny[46]: both use bestial images to express the grotesqueness of sin. Ruskin claimed that Spenser's image evoked meanings "which no mere utterance of the symbolised truth"[47] could achieve. This form of the Grotesque is the result of suppressed links in the logic, thus creating a concentrated meaning:

> A fine grotesque is the expression, in a moment, by a series of symbols thrown together in bold and fearless connection, of truths which it would have taken a long time to express in any verbal way, and of which the connection is left to the beholder to work out for himself; the gaps, left or overleaped by the haste of the imagination, forming the grotesque character.[48]
> (Modern Painters III, 1856)

This does not, however, account for the horror or distaste essential to the grotesque. In his anxiety to justify grotesque art in Modern Painters Ruskin so closely allied it to symbolism and allegory that he almost ignored the fearful aspect, except for a warning that he who casts "his fancy free in the spiritual world"[49] must expect appalling as well as wonderful truths. Although Rossetti's art belongs ostensibly to the third branch of the grotesque, due to the

sublimity of the artist's vision, the element of gloom links it more strongly to Ruskin's second, and most common form of grotesque, resulting from "irregular and accidental contemplation of terrible things; or evil in general"[50] The artistic attitude which produces the grotesque is not committed to the horror which it envisages: the artist is distanced from his vision, retaining an awareness of its ludicrousness:

> The reader is always to keep in mind that if the objects of horror in which the terrible grotesque finds its materials were contemplated in their true light, and with the entire energy of the soul, they would cease to be grotesque, and become altogether sublime; and that therefore it is some shortening of the power, or the will, of contemplation, and some subsequent distortion of the terrible image in which the grotesqueness consists.[51]
> (Stones of Venice III, 1853)

Rossetti's 'dozing' vision exhibits this very ambivalence, due to an unwillingness to surrender wholly to his imagination. Unlike William Blake, for example, who believed unreservedly in the universe of his own creating, Rossetti's visionary tendencies were tempered by his lack of intellectual consent. Ruskin defined the 'material veracity' or the realism of Rossetti's art as a correlation of the spiritual and the mundane: Rossetti possessed a

> ...peculiar tendency to feel and illustrate the relation of spiritual creatures to the substance and conditions of the visible world.[52]

In the course of his discussion of the grotesque in the third volume of Modern Painters Ruskin lamented that no artist had hitherto successfully represented spiritual creatures: they were either too realistic to be distinguished from ordinary creatures or too insipid to be credible. He

expressed the wish that an artist with a strong sense of "material veracity"[53] would explore the visionary universe:

> But if a really great painter, thoroughly capable of giving substantial truth, and master of the elements of pictorial effect which have been developed by modern art, would solemnly, and yet fearlessly, cast his fancy free in the spiritual world, and faithfully follow out such masters of that world as Dante and Spenser, there seems no limit to the splendour of thought which painting might express.[54] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

It was thus a great tribute to Rossetti and G.F. Watts that Ruskin hailed them as "...the dawn of a new era of art, in a true unison of the grotesque with the realistic power".[55] Rossetti had of course made just such an attempt to "faithfully follow out" Dante, one of the "masters of that world" of spiritual personages. Ruskin later praised Rossetti's Annunciation because it achieved the balance between substantiality and symbolism which many greater paintings lacked. Ruskin declared that Rossetti's treatment differed "from every previous conception of the scene known to me":

> The messenger himself also differs from angels as they are commonly represented, in not depending, for recognition of his supernatural character, on the insertion of bird's-wings at his shoulders. If we are to know him for an angel at all it must be by his face, which is simply that of youthful but grave manhood. He is neither transparent in body, luminous in presence, nor auriferous in apparel;- wears a plain long white robe, casts a natural and undiminished shadow,-and, although there are flames beneath his feet which upbear him, so that he does not touch the earth, these are unseen by the Virgin.[56] ("The Three Colours of Pre Raphaelitism", The Nineteenth Century, Nov, Dec, 1878.)

Thus Rossetti managed to suggest the spiritual nature of his messenger without resorting to cliché; the ability to invest mythical figures with 'veracity' depended, said Ruskin, upon the ability fully to visualise the event as it

would have happened:

> Thus, Mr. Rossetti, in this and subsequent works of the kind, thought it better for himself and his public to make some effort towards a real notion of what actually did happen in the carpenter's cottage at Nazareth, giving rise to the subsequent traditions delivered in the gospels, than merely to produce a variety in the pattern of Virgin's gown, and pattern of Virgin's House which had been set up by the jewellers of the fifteenth century.[57] ("The Three Colours of PreRaphaelitism", The Nineteenth Century, Nov., Dec., 1878

Rossetti's "imaginative veracity" must not be confused with mimeticism or naturalism, since the emphasis is entirely different, being the ability to persuade the spectator that symbolic figures actually enjoyed a mundane existence. Thus Rossetti's "peculiar value and character of treatment" lay, claimed Ruskin:

> ...in what I called its material veracity, compelling the spectator's belief...in the thing's having verily happened; and not being a mere poetical fancy.[58]
> (The Art of England, 1884, from Lectures delivered at Oxford 1883, Lecture on The Mythic Schools of Painting.)

Rossetti's "peculiar tendency";

> ...to feel and illustrate the relation of spiritual creatures to the substance and conditions of the visible world; more especially, the familiar, or in a sort humiliating, accidents or employments of their earthly life;- as, for instance...Rossetti's Virgin in The house of St. John, the Madonna's being drawn at the moment when she rises to trim their lamp.[59]
> (The Art of England 1884, from Lectures delivered at Oxford 1883, Lecture on The Mythic Schools.)

creates the impression that even the most ostensibly ordinary actions have symbolic implications. Rossetti thus rendered explicit the relation between the spiritual and the physical worlds. Ruskin claimed that the artists' ability to visualise imaginary creatures, rather than conceive of them intellectually, determines the nature of the grotesque image. His illustration of the true and false griffin indicates the importance of genuine vision to the 'noble',

as distinct from the 'ignoble' grotesque:

> We may be pretty sure, if the carver had ever seen a griffin, he would have reported him as doing something other than <u>that</u> with his feet.[60] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Ruskin thus viewed Rossetti's grotesque as 'noble', because he actually visualised his mythical personages. Rossetti's faculty for visualisation was so strong that, as John Dixon Hunt has noticed, "...the physical facts predominate, and even obscure the symbolism".[61] Rossetti's <u>Passover</u> perplexed Patmore because "...The symbolism is too remote and unobvious to strike <u>me</u> as effective".[62] Hearing of this, Ruskin assured Rossetti "Patmore is very nice, but what the devil does he mean by Symbolism? I call that Passover plain prosy fact, no Symbolism at all".[63] Neither of the criticisms were correct: Rossetti had intended the Passover to be neither symbolic nor factual, but both, as he explained to Patmore:

> Perhaps I dwelt too much...on the symbolic details... Its chief claim to interest...would be as a subject which must have actually occured during every year of the life led by the Holy Family, and which I think must bear its meaning broadly and instantly,-not, as you say 'remotely'-on the very face of it,-in the one sacrifice really typical of the other.[64]

This suggests a predominantly typological interpretation of the Passover event. George Landow explains that because "typology assumes that on the narrative level there must be a real, historically existing person or thing, it places much greater emphasis upon the literal level than does allegory".[65] Rossetti's <u>Passover</u> attempts to celebrate both the original event and its antitype, because as Rossetti explained, however important Christ's symbolic function as

the sacrificial lamb, the actual celebration of the Passover was also a significant ritual in the life of his Jewish parents. Rossetti would thus have been pleased by Ruskin's assertion that his Passover was "plain prosy fact, no Symbolism at all" because it was designedly opposed to the allegorical mode in which, he explained to Patmore, "the symbolism is not really inherent in the fact, but...having had the fact made to fit it".[66] Rossetti hoped that his Passover differed from previous conceptions "...in this respect-its actuality as an incident no less than as a scriptural type".[67] George Landow has shown that Ruskin was naturally predisposed towards typological interpretation so that he would have appreciated Rossetti's desire to place "essentially equal emphasis upon both signifier and signified".[68]

Ruskin was equally sensitive to Rossetti's attempt to extend the typological vision to secular subjects. In 1855 he wrote a detailed explication to Miss Heaton of her Rachel and Leah, helping her to solve "Dante's riddle" by reminding her that "..the two are usually supposed to be the Active and Contemplative faculties", and drawing parallels between Rachel and Leah and Matilda and Beatrice.[69] Rossetti confirmed Ruskin's interpretation by writing also to Miss Heaton of "...Rachel & Leah, or perhaps more strictly (in my drawing) Matilda and Beatrice; as I have endeavoured to give something of the appearance of the latter figures with the actions of the former, as corresponding types."[70] Rossetti thought that "one of the truest laws of the supernatural in art" was "...that of homely externals developing by silent

contrast the inner soul of the subject".[71] In "The Stealthy School of Criticism" he argued similarly: that 'physical facts' in art should never be without some spiritual content "..the passionate and just delights of the body are...as nought if not ennobled by the concurrence of the soul at all times".[72] Rossetti avoided straightforward symbolism, or the replacing of an abstract concept with a concrete image; he had, claimed his brother, "no sympathy with any downright allegory of that sort".[73] It will be seen that Rossetti's attempted equipoise between matter and spirit, which found expression in his early Biblical paintings as typological interpretation, gave rise to that element of grotesque discerned by Ruskin.

Rossetti demanded full integration of symbolism and realism in art; he admired Blake's colouring because "... subtle and exquisite reality forms quite as strong an element as does ideal grandeur";[74] likewise Hake's Madeline was "...neither devoid of sublimity nor of real relation to human passion and pity".[75] We may expect, then, that Rossetti's conception of the grotesque was akin to Ruskin's: both demanded that symbolism be firmly rooted in 'physical facts'; Rossetti apparently did not consider the majority of Blake's conceptions, for example, to be grotesque, perhaps because they were the result of total surrender to the world of imagination. In comparing the poetry of J. Garth Wilkinson's Improvisations of The Spirit to that of William Blake, Rossetti made some important observations which reveal his conception of the grotesque:

> These improvisations profess to be written under the same kind of spiritual guidance, amounting to abnegation of personal effort in the writer, which Blake supposed to have presided over the production of his Jerusalem etc. The little book has passed into the general (and in all other cases richly-deserved) limbo of the modern "spiritualist" muse. It is a very thick little book, however unsubstantial its origin; and contains, amid much that is disjointed or hopelessly obscure, (but then why be the polisher of poems for which a ghost, and not even your own ghost, is alone responsible?) many passages and indeed whole compositions of a remote and charming beauty, or sometimes of a grotesque figurative relation to things of another sphere .....[76]

Despite his scepticism about the possibility of total 'abnegation' of the artist's self, Rossetti considers that such surrender would produce something other than the grotesque; he applied the term exactly as Ruskin did: only to things of "a figurative relation...to another sphere". It will be seen that the key-word here is 'relation'; it is in this that the grotesque consists. Although most of Blake's poems are considered by Rossetti as expressions of his personal 'mythology', Broken Love is the exception, achieving the necessary balance between symbolism and ordinary human reality:

> ...the piece called Broken Love has a recondite bearing on the bewilderments of Blake's special mythology. But besides a soul suffering in such limbo, this poem has a recognisable body penetrated with human passion.[77]

This poem was truly grotesque to Rossetti (although he doesn't actually use the term) because it reveals the horror inherent in ordinary human situations: "the agony and perversity of sundered affection" naturally invites grotesque images; "..this woe of his can array itself in stately imagery"; thus grotesqueness is realistically justified:

> The speaker is one whose soul has been intensified by pain to be his only world, among the scenes,

> figures and events of which he moves as in a new state of being. The emotions have been quickened and isolated by conflicting torment till each is a separate companion. There is his "spectre", the jealous pride which scents in the snow the footsteps of the beloved rejected woman, but is a wild beast to guard his way from reaching her; his 'emanation' which silently weeps within him....[78]

Rossetti probably identified with this aspect of grotesqueness in Blake because in his own poetry he personifies the emotions of which he is the victim. Blake's Job similarly contained "embodied...accusations of torment".[79]

In his own art Rossetti attempted to achieve that which he admired in Hake's Blind Boy, believing that no other poem "...from so central a standpoint interpenetrates the seen with the unseen".[80] William Rossetti claimed that this was a fundamental characteristic of Rossetti's art:

> This interpenetration of soul and body -this sense of an equal and indefeasible reality of the thing symbolized and of the form which conveys the symbol-this externalism and internalism-are constantly to be understood as the key-note of Rossetti's aim and performance in art.[81]

Thus the Donna Della Finestra was, like Blake's Job, intended as an embodiment of emotion:

> ...he had no notion of representing Philosophy, or any abstract personification of like kind. He contemplated the Donna as a real woman; but neither was her human reality intended to be regarded as the essence of pictorial presentment-rather her personal reality subserving the purpose of poetic suggestion-an emotion embodied in feminine form-a passion of which beautiful flesh-and-blood constitutes the vesture.[82]

The grotesqueness in Rossetti's art is a result of this attempted equilibrium between fantasy and realism. Grotesque art inhabits that ambivalent realm between ordinariness

and insanity, between this world and the other, between the accepted and the taboo. The structuralist, Edmund Leach, has offered an explanation of religious ritual and mythical figures which throws light on Rossetti's grotesque. (The ensuing confusion over his diagram does not alter his acceptable definition of myth). In his article on the Sistine Chapel ceiling Leach invites the reader to imagine a straight line divided equally into two parts, asserting that:

> ...in order to perceive either one of the two equal parts you would have to take the other into consideration. Moreover in order to judge the equality between the two parts you would in fact have to concentrate your attention on the imaginary boundary between the two parts which belongs to neither.[83]

Similarly man's dualistic conception of the universe, his awareness of the antithesis between spirit and matter, God and man, can only be fully appreciated from the standpoint of the boundary. Rossetti wished to establish this very equality between the worlds of matter and spirit, and he likewise concentrated on the 'boundary region'. The exploration of the dividing line gives rise to both the religious and the taboo, "The boundary, the intersurface layer which separates categories of time and space is the zone of the sacred, the tabooed, the forbidden";[84] it is from the latter that Grotesque art emanates.

Ruskin thus appreciated Rossetti's desire to place equal emphasis upon signifier and signified. His description of Rossetti's "..true unison of the grotesque with the realistic power" is remarkably similar to Arthur Clayborough's Jungian diagnosis of those artistic propensities most likely

to produce grotesque art.[85] Ruskin's analysis of the grotesque has since proved to be, as Michael Steig recognised, "a remarkable foreshadowing of the psychoanalytic view of the sources of artistic imagination."[86] Arthur Clayborough's analysis of The Grotesque in English Literature written in 1965, had the benefit of hindsight as well as the findings of psychology; although Ruskin had neither of these his description of the grotesque differs little from Clayborough's description of the appropriate mental tendencies. Clayborough posited four Jungian types according to their relationship with the external world; in each individual the extroverted positive, affirmative, or "progressive" attitude, is balanced by a "regressive" or introverted tendency to self-exploration. Clayborough declares that those most likely to produce Grotesque art are either "Progressive-negative" or "regressive-negative" types;[87] in other words they are not predisposed towards either introspection or extroversion, which are respectively defined as "regressive-positive" and "progressive-positive" types. Thus, as Ruskin recognised in his diagnosis of Rossetti, grotesque art is the result of a combination of opposing tendencies, (when the predominant disposition of the artist is temporarily counter-balanced by its opposite) as for example, when "a man of naturally strong feeling is accidentally or resolutely apathetic".[88] Ruskin's diagnosis of Rossetti's combination of realistic and grotesque powers corresponds to Clayborough's "regressive-negative" type because Rossetti's tendency to "symbolise" was tempered by an equal demand for rational coherence. The artist who expresses himself grotesquely is he who withdraws temporarily

from either a regressive or a progressive propensity "therefore", said Ruskin, "it is some shortening of the power, or the will of contemplation...in which the grotesqueness consists".[89] Whereas William Blake was "regressive-positive", believing wholeheartedly in the creations of his subconscious, Rossetti could not fully assent to his visions. Rossetti was naturally attracted by the 'numinous', and although inclined towards religious belief, was intellectually sceptical. He once explained in a letter that his agnosticism did "...not arise from want of natural impulse to believe, nor of reflection whether what I should alone call belief in a full sense is possible to me".[90] Such conflict produces, says Clayborough, the 'optative' mood of much Romantic poetry; hence Rossetti's wistful "Would God I knew there were a God to thank When thanks rise in me!".[91] Rossetti experienced the dilemma of the artist who is dissatisfied with the material world but cannot escape it, because he found the physical world as alluring as the spiritual. Although Clayborough does not mention Rossetti it is clear that like Virginia Woolf, who is examined as a regressive-negative type, he resolved the dilemma between the spiritual and the physical by asserting that significance should be sought within experience itself; immanence was to be preferred to transcendence. Rossetti and Virginia Woolf alike desired the "moment of illumination" being a climactic correspondence between the spiritual and the physical. The artist who cannot escape the limitations of time and space, and yet who feels that they are irrelevant, seeks for confirmation of his immortality through mortality. Rossetti attempted to record those "momentuous" moments when his

immortal self communicated with his rational, mortal self:

> A Sonnet is a moment's monument,-
> Memorial from the Soul's eternity
> To one dead deathless hour...[92]

It has already been pointed out that this sense of the "momentuous" was the very quality which Rossetti recognised in Coleridge's grotesqueness. The regressive-negative artist is, claims Clayborough, fully aware of the shock-value of his images. Rossetti's confession of the need for 'excitement' in art to arouse emotions approximating to real ones, suggests that he remained objectively conscious of the slight ludicrousness of his personal myth.

Rossetti's personal myth of the woman who symbolises his soul functions identically to the religious figures described by Edmund Leach:

> The key figures in religious faith and religious ritual are on that account the mediators, the boundary men, who have a foot in both camps. In myth, the important objects of cult are incarnate deities or deified human beings....Religion then belongs to the category of that which is intermediate, the betwixt and between.[93]

Rossetti's Blessed Damozel, the most explicit poetic expression of his myth, defines the beloved as the mediator between Heaven and Earth, and between flesh and spirit,

but this produces grotesque imagery because the mundane and the aethereal inevitably co-exist uncomfortably. The Blessed Damozel, although inspired by Poe's grotesque poem The Raven was more ambitious than Poe's, attempting to express the view-point of the supernatural:

> I saw...that Poe had done the utmost it was possible to do with the grief of the lover on earth, and I determined

> to reverse the conditions, and give utterance to the yearning of the loved one in heaven.[94]

The attempt to give equal emphasis to symbolism and realism, or, to use Ruskin's terminology, the attempted "unison of the grotesque with the realistic powers", is somewhat incongruous in The Blessed Damozel, because the attributes of Heaven are so strongly visualised: Rossetti locates the soul-woman "on the rampart of God's house",[95] leaning down to the aspirant who is intensely aware of her sensual attraction:

> And still she bowed herself and stooped
> Out of the circling charm;
> Until her bosom must have made
> The bar she leaned on warm,...[96]

The reunited lovers surrounding the Blessed Damozel strongly recall the final section in the Paolo and Francesca[97] Triptych:

> And the souls mounting up to God
> Went by her like thin flames.[98]

The incongruity in the poem is the result of over-visualising the 'boundary world'. Ruskin declared that there was "a severe limit..." to the degree in which artists:

> ...may venture to realize grotesque conception, and partly, also, a limit in the nature of the thing itself; there being many grotesque ideas which may be with safety suggested dimly by words or slight lines, but which will hardly bear being painted into perfect definiteness.[99] (Modern Painters III, 1856)

Thus the juxtaposition of Helen's physical and symbolic attributes in Troy Town produced the Grotesque:

> Heavenborn Helen, Sparta's queen,
> (O Troy Town!)
> Had two breasts of heavenly sheen,
> The sun and moon of the heart's desire;
> All Love's lordship lay between.....[100]

There is a great deal in Rossetti's poetry that is explicitly grotesque, partly because he exploits his own gloom, and partly because of his sense of taboo in the exploration of the subconscious: in The Soul's Sphere Rossetti describes the 'aweful' aspect of his 'symbolizing':

> Who, sleepless, hath not anguished to appease
> Tragical shadow's realm of sound and sight
> Conjectured in the lamentable night?...
> Lo! the soul's sphere of infinite images!..[101]

The sonnet Through Death to Love describes the grotesque images of the "Tragical Shadow's realm...":

> Like labour-laden moonclouds faint to flee
> From winds that sweep the winter-bitten wold,-
> Like multiform circumfluence manifold
> Of night's flood-tide,-like terrors that agree
> Of hoarse-tongued fire and inarticulate sea,-
> Even such, within some glass dimmed by our breath,
> Our hearts discern wild images of Death
> Shadows and shoals that edge eternity.[102]

The sonnet Vain Virtues is successful for the same reasons that Rossetti considered Blake's Broken Love was successful: grotesqueness is justified in terms of realism: the ordinary human emotion is terrible enough to be spontaneously clothed in grotesque imagery. The poem speculates that damnation is less often the result of conscious sin than of good intentions which go astray. The irony and the personal sense of guilt are forcefully conveyed in the image of the fallen virgins; but Rossetti's "realistic power" almost obscures the allegoric intention:

> What is the sorriest thing that enters Hell?
> None of the sins,-but this and that fair deed
> Which a soul's sin at length could supersede.
> These yet are virgins, whom death's timely knell
> Might once have sainted; whom the fiends compel

Together now, in snake-bound shuddering sheaves
Of anguish, while the pit's pollution leaves
Their refuse maidenhood abominable.

Night sucks them down, the tribute of the pit,
Whose names, half entered in the book of Life,
Were God's desire at noon. And as their hair
And eyes sink last, the Torturer deigns no whit
To gaze, but, yearning, waits his destined wife, 103
The Sin still blithe on earth that sent them there.

Although this is undeniably horrific, the attempted equipoise between symbolism and realism does not always produce such distressing grotesqueness. St. Luke The Painter, for example, achieves the perfect balance:

Give honour unto Luke Evangelist;
For he it was (the aged legends say)
Who first taught Art to fold her hands and pray.
Scarcely at once she dared to rend the mist
Of devious symbols; but soon having wist
How sky-breadth and field-silence and this day
Are symbols also in some deeper way,
She looked through these to God and was God's priest.[104]

The apposite image of Luke teaching Art to fold her hands and pray is an almost imperceptible personification, expressing in a condensed form the relationship between the artist and the artefact to which he is intimately related, although detached; it is Luke's Art, and not Luke, who thus performs the function of mediator between God and man. The poem achieves perfectly Rossetti's dictum of making the 'symbolism inherent in the fact': "sky-breadth" for example is a noun of measurement, implying something delimited, concrete and accessible, yet it simultaneously connotes the infinity, inaccessibility and immeasurability of the sky.

Rossetti's narrative poems also contain much that is grotesque; hardly any of the narratives are free from a

very strong sense of doom; many deal specifically with evil and with destructive passions. More important for the study of Ruskin's analysis of Rossetti's power as a combination of grotesqueness and realism, is the fact that the narratives convey an ambivalent attitude towards evil. In Jenny, A Last Confession, Sister Helen, and The Bride's Prelude, the sins of the protagonists are exonerated without lessening their seriousness: the poems are apologies for sin. The Last Confession is especially powerful: the depravity is expressed with a lyrical beauty which distracts attention from the protagonist's guilt; yet the admission of sexual love for his adopted daughter ironically employs religious imagery which does not even shock the reader in the general context:

> For now, being always with her, the first love
> I had- the father's, brother's love- was changed,
> I think, in somewise; like a holy thought
> Which is a prayer before one knows of it.[105]

The subject of the poem, the ambiguity of guilt, lends itself to grotesqueness: it is the dying confession of a soldier who has murdered a girl whom he unofficially adopted, because his love for her made him passionately jealous; the man is vindicated because he adopted the girl despite his intense poverty, because the social circumstances were appalling, because it was a crime of passion, and because he is about to die whilst defending his country. The stanza in which the soldier recalls when his love for his 'daughter' first changed is illustrative of Rossetti's ability to evoke the lure of that which is conventionally immoral; the ostensible simplicity and innocence has an underlying

insidiousness and a foreshadowing of doom:

> The first time I perceived this, I remember,
> Was once when after hunting I came home
> Weary, and she brought food and fruit for me,
> And sat down at my feet upon the floor
> Leaning against my side. But when I felt
> Her sweet head reach from that low seat of hers
> So high as to be laid upon my heart,
> I turned and looked upon my darling there
> And marked for the first time how tall she was;
> And my heart beat with so much violence
> Under her cheek, I thought she could not choose
> But wonder at it soon and ask me why;
> And so I bade her rise and eat with me.
> And when, remembering all and counting back
> The time, I made out fourteen years for her
> and told her so, she gazed at me with eyes
> As of the sky and sea on a grey day,
> And drew her long hands through her hair, and asked me
> If she was not a woman; and then laughed:
> And as she stooped in laughing, I could see
> Beneath the growing throat the breasts half-globed
> Like folded lilies deepset in the stream.[106]

The Card Dealer similarly examines the lure of evil, "Could you not drink her gaze like wine?".[107] The woman dealing cards symbolises personal Fate, and is, like T.S. Eliot's Madame Sosostris, a symbol of superstition and godlessness, inhabiting a land akin to Dante's Limbo (which itself is characteristic of the 'boundary' region defined by Leach):

> A land without any order,-
> Day even as night, (one saith,) -
> Where who lieth down ariseth not
> Nor the sleeper awakeneth;
> A Land of darkness as darkness itself
> And of the shadow of death.[108]

Sister Helen directly juxtaposes wickedness and innocence, reinforcing the horror. Eden Bower,[109] as Miss Roper Howard has recognised, fuses eroticism and diabolism. Without actually naming the quality, Miss Howard suggests reasons for the grotesqueness of Rossetti's narratives: describing

Eden Bower she asserts that

> As in "Troy Town" lust is linked with destruction and death; as in "Sister Helen" the motive for action...is passionate revenge, here more erotic and more evil. Again the complex of images is animated by the ambivalent feelings of attraction-revulsion toward the powerful libido, attraction because the compelling Lilith is the pole for sympathy...revulsion because her plot is evil.[110]

Rossetti's narratives are accurately described as grotesque rather than horrific, because they produce an 'alienation effect' which prevents full entry into the terrible aspects. There is little of the humourous in Rossetti's Grotesque, but the groups of poems included in "Juvenilia and Grotesques"[111] reveal Rossetti's fondness for the ludicrous. The section is not as important as its title suggests; William Rossetti, who was responsible for the categorisation of these poems, apparently did not share the highly specific conception of Grotesque held by Ruskin and Rossetti.

Many of Rossetti's paintings fulfill Ruskin's dictum that the grotesque endows the "spiritual world" with "material veracity"; many feature angels and haloed personages. Dantis Amor[112] depicts the winged figure of Love floating in vivid heavens. Dante's Dream[113] shows Love leading Dante within his own dream to the dead Beatrice. Many of the pictures represent that "monumental moment" which interpenetrates the heavenly and the mundane; Beata Beatrix[114] and Joan of Arc[115] are alike granted visions of what lies beyond this world. Ecce Ancilla Domini[115] depicts the intervention of God in human history, and includes one of the principal religious mediators. Others of Rossetti's paintings are more explicitly grotesque: The Question[117]

represents The Sphinx, symbolising the unknown, who is herself an ambivalent grotesque creature. How They Met Themselves[118] is a powerful visualisation of the doppelganger legend: two lovers walking in a wood at night encounter their doubles, a presage of death. Arthur's Tomb[119] expresses the same ambivalent attitude towards sin as the narrative poems: Launcelot is attempting to kiss Guinevere over the tomb of her dead husband; the acute irony of the situation, the combination of romance and immortality, produce the incongruity essential to the Grotesque. To Caper Nimbly In A Lady's Chamber[120] contrasts worldly-wisdom and vice to innocence in the same way that the poem Sister Helen does[121] Rossetti's unfinished illustration to the poem, although not begun until 1870,[122] is strongly reminiscent of his youthful grotesque pictures. Hesterna Rosa[123] is a vision of corruption,depicting two men with prostitutes clinging around their necks, gambling, whilst in the background an ape scratches itself. The Laboratory,[124] illustrating Browning's poem, is concerned with avarice, and shows the preparation of the poison in "this devil's-smithy". Of the juvenilia mentioned in the introduction, a Faust illustration depicts a woman lying on a bed with a man resting his head in her lap, while she shields her face from Death in the form of a skeleton. One of the drawings shows a young woman flanked by skeletons.[125] A picture of Two Female Figures With A Cross and Serpent[125] shows one woman with a cross over her left arm and a serpent on her right hand, while a demon chewing his tail leans against the other woman. The Girl Walking or Flying is[127] as its

name suggests, representative of supernatural powers. The consummate pictorial expression of the various aspects of Rossetti's Grotesque is Paolo and Francesca Da Rimini[128] which attempts to balance the significance of the human and the spiritual by representing a temporal event (the fatal kiss) with its eternal consequence (the lovers united in Hell); it exhibits the same ambivalent attitude towards sin as the narrative poems, and it is straightforwardly grotesque in its visualisation of life after death. Ruskin's remark to Miss Heaton about Paolo and Francesca da Rimini displayed the wry humour frequently aroused by the grotesque: he commented that the "tormented souls" "...ought to have been in hail- not fire at all- but R. didn't know how to do hail".[129]

A further manifestation of Rossetti's ambivalent vision is his use of colour, which he regarded as almost the defining element in a picture:

> Colour is the physiognomy of a picture; and like the shape of the human forehead, it cannot be perfectly beautiful without proving goodness and greatness. Other qualities are its life exercised, but this is the body of its life by which we know and love it at first sight.[130]

Thus it is colour which is the spontaneously and immediately perceptible element in a work of art. This suggests that for Rossetti colour was indispensible to his symbolic purpose, since he maintained that the symbolism should "bear its meaning broadly and instantly...on the very face of it".[132] The myth which Rossetti created, in which a woman symbolises the artist's soul, is described in Hand and

Soul; the artist is granted a vision which facilitates a combination of his opposing realistic and visionary desires. The visual appearance of the woman is inextricably harmonised with her symbolic function:

> A woman was present in his room, clad to the hands and feet with a green and grey raiment, fashioned to that time. It seemed that the first thoughts he had ever known were given him as at first from her eyes, and he knew her hair to be the golden veil through which he beheld his dreams.[132]

Since colour was so important to Rossetti we may expect that this is more than a touch of realistic detail. In his notebooks Rossetti placed these very colours at the top of his list of preferences:

> 1866-Thinking in what order I love colours, found the following:-
> 1. Pure light warm green.
> 2. Deep gold-colour.
> 3. Certain tints of grey.[133]
> ....

Rossetti used these colours for Astarte Syriaca "robed in the green of a shoaling sea"[134] who clearly conforms to Leach's mediator figure: "Her twofold girdle clasps the infinite boon/Of bliss whereof the heaven and earth commune"..; for Beata Beatrix, who, as has already been said, renders a kind of death "under the resemblance of a trance";[135] and for Proserpine "Empress of Hades":

> Afar from mine own self I seem, and wing
> Strange ways in thought, and listen for a sign:
> And still some heart unto some soul doth pine,
> (Whose sounds mine inner sense is fain to bring,
> Continually together murmuring,)-....[136]

Wassily Kandinsky has made a convincing analysis of the intrinsic (as opposed to that derived from association) emotional suggestiveness of colour. Grey and green, the

colours in which Rossetti frequently clothed his soul-symbol, are the only colours which achieve internal equilibrium. This is because they combine two colours which are antithetical in their emotional suggestiveness.[137] Green achieves an equilibrium between blue, which is aethereal, removed, self-enclosed, alienated, and yellow, which is warm, earthly, sunny and extroverted. Similarly grey is composed of black, which fuses all colours and thus suggests finality and death, and white, which is pre-colour and therefore suggests purity, but also vacuousness. Black and white however, have no internal movement, are devoid of potential, and therefore express utter despair (notice that Rossetti clothed the mourning Dante of Dante Drawing an Angel...[38] in grey rather than the traditional black). Green on the other hand implies potential growth. Thus Rossetti chose for his mythical mediator between matter and spirit, heaven and earth, colours which suggest fusion; furthermore he combined in the same image colours suggestive of hope and despair, thus exhibiting his ambivalent attitude towards the image of his soul, which inspired both love and fear. It is extremely unlikely that Rossetti's choice of these colours was premeditated- he was probably totally unaware of the kind of analysis that Kandinsky was able to make; this however supports the view that he was, as Ruskin suggested by using the word "power", irresistibly attracted to the ambivalent boundary world of the "betwixt and between" from whence arises the grotesque.

Ruskin's definition of Rossetti's art as a "...true unison of the grotesque with the realistic power" suggests

that Rossetti's "regressive" tendency was stronger than the "progressive" or realistic-descriptive propensity. Contrary to what may be expected of a painter Rossetti's poetry is not predominantly descriptive: as such it would be insubstantial; although there is an impression of detailed visualisation, the basis is intellectual: the sonnet Love's Fatality for example, purports to be vision-"I saw them stand..."- but is a rationalisation of an intuitive conviction that Love is "shackled with Vain-longing" even the compound word is an intellectual conception:

> Sweet Love,-but oh! most dread Desire of Love
> Life-thwarted. Linked in gyves I saw them stand,
> Love shackled with Vain-longing, hand to hand:
> And one was eyed as to the blue vault above:
> But one hope tempestuous like a fire-cloud hove
> I'the other's gaze, even as in his whose wand
> Vainly all night with spell-wrought power has spann'd
> The unyeilding caves of some deep treasure-trove.
>
> Also his lips, two writhen flakes of flame,
> Made moan:"Alas O Love, thus leashed with me!
> Wing-footed thou, wing-shouldered, once born free:
> And I, thy cowering self, in chains grown tame,-
> Bound to thy body and soul, named with thy name,-
> Life's iron heart, even Love's Fatality.[139]

Thus, as Clayborough recognised in the grotesque disposition, there is a need for intellectual verification of introspective imaginings. In the sonnet Heart's Hope Rossetti recognised the need for practical benefits from personal myth:

> Yea, in God's name, and Love's, and thine, would I
> Draw from one loving heart such evidence
> As to all hearts all things shall signify;...[140]

Many critics have shared Harold Weatherby's perplexity at "...the way in which highly realistic and deliberately allegorical details are combined"[141] in Rossetti's poetry

and painting. In the essay in Appreciations (1899) Walter Pater, perhaps owing to Ruskin's suggestion, attributed this to the grotesque:

> One of the peculiarities of The Blessed Damozel was a definiteness of sensible imagery, which seemed almost grotesque to some, and was strange, above all, in a theme so profoundly visionary.[142]

> ...a vivid poetic anthropomorphism like that of Rossetti may be noted here and there in his work, in a forced and almost grotesque materialising of abstractions.[143]

Pater nevertheless used "grotesque" pejoratively; it seems that Ruskin alone applauded Rossetti's "materialising of abstractions". His appreciation of Rossetti's ambivalent power has been almost wholly overlooked, yet it is perhaps the most enlightening contribution to what Weatherby calls "the problem of form and content" in Rossetti's art.[144]

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

The Importance of Memory.

In October 1855, when Rossetti declined a working holiday in Wales, Ruskin replied:

> I never should think of your sitting out to paint from Nature. Merely look at the place; make memoranda fast, work at home at the inn, and walk among the hills.[1] (Letters.)

It must have come as a great surprise to Rossetti to learn that Ruskin did not expect him to paint directly from nature. Only four years previously Ruskin had offered himself as the champion of the Pre-Raphaelites, chiefly on the grounds of their naturalistic accuracy, supposing, in his pamphlet on Pre-Raphaelitism that the "...faculties, which when a man finds in himself, he resolves to be a painter..." were "...intenseness of observation and facility of imitation",[2] qualities which demanded direct study of the object. However, the notes which Ruskin added after meeting Rossetti declared that some of the P.R.B. trusted "their memory or fancy very far" though agreeing with the others "in the effort to make their memories so accurate as to seem like portraiture, and their fancy so probable as to seem like memory".[3] Ruskin's advice to Rossetti to use his faculty of memory was directly opposed to the P.R.B. dogma which, only a few months previously, Rossetti had painfully attempted to follow for Found: "I am hard at work out here on my picture", he wrote to William Allingham:

> ... painting the calf and cart. It has been fine clear weather, though cold, till now, but these two days the rain has set in (for good, I fear), and driven me to my wits' end, as even were I inclined

> to paint notwithstanding, the calf would be like a hearth-rug after half an hour's rain; but I suppose I must turn out tomorrow and try....As for the calf, he kicks and fights all the time he remains tied up, which is five or six hours daily, and the view of life induced at his early age by experience in art appears to be so melancholy that he punctually attempts suicide by hanging himself at $3\frac{1}{2}$ daily pm.[4]

Ford Madox Brown commented on the slow progress of the painting (which remained unfinished throughout Rossetti's life, although he constantly returned to it) "He paints it like an Albert Dürer, hair by hair...From want of habit I see Nature bothers him..."[5] Rossetti must have been relieved that Ruskin did not expect him to repeat this experience; more important, it seemed that Ruskin would approve of Rossetti's favoured method of 'laying in' paintings imaginatively, and then refering to the actual object for naturalistic verification. Rossetti was personally convinced that the highest form of execution was "that where the work has been all mentally 'cartooned', as it were, beforehand"...,[6] yet he was constantly reprimanded by Holman Hunt for his apparent indifference to "the actuality of the poetic subject".[7]

Ruskin's advice not to paint immediately from the object came at a crucial time in Rossetti's early career, when he was seeking confirmation of his unorthodox application of Pre-Raphaelitism. Rossetti recognised that the fundamental Pre-Raphaelite tenet of "truth to nature" could have an introspective, as well as an external reference, meaning whatever is most natural to the artist. William Rossetti's introductory sonnet to <u>The Germ</u> also clearly

interprets naturalism as sincerity:

> When whoso merely hath a little thought
> Will plainly think the thought which is in him,-
> Not imaging another's bright or dim,
> Not mingling with new words what others taught;...[8]

Throughout his life Rossetti was harassed by the problem of how far art should be mimetic and how far visionary; the most explicit statement of this dilemma is in his preface to Gilchrist's Blake:

> He held that nature should be learned by heart, and remembered by the painter, as the poet remembers language...he never painted his pictures from models. "Models are difficult-enslave one-efface from one's mind a conception or reminiscence which was better".[9]

Although Rossetti claimed that the axiom was..."open to much more discussion than can be given it here"[10] he admitted to T. Hall Caine that he himself painted by a set of unwritten rules which could be taught to anyone, and he was compelled to qualify the above axiom later in the preface:

> The truth on this point is, that no imaginative artist can fully express his own tone of mind without sometimes in his life working untrammelled by present reference to nature, and indeed, that the first conception of every serious work must be wrought into something like complete form, as a preparatory design, without such aid, before having recourse to it in the carrying-out of the work. But it is equally or still more imperative that immediate study of nature should pervade the whole completed work.[11]

Thus Rossetti claimed that although the finished work should ostensibly be a naturalistic, even imitative, reflection of external reality, the original inspiration should be mental, or intellectual. He suggested that working directly from the model endangered destroying "a conception or reminiscence which was better". Ruskin

detected in Turner a similar disinclination to disturb, by returning to the actual place, "the impression made upon him by any scene". Ruskin's first projected defence of Turner in 1836 implied the predominance of his faculty of memory:

> ...he has filled his mind with materials drawn from the close study of nature (no artist has studied nature more intently)-and then changes and combines, giving effects without absolute causes, or, to speak more accurately, seizing the soul and essence of beauty without regarding the means by which it is effected.[12] (Modern Painters I, 1842)

Thus the artist whose mind is full of vivid reminiscences has a distinct advantage over the mimetic artist:

> ...over these images, vivid and distinct as nature herself, he has a command which over nature he has not. He can summon any that he chooses;...he is at liberty to remove some of the component images, and others foreign, and re-arrange the whole.[13] (Modern Painters, II, 1846)

Ruskin thus supported Rossetti's predominantly intellectual conception of painting, and encouraged the imaginative embellishment of reality.

Significantly, both Turner and Wordsworth, the painter and poet whom Ruskin most admired, relied heavily upon memory for their art. Both were known to have accurate powers of observation and exceptionally retentive memories. It was the very faculty of memory which enabled them to produce Ruskin's ideal of an imaginative reflection of reality: they retained a 'storehouse' of images which bore upon each new experience. Ruskin's advice to Rossetti to make "memoranda" fast is especially revealing, since Turner employed the word when describing his own

artistic practice. Ruskin illustrated Turner's creative method by recounting a typical occassion, at the Gorge of the Dazio Grande, which was:

> ...still not well out of his head when the diligence stopped at the bottom of the hill, just at that turn of the road on the right of the bridge; which favourable opportunity Turner seized to make what he called a "memorandum" of the place, composed of a few pencil scratches on a bit of thin paper, that would roll up with others of the sort and go into his pocket afterwards.[14] (Modern Painters, IV, 1856)

Turner apparently returned to the inn to show Ruskin a "blotted sketch" from which he made a painting of the scene by altering the scale, felling trees, enlarging a rock, making a series of mountains into a single range, obliterating a bridge, altering the curve of the road, and, most important of all, introducing human figures. This last was due, said Ruskin, to the sensation that Turner had retained all day of "that extraordinary road, and its goings on, and gettings about; here, under avalanches of stones, and among insanities of torrents"..[15] Gerard Manley Hopkins remarked in his diary that it was..."so true what Ruskin says of the carriage in Turner's Pass of Faido, that what he could not forget was that 'he had come by the road'".[16] Ruskin demonstrated that the advantage of Turner's method was in allowing each scene to be influenced by "memories of other places...associated, in a harmonious and helpful way, with the new central thought".[17] Thus the basis of Turner's genius was his memory:

> ...he seems never either to have lost, or cared to disturb, the impression made upon him by any scene,- even in his earliest youth. He never seems to have gone back to a place to look at it again, but, as he gained power, to have painted it and repainted it as

> first seen, associating with it certain new thoughts or new knowledge, but never shaking the central pillar of the old image.[18] (Modern Painters IV, 1856.)

Rossetti similarly had no wish to verify his recollections; Holman Hunt claimed that Rossetti's mind "expressed itself in a form independent of new life and joy in nature".[19] Ruskin would have justified this by explaining that it meant the artist retained "not so much the image of the place itself, as the spirit of the place".[20] Ruskin concluded that the frequency with which Turner "introduced, after a lapse of many years, memories of something which, however apparently small or unimportant, had struck him in his previous studies" were:

> ...enough to induce a doubt whether Turner's composition was not universally an arrangement of remembrances, summoned just as they were wanted, and set each in its fittest place. It is this very character which appears to me to mark it as so distinctly an act of dream-vision; for in a dream there is just this kind of confused remembrance of the forms of things which we have seen long ago, associated by new and strange laws.[21] (Modern Painters IV, 1856)

Rossetti's poetry, especially the House of Life sonnet-sequence, creates just this atmosphere of dream-vision by virtue of confused reminiscences "so meshed with half-remembrance hard to free".[22] The frequency of synaesthetic images in Rossetti's verse (confounding the various senses) "whose voice... Is like a hand laid softly on the soul;"...[23] is, according to I.M.L. Hunter in his book on Memory, indicative of unusual powers of recollection. Since 'Synaesthesia', literally means 'experiencing together'... The word is used to refer to imaging which follows closely and automatically on sensory stimulation";[24] people with a tendency towards synaesthetic images have strong visual

imaginations: this was a power which Rossetti clearly possessed in common with Turner, Wordsworth, and indeed Ruskin himself. Ruskin's advice that Rossetti should work from 'memoranda' was a tacit recognition of qualities akin to Turner's. Ruskin declared that the more he investigated the nature of Turner's genius the more convinced he became that "tenderness of perception and grasp of memory seem to me the root of its greatness". This subsequently led Ruskin to make more extensive claims regarding the importance of memory for artistic expression:

> How far I could show that it held with all great inventors, I know not, but with all those whom I have carefully studied, (Dante, Scott, Turner, and Tintoret) it seems to me to hold absolutely; their imagination consisting, not in a voluntary production of new images, but an involuntary remembrance, exactly at the right moment, of something they had actually seen.
>
> Imagine all that any of these men had seen or heard in the whole course of their lives, laid up accurately in their memories as in vast storehouses... and over all this unindexed and immeasurable mass of treasure, the imagination brooding, and wandering, but dream-gifted, so as to summon at any moment exactly such groups of ideas as shall justly fit each other; this I conceive to be the real nature of the imaginative mind...[25] (Modern Painters IV, 1856)

Ruskin's emphasis upon memory in his three-fold theory of the imagination possibly originated with his readings of the classics, especially Aristotle, although the most obvious debt is to Wordsworth. Ruskin was certainly aware of the device of artificial memory employed by the mediaeval rhetoricians, enabling them to recall parts of their speech by visualising images.[26] Simonides is imputed both with inventing artificial memory, and with the notion of 'Ut Pictura Poesis' which greatly influenced Ruskin. As

Frances Yates has indicated, the two are entirely compatible with the theory of..."the supremacy of the visual sense; the poet and painter both think in visual images which the one expresses in poetry the other in pictures".[27] Thus to the medieval mind creativity was utterly dependent on memory. Rossetti was similarly influenced by the medieval alliance of memory and creativity. His poetry, written in the tradition of the Italian Platonists, is full of Platonic images equating recollection with knowledge:

> Even so, when first I saw you, seemed it, love,
> That among souls allied to mine was yet
> One nearer kindred than life hinted of.
> O born with me somewhere that men forget,
> And though in years of sight and sound unmet,
> Known for my soul's birth-partner well enough.[28]

Despite Ruskin's implicit acknowledgement of Wordsworth's prefaces to his poems,[29] the possible extent of their influence upon Ruskin's theory of the imagination has not been considered. Wordsworth's frequently-quoted definition of poetry as the "spontaneous overflow of powerful emotion" is misleading because incomplete; far from advocating spontaneity, Wordsworth believed that poetry must be the result of mental retrieval or recall:

> I have said that poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings: it takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility: the emotion is contemplated, till, by a species of re-action, the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind. In this mood successful composition generally begins...[30]

For Wordsworth then, memory was absolutely fundamental to the creative act: the poet must allow the chaotic impressions

of immediate experience to subside before attempting to reproduce a similar yet intensified emotion in verse: the key word is "kindred": the poet creates something different from, yet more persuasive, more 'realistic' than, the original emotion. Rossetti similarly believed that emotions required time to develop into material for art:

> I think then that the pouring forth of poetical material is the greatest danger against which an affluent imagination has to contend, and in my own view it needs not only a concrete form of some kind, but immense concentration brought to bear on that also, before material can be said to have become absolutely anything else.[31]

Rossetti thus agreed with Wordsworth that ordinary emotion must be subjected to prolonged reflection in order to transform it into artistic emotion "By Art's transfiguring essence subtl'y spann'd";[32] the passage of time facilitates the imposition of form. Ruskin agreed that "Poetical feeling, that is to say, mere noble emotion, is not poetry".[33]

The ability to "observe with accuracy" and "with fidelity to describe" "things as they are in themselves"[34] is regarded by Wordsworth as a necessary but inadequate stage in the creative process, to be employed only as long as is absolutely necessary, since "its excercise...supposes all the higher qualities of the mind to be passive".[35] Ruskin agreed that if it were possible for a man to retain an image in his mind "with perfect fidelity and absolute memory",[36] he would, in setting it down on paper, be simply "copying the remembered image in his mind" and would therefore be "nothing more than a copyist".[37] Precise recollection is thus hardly better than mimeticism, whereas "Imagination",

asserted Wordsworth, "has no reference to images that are merely a faithful copy, existing in the mind, of absent external objects".[38] Fortunately, agreed Ruskin and Wordsworth, the memory is rarely efficient, so that it allows full play of the imagination and inventiveness of the artist. Although art depends upon stored conceptions[39] (Ruskin) or thoughts (Wordsworth)[40] photographic accuracy is undesirable, for on the "indistinctness of conception , itself comparatively valueless and unaffecting", claimed Ruskin, "is based the operation of the Imaginative faculty..."[41] Vagueness is therefore a positive advantage, possible only in retrospect, and allowing the imaginative processes to "..take place more easily and actively with the memory of things than in presence of them".[42]

The only faculty in Ruskin's three-fold theory of the imagination which does not rely upon the memory is the Penetrative Imagination which "works and tastes into the very rock heart"[43] of all that is immediately presented to it. Even this instantaneous perception deals with "conceptions" and thus relies, (as Ruskin implied in the discussion of Turner) on the ability to retain all that has gone before, which enriches the immediate response. "For our continued influxes of feeling", declared Wordsworth, "are modified and directed by our thoughts, which are indeed the representatives of all our past feelings"...[44]

The other two imaginative powers described by Ruskin have surprisingly close parallels in Wordsworth's theory. Ruskin's Associative Imagination is an elaboration of

Wordsworth's account of how the mind deals with images in conjunction: "consolidating numbers into unity, and dissolving and separating unity into number".[45] Ruskin posited three different degrees of complexity in the mind's facility for combining stored conceptions: the lowest simply combines images which are most attractive,[46] whereas "if the mind be of higher feeling"[47] it considers contrast; but the highest power of all goes beyond "likeness or dissimilarity" and "secures harmony".[48] A truly harmonious work of art is achieved only by virtue of "the grandest mechanical power that the human intelligence possesses", by which "two ideas are chosen out of an infinite mass... two ideas which are <u>separately wrong</u>, which together shall be right"...[49] However "inexplicable" Ruskin claims this power to be, it clearly depends upon the artist's power of what he calls "involuntary remembrance"[50] (a concept which impressed Proust), or an involuntary summoning of all relevant images. Ruskin likened the Associative Imagination to a chemical reaction:

> ...if the imaginative artist will permit us, with all deference, to represent his combining intelligence under the figure of sulphuric acid;..we shall have an excellent type, in material things, of the action of the imagination on the immaterial. Both actions are, I think, inexplicable...[51] (Modern Painters II, 1846.)

A century later T.S. Eliot used the same image to show that the mind works like a catalyst upon its stored images, forming a new compound in which the original constituents are no longer discernible. Eliot's analogy emphasises more explicitly than Ruskin's the importance of the ability to <u>store</u> images in the memory:

> The poet's mind is in fact a receptacle for seizing and storing up numberless feelings, phrases, images, which remain there until all the particles which can unite to form a new compound are present together..[52]

Rossetti expressed this same belief in the sonnet Transfigured Life, in which he used the image of parenthood to show how conflicting, apparently unreconcilable emotions, give birth to a new harmonious expression:

> So in the Song, the singer's Joy and Pain,
> Its very parents, evermore expand
> To bid the passion's fullgrown birth remain,
> By Art's transfiguring essence subtly spann'd;[53]

Ruskin's Contemplative Imagination corresponds to Wordsworth's description of how the mind deals with "images independent of one another" which are:

> ...immediately endowed by the mind with properties that do not inhere in them, upon an incitement from properties and qualities the existence of which is inherent and obvious. These processes of imagination are carried on either by conferring additional properties upon an object, or abstracting from it some of those which it actually possesses, and thus enabling it to re-act upon the mind which hath performed the process, like a new existence.[54]

Ruskin described the process similarly:

> ...whereby, depriving the subject of material and bodily shape, and regarding such of its qualities only as it chooses for particular purpose, it forges these qualities together in such groups and forms as it desires, and gives to their abstract being consistency and reality, by striking them as it were with the die of an image belonging to other matter....[55]
> (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Thus the Contemplative Imagination abstracts and combines not numbers of images but qualities of individual images: the ease with which this occurs is entirely dependent upon the number of qualitatively various images at the poet's command, which in turn is dependent upon the ease and

spontanaeity with which he can recollect.

Ruskin advocated the use of memory in the creative act for two major reasons, both of which are evident in Rossetti's artistic practice. Perhaps the most important benefit, in Ruskin's opinion, to be gained by working from "memoranda" is linked to the ethical criterion. Ruskin's dictum that art should embody permanent and universal values led him to disparage the immediate response to beauty as being full of irrelevancies: he believed that the superfluous aspects of a particular experience would quickly fade, leaving only that which is of lasting significance. Wordsworth asserted that in order to produce poems "to which any value can be attached" the artist "must have thought long and deeply",[56] for it is only by reflecting upon the relationship between our thoughts that we "discover what is really important to men".[57] Wordsworth believed that eventually, through habit, the artist would be instinctively led towards the 'elevating' aspects of human experience. Ruskin declared that "the moral meaning" of beauty is "only discoverable by reflection":[58] he denied absolutely the possibility of a purely aesthetic or sensual response to beauty,[59] so that 'reflection', or rationalisation is essential to true appreciation; the poet must brood over experience in order to discover its spiritual significance. Meaning must be extracted from the chaos of immediate perceptions:

> And out of this mass of various, yet agreeing beauty, it is by long attention only that the constant character,- the ideal form- hinted at by all, yet assumed by none, is fixed upon the imagination for its standard of truth.[60]
> (Modern Painters I, 1846)

Although Rossetti's immediate response to the world was strongly sensual he gave full assent to Ruskin's ethical criterion, recognising, in The Stealthy School of Criticism, that art should embody experience "...ennobled by the concurrence of the soul at all times".[61] Rossetti aspired, claimed T. Hall Caine, to the reputation of a poet "prompted primarily by the highest of spiritual emotions";[62] his artistic practice was a constant effort to 'spiritualise' his sensuous experience. The sonnet Supreme Surrender asserts the importance of memory for this process: in retrospect experiences are purged of the immediate sensual impression:

> First touched, the hand now warm around my neck
> Taught memory long to mock desire:....[63]

In First Love Remembered[64] the speaker rejoices that by visiting the chamber of his first love only in memory, not in reality, he has preserved both the sanctity of his recollection and the actual chastity of the girl. Consecutive versions of Rossetti's Sudden Light, discussed by A. St. Johnson in The Academy[65] illustrate how, with the passage of time, Rossetti's poetic conceptions became increasingly spiritual and philosophic in contrast to the particularity and 'fleshliness' of the immediate experience. Here is the last stanza of the early 1863 version of Sudden Light:

> Before may be again
> Oh! press my eyes into your neck.
> Shall we not be for ever lain
> Thus for love's sake,
> And sleep and wake, yet never break the chain?

Then in 1870:

> Then, now-perchance again!...
> Oh round mine eyes your tresses shake!
> Shall we not lie as we have lain
> Thus for Love's sake,
> And sleep and wake, yet never break the chain?

And finally in 1881:

> Has this been thus before?
> And shall not thus time's eddying flight
> Still with our lives our love restore
> In death's despite
> And day and night yield one delight once more?

As with the poem Jenny which was begun early in his career, and constantly altered throughout his life, Rossetti never ceased revising and re-expressing his original conceptions, however old. In 1860, he wrote to William Allingham: "When I think how old most of these things are, it seems like a sort of mania to keep thinking of them still"...[66] Many of Rossetti's major poems were buried in his wife's grave for eight years until the effort of attempting to recall them sufficiently for publication prompted him to have them exhumed. It is not surprising that Rossetti shared Wordsworth's tendency to recapture remembered experience in verse.

The second important result, in Ruskin's opinion, of allowing experience to 'ferment' in the mind, is that it becomes, by virtue of the abstracting and associating processes, more intense; Ruskin claimed:

> ...we do not usually recall,...one part at a time only of a pleasant scene, one moment only of a happy day; but together with each single object we summon up a kind of crowded and involved shadowing forth of all the other glories with which it was associated, and into every moment we concentrate an epitome of the day;[67]
> (Modern Painters, II, 1846.)

This 'epitomising' is the result of a Wordsworthian-type process of recollection: "for there is" claimed Ruskin:

> ...an unfailing charm in the memory and anticipation of things beautiful, more sunny and spiritual than attaches to their presence; for with their presence it is possible to be sated, and even wearied, but with the imagination of them never,...[68] (Modern Painters, II, 1846)

Wordsworth seems to have derived greater pleasure from the recollection of the daffodils than from the actual sight of them:

> I gazed-and gazed-but little thought
> What wealth to me the show had brought:
>
> For oft, when on my couch I lie
> In vacant or in pensive mood,
> They flash upon that inward eye
> Which is the bliss of solitude;
> And then my heart with pleasure fills,
> And dances with the daffodils.[69]

Rossetti's poem Ardour and Memory claims that the memory, embodied in art, has the power to arrest lost joys:

> The cuckoo-throb, the heartbeat of the Spring;
> The rosebud's blush that leaves it as it grows
> Into the full-eyed fair unblushing rose;
> .....
>
> These ardour loves, and memory: and when flown
> All joys, and through dark forest-boughs in flight
> The wind swoops onward brandishing the light,
> Even yet the rose-tree's verdure left alone
> Will flush all ruddy though the rose be gone;
> With ditties and with dirges infinite.[70]

The 'epitomising' which Ruskin described as the result of recollection, has been claimed by J. Kendall to be the characteristic quality of Rossetti's art:

> The general intent is to suggest the capturing in one scene of all the beauty of life-...what is excluded is the imperfect, the incomplete, the irrelevant, and hopefully, the illusory...Rossetti celebrates neither mystical nor metaphysical transcendence...but rather

> a kind of artistic transcendence achieved by selection, compression, and distillation - in a word, by epitomizing.[71]

In Ruskin's words:

> ...into every moment we concentrate an epitome of the day;...and the fullness of all the scene upon every point that we successively seize.[72] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

This quality is especially evident in poems such as Silent Noon,[73] and The Lover's Walk,[74] in which Rossetti's effort to include only those qualities in the external world which are wholly attuned to the internal mood of the protagonist creates an almost claustrophobic atmosphere. The concentration in Rossetti's verse was achieved by continual revision over long periods.[75] He told T. Hall Caine that brevity produced intensity;[76] he commended Caine's question: "where can we look for more poetry per page than Keats furnishes?"[77]

As Ruskin reminded us in his discussion of Turner, it is the artist's memory which facilitates the compression of images:

> ...if, holding fast to his first thought, he finds other ideas insensibly gathering to it, and, whether he will or not, modifying it into something which is not so much the image of the place itself, as the spirit of the place, let him yield to such fancies....[78] (Modern Painters IV, 1856)

It was this 'spirit of the place' that Ruskin thought Rossetti captured; the first praise that he ever conveyed to Rossetti was that Dante Painting an Angel on The Anniversary of The Death of Beatrice contained "a perfect piece of Italy".[79] Like Turner, Rossetti reiterated certain images in his paintings; Virginia Surtees says of this 'perfect piece of Italy', for example:

> A device adopted here much favoured by Rossetti and repeated again and again is that of hot sunshine beating down upon the bridge spanning the Arno and upon the

> adjacent medieval buildings, in direct contrast to the shadowed interior.[80]

Ruskin believed that such devices of light (which Turner had perfected) aroused certain innate responses:

> Let us try to discover that which effects of this kind possess or suggest, peculiar to themselves... There must be something in them of a peculiar character, and that, whatever it be, must be one of the primal and most earnest motives of beauty to human sensation.[81]
> (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Rossetti's contrast between the shadowed foreground and the distant sunshine was regarded by Ruskin as evocative of infinity:

> For I know not any truly great painter of any time who manifests not the most intense pleasure in the luminous space of backgrounds ....The absolute necessity, for such indeed I consider it, is of no more than a mere luminous distant point as may give to the feelings a species of escape from all the finite objects about them.[82]
> (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Rossetti agreed that certain natural scenes aroused certain indefinable emotions:

> Tenderness, the constant unison of wonder and familiarity so mysteriously allied in nature, the sense of fulness and abundance such as we feel in a field, not because we pry into it all, but because it is all there:...[83]

Rossetti's analysis elsewhere, of this 'mysterious' wonder is markedly Wordsworthian: he describes the following response to a certain painting:

> After contemplating the picture for some while, it will gradually produce that sense of rest and wonder which when childhood is once gone, poetry alone can recall.[84]

In The Prelude Wordsworth traced his poetic sensibility to the awe-inspiring childhood experiences of Nature;[85] Rossetti similarly, in the "autopsychological"[86] St. Agnes of Intercession, attributed his own artistic predilections to the superstitious

imaginings of childhood.[87] In Modern Painters Ruskin denied the popular misconception that awareness of beauty is an exclusively adult or sophisticated faculty:

> For there was never yet the child of any promise... but awakened to the sense of beauty with the first gleam of reason; and I suppose there are few among those who love Nature otherwise than by profession and at second-hand who do not look back to their least-learned days as those of the most intense, superstitious, insatiable, and beatific perception of her splendours.[88] (Modern Painters II, 1846)

Ruskin quoted Wordsworth in order to assert that although this child-instinct declines it is never wholly lost:

> Shades of the prison-house begin to close
> Upon the growing boy.[89]

Ruskin's assertion that adult perception is accompanied by "a feeling of joy,...obtained we know not how or whence",[90] was clearly influenced by the lines from The Prelude:

> .....the soul
> Remembering how she felt, but what she felt
> Remembering not, retains an obscure sense
> Of possible sublimity.[91]

The recollection of childhood experience is important to Ruskin, Rossetti, and Wordsworth, because of a fundamentally Platonic belief in the purity of unlearned, innate responses. Ruskin would agree with Wordsworth that our response to art is an intimation of our immortal selves:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,...
> .....
> O joy! that in our embers
> Is something that doth live,
> That nature yet remembers
> What was so fugitive![92]

Rossetti recommended Blake's Song of Los because it regenerates those 'embers' described by Wordsworth:

> If they be for him, he will be joyful more and more the longer he looks, and will gain back in that time some things as he first knew them, not encumbered behind the days of his life; things too delicate for memory or years since forgotten; the momentary sense of spring in winter-sunshine, the long sunsets long ago, and falling fires on many distant hills.[93]

Rossetti's poetry abounds with Platonic images of reminiscence; his dictum that "Poetry should seem to the hearer to have been always present to his thought, but never before heard"[94] is not a version of Pope's 'what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed', but an assertion that art should recall the soul's knowledge of the perfection that it experienced before birth.

Ruskin and Rossetti believed that art should be primarily imaginative, should originate, as Rossetti asserted, in 'mental cartooning', but should be verified empirically. Both were extremely hostile to spontaneous art, believing that ordinary impressions needed time to be transmuted into material for art. They thus advocated the Wordsworthian practice of retrieving stored images. Ruskin applauded the use of memory in art because it ensured universality (on the assumption that the lasting impressions are more significant) and intensity (due to the selection, association, and hence compression of images). The belief that recollection arouses purer emotion has its roots in Platonism: Ruskin and Rossetti believed that art should rekindle the dying embers of lost knowledge. Ruskin later thought that

Rossetti had taken his practice of painting, as he professed "by a set of unwritten...rules"[95] too far, complaining that Rossetti came to refuse "the aid of pure landscape and sky",[96] thus relinquishing the equally important natural verification; but it is undeniable that Ruskin had originally encouraged Rossetti's disinclination to disturb, by direct reference to the object, "a conception or reminiscence that was better".[97]

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Ruskin's Collection of Rossettis: His Public and Private Opinions of Rossetti's work.

It has been seen that in private letters to Rossetti Ruskin frequently poured scorn on the painter's "bad ways":[1] "...try to get it a little less like worsted-work";[2] "You'll find out in six months what an absurdity that St. Catherine is... "[3]; "...a whitefaced bridesmaid in mist behind is very ugly to look at-like a skull or a body in corruption".[4] Despite this, Ruskin's public opinion of Rossetti was extremely high: in 1863 for example, he declared Rossetti was "... without compare, the greatest of English painters now living".[5] Although Ruskin purchased nearly all of Rossetti's early water-colours he did not discuss them in his lectures; are we to suppose that Ruskin purchased the pictures not out of admiration but in order to offer financial and moral support to an artist early in his career? There is a hint of this in the first letter that Ruskin ever wrote to Rossetti saying that although he found fault with Dante Drawing an Angel he would not reveal this to the purchaser:

> I might perhaps, if we were talking about it, venture to point out some one or two things that appear to me questionable, but I shall write an unqualified expression of admiration to McCraken.[6]

Ruskin denied, however, attempting to 'sell' pictures which he personally considered inferior:

> Miss Heaton, and other people, when they put themselves into my hands and say "What pictures shall I buy?" ought, I think, not to be treated as strangers but as in a sort my clients and protégés.[7] (Letters.)

There is nevertheless a marked discrepancy between Ruskin's public and private opinions of Rossetti's work which demands explanation. The pictures which Ruskin owned were not those to which he drew the public's attention. His confession to Ellen Heaton that he "dare not show", his Arthur's Tomb to "Anti-Pre-Raphaelites, but I value it intensely myself",[8] indicates that he may have bought the pictures for idiosyncratic though not necessarily unartistic reasons. The apparent inconsistency of Ruskin's opinion is not explained by his disillusion with Rossetti in 1865, since The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism in 1878,[9] and the lectures on the Mythic and Realistic schools of painting published in 1883,[10] were retrospective, yet highly laudatory, assessments. The paintings upon which Ruskin concentrated in his lectures were The Annunciation (1850),[11] The Virgin in The House of St. John (1858),[12] Mary Magdalen at The Door of Simon The Pharisee (1858)[13] and The Passover (1855-6).[14] These have two major features in common: they are all Biblical subjects, and all examples of Rossetti's "true and literal drama".[15] In public discussions Ruskin inevitably chose those aspects of Rossetti's art which reinforced his own dogma, and those which illustrated how Rossetti had "raised and changed the spirit of modern art".[16] The predominant message which Ruskin conveyed through Pre-Raphaelitism was that things should be painted as they were likely to have happened in reality, and not "...as they never could have been seen by human eyes."[17] Ruskin thought that Rossetti was particularly responsible for reversing the previous trend of affectation and insincerity in art, most obvious in Biblical subjects:

> And against this false and decayed school rose up the modern English school of true and literal drama...the founder and leader of the school in its more important relations to Christian Art was Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[18]
> (Lecture on The Present State of Modern Art with reference to the advisable arrangements of a National Gallery. delivered to the British Istitution, 1867)

Ruskin thus used Rossetti's Passover in the 1883 lectures to illustrate that the "peculiar strength" of the Realistic School of art was "...its material veracity, compelling the spectator's belief in the things having verily happened, and not being a mere poetical fancy".[19] The Annunciation (1850) was likewise used in The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism (1878) to illustrate the innovatory nature of Rossetti's realism. Rossetti had, claimed Ruskin, "thought it better for himself and his public to make some effort towards a real notion of what actually did happen in the carpenter's cottage at Nazareth, giving rise to the subsequent traditions";[20] but "consider the shock to the feelings" of "the pious persons who had always been accustomed to see their Madonnas dressed in scrupulously folded and exquisitely falling robes of blue...", when they were asked by Rossetti to "conceive a Virgin waking from her sleep in a pallet bed, in a plain room...".[21] Rossetti's Virgin in The House of St. John was, claimed Ruskin, the paradigm example of the Pre-Raphaelite struggle to achieve realism:

> If I had to choose one picture which represented in purity and completeness this manner of their thought it would be Rossetti's "Virgin in The House of St. John".[22]
> (The Art of England, 1884. Lectures delivered at Oxford 1885. Lecture on The Realistic Schools of Painting.)

Ruskin considered "...all Rossetti's drawings from the life of Christ" and all his mythic scenes to be of "..quite imperishable power and value".[23]

The sincerity of Ruskin's public proclamations is called into doubt by his private letters to the artist. It should

however be remembered that the criticism in the letters is usually directed at particular stages in the development of Rossetti's paintings. Ruskin often became enamoured of a work which he had previously condemned. The Nativity, for example, which he called "worsted-work"[24] was later "much mended, many thanks".[25] Before The Battle was originally pronounced "almost the worst thing he has ever done",[26] but two years later Ruskin told Norton, for whom it was painted:

> At last it has changed; he has modified and in every respect so much advanced and bettered it, that though not one of his first-rate works, and still painfully quaint and hard, it is nevertheless worthy of him, and will be to you an enjoyable possession.[27] (Letters.)

With regard to the St. Catherine Ruskin reversed his opinion:

> I don't at all like my picture now; the alteration of the head from the stoop forward to the throw back makes the figure quite stiff and stupid; besides, the off cheek is a quarter of a yard too thin...[28] (Letters.)

It must be emphasised that even the most condemnatory of Ruskin's private criticisms did not question Rossetti's genius; the admonitions were confined to specific techniques or details: for example he said of one painting, probably The Nativity, "The thought is very beautiful, the colour and male heads by no means up to your mark".[29]

Those aspects of Rossetti's technique which Ruskin most frequently criticised in the letters were his awkwardness, his method of colour, and, less often, his bad perspective. The two first were not ignored in the lectures, but they were treated as minimal faults. To Rossetti himself Ruskin betrayed utter exasperation at his method of laying-on

colour: "You really must alter your way of working and mind what you are about",[30] but when conveying this to his art-students Ruskin indirectly flattered Rossetti by likening him to the artist whom it was known Ruskin most revered:

> Turner was, and Rossetti is, as slovenly in all their procedures as men can well be; but the result of this was, with Turner, that the colours have altered in all his pictures, and many of his drawings, and with Rossetti is that though his colours are safe, he has sometimes to throw aside work that was half done and begin again.[31] (The Elements of Drawing, 1857.)

Similarly Ruskin made light of his confidential opinion that Rossetti occasionally took Pre-Raphaelite simplicity and starkness to the point of stiffness and awkwardness, by communicating it to the audience of The Mythic Schools of Painting in the form of an anecdote. Ruskin recalled, with professed embarrassment, how he had recommended Rossetti's paintings to the sculptor Marochetti, being at the time unaware of the extent of their gaucheness.

> Knowing a little more, both of men and things, now, than I did on the evening in question, I too clearly apprehend that the violently variegated segments and angular anatomies of Lancelot and Guenevere at the grave of King Arthur must have produced on the bronze-minded sculptor simply the effect of a knave of Clubs and Queen of Diamonds; and that the Italian master, in his polite confession of his inability to recognise the virtues of Rossetti, cannot but have greatly suspected the sincerity of his entertainer, in the profession of sympathy with his own.[32] (The Art of England, 1884. Lectures delivered at Oxford 1883. Lecture on Mythic Schools of Painting.)

By conveying the faults of Arthur's Tomb in this humorous manner Ruskin implied that they did not lessen high regard for the artist. Even Ruskin's most condemnatory criticism of Rossetti is obscured by its descriptiveness:

> And in object-painting he not only refused, partly through idleness, partly in absolute want of the opportunity for the study of nature involved in his

> choice of abode in a garret at Blackfriars- refused I say, the natural aid of pure landscape and sky, but wilfully perverted and lacerated his powers of conception with Chinese puzzles and Japanese monsters, until his foliage looked fit for nothing but a fire-screen and his landscape distances like the furniture of a Noah's Ark from the nearest toy-shop.[33] (The Art of England, 1884. Lectures delivered at Oxford 1883, Lecture on The Realistic Schools of Painting.)

Ruskin thought that it was primarily Rossetti's choice of subject which hindered the sale of his pictures. Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, for example, was pronounced privately to Rossetti to be "...better than anything you have done for me yet, for it has no faults, and is full of power";[34] but he advised Miss Heaton to "keep it locked up" lest it "be blamed for its bold, but perfectly true, reading of Dante". Although Ruskin admired the painting's fidelity to its literary source, he recognised that it was just this aspect which might perplex a fastidious Victorian audience "The common-pretty-timid-mistletoe bough kind of kiss was not what Dante meant. Rossetti has thoroughly understood the passage throughout."[35] Ruskin therefore thought it wise to buy La Belle Dame Sans Merci in order to recommend Rossetti to others: "...nothing else that I have would do you credit with ordinary people".[36] Similarly Ruskin showed The Nativity to the Archdeacon of Salop as an example of "...religious art for the multitudes".[37] Although Ruskin concentrated upon Rossetti's Biblical subjects in lectures largely because they would be more readily and widely understood, it was no doubt partly due to the fact that they belonged to what he considered Rossetti's "nobler" period, before the pseudo-portraits which Ruskin so despised. Although he greatly admired Rossetti's "..mythic scenes which he painted from

the Vita Nuova of Dante",[38] he felt they were of very restricted appeal; Rossetti had laid himself open to charges of artistic élitism:

> But neither The Passover, nor Golden Water, nor any of Rossetti's nobler drawings have ever yet, so far as I know, been useful anywhere, their designs being founded on close reading of legends, whether Persian or Christian, which the modern picture-student never reads, and has not the means of understanding when he gets extracts from them.[39] (Praeterita 1885-1889)

These two apparently obscure paintings were nevertheless Ruskin's favourites, being the only two Rossetti's which remained with him throughout his life, and were hung at Brantwood where he retired. The story of Golden Water had held, he declared, "a great power over my own life".[40]

With the exception of La Belle Dame Sans Merci (which was a conscious departure from the rule), the Rossetti paintings which Ruskin purchased were precisely those which he felt lacked general appeal. Apart from portraits of Elizabeth Siddal, which he probably bought for sentimental reasons, all Ruskin's 'Rossetti's' were mythical or Biblical subjects. The Nativity, St. Luke The Painter, and The Passover, were of course Biblical scenes. Beatrice Meeting Dante at a Marriage-Feast Denies Him Her Salutation, Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah, and Dante's Vision of Matilda Gathering Flowers,[41] were inspired by Dante, and the two last were actually suggested by Ruskin, (though he seems to have regretted it for a while, telling Miss Heaton that Rossetti "would never fail in a subject of his own choice".[42]) As we may expect from Ruskin's predilection for paintings which evoked a 'literary'

response, certain of Rossetti's pictures seem to have been chosen to perform the function of personal 'aids to reflection'. Although Ruskin found fault with Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah, "...because Rachel does not sit easily-but stiffly, in a Pre-Raphaelite way-at the fountain's edge-and because her reflection is wrongly put in the water",[43] he nevertheless bought the picture for himself. Although he admired the colour which was "unique as far as I know in some points...- so strangely delicate and scented, I think very lovely and the whole much finer than anything else going; of the kind,"[44] he seems to have been much more impressed with the symbolism, devoting a great deal of reflection to a species of secular typological interpretation, and trying to draw out of Miss Heaton a complex understanding of the painting, concluding, in his letters to her that:

> Rachel and Leah are the Unglorified or worldly, active and contemplative powers. They are seen in a dream because the world is a dream.[45]

Ruskin claimed that Leah (and Matilda) symbolised:

> ...the very Ruling Spirit of the Middle Ages, as I defined it-before I had examined this passage-"The expression of man's delight in God's work."[46]

It is extremely likely that the now unknown St. Luke The Painter similarly expressed this "very Ruling Spirit of the Middle Ages", because it probably illustrated Rossetti's sonnet of the same title, expressing sentiments which would have greatly appealed to Ruskin: that symbolism in art should embrace both the spiritual and physical worlds, and the hope that art would halt its "soulless self-reflections

of man's skill"(or the egoistic display of technique which characterised recent art) and return to the spirit of ardour, piety, and humility which marked the art of the primitives.[47] Ruskin thus probably bought St. Luke The Painter because it represented visually his own ideas on the nature of Gothic art imaginatively expressed in The Stones of Venice.[48]

Paolo and Francesca da Rimini would also have satisfied Ruskin's taste for hermeneutics. As Professor Landow has pointed out[49] this tryptych is Rossetti's attempt to transfer the typological technique used in Biblical subjects to a secular painting. As discussed in the chapter on the Grotesque, Ruskin would have admired the juxtaposition of time and place, and the uniting of the spiritual and material worlds. The tryptych facilitates a greater degree of 'literary' complexity than does a single painting. Similarly Golden Water seems to have aroused reflection: Ruskin began a detailed account of the implications of the legendary figures for Vol. III of Dilecta.[50]

Ruskin's Rossetti collection also reveals that he shared Rossetti's taste for "momentuous moments" in art: Arthur's Tomb, Paolo and Francesca da Rimini, and Beatrice Meeting Dante at a Marriage-Feast Denies Him Her Salutation all depict traumatic moments of love. Arthur's Tomb shows Lancelot attempting to kiss Guenevere over the tomb of her husband (see chapter on the Grotesque); Paolo and Francesca depicts the eternal sequel to a momentary lapse into adulterous intentions. There is an interesting connection between the two paintings which perhaps induced

Ruskin to buy them both: Paolo and Francesca were overcome with emotion as a result of reading about Lancelot: the left-hand panel of the tryptych shows the fatal kiss, and the book on the lover's laps. Beatrice Meeting Dante at a Marriage Feast Denies Him Her Salutation also depicts a harrowing experience in which the protagonist is a victim of love: Rossetti's own translation of the event in the Vita Nuova clearly indicates that it was a "momentuous moment" for Dante, being led by his friend to "the last verge of life";[51] overwhelmed by Love he exclaimed: "Of a surety I have now set my feet on that point of life, beyond the which he must not pass who would return".[52] Ruskin also shared Rossetti's taste for the visionary in art: he purchased three paintings which actually depicted visions: Paolo and Francesca, Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah, and Dante's Vision of Matilda Gathering Flowers.

The Carol, and Girl Singing to a Lute* which can no longer be found, were probably similar to The Blue Closet, an Arthurian subject which inspired William Morris's Defence of Guenevere; Golden Water was a legend in The Arabian Nights, and Arthur's Tomb was inspired by Malory's Morte D'Arthur. The title of La Belle Dame Sans Merci is borrowed from Keats's ballad of the same name (although it does not illustrate the poem). All Ruskin's pictures were water-colours except the Regina Cordium, which is incongruous among the collection, not only because it was in oil, but also because it belongs to the later sensual portraits which Ruskin disliked; it is however a picture of Ruskin's

* I am grateful to Dr. Kenneth Garlick for drawing my attention to the fact that Girl Singing to a Lute ~~has now been found. 12/4/77.~~ recently appeared in the London Sale-room.

beloved Elizabeth Siddal.

It seems then, not that Ruskin altruistically purchased the paintings which he thought Rossetti would not be able to sell elsewhere, but that he genuinely preferred those of restricted appeal, because they satisfied his desire for symbolism of a literary kind. It is true that Ruskin frequently passed his Rossettis on to others, and it is also true that Ruskin coveted a number of Rossetti paintings which he did not own, but nevertheless his collection was the result of artistic discrimination. Ruskin's personal preferences were, however, eschewed in the public lectures for various reasons: partly because his choice of the paintings for public discussion was motivated by his artistic evangelising, so that he would select those which most thoroughly illustrated his dogmas, and partly because the symbolism in which Ruskin delighted was for the majority of people (and even apparently for his educated audience of art-students)[53] much too obscure. Above all Ruskin admired Rossetti's ability to conceive a literary or mythological event with both realism and emotion, (witness his assertion that the passionate kiss of Paolo and Francesca was just what Dante meant);[54] this talent of Rossetti's would be most widely recognised if Ruskin drew attention to the Biblical subjects, since everyone in Victorian England, being familiar with the Bible stories, would have been able to appreciate the 'veracity' as Ruskin called it, of Rossetti's vision. Furthermore, however much Ruskin may have criticised Rossetti's technique in private, his high

public praise is justified by the fact that he never doubted that Rossetti possessed true genius. Perhaps Ruskin's most honest assessment of Rossetti is found in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton:

> Rossetti is getting on, but he does such absurd things amidst the beautiful ones that he'll never get the public with him.[55] (Letters.)

CONCLUSION

To Rossetti's followers, the most surprising similarity between Ruskin and Rossetti would have been the moral demand that art refine the ethical as well as the aesthetic sensibility. This, an anathema to 'Art for Art's sake', reveals Rossetti's fundamental opposition to his professed disciples. Although John Dixon Hunt has shown that the Aesthetes' adoption of the motifs of Rossetti's art constituted a "continuity of admiration"[1] based merely on "external trappings",[2] he did not sufficiently emphasise the theoretical differences between Rossetti and the Aesthetes. In the year of Rossetti's death (1882) Walter Hamilton traced The Aesthetic Movement in England to its roots in Rossetti, chiefly on the basis of a shared "combination of the two arts",[3] which is hardly a defining characteristic of Aestheticism. Hamilton denied that Millais was a forerunner of the Aesthetic Movement, because unlike Rossetti, "no Aesthetic poet dedicates sonnets"[4] to him. This is highly ironic, since Rossetti responded to Oscar Wilde's tribute in "The Garden of Eros" by writing to Jane Morris, on receipt of the Poems in 1881:

> I saw the wretched Oscar Wilde book, and glanced at it enough to see what trash it really is. Did Georgie say that Ned really admired it? If so, he must be gone drivelling.[5]

Rossetti apparently reproved 'Ned' (Burne-Jones) for even so much as associating with Wilde.[6]

The Aesthetes seem to have been guilty of reading their own preoccupations into Rossetti's art. Barbara Charlesworth declared that for them "Rossetti was a Chiaro

dell' Erma"[7] (the artist-hero of Hand and Soul); but Chiaro was not, as the Aesthetes (and apparently Miss Charlesworth) thought, an introspective, isolated dreamer. Chiaro's vision exhorted employing not his soul alone, but his 'hand' and his 'soul'[8] to serve both man and God; art should thus, claimed Rossetti, combine ordinary mechanical skill with inspired vision; it should unite the mundane with the spiritual.

Swinburne's Poems and Ballads were, as William Gaunt noted "the first literary symptom of the advent of 'Art for Art's sake' in Britain",[9] so that Rossetti's relation to Swinburne is of central importance. Although he is usually regarded as Swinburne's champion, Rossetti's shocked response to certain aspects in Swinburne's poetry revealed attitudes not explicit in his own art; the very fact that he took them for granted attests that Rossetti was thoroughly imbued with what is considered a typically Ruskinian moral standpoint. When asked about his attitude towards 'Art for Art's sake' Rossetti apparently replied that "the principle of the phrase was two-thirds absolutely right and one third so essentially wrong that it negatived the whole as an aphorism";[10] thus claiming that whereas the larger part of Art is executed for its own sake, the third that is not is sufficient to invalidate the dogma. Swinburne's declaration "Art for Art's sake first of all and afterwards we may suppose all the rest shall be added to her"[11] is subtly but significantly different, maintaining that art will inevitably deal with other things in the course of pursuing purely artistic ends. Rossetti believed that other considerations were as primary as beauty,

claiming, in total opposition to the spirit of 'Art for Art', that an imagined audience must be "part of the very act of production".[12]

Buchanan's attack on "The Fleshly School of Poetry" in 1871, condemned both Rossetti and Swinburne, but chiefly Rossetti, for elevating animal sensualism in art.[13] The rejoinders provided by the two poets reveal a fundamental opposition in their attitudes towards art, indicating Rossetti's kinship with Ruskin. In true 'Art for Art's sake' spirit, Swinburne maintained that the appropriateness of artistic subjects was not dependent upon external moral considerations.[14] Rossetti, on the other hand, attempted to justify himself in the terms of the attack, denying any wish to "assert that the body is greater than the soul."[15] He thus professed a moralistic standpoint which, though opposed to the contemporary trend, was entirely consistent with his overall attempt to fuse the worlds of matter and spirit:

> all the passionate and just delights of the body are declared...to be as nought if not ennobled by the soul at all times.[16]

The genuineness of Rossetti's professed moralism is further supported by a series of letters he wrote privately on Keats's poetry. Ironically they contain an echo of Ruskin's moralistic attack on Rossetti's poem Jenny; he expressed dismay at the rather risqué poem Eve's Apple, which might, he thought, be offensive to the ordinary reader. He pronounced the poem "rather vulgar", adding:

> Of course, I do not consider that sexual passion, if nobly expressed, should be excluded from poetry for

> any reason save that of restricting its circulation. But here we have a poet, conspicuously noble in essential tone of mind, yielding by some freak of the moment in private to a triviality which gives no idea of his true nature.[17]

The very use of the term 'noble' betrays Rossetti's conservatism; by contrast Swinburne argued that a great poet was capable of dignifying an otherwise unsuitable subject,[18] thus substituting purely aesthetic criteria for Rossetti's moral and social ones. Rossetti's comment that there was much in Keats's letters to Fanny Brawne "whose drift we have no means of knowing, and which remain merely a distress to the reader"[19] is not, strictly, literary criticism, since it refers to private correspondence, which presumably did not aim for breadth of appeal, but the charge of obscurity is nevertheless one which no Aesthetic critic would have allowed. Rossetti's warning to Swinburne to bring out his Atalanta first, because it was "calculated to put people in a better humour for the others"[20] indicated a similarly 'un-Aesthetic' anxiety over the audience's reaction.

Rossetti applauded the 'Art for Art's sake' concern for style and technique, and wished, as he told the Aesthetic poet Arthur O'Shaughnessy, to encourage this new trend:

> Your book is a fresh evidence among others lately apparent that the contemporary English school of poetry is becoming far more organised than heretofore in respect of artistic style, which seems now at last to be taking its place as a settled and technical quality.[21]

Swinburne's work presented Rossetti with a dilemma, for while he admired the craftsmanship, he had entirely Ruskinian reservations about the subject-matter; praising A Counsel[22]

for its "unobtrusive perfection in the wording and thought" but betraying, as the editors of the letters noted, an "instinctive dislike of Swinburne's 'blasphemous' and 'indecent' witticisms".[23] Doughty and Wahl recognised the reserve in Rossetti's letters of encouragement to the younger poet "his distaste for Swinburne's frequently witless vulgarity reveals itself in his irony".[24] Although Rossetti wrote to Swinburne that Songs Before Sunrise was a "delightful farrago of blasphemy and indecency",[25] he expressly dissociated himself from Swinburne's deliberate unorthodoxy:

> I will not attempt to deal with you on ground so exclusively you own, but will refer to those brief, rare, and casual passages which are not aimed against the most sacred institutions of early life.[26]

Rossetti's attitude towards Swinburne was, ironically, identical to Ruskin's attitude towards Rossetti at the end of their artistic relationship: he was convinced of Swinburne's genius but was appalled by his callous realism. Like Ruskin, Rossetti risked antagonising his friend by making a personal objection:

> I have just happened to see the proof-sheet of your Sonnets The Saviour of Society, glorious pieces of poetic diction, as none knows better than I. But they resolve me to risk even your displeasure by one earnest remonstrance as to their publication. I cannot but think absolutely that a poet like yourself belongs of right to a larger circle of readers than this treatment of universal feelings can include. You know how free I am myself from any dogmatic belief; but I can most sincerely say that...I do myself feel that the supreme nobility of Christ's character should exempt it from being used...in contact of this kind with anything so utterly ignoble as this. I should myself feel able to breathe more freely in the splendid atmosphere of your genius if this little cloud were cleared away from it; ....[27]

Rossetti declared that he had no objection to religious

unorthodoxy so long as Christ was associated only with "other noble things and persons".[28] In the third volume of Modern Painters Ruskin had declared that:

> Greatness of style consists...first in the habitual choice of subjects of thought which involve wide interests and profound passions, as opposed to those which involve narrow interests and slight passions. The style is greater or less in exact proportion to the nobleness of the interests and passions involved in the subject.[29] (Modern Painters III, 1856.)

Thus both Ruskin and Rossetti valued that 'nobility' which was soon to become obsolete as a critical criterion because of the increasingly formalistic approach to art initiated by the 'Art for Art's sake' movement. Rossetti clearly belonged to the 'old school' of thought; Oswald Doughty has made a similar amusing observation in a more practical sphere: the link with Ruskin is highly appropriate: Rossetti:

> ...shared too, despite his bohemianism, the contemporary cult of "respectability", and had been as outraged as Ruskin would have been, and even more perhaps, when Swinburne had taken to nudist descents of the stair-rail at Cheyne Walk.[30]

Because Swinburne's poetry, like Rossetti's, combines religious with sexual imagery, it creates a superficial impression of similarity, but the underlying ideas are very different. Rossetti's:

> Thy soul I know not from thy body, nor
> Thee from myself, neither our love from God .[31]

simply admits a confusion between earthly love and religious experience. Swinburne takes this further in The Triumph of Time and actually deposes God:

> I had wrung life dry for your lips to drink,
> Broken it up for your daily bread:
> Body for body and blood for blood,.....[32]
>
> We had grown as gods, as the gods above,.....
> O love, my love, had you loved but me![33]

Swinburne wished to show that "man's soul is man's God...."[34]

The Prelude to Swinburne's Songs Before Sunrise could almost be a retort to Rossetti's House of Life, so similar are the themes and yet so opposed the ideals: Rossetti's protagonist is a constant victim of forces infinitely more powerful than himself; Swinburne's poem criticises such a one who allows himself to be subjected to what Rossetti calls "vain desire" and "vain regret"[35]:

> For what has he whose will sees clear
> To do with doubt and faith and fear,
> Swift hopes and slow despondencies?
> His heart is equal with the sea's
> And with the sea-wind's and his ear
> Is level to the speech of these,....[36]

Rossetti's poem The Sea-limits employs similar imagery but with the purpose of emphasising the essential mystery of man: having declared that the "sea's listless chime" is impenetrable, "our sight may pass no furlong further", the poem asserts that the earth, the sea, time, and man himself, are all ultimately unfathomable and inscrutable:

> .....they sigh
> The same desire and mystery,
> The echo of the whole sea's speech.
> And all mankind is thus at heart
> Not anything but what thou art:
> And Earth, Sea, Man, are all in each.[37]

Swinburne, on the other hand, equates man with nature in order to destroy man's mystique; in accordance with the ideals of Aestheticism he argues for purely 'aesthetic' awareness: he will not allow Rossetti's spiritualisation of the physical universe:

> Him can no god cast down, whom none
> Can lift in hope beyond the height

> Of fate and nature and things done
> By the calm rule of might and right
> That bids men be and bear and do
> And die beneath blind skies or blue.[38]

Thus Swinburne's elevating 'aesthetic' awareness results from his conception of man lost in a meaningless, "blind", indifferent, universe; Rossetti, in complete antithesis, saw man existing amid interested, though often hostile, personified forces.

Rossetti's friendship with Whistler similarly tempts the mistaken assumption of artistic similarities, but there is even less justification than in the case of Swinburne. In July 1877 Ruskin attacked Whistler for having the "Cockney impudence" to "...ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face".[39] Rossetti refrained from choosing sides, but although he was no longer intimate with Ruskin it seems extremely probable that his sympathies lay with the older man. Rossetti criticised, in words echoing Ruskin, the "new French school" which influenced Whistler, declaring it a "beastly slop" which "really makes one sick".[40] Having declined Whistler's invitation to be included in Fantin-Latour's Homage à Eugène Delacroix Rossetti wrote to his brother that it proved to be:

> a great slovenly scrawl after all, like the rest of this incredible new French school-people being painted with two eyes in one socket through merely being too lazy to efface the first and what not.[41]

His objections were of course entirely Pre-Raphaelite in their demand for naturalistic accuracy, and Ruskinian in the search for evidence of dedication and effort. The letter

concluded with the intriguing "don't tell Whistler what I say of his picture":[42] this could refer to Homage à Eugène Delacroix, although the editors of Rossetti's letters take it literally and conclude that it refers to a painting by Whistler which Rossetti had criticised in a previous letter tactfully destroyed by William. Whichever is true, the important point is that Rossetti did not admire Whistler's style.

Whistler, with his concept of painting as a purely aesthetically-pleasing arrangement of form and colour, was totally unsympathetic towards Rossetti's narrative style, and he criticised what has recently been termed Rossetti's "double work of art"[43] (the combination of poetry and painting). One result of Rossetti's practice of appending poems to his pictures was to render both more intelligible; the concern which he shared with Ruskin for the 'ordinary' reader or spectator was anathema to the Aesthetes. Rossetti would certainly have supported William Morris's condemnation of Whistler's artistic élitism.

The question of the artist's relation to his audience, or the society, provides the chief distinction between Ruskin and the Aesthetes, and it will be seen that Rossetti occupied a transitional position between these. Ruskin's declared aim in writing Modern Painters was:

> to exhibit the moral function and end of art; to prove the share which it ought to have in the thoughts, and influence on the lives, of all of us; to attach to the artist the responsibility of a preacher, and to kindle in the general mind that regard which such an office must demand.[44] (Modern Painters I, 1842)

To this Swinburne retorted (in a critical review of Baudelaire's Les Fleurs du Mal) that:

> ...a poet's business is presumably to write good verses, and by no means to redeem the age and remould society. No other form of art is so pestered with this impotent appetite for meddling in quite extraneous matters-; but the mass of readers seem actually to think that a poem is the better for containing a moral lesson or assisting in a tangible and material good work.....the art of poetry has absolutely nothing to do with didactic matter at all....[45]

He also claimed that "if any reader could extract from any poem a positive spiritual medicine-if he could swallow a sonnet like a moral prescription-then clearly the poet supplying these drugs would be a bad artist;".[46] Rossetti represented a transition between Ruskin's didacticism and Swinburne's Aestheticism or formalism. He assented to didacticism but believed that it should never be explicit: as T. Hall Caine declared, and Rossetti confirmed, he was "too true an artist" to produce moral 'pills' but his poetry was nevertheless "making unconsciously for moral ends".[47] Rossetti's attitude was exactly that of George Eliot's:

> My function is that of the aesthetic, not the doctrinal teacher,- the rousing of the nobler emotions, which make mankind desire the social right, not the prescribing of special measures.....[48]

Rossetti similarly stated, regarding the 'nobler emotions':

> ...possibilities are so much behind desirabilities that there is no harm in any degree of incitement in the right direction.[49]

Although he recognised that he might not have been totally successful in embodying moral values, Rossetti claimed that:

> ....not even Shakespeare himself could desire more arduous human tragedy for development in Art than belongs to the themes I venture to embody, however

> incalculably higher might be his power of dealing with them.[50]

Thus although Rossetti inclined more towards the didactic than the formalistic conception of art he had, from the early date of writing Hand and Soul, possessed grave reservations about the extent to which art may exert any practical effect.

Ruskin and Rossetti were, however, joint precursors of one aspect of Aestheticism: its expressionist criticism. As has been shown, Ruskin and Rossetti believed that since art expressed the individual's impression of the external world, criticism should be the individual's response to the artefact. Wilde later advocated, and Pater practised, the expressionist criticism of Ruskin and Rossetti. Wilde maintained that "the critic occupies the same relation to the work of art that he criticises as the artist does to the visible world of form and colour, or the unseen world of passion and of thought",[51] and asked:

> Who cares whether Mr. Ruskin's views on Turner are sound or not? What does it matter? That mighty and majestic prose of his...is at least as great a work of art...greater indeed...soul speaking to soul.[52]

In the preface to The Renaissance (1873) Pater claimed that the function of criticism was "...to know one's impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realise it distinctly".[53] The realisation constitutes a highly subjective, expressionistic criticism. Pater did not, however, employ expressionistic criticism for the same reasons as Ruskin and Rossetti. He adopted the extreme relativist position that the definition of beauty "becomes unmeaning and useless in proportion to its abstractness",[54] that the attempt to find a "universal formula"

for beauty was misguided, and that "he who drives directly at the discrimination and analysis" of his own impressions "has no need to trouble with the abstract question what beauty is in itself".[55] Although Ruskin's art criticism consisted of an analysis of his own impressions, he would not have agreed that this superceded the "abstract question" of "what beauty is in itself". Although Rossetti's comment on Keats's letters that "the very finest instinct for abstract ideal beauty may not increase a man's perception of its outside"[56] appears to agree with Pater, he was nevertheless concerned above all with what Keats called "the principle of beauty in all things", and longed to abstract an absolute formula from experience:

> Yea, in God's name, and Love's, and thine, would I
> Draw from one loving heart such evidence
> As to all hearts all things shall signify.[57]

Oscar Wilde maintained that "the real artist is he who proceeds not from feeling to form but from form to thought and passion",[58] which is the extreme formalistic or structural conception of art. Rossetti, however, proceeded from feeling to form or realisation, being criticised by Pater for his "forced and almost grotesque materialising of abstractions".[59] In all his criticism Ruskin assumed that the artist proceeded likewise, since he made a clear distinction between the 'thought' and the 'language' of art. The Aesthetes denied the distinction assumed by Ruskin and Rossetti between thought or emotion and its artistic embodiment.

The attempt to fuse matter and spirit was not only, as

William Rossetti claimed, the key-note of Rossetti's art, but also the most fundamental characteristic common to Ruskin and Rossetti. All the similarities between Ruskin and Rossetti discussed in this thesis spring from their shared belief in the unalterable interdependence of the physical and spiritual worlds. From this premis they produced a theory of art which attempted to inculcate a degree of objective empiricism into an originally subjective, expressionistic, aspiration; their emphasis upon memory was, conversely, an attempt to sublimate what would otherwise have been intensely physical immediate impressions; and lastly, whenever the marriage of sensual and abstract images was uncomfortable, it produced Rossetti's grotesqueness, a characteristic towards which Ruskin's own artistic preoccupations gave him unequalled sympathy. Thus Ruskin and Rossetti must stand apart not only from their strongly naturalistic Pre-Raphaelite contemporaries, but also from the ensuing highly subjective school of 'Art for Art's' sake, Ruskin and Rossetti were truly transitional figures in that they combined the tendencies of both schools.

PLATE II

Beatrice Meeting Dante At A Marriage-Feast Denies Him Her Salutation. (1851)

Water-colour; 13¾x16¾. Present whereabouts: Ashmolean Museum.

Commissioned by Miss Heaton; copy of original sold 1852 for £10. Ruskin appropriated this, paying £40, after much confusion (see 'Business Relationship', n.53, 58) "The moment I saw it begun I said I must have that too- for it was a pet subject of mine and I especially want to have one good drawing of his to show-this season-as I may be able to do him a great deal of good; besides, having so many imperfect ones, I think I ought to have one good one... If my pet drawing turns out as I hope I shall never be able to show it you-lest you should not forgive me" (n.58).
Rossetti's retouchings to the painting in 1856 eventually caused Ruskin to declare that he would "never, so long as I live, trust you to do anything again, out of my sight"; his criticisms had been harsh enough to make Rossetti obliterate a figure; "a whitefaced bridesmaid in mist behind is very ugly to look at-like a skull or a body in corruption"(see 'Encouraging Independence', n.40,41)
Rossetti mentioned this picture among work done as much for himself as for Ruskin, and in which he perceived an improvement. When Rossetti was in financial difficulties in 1856, Ruskin wrote "If any of the dealers would give you a good price even for the 'Dante' one (mine) you might take it at this pinch". In the same year Ruskin sent it to be exhibited (n.9), and to "somebody who will want to look at it".
In Dec. 1859 Ruskin sent it to C.E. Norton to compensate for Before The Battle which Ruskin considered almost the worst thing Rossetti had ever done, saying that the Beatrice "at all events has some power in it" (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.10). Norton was delighted, though Ruskin warned him not to overrate it either for Rossetti's or Ruskin's sake "it being by no means above his average work (rather, below it)" (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.12).

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 50R1, Plate 33.



PLATE II:

Beatrice Meeting Dante

At A Marriage-Feast

Denies Him Her

Salutation (1851).

PLATE III

Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah (1855).

Water-colour 14x12½. Present whereabouts: Tate Gallery.

One of six subjects from Dante's Purgatorio suggested by Ruskin very early in the friendship, two of which Rossetti took up. (see 'Business Relationship', n.34) Ruskin admitted that it was "a curious instance of the danger of interfering with R....He never would fail in a subject of his own choice" (see 'Business Relationship', n. 35); he explained "...it is only imperfect because Rachel does not sit easily-but stiffly, in a Pre-Raphaelite way-at the fountains edge-and because her reflection is wrongly put in the water-but it is very lovely..."; he thought "...the face of the Rachel very beautiful in expression, spoiled only by the small underlip". "The colour of the purple robe-and the stonework & honeysuckle flower-colour render the picture unique as far as I know in some points of colour-so strangely delicate & scented. I think very lovely - the whole very much finer than anything else going; of the kind". (see 'Public and Private Opinions', n.43).
In 1856 Ruskin sent a silver and black frame to Miss Heaton in which to exhibit the painting, but expressly asked that his association be kept secret. (see 'Encouraging Independence', n.9). Ruskin wrote a long exposition, confirmed by Rossetti, of the active and contemplative roles of Rachel and Leah. (see 'Grotesque', n.76,68).

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 74,Plate 82.



PLATE III: Dante's Vision of Rachel and Leah (1855).

PLATE IV

Arthur's Tomb (1855).

Water-colour; 9x14½. Present whereabouts: E.W. Huddart.

Ruskin apparently gave £20 or guineas, instead of the 15 asked. He wrote to Ellen Heaton "The Guinevere and Lancelot is not my pet drawing, though Mr. Browning could not say too much of it-it is one of my imperfect ones-the Lancelot is so funnily bent under his sheild, and Arthur points his toes so over the tomb, that I dare not show it to Anti-Pre-Raphaelites, though I value it intensely myself" (see 'Public and Private Opinions', n.8) Rossetti mentioned this among work done for himself as much as for Ruskin, and in which he perceived an improvement. (see 'Business Relationship', n.64) One of the paintings causing friction between Ruskin and Rossetti at the end of their relationship, because Ruskin had given it to someone whom Rossetti despised; Ruskin retorted "You scratched the eyes out of my "Launcelot", and I gave that to Butterworth-that was not my fault" (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.84). This was before 1865; Rossetti apparently bought the picture back in 1878.

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 73, Plate 80.



PLATE IV:

Arthur's Tomb (1855).

PLATE V

Paolo and Francesca da Rimini (1855)

Water-colour; 9¾x17½. Present whereabouts: Tate Gallery.

Begun for Miss Heaton after Rossetti had appropriated Beatrice at a Marriage-Feast (see 'Business Relationship', n.58).
Ruskin offered Miss Heaton a choice of this at 35gns., or Rachel and Leah at 25, declaring that this might be considered unsuitable for a young lady: "a most gloomy drawing-very grand-but dreadful-of Dante seeing the soul of Francesca and her lover... thoroughly grand and noble ...very gloomy" (see 'Business Relationship', n.58).
He praised the verisimilitude: "The common-pretty-timid-mistletoe bough kind of kiss was not what Dante meant. Rossetti has thoroughly understood the passage throughout". (see 'Public and Private Opinions', n.35). Ruskin told Rossetti he liked it "better than anything you have done for me yet; for it has no faults and is full of power". He warned Rossetti not to mind if Miss Heaton chose to keep it "...remember it has a certain bearing on my own history which would prevent me from ever showing it to anyone" (see Business Relationship, n.56). Rossetti perplexed Ruskin by refusing to let Miss Heaton have the painting for less than 40 gns. although he had already offered it to Ruskin for 35 (see 'Business Relationship', n.49, 53, 54, 60, 63). Ruskin warned that "a painful and sad-coloured subject never fetches so much as a pleasant and gay one". (n.53) This was among those paintings in which Rossetti declared he detected an improvement in his own work. (see 'Business Relationship', n.64). In 1856 Ruskin sent it to be exhibited, requesting that his ownership remain a secret. (see 'Encouraging Independence', n.8,9,10,11). Rossetti became anxious, having sent it to Oxford and receiving no acknowledgement. (see 'Encouraging Independence' n.24,25,26).
In March 1856 Rossetti asked to borrow it in order to show potential clients; Ruskin agreed. Although he refused to lend La Belle Dame Sans Merci.
In 1865, this was one of the paintings which caused friction between Ruskin and Rossetti, because Ruskin had given it away, "I have never parted with any of your drawings but the Francesca" (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.84), presumably to Miss Heaton, since he wrote before this "If you have quite done with poor Francesca you can send her to me...but I don't want her a bit, if you would like to keep her longer".

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 75, Plate 87.

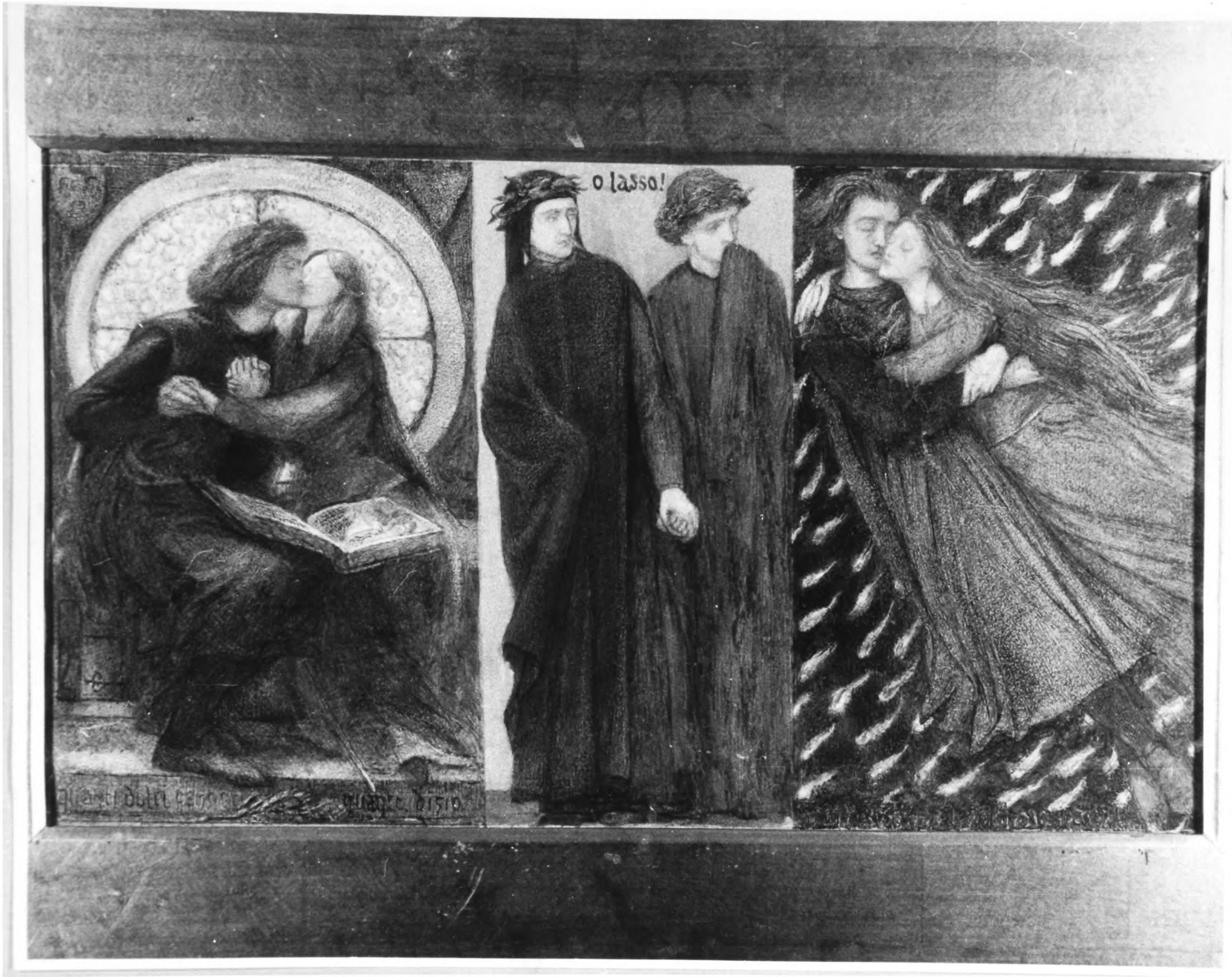


PLATE V:

Paolo and Francesca da Rimini (1855).

PLATE VI

La Belle Dame Sans Merci (1855)

Water-colour 14¾ x 6¾. Present whereabouts: Miss Lilian Murray, another at Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.

In 1856 Ruskin told Rossetti that this had always been his favourite, "except and always that man with boots and lady with golden hair". (XXXVI:235)
Ruskin purchased it for its wide appeal "...nothing else that I have would do you credit with ordinary people". (see 'Private and Public Opinions'. n.36)
In 1856 Rossetti asked to borrow this and 'Francesca da Rimini' to show prospective clients, but Ruskin refused to lend it "The man and his Blue Wife I wont part with".. (see 'Encouraging Independence', n.14)

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 76, Frontispiece.



PLATE VI: La Belle Dame Sans Merci (1855).

PLATE VII

The Passover in The Holy Family: Gathering Bitter Herbs. (1855-6)

Water-colour 16 x 17; Present whereabouts: Tate Gallery.

Rossetti sent Ruskin designs for this and Eating of The Passover very early in their acquaintance (1854) to which Ruskin replied that he was "very much struck" by them, and asked Rossetti to work out the "doorway one...as soon as possible" (see 'Business Relationship', n.34). In July 1855 Rossetti wrote that he was still working on it in a letter to his mother (see 'Business Relationship', n.42). Ellen Heaton, urged by Ruskin to give Rossetti a commission, was kept waiting while Rossetti worked on this, until Ruskin suggested that she should have it instead of himself; Rossetti refused to let the painting go for less than 50gns. although Ruskin had agreed to 40. The episode epitomised the haphazard business arrangement between Ruskin and Rossetti (see 'Business Relationship'). Ruskin kept the painting; it remained unfinished. In 1856, hearing that Patmore declared the symbolism in The Passover to be obscure, Ruskin wrote "...what the mischief does he mean by Symbolism? I call that Passover plain prosy Fact. No Symbolism at all". (see 'Grotesque', n.62).
By 1863 Ruskin had lent it to Winnington School (see 'Hint of Tensions' n.73) but when Rossetti complained, he recalled it and Golden Water, telling Miss Bell that he had decided it was no use for them after all. (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.89).
After 1865 it hung at the Ruskin Drawing School in the University Galleries, but this was not because Ruskin disliked the painting, for by 1908 it was with him in retirement at Brantwood. This seems to be the only Rossetti painting which Ruskin kept throughout his life. (Ch. The Sequel, n.15).

In his lecture on The Mythic Schools of Painting delivered in May 1883 Ruskin praised the verisimilitude, but also partially modified his early reaction by maintaining that it "...may of course have symbolic meaning". (XXXIII:288) In The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism in 1878, Ruskin declared that "...all Rossetti's drawings from the life of Christ, more especially that of the Madonna gathering the bitter herbs for the Passover when He was twelve years old...of quite imperishable power and value". (XXXIV:168) In a passage intended for Dilecta Vol III (Parts I and II were written in 1886, and 1887) Ruskin regretted that "..neither the Passover, nor Golden Water, nor any of Rossetti's nobler drawings, have ever yet, so far as I know, been useful anywhere, their designs being founded on close reading of legends, whether Persian or Christian, which the modern picture-student never reads, and has not the means of understanding when he gets extracts from them" (XXXV:638)

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 78, Plate 84.



PLATE VII:

The Passover in The

Holy Family: Gathering

The Bitter Herbs(1855-6).

PLATE VIII

Study for Eating of The Passover

Black chalk, ink, and wash, $10\frac{7}{8}$ x $10\frac{1}{4}$; Present whereabouts: Lionel Lambourne.

The other design for The Passover submitted by Rossetti early in the relationship, but discarded by Ruskin. Ruskin sent this sketch to Dr. Acland in 1855 in return for kindness to Lizzie Siddal "I have determined to send you the one you liked here, of the group at the table of the Passover...a fine thing, and I shall be very glad that such a drawing is seen at Oxford. Only mind and tell people that it was merely a waste piece of paper given to me, and sent to you because I knew you would like it, otherwise they wont understand the half-rubbed-out St. John" (it was actually Christ who was re-worked). (XXXVI:206).

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 78B, Plate 85.



PLATE VIII : Study for Eating of The Passover (1854).

PLATE IX

Golden Water (1858)

Water-colour, laid down, 14½ x 17¼; Present whereabouts: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Ruskin lent it to Winnington Hall School, thus arousing resentment from Rossetti in 1865; Ruskin claimed he left paintings there in order to avoid dwelling on "faults of perspective and such like" (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.74. 84). but he recalled it nevertheless. William Rossetti says this was the only Rossetti painting, apart from The Passover, which Ruskin retained after 1872, but he eventually gave it to Mrs. Constance Churchill. In a passage intended for Dilecta Vol III, and thus written at the end of Ruskin's life, he recalled the painting with great admiration"...an equally beautiful drawing by Rossetti, in another kind, "Golden Water",-which had been mine once, but which I gave away long ago, thinking it would be more useful elsewhere than at Denmark Hill." It seems to have been one of his favourites, since he began a detailed explication of the story before he died, maintaining that it had "had an immense power over my own life". (see 'Private and Public Opinions', n.50; XXXIV:638-9)

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 107, Plate 149.



PLATE IX : Golden Water (1858).

PLATE X

Regina Cordium (1860)

Oil on panel 10 x 8; present whereabouts: Johannesburg Art Gallery.

Apparently more than one was made, but Virginia Surtees claims this to be the original; surprising, since the style is very similar to the Venus Verticordia, which Ruskin loathed; it is, however, a portrait of Lizzie Siddal painted soon after she became Rossetti's wife, a time which Ruskin considered saw the best of Rossetti's pictures of her "It is very pretty to see how much better he draws his wife than any other model. When he was merely in love with her, he used to exaggerate all the faults of her face and think them beauties, but now that he's married he just draws her rightly, and so much more tenderly than other women that all his harshness and eccentricity vanish whenever she sits." (see 'Hint of Tensions', n.37). Apparently sent to America before 1872 (see 'The Sequel', n.15).

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 120, Plate 187.



PLATE X: Regina Cordium (1860).

PLATE XI

Elizabeth Siddal reading (June 2 1854)

Pencil and Ink, $8\frac{7}{8}$ x $7\frac{1}{2}$; present whereabouts: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Ruskin gave this to Miss Bell at Winnington; auctioned by her 1872 for £15.

Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 427, Text 465.



PLATE XI:

Elizabeth Siddal

reading (2 June 1854).

PLATE XII

Elizabeth Siddal seated (June 1854)

Pencil, pen and ink, $9\frac{3}{16}$ x 7; present whereabouts: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Given to Miss Bell at Winnington; auctioned by her 1872 for £15.

Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 429, Text 466.



PLATE XII: Elizabeth Siddal seated (June 1854).

PLATE XIII

John Ruskin (1861)

Red and black chalk; 19 x 13½; present whereabouts: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The study for the oil-portrait of Ruskin commissioned by C.E. Norton in 1859. Eventually abandoned in Oct. 1865 because Ruskin thought Rossetti had "made the horriblest face I ever saw of a human being. I will not let him touch it more".

Surtees, Catalogue, Text 455.



PLATE XIII: John Ruskin (1861).

Footnotes

Notes to Preface.

1. The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London: George Allen, 1903-12), XXXVI:li.

2. Helen Rossetti Angeli, Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Friends and Enemies (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949), p.79.

3. Oswald Doughty, A Victorian Romantic: Dante Gabriel Rossetti (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 162-79, 220-3, 283-8, 302, 324-29.

4. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:163.

Notes to Chapter One

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:394.

2. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:269.

3. John Guille Millais, The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais, 2 vols. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1899), I:52.

4. Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1905-6), II:369-70.

5. The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, ed. Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl, 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965-7), p.1232.

6. T. Hall Caine, Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), p.219.

7. William Michael Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters With a Memoir, 2 vols. (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895), I:136.

8. Holman Hunt, II:334.

9. Millais, I:216.

10. Holman Hunt, I:151.

11. Holman Hunt, II:364.

12. Ruskin, Works, VI:315.

13. Holman Hunt, I:107.

14. William E. Fredeman, The P.R.B. Journal (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p.110.

15. Fredeman, p. 110 .

16. Fredeman, p. 112.

17. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:167.

18. Rossetti, Letters, p.16.

19. Holman Hunt, I:106.

20. Holman Hunt, II:363-4.

21. Holman Hunt, II:419.

22. Holman Hunt, II:332.

23. Millais, I:54-55

24. Percy Bate, The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters (London: George Ball and Sons, 1899), p. 11.

25. Ruskin, Works, XII:321-2.

26. Ruskin, Works, IV:xxxv.

27. Ruskin, Works, V:399-400.

28. Holman Hunt, II:341.

29. Ruskin, Works, XII:321.

30. Ruskin, Works, XII:321.

31. Ruskin, Works, 322.

32. Ruskin, Works, 323.

33. John Everett Millais, Mariana (1851) for illustration see Millais, I: facing p. 106.

34. John Everett Millais, The Woodman's Daughter (1849) for illustration see Millais, I: facing p. 113.

35. John Everett Millais The Return of The Dove To The Ark, (1848), for illustration see Timothy Hilton, The Pre-Raphaelites (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970), Plate 37.

36. Ruskin, Works, XII:339.

37. Ruskin, Works, XII:358.

38. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:162.

39. Ruskin, Works, XII:161.

40. Ruskin, Works, XII:324.

41. Ruskin, Works, XII:325.

42. John Everett Millais, Christ in The House of His Parents (1849) for illustration see Millais, I, facing p. 78.

43. Holman Hunt, The Light of The World (1903) for illustration see Holman Hunt, I: facing p. 368.

44. Ruskin Works, XII:330.

45. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:167.

46. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 133-4.

47. Rossetti, Letters, p. 133. 48. Rossetti, Letters, p. 134.

49. Ruskin, Works, XII:xxxix. 50. Ruskin, Works, XII:xxxvi.

51. Ruskin, Works, XII:161. 52. Ruskin, Works, XII:161

53. Ruskin, Works, XII:162. 54. Ruskin, Works, XII:162.

55. Ruskin, Works, XII:157. 56. Ruskin, Works, XII:157.

57. Ruskin, Works, XII:334.

58. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p.68. (Holman Hunt saw only Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:167-9).

59. Ruskin, Works, XIV:328. 60. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:493.

61. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:427-8. 62. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:490.

63. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:427.

64. John Everett Millais, The Rescue (1855) for illustration see Hilton, Plate 95.

65. John Everett Millais, Peace Concluded (1856) for sketch see Millais, I:310.

66. John Everett Millais, Autumn Leaves (1856) for illustration see Hilton, Plate 49.

67. Ruskin, Works, XIV:22. 68. Ruskin, Works, XIV:23.

69. Ruskin, Works, XIV:56-7. 70. Ruskin, Works, XIV:107.

71. Ruskin, Works, XIV:108-9. 72. Ruskin, Works, XIV:107.

73. Ruskin, Works, XIV:215. 74. Ruskin, Works, XIV:111.

75. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:278. 76. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:278.

77. Ruskin, Works, XII:334.

78. Holman Hunt, The Scapegoat (1854) and The Triumph of The Innocents (1883-4) for illustration see Hilton, Plates 57, 155.

79. see Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti: The Works, ed. William Michael Rossetti (London: Ellis & Elvey, 1911), p.3.

80. Ruskin, Works, V:52.

81. Ruskin, Works, XII:354.

82. Ruskin, Works, XV:137.

83. Ruskin, Works, XIV:65.

84. Ruskin, Works, XIV:61.

85. Ruskin, Works, XIV:64.

86. Ruskin, Works, XIV:63.

87. Ruskin, Works, XIV:64-5.

88. Ruskin, Works, XII:271.

89. Ruskin, Works, VI:79-80.

90. Ruskin, Works, XII:159.

91. Ruskin, Works, XII:359, 360.

92. Ruskin, Works, XII:360.

93. Ruskin, Works, XII:359.

94. Ruskin, Works, XII:350-51.

95. Ruskin, Works, VII:120.

96. The Germ: Thoughts Towards Nature in Poetry, Literature, and Art: being a facsimilie reprint of the literary organ of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, published in 1850, with an introduction by William Michael Rossetti, ed. W.M. Rossetti (London: Elliot Stock, 1901).

97. The Germ, advertisement to No. 2, Feb. 1850.

98. The Germ, advertisement to No. 3, March 1850.

99. Virginia Surtees, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Paintings and Drawings (1828-1882): A Catalogue Raisonné, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), Text 44, Plate 29.

100. Ruskin Works, XXXIV:149.

101. Alan Bowness, "The Victorians", in The Genius of British Painting, ed. David Piper (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975), p. 262.

102. Bowness, Victorians, p. 262.

103. Ruskin, Works, XIX:206.

104. Ruskin, Works, XX:63.

105. Holman Hunt, II:427.

106. Holman Hunt, II:427.

107. see Rossetti, Letters, p. 671, n.5.

108. Rossetti, Letters, p. 671-2.

109. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:270 110. Ruskin Works, XXXVII:446

111. Ernest Chesneau, The English School of Painting, trans. L.N. Etherington, with a preface by professor Ruskin (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1885), p. 181.

112. Chesneau, The English School, p. 179.

113. Frederick Goodall; Rossetti included Goodall among the R.A. members he condemned. Rossetti, Works, p. 571. and W.M. Rossetti, Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary: Notices Reprinted, with Revisions (London: 1867) p. 189 "Praeraphaelitism aimed at suppressing such styles of painting as were exemplified by Messrs. Elmore, Goodall, and Stone..."

114. Ruskin, Works, XIV:267. 115. Ruskin, Works, XII:320.

116. Ruskin, Works, XIV:495. 117. William Fredeman, p.29.

118. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:269. 119. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:269-70

120. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:167 121. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:270

122. Holman Hunt, II:427. 123. Ruskin, Works, XXXII$\frac{I}{\lambda}$:269.

124. Ruskin, Works, XXXII$\frac{I}{\lambda}$:269. 125. Ruskin, Works, XIV:109.

126. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:270 127. Ruskin, Works, XIV:495.

128. Alan Bowness, p.262.

Notes to Chapter Two.

1. See Frontispiece Plate I, and Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: facing p. 454.

2. Ruskin later called this photograph a 'visible libel', owing to Scott's presence, see discussion Ch.9., and Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:491.

3. see Ruskin Works, V:xlv, "...the part of disciple was not one which Rossetti was fitted to play..."

4. Derrick Leon, Ruskin: The Great Victorian (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 351.

5. Holman Hunt, I:147.

6. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 80.

7. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:486.

8. Quoted by Holbrook Jackson, Dreamers of Dreams: The Rise and Fall of Nineteenth Century Idealism (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), p. 108.

9. Holman Hunt, I:144.

10. T. Hall Caine, p. 12.

11. Quoted by Holbrook Jackson, p. 109.

12. T. Hall Caine, Recollections of Rossetti (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1928), p.69.

13. T. Hall Caine, pp. 222-3. 14. Rossetti, Letters, p.185.

15. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:673. 16. Holman Hunt, I:164.

17. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:166. 18. Ruskin, Works, III:4.

19. R.G. Collingwood, Ruskin's Philosophy: address delivered at the Ruskin Centenary Conference, Coniston 8/8/1919. (Kendall: Titus Wilson and Son publishers, 1922), p. 17.

20. R.G. Collingwood, pp. 16-17.

21. See, for example, Rossetti, Works, p. 83, sonnet xxvi: "...whose voice is like a hand laid softly on the soul", sonnet xxvii: "...whose unstirred lips are music's visible tone...".

22. Rossetti, Letters, p.209.

23. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:137.

24. Holman Hunt, I:169.

25. William Michael Rossetti, Ruskin: Rossetti: Pre-Raphaelitism (London: George Allen, 1899) p. 40 n.1.

26. Rossetti, Works, p. 241.

Notes to Chapter Three.

1. See for example: Ford Madox Hueffer, Rossetti: A Critical Essay on His Art (London: Duckworth and Co., 1902), pp. 54-55.

   Joan Evans, John Ruskin (London: Cape, 1954), pp. 208, 211, 272 n.3., 287.

   Janet Camp Troxell, Three Rossetti's: Unpublished Letters To and From Dante Gabriel, Christina, and William (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), pp. 25-31.

   R.H. Wilenski, John Ruskin: An Introduction to Further Study of His Life and Work (London: Faber and Faber, 1933), pp. 79, 271-2.

   Leon, numerous references.

   Doughty, numerous references.

   Evelyn Waugh, Rossetti: His Life and Works (London: Duckworth, 1928), pp. 65-79.

2. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 20.

3. Rossetti, Letters, p. 128.

4. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 82.

5. Rossetti, Letters, p. 269.

6. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, pp. 38-9.

7. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 133-4.

8. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 82.

9. See Rossetti, Letters, p. 1097: "...Ruskin quite capable of serious teaching...".

10. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:130.

11. Ruskin, Works, XII:319, 324. 12. Ruskin, Works, V:137

13. Rossetti, Letters, p.133. 14. Troxell, pp. 25ff.

15. Rossetti, Letters, p. 185. 16. Troxell, p.25.

17. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 42, Plate 27.

18. Rossetti, Letters, p. 185. 19. Doughty, p. 164.

20. Rossetti, Letters, p. 186. 21. Rossetti, Letters, p.186.

22. Rossetti, Letters, p. 187. 23. Rossetti, Letters, p. 187.

24. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:166-7.

25. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS English Letters, c.33, 336.

26. See Ruskin, Works, XX:167. 27. Ruskin, Works, XXVI:383.

28. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:166. 29. Rossetti, Letters, p.191.

30. Rossetti, Letters, p. 193. 31. Rossetti, Letters, p.194.

32. Rossetti, Letters, p.200. 33. Rossetti, Letters, p.194.

34. Rossetti, Letters, p.200. 35. Ruskin, Works, III:140.

36. Rossetti, Letters, p. 200. 37. Rossetti, Letters, p. 220.

38. Rossetti, Letters, p. 224. 39. Rossetti, Letters, p.197.

40. Rossetti, Letters, 196-7. 41. Ruskin, Works, VII:415 n.3.

42. See J.P. Emslie, "Art Teaching In the College in its Early Days", in The Working Men's College 1854-1904: Records of its History and Works for Fifty Years by Members of the College (London: Macmillan & Co., 1904), p. 44, and ensuing discussion. pp. 34-53.

43. Rossetti, Letters, p. 197.

44. See Ruskin, Works, XXXVIII:6-8.

45. Rossetti, Letters, p.283. 46. Rossetti, Letters, p.286.

47. Rossetti, Letters, p.276, and Illustrations.

48. Ruskin, Works, XII:5ff. 49. Rossetti, Letters, p.199.

50. Rossetti, Letters, p. 201.

51. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:167, and Angeli, Friends and Enemies, pp. 67-8.

52. Holman Hunt, The Awakening Conscience (1852) for illustration see Holman Hunt, I, facing p.48.

53. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 64, Plate 65.

54. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 71.

55. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p.68, and part Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 167-9.

56. See Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, pp. 11-14.

57. Holman Hunt, II:2.

58. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:168.

59. Ruskin, Works, V:48-9.

60. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 109, Plate 156.

61. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 64, Plate 65.

62. Ruskin, Works, V:79.

63. Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo Lippi, The Adoration of The Magi, for illustration see George Fergusson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), Plate 36.

64. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 239, Plate 344. Rossetti modelled his boat on "...a beautiful one in a composition by Benozo Gozzoli, in the Campo Santo of Pisa". Gozzoli practised "decorative Naturalism": Michael Levey, A Concise History of Painting from Giotto to Cézanne (London: Thames and Hudson, 1974), p. 44, and Plate 58.

65. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 69.

66. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:224.

67. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:696, no.3.

68. Rossetti, Letters, p. 226.

69. Doughty, p. 167: "The wisdom of pleasing Ruskin was doubtless a stronger influence than social idealism".

70. Sordello vi, 818. See The Poetical Works of Robert Browning, ed. A. Birrell, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1897), I:193.

71. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:696, no. 6.

72. Rossetti, Letters, p. 231.

73. Thomas Sulman "A Memorable Art Class", Good Words, August 1897, p. 549.

74. See Davies, Working Men's College, op. cit.

75. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:486.

76. Emslie, "Art Teaching", p. 44.

77. Rossetti, Letters, p.250. 78. Rossetti, Letters, p. 239.

79. Emslie, "Art Teaching", p. 44.

80. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:177-8.

81. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:210.

82. Sulman, Memorable Class, p. 549-50 (James Smetham met Ruskin 1854, painted Hymn of The Last Supper in Rossetti's Studio, where it was exhibited 1869. Rossetti thought Smetham's essays on Blake unequalled, included them in Gilchrist's Life of Blake. Lowes Dickinson: successful portrait painter; joint owner of family printseller and photographic agency, New Bond St. which published jointly with Aylott and Jones, the last two issues of The Germ.)

83. Emslie, "Art Teaching", p. 46.

84. Emslie, "Art Teaching", p. 46.

85. Ford Madox Hueffer, Ford Madox Brown: A Study of His Life and Work (London: Longman's Green and Co., 1896), p. 151.

86. Ruskin, Works, V:xli.

87. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 85.

88. See Illustrations. 89. Ruskin, Works, V:xlii.

90. Ruskin Works, XXXVI:228, Surtees, Catalogue, Text 80, Plate 94.

91. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:697, no.34. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 71.

92. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:177. 93. Rossetti, Works, p.593.

94. Rossetti, Works, p. 593. 95. Rossetti, Letters, p. 278

96. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 279-80.

97. Virginia Surtees, ed., Sublime and Instructive: Letters from John Ruskin to Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, Anna Blunden, and Ellen Heaton, (London: Michael Joseph, 1972), p. 177.

98. The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, ed. Frederick G. Kenyon, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1897), II:218.

99. Rossetti, Letters, p. 283.

100. Ruskin and The Brownings: Twenty-five Unpublished Letters, ed. David J. De Laura (Manchester: The John Rylands Library, 1972; reprinted from Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 54, No.2, Spring 1972), p. 326.

101. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:214. 102. De Laura, p. 327.

103. Ruskin, Works, XXVI:xxxiv. 104. De Laura, p. 327.

105. Ruskin, Works, VI:449. 106. De Laura, p. 329.

107. Ruskin, Works, VI:446-7. 108. Rossetti, Letters, p.280.

109. De Laura, p. 330. 110. Rossetti, Letters, p. 205.

111. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:189. 112. Rossetti, Letters, pp.240-1.

113. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:189.

114. Joseph F. Vogel, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Versecraft (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1971), p. 2.

115. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:213-4.

116. Rossetti, Works, pp. 463-4.

117. Rossetti, Works, pp. 377-8.

118. Rossetti, Works, p. 297.

119. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:216.

120. Val C. Prinsep, R.A., "A Chapter From A Painter's Reminiscence: Part II: Dante Gabriel Rossetti", Magazine of Art, Vol. 27 (February 1904), p. 283.

121. Rossetti, Works, p. 282. 122. Rossetti, Works, p. 283.

123. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:362.

124. Rossetti, The Early Italian Poets (London: Smith and Elder, 1861).

125. Ruskin, Works, XVIII:48.

126. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:480: "...with any broken French or Italian I could stutter...", and Ruskin, Works, XXXVIII: 344: "...I've always read Italian carelessly merely to get at the main import..."

127. Ruskin, Works, XXIV:xxv. 128. Rossetti, Works, pp. 432-5.

129. Ruskin, Works, XVIII:lx. 130. Ruskin, Works, XVIII:lx.

131. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:247. 132. Rossetti, Letters, p. 309.

133. Rossetti, Letters, p. 277.

134. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33, 312.

135. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 202.

136. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:190. Charles Kingsley (1819-75): influenced by F.D. Maurice, involved in social reform; Ruskin identified him to Rossetti as the author of Alton Locke, although he wrote many other novels, probably because the theme, the suffering of the working class, is similar to that of Found.

137. See Surtees Catalogue, Text 691 n.1: "A possible identification made by Mr. Alistair Grieve (Burlington Magazine, May 1969, pp. 290-3 is that this and the following designs illustrate The Saint's Tragedy, C. Kingsley, 1848) See Plates 479, 80, 81.

138. Troxell, pp. 39-40.

Notes to Chapter Four.

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:214. 2. Ruskin, Works, XIV:5.

3. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:202.

4. Rossetti, Letters, p. 251-2.

5. Rossetti, Letters, 251.

6. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252. William Davis (1812-73): Professor of Painting, Liverpool Academy; exhibited Royal Academy 1851-72. Arthur Hughes (1832-1915): Ruskin wrote commendatory notices of his 1856 exhibits April Love "Exquisite in every way..." (Ruskin, Works, XIV:68), and The Eve of St. Agnes, which Rossetti greatly admired, and which led to their friendship. Hughes assisted with Oxford Union Murals, illustrated two of Christina Rossetti's books of verse, Sing-Song (1872), and Speaking Likenesses (1874).
John William Inchbold (1830-1880): Ruskin had already admired work by this artist, had originally commended him in the letter to the Times of 1851, but withdrew it. Ruskin befriended and guided Inchbold, introduced him to Rossetti, and made commendatory notes to his exhibits of 1856 and 57 (see Ruskin Works, XIV: 59, 60, 96). See letter to father from Switzerland 9 Aug. 1858 "It was a delicate and difficult matter to make him gradually find out his own faults...and took me a fortnight of innuendoes". (XIIxxiii)

7. Ruskin, Works, XIV:22.

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33, 211.

9. Ruskin, Works, XIV:7 10. Ruskin Works, p. 572.

11. Rossetti, Works, p. 572. 12. Rossetti, Works, p. 581.

13. Ruskin, Works, XIV:20. 14. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 251-4.

15. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252. Frederick Leighton (1830-96): A.R.A., 1864: R.A., 1868; P.R.A.: 1878: Baron: 1896.

16. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252. 17. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252.

18. Ruskin, Works, XIV:26. 19. Rossetti, Letters, p.252.

20. Ruskin, Works, XIV:27. 21. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252.

22. Ruskin, Works, XIV:22.

23. See Ruskin, Works, III:5, where Ruskin claims that he would condemn only those artists sufficiently well-established not to suffer as a result.

24. Ruskin, Works, XIV:9-10. Daniel Maclise, Orlando and The Wrestler (As you Like It) (1855) for illustration see Pictures by Daniel Maclise, ed. James Daforne (London: Virtue and Co., 1872), facing p. 42.

25. Rossetti, Works, p. 627.

26. Rossetti, Works, p. 628. see The Maclise Portrait Gallery: A Gallery of Illustrious Characters (1830-38), ed. William Bates B.A. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1873).

27. Rossetti, Works, p.627.

28. Ruskin, Works, XIV: 10-12.

29. Rossetti, Works, p. 629: "But one picture...ranks Maclise as a master of tragic satire".

30. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252.

31. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:214.

32. Ruskin, Works, XIV:30. 33. Ruskin Works, XIV:32.

34. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 169.

35. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 169.

36. Rossetti, Letters, p. 252.

37. Ruskin, Works, III:90-91.

Notes to Chapter Five.

1. Wilenski, pp. 271-2.

2. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:181.

3. Doughty, p. 164.

4. Joan Evans, pp. 208, 211.

5. E.T. Cook, in Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:xliv.

6. Troxell, p. 26.

7. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:181.

8. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 84.

9. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:199-200.

10. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 174.

11. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:198.

12. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 157.

13. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:200.

14. Ruskin, Works, V:xlii ff.

15. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 162.

16. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:208.

17. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 244-5.

18. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 33.

19. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:205.

20. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:204.

21. Rossetti, Letters, p. 249.

22. Rossetti, Letters, p. 248.

23. Rossetti, Letters, p. 249.

24. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:203-4.

25. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 46.

26. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c. 33,232.

27. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33,221.

28. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33,199.

29. Rossetti, Letters, p. 270.

30. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 208-9.

31. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:209.

32. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:227.

33. Ruskin Works, XXXVI:225.

34. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:226.

35. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 46.

36. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 21.

37. Ruskin, Works, XII:344.

38. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:199.

39. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:232.

40. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 71.

41. Troxell, pp. 28-29.

42. Rossetti, Letters, p. 260. For two Passover designs see Illustrations, or Surtees, Catalogue, Text 78, 78B, Plates 84, 85.

43. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 72.

44. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:227.

45. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:208.

46. Rossetti, Letters, p. 260.

47. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 8.

48. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 153.

49. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 155 n.1.

50. See Illustrations, or Surtees, Catalogue, Text 50, Plate 33.

51. See Illustrations, or Surtees, Catalogue, Text 75, Plate 87.

52. See Illustrations, or Surtees, Catalogue, Text 74, Plate 82.

53. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:228.

54. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:229.

55. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, pp. 59-61.

56. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33,211.

57. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:228.

58. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, pp. 168-169.

59. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:229.

60. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:230.

61. Doughty, p. 188.

62. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 175.

63. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 176.

64. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 283-4.

Notes to Chapter Six.

1. Doughty, p. 221.

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33, 235.

3. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:242.

4. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:242.

5. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 232.

6. Rossetti, Letters, p. 304, and n.1.

7. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235.

8. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 171.

9. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 183.

10. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 183.

11. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:697, Letter 38.

12. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 184.

13. Rossetti, Letters, p. 287.

14. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:234. "I send only the "Francesca", The Man and his Blue Wife I won't part with."

15. Rossetti, Letters, p. 290-91.

16. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:234.

17. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235.

18. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235.

19. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 185.

20. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 185, n.2.

21. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 185.

22. The Diaries of John Ruskin, ed. Joan Evans and John Howard Whitehouse, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-58) II:524.

23. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 186.

24. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 186.

25. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 186.

26. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 190.

27. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 193.

28. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:312.

29. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, 189.

30. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 195, n.4.

31. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 195, n.4.

32. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 194.

33. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:406.

34. Rossetti, Letters, p. 504.

35. Rossetti, Letters, p. 308.

36. Rossetti, Letters, p. 315.

37. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:249.

38. Rossetti, Letters, p. 316.

39. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII: 212-3.

40. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235-6. quotation from Much Ado About Nothing.

41. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 236-7.

42. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:243.

43. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 189.

44. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 190.

45. Rossetti, Letters, p. 312.

46. Rossetti, Letters, p. 405.

47. Rossetti, Letters, p. 295.

48. Rossetti, Letters, p. 408.

49. Rossetti, Letters, p. 405.

50. Rossetti, Letters, p. 257.

51. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:697, letter 54. see Works, XXXVI:313, and Thesis Ch.7., notes 3, 19.

52. Rossetti, Letters, p. 293.

53. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235.

54. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 35.

Notes to Chapter Seven.

1. Rossetti, Letters, p. 322.

2. Rossetti, Letters, p. 406.

3. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:273.

4. Rossetti, Letters, p. 321.

5. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 85. also Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.33.301.

6. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:237.

7. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:256.

8. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p.85. also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.33.301.

9. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:272.

10. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:272, also Surtees, Catalogue, Text 109, Plate 156.

11. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:272. For St. Catherine, see Surtees, Catalogue, Text 89, Plate 114.

12. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 85.

13. Troxell, pp. 29-30.

14. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:696, letter 26.

15. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:265.

16. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:273.

17. Rossetti, Letters, p.333.

18. Rossetti, Letters, p.334

19. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:313.

20. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:313.

21. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:331.

22. Rossetti, Letters, p. 406.

23. Ruskin, Works, XIV:111.

24. Rossetti, Letters, p. 339.

25. Rossetti, Letters, p. 326.

26. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:311.

27. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:329.

28. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:334-5.

29. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:366-7.

30. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:497.

31. Rossetti, Letters, p. 562.

32. Rossetti, Letters, p. 341.

33. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:262-3.

34. Doughty, p. 222.

35. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:262.

36. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.33, 274.

37. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:266-7.

Notes to Chapter Eight.

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:291-2.

2. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:301.

3. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 105, Plate 139.

4. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:302.

5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. English Letters, c.34, 124.

6. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:324.

7. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:312.

8. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:329.

9. Rossetti, Letters, p. 336.

10. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:329, See Surtees, Catalogue, Text 110A Plate 115 for similar study.

11. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:335.

12. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:338.

13. Rossetti, Letters, p. 433.

14. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 404-5.

15. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV: 168-9.

16. Rossetti, Letters, p. 359.

17. Rossetti, Letters, p. 360.

18. Rossetti, Letters, p. 360, n.1.

19. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.34, 108 and see my article "Ruskin: An Allusion in a Rossetti Letter", Notes and Queries (Jan-Feb.1977).

20. E. Mills, The Life and Letters of Frederick Shields (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912), pp. 118-119.

21. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.34, 202.

22. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:341-2.

23. Rossetti, Works, p. 619.

24. Rossetti, Works, p. 620.

25. Rossetti, Letters, p. 377.

26. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 382-3.

27. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.34, 288.

28. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:362.

29. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:639.

30. Rossetti, Letters, p. 371.

31. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:348.

32. Rossetti, Letters, p. 380.

33. Rossetti, Letters, p. 382.

34. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 115, n.2.

35. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 38.

36. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:341.

37. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:347.

38. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:346.

39. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 182, Plate 263.

40. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:347.

41. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:342-3. and Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.34,270.

42. The Winnington Letters: John Ruskin's correspondence with Margaret Alexis Bell and the children at Winnington Hall, ed. Van Akin Burd. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), p. 330.

43. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:494.

44. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:488.

45. Rossetti, Letters, p. 367.

46. Rossetti, Letters, p. 388.

47. Rossetti, Letters, p. 394.

48. Rossetti, Letters, p. 389.

49. Rossetti, Letters, p. 389.

50. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:354.

51. Rossetti, Letters, p. 391.

52. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.35, 21.

53. Rossetti, Letters, p. 415.

54. Rossetti, Letters, p. 415.

55. Rossetti, Letters, p. 415.

56. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:377-8.

57. The Winnington Letters, pp. 336 and 337 n.2.

58. Rossetti, Letters, p. 437.

59. Violet Hunt, Wife of Rossetti (London: John Lane, 1932), pp. 316-7.

60. Oswald Doughty, p. 302.

61. Violet Hunt, pp. 316-7.

62. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.35, 12.

63. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.35, 29.

64. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:406.

65. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:414.

66. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:411.

67. The Winnington Letters, p.371.

68. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:449.

69. The Winnington Letters, p. 407.

70. See Illustrations.

71. Rossetti, Letters, p. 493.

72. Ruskin, Works, XIV:478.

73. The Winnington Letters, p.412.

74. The Winnington Letters, p. 431.

75. The Winnington Letters, p. 437.

76. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:456-7.

77. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 81, Plate 95.

78. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 81. (Unpublished Heaton Collection, 11 Nov. 1863).

79. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 81. (Unpublished Heaton Collection, 21 Nov. 1863).

80. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 81; also The Winnington Letters, p.458.

81. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 81. (Unpublished Heaton Collection, 19 April, 1864).

82. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 81. (Unpublished Heaton Collection, Undated).

83. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.35, 203.

84. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:488-9. For Golden Water and The Passover see Illustrations.

85. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 75, Plate 87.

86. See Illustrations.

87. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 173, Plate 248. Regina Cordium foreshadows the Pre-Raphaelite 'Beauty' perpetrated by Rossetti, of which The Blue Bower (Plate 259) is perhaps the grossest, and Monna Vanna the most exaggeratedly luxurious.

88. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 239B, Plate 345.

89. The Winnington Letters, pp. 563-4.

90. The Winnington Letters, p. 641.

Notes to Chapter Nine.

1. Waugh, p. 68.

2. Doughty, p. 326.

3. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I: 261-2.

4. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:492-3.

5. Doughty, p. 327.

6. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 94.

7. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 94.

8. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:489-10.

9. Ruskin, Works, XXIV:37-38.

10. Ruskin, Works, XXII:43.

11. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 21.

12. Rossetti, Letters, p.358.

13. Ruskin, Works, V:48.

14. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:490-91.

15. Ruskin, Works, XII:293.

16. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:98.

17. Ruskin, Works, XII:256-7.

18. Ruskin, Works, XX:170.

19. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:491; and Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.35, 334.

20. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:491.

21. See Illustrations and Ruskin, Works, XXXVI, facing p. 454.

22. Ref. to Ruskin, Works, XXXVIII:209, letter 19.

23. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:454.

24. Ruskin, Works, XV:491-2.

25. Pall Mall Budget 1164. 15 Jan. 1891, p.20.

26. Letters from Graham Robertson, ed. K. Preston (London; Hamish Hamilton, 1953), pp. 398-9.

27. John Nicoll, Rossetti, (London: Studio Vista, 1975), p. 125.

28. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 492.

29. Ruskin, Works, IV:197n.

30. Ruskin, Works, VI:81.

31. R.H. Wilenski, John Ruskin: An Introduction to Further Study of His Life and Work, (London: Faber & Faber Ltd, 1933) p. 27.

32. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:492-4.

33. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 93.

34. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:494.

35. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:494 and The Winnington Letters, p. 330.

36. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:494.

37. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:494.

38. Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.35, 299. cp. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:494.

39. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 96.

40. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:262.

41. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 177, Plate 258.

42. A Fight For a Woman: Surtees, Catalogue, Text 180 Plate 262. King Rene's Honeymoon: Surtees, Catalogue, Text 175, Plate 255 Prince's Progress: Surtees, Catalogue, Text 185,6, Plate 272, 276.

43. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 178 Plate 259 and n.3. (Unpublished letter to G. Boyce 19 Nov. 1865).

44. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1003 "...but lucre was the lure".

45. Nicoll, p. 143.

46. Nicoll, p. 97.

47. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1055.

48. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1283.

49. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:149 "...differs from every previous conception of the scene known to me..."

50. Ruskin, Works, XIX:206.

Notes to Chapter Ten.

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:521.

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.36, 124.

3. Ruskin, Works, XIX:206.

4. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:262.

5. Ruskin Diaries, p.658.

6. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:262.

7. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 134.

8. Helen Rossetti Angeli, Pre-Raphaelite Twilight: The Story of Charles Augustus Howell (London: The Richards Press, 1954).

9. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 139.

10. Angeli, Friends and Enemies, p. 138.

11. Ruskin, Works, XXXVIII:344.

12. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:263.

13. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.38, 350.

14. Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS. English Letters, c.38, 298.

15. William Michael Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1899), p. 83-4.

16. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 120, Plate 187.

17. The Winnington Letters, p. 675.

18. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1097.

19. T. Hall Caine, pp. 222-3.

20. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1123.

21. The Family Letters of Christina Georgina Rossetti, ed. William Michael Rossetti (London: Brown, Langham and Co. Ltd., 1908), p. 73.

22. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Jane Morris: Their Correspondence, ed. John Bryson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 56.

23. Rossetti and Jane Morris, p. 59.

24. Rossetti and Jane Morris, p. 62.

25. Rossetti and Jane Morris, pp. 103-4.

26. Rossetti, Letters, p. 493.

27. Rossetti and Jane Morris, p. 127.

28. The Brantwood Diary of John Ruskin, ed. H.G. Viljoen (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), entry for 22 April 1883, p. 317.

29. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:394.

30. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:269.

Notes to Chapter Eleven.

1. W.G. Collingwood, Ruskin's Philosophy (Chichester, Sussex: Quentin Nelson, 1971), p. 17.

2. Ruskin, Works, V:137.

3. Ruskin, Works, V:65, 66.

4. Rossetti, Letters, p. 209.

5. R.G. Collingwood, The Principles of Art (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), pp. 109-110.

6. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:166.

7. Ruskin, Works, Vxlii, ff.

8. Ruskin, Works, XI: 201.

9. George Landow, The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), p.69. "Before we examine the effects of painting and poetry upon Ruskin's philosophy of beauty and theories of meaning in art, it will be necessary to analyze further the nature of the romantic, or expressive, poetry which he wished to league with painting".

10. M.H. Abrams The Mirror and The Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), p.22.

11. Rossetti, Works, p. 557.

12. Wordsworth's Poetical Works, ed. E. de Selincourt, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944), II:400.

13. Benedetto Croce, Aesthetic: trans. D. Ainslie 2nd ed. 1922, from Ch. 2 of Artistic Expression, ed. John Hospers (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1971): "Intuitive activity possesses intuitions to the extent that it expresses them..."

14. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 111.

15. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 116.

16. Ruskin, Works, XI:203-4.

17. T. Hall Caine, p. 169.

18. Rossetti, Letters, p. 914.

19. Ruskin, Works, V:29.

20. T. Hall Caine, p. 112.

21. Ruskin, Works, III:88.

22. Ruskin, Works, III:87.

23. Ruskin, Works, III:88.

24. Ruskin, Works, IV:221.

25. Ruskin, Works, V:202.

26. Ruskin, Works, V:204.

27. Rossetti, Works, p. 607.

28. Ruskin, Works. IV:223.

29. Bod. MS. Eng. Letters; c.35. 90.

30. Holman Hunt, I:341.

31. Ruskin, Works, III:137.

32. Rossetti, Works, p. 555.

33. W.M. Rossetti, The Germ, p.18.

34. Rossetti, Works, p. 550.

35. Rossetti, Works, p. 549.

36. Ruskin, Works, V:202.

37. Rossetti, Works, p. 551.

38. Rossetti, Works, p. 551.

39. Rossetti, Works, p. 607.

40. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, pp. 112-113.

41. Ruskin, Works, III:34.

42. Ruskin, Works, III:39.

43. Rossetti, Works, p. 637.

44. G. Milner, "On Some Marginalia Made by D.G. Rossetti", Manchester Quarterly, V (January 1883), p.6.

45. Rossetti, Works, p. 628.

46. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 115.

47. Ruskin, Works, V:58-9.

48. Ruskin, Works, V:49.

49. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, pp. 111, 112.

50. Ruskin, Works, IV:253.

51. Ruskin, Works, IV:255.

52. Ruskin, Works, IV:253.

53. Ruskin, Works, IV:253-4.

54. see Ruskin, Works, V:143. "He simply saw the beast. Saw it as plainly as you see the writing on this page".

55. Ruskin, Works, VII:250.

56. Ruskin, Works, IV:254.

57. Ruskin, Works, IV:255.

58. Rossetti, Works, p. 554.

59. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 275.

60. Ruskin, Works, IV:253.

61. T. Hall Caine, pp. 110-111.

62. Ruskin, Works, IV:257.

63. T. Hall Caine, p. 220.

64. T. Hall Caine, p. 221.

65. T. Hall Caine, p. 110.

66. T. Hall Caine, p. 265.

67. Rossetti, Works, p. 74.

68. Rossetti, Works, p. 94, sonnet LX.

69. T. Hall Caine, p. 269.

70. Ruskin, Works, XVI:370

71. Ruskin, Works, IV:284.

72. George Landow, p. 71.

73. Ruskin, Works, IV:257.

74. Rossetti, Works, p. 589.

75. Ruskin, Works, V:124-5.

76. Rossetti, Works, p. 621.

77. Rossetti, Works, p. 621.

78. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 312.

79. Ruskin, Works, III:134.

80. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 308.

81. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, p. 315.

82. Ruskin, Works, XI:212-213.

83. Rossetti, Works, p. 606.

84. Collingwood, The Principles of Art, pp. 116, 117.

85. Ruskin, Works, V:42-3.

86. Ruskin, Works, V:43.

87. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:414.

88. R.M. Cooper, Lost on Both Sides (Ohio University Press, 1970), p. 76.

89. G. Robert Stange, "Art Criticism as a Prose Genre", The Art of Victorian Prose, ed. George Levine and William Madden (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.40.

90. T. Hall Caine, p. 191.

91. T. Hall Caine, p. 191.

92. Rossetti, Works, p. 594.

93. Stange, p. 46.

94. Rossetti, Works, p. 575.

95. Rossetti, Letters, p. 286.

96. William Gaunt, The Aesthetic Adventure (London: Jonathan Cape, 1945), p.37.

97. Rossetti, Works, p. 214.

98. Ruskin, Works, XII:334.

99. Ruskin, Works, XII:334-5.

100. Ruskin, Works, III:613.

101. Ruskin, Works, III:618.

102. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy ed. Paul Edwards, (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd. 1967), II:140.

Notes to Chapter Twelve.

1. Ruskin, Works, V:137.

2. Rossetti, Letters, p. 380 "...did I solicit from you... a certain greenish Book of Bogies".

3. Rossetti, Works, p. 607.

4. See Edgar Allen Poe, Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque, with other Stories (London, George Newnes Ltd., MCMIII). Lily B. Campbell, "The Grotesque in the Poetry of Robert Browning", Bulletin of the University of Texas, April 1907, no. 92.. Arthur Clayborough, "Coleridge: The Organisation of a Dream" in The Grotesque in English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). Walter Bagehot, "Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning; or Pure, Ornate, and Grotesque art in English Poetry", in The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot, ed. N. St. John-Stevas, Vol II of Literary Essays (London: The Economist, 1965).

5. Surtees, Catalogue, Texts 19, 19a, 19b, Plates 5, 6, 7.

6. Surtees, Catalogue, Texts 17, 18, 34, 34a, 35a, Plates 3, 4, 19, 20, 21, 22.

7. Surtees, Catalogue, Texts 23, 22, 28, 29, 30, Plates 9, 10, 14, 15. 16.

8. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 1142-3.

9. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1124.

10. Rossetti, Letters, p. 1116.

11. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 1115-6.

12. Ruskin, Works, XI: 152-190, and V: 130-148.

13. Ruskin, Works, XII:160.

14. Rossetti, Works, p. 607.

15. Rossetti, Works, p. 74.

16. Rossetti, Letters, p. 200.

17. Rossetti, Letters, p. 201. cp. The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins, ed. Humphry House, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press 1959)(p. 194. for his own similar experience"...which produce dead impressions...dream images...seen 'between our eyelids and our eyes'."

18. Davies, The Working Men's College, pp. 45-6.

19. Rossetti, Works, p. 206.

20. Ruskin, Works, IV:291.

21. Rossetti, Works, p. 630.

22. Rossetti, Letters, p.

23. Ruskin, Works, IV:251.

24. Ruskin, Works, XI: 183.

25. Rossetti, Works, p. 99. sonnet LXXIV.

26. Ruskin, Works, IV:252.

27. Ruskin, Works, V:136.

28. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 168. Pierpont-Morgan Library MSS. Letter to Mrs. Cowper-Temple.

29. Rossetti, Letters, p. 46.

30. Ruskin, Works, V:139.

31. Ruskin, Works, V:181.

32. Ruskin, Works, V:134.

33. Sir Walter Scott "The Novels of Hoffman", The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart, 30 vols. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1871) XVIII: 270-332.

34. Walter Scott, Miscellaneous Works, XVIII:306.

35. Sir Walter Scott, "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft" Miscellaneous Works, XXIX: or Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:168.

36. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 174.

37. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:200.

38. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, pp. 168, 169.

39. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 169.

40. Ruskin, Works, XI: 164, 165.

41. Ruskin, Works, XI:165.

42. Ruskin, Works, V:130.

43. Ruskin, Works, V:133.

44. Rossetti, Works, p. 83, Sonnet XXVII

45. Ruskin, Works, V:133.

46. Rossetti, Works, p. 41.

47. Ruskin, Works, V:133.

48. Ruskin, Works, V:132.

49. Ruskin, Works, V:136.

50. Ruskin, Works, V:130.

51. Ruskin, Works, XI:178.

52. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:287.

53. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:288.

54. Ruskin, Works, V:136.

55. Ruskin, Works, V:137.

56. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:149.

57. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV: 155.

58. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:288.

59. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:287.

60. Ruskin, Works, V:142.

61. John Dixon Hunt, The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination 1848-1900 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 143.

62. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 139.

63. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:237.cf. XIX:205 "...by accepting symbols of drama for true drama (people) gradually came to regard the truths of human history and religion as if they were all symbolisms".

64. Rossetti, Letters, p. 276.

65. Landow, Aesthetic and Critical Theories, p. 351.

66. Rossetti, Letters, p. 276.

67. Rossetti, Letters, p. 276.

68. Landow, Aesthetic and Critical Theories, p. 351.

69. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 74 (Unpublished Heaton Collection).

70. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 74 (Unpublished Heaton Collection).

71. Rossetti, Works, p. 625.

72. Rossetti, Works, p. 618.

73. William Michael Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1889), p. 108.

74. Rossetti, Works, p. 588.

75. Rossetti, Works, p. 625.

76. Rossetti, Works, p. 593.

77. Rossetti, Works, p. 597.

78. Rossetti, Works, p. 597.

79. Rossetti, Works, p. 600.

80. Rossetti, Works, p. 631.

81. Rossetti as Designer and Writer, p. 108.

82. Rossetti as Designer and Writer, p. 108.

83. Edmund Leach, "Michaelangelo's Genesis: Structuralist comments on the paintings on the Sistine Chapel ceiling" T.L.S. 18 March 1977, no.3, 914 (see T.L.S. 25 March 1977 for ensuing discussion of illustration).

84. Leach, "Michaelangelo's Genesis".

85. Arthur Clayborough, The Grotesque in English Literature. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

86. Michael Steig "Defining The Grotesque: An Attempt At Synthesis," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, Vol 29, no.2. Winter 1970, p. 255.

87. Clayborough, pp. 79-111, "Four Kinds of Art".

88. Ruskin, Works, XI:168.

89. Ruskin, Works, XI:178.

90. Rossetti, Letters, p. 582.

91. Rossetti, Works, p. 241.

92. Rossetti, Works, p. 74.

93. Leach, "Michaelangelo's Genesis", p. 312.

94. Rossetti, Letters and Memoir, I:107. and see Collected Works of Edgar Allen Poe, ed. T.D. Mabbot, (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 364-9.

95. Rossetti, Works, p.3.

96. Rossetti, Works, p.4. (Stanza 8.)

97. See Illustrations.

98. Rossetti, Works, p.4 (stanza 7.)

99. Ruskin, Works, V:137.

100. Rossetti, Works, p. 214.

101. Rossetti, Works, p. 95, Sonnet LXII.

102. Rossetti, Works, p. 88. Sonnet XLI.

103. Rossetti, Works, p. 103. Sonnet LXXXV.

104. Rossetti, Works, p.99. Sonnet LXXIV.

105. Rossetti, Works, p. 47.

106. Rossetti, Works, pp. 47-8.

107. Rossetti, Works, p. 174.

108. Rossetti, Works, p. 174.

109. Rossetti, Works, pp. 109-113.

110. Ronalie Roper Howard, The Dark Glass: Vision and Technique in the Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1972), p. 144.

111. Rossetti, Works, pp. 259-277.

112. Surtees, Catalogue, Plates 179, 180, 181, Text 117, 117A, B.

113. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 95, Text 81.

114. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 238, Text 168.

115. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 230, Text 162.

116. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 29, Text 44.

117. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 350, Text 241.

118. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 182, Text 118.

119. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 80, Text 73.

120. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 36, Text 47.

121. Rossetti, Works, pp. 64-69 and Surtees Catalogue, Plate 312, Text 220.

122. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 312, Text 220.

123. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 49, Text 57.

124. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 25, Text 41.

125. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 4, Text 18.

126. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 10, Text 22.

127. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 9, Text 23.

128. See Illustrations.

129. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 176.

130. Rossetti, Letters, p. 197.

131. Rossetti, Letters, p. 276.

132. Rossetti, Works, p. 553.

133. Rossetti, Works, p. 606.

134. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 371, Text 249.

135. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 238, Text 168.

136. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 331, Text 233.

137. Wassily Kandinsky, Concerning The Spritual in Art, and Painting in Particular trans. F. Golffing, M. Harrison and F. Ostertag. (The Documents of Modern Art Vol. 5) (New York: George Wittenborn, 1972)

138. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 51, Text 58.

139. Rossetti, Works, p.92. Sonnet LIV.

140. Rossetti, Works, p.76.

141. Harold L. Weatherby "Problems of Form and Content in the Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti" Victorian Poetry II: (1964), 11-19. although Weatherby calls this "...a peculiar quality of Pre-Raphaelite art", he says on p. 12 "The same problem confronts us in much of Rossetti's early poetry".

142. Walter Pater, Appreciations (London: Macmillan, 1889), p. 215.

143. Pater, p. 217.

144. Weatherby, title of article. op. cit.

Notes to Chapter Thirteen.

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235.

2. Ruskin, Works, XII:348.

3. Ruskin, Works, XII:157n.

4. Rossetti, Letters, p. 231.

5. Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism, p. 21.

6. Rossetti, Works, p. 630.

7. Holman Hunt, I:149.

8. The Germ, frontispiece to each edition.

9. Rossetti, Works, p. 587.

10. Rossetti, Works, p. 587.

11. Rossetti, Works, p. 588.

12. Ruskin, Works, III:639 MS. entitled 'A Reply to "Blackwood's" Criticism of Turner'. See III 635 n.1.

13. Ruskin, Works, IV:231.

14. Ruskin, Works, VI:36-7.

15. Ruskin, Works, VI:38.

16. Journals of Gerard Manley Hopkins, p. 215.

17. Ruskin, Works, VI:41.

18. Ruskin, Works, VI:42.

19. Holman Hunt, I:148.

20. Ruskin, Works, VI:38.

21. Ruskin, Works, VI:41.

22. Rossetti, Works,

23. Rossetti, Works, p. 83. Sonnet XXVI.

24. Ian M.L. Hunter, Memory (London: Penguin, 1974, 1st published 1957) p. 205.

25. Ruskin, Works, VI:41-2.

26. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:53.

27. Frances Yates, The Art of Memory (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966) p. 28.

28. Rossetti, Works, p. 79. Sonnet XV.

29. Ruskin, Works, IV:229-30 "...in the passage quoted by Wordsworth in the preface to his poems".

30. Wordsworth Poetical Works, II:400-401.

31. Rossetti, Letters, p. 914.

32. Rossetti, Works, p. 94. Sonnet LX.

33. Ruskin, Works, V:29.

34. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:431-2.

35. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II 431-2.

36. Ruskin, Works, IV:230.

37. Ruskin, Works, IV:231.

38. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:436: "...the indefinite and subtle character of the conception itself".

39. Ruskin, Works, IV:229-230: "The knowledge of things retained in this visible form is called conception by the metaphysicians, which term I shall retain".

40. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:388: "...thoughts, which are the representatives of...past feelings..."

41. Ruskin, Works, IV:291.

42. Ruskin, Works, IV:291.

43. Ruskin, Works, IV:251.

44. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:388.

45. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:439.

46. Ruskin, Works, IV:231.

47. Ruskin, Works, IV:232.

48. Ruskin, Works, IV:233.

49. Ruskin, Works, IV:234.

50. Ruskin, Works, VI:42.

51. Ruskin, Works, IV:235.

52. T.S. Eliot "Tradition and The Individual Talent", Selected Essays (London: 1918), p.19.

53. Rossetti, Works, p. 94 Sonnet LX.

54. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:437-8.

55. Ruskin, Works, IV:291.

56. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:387, 388.

57. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, II:388.

58. Ruskin, Works, IV:211.

59. see Ruskin, Works, IV:42: "I wholly deny that the impressions of beauty are in any way sensual".

60. Ruskin, Works, III:146.

61. Rossetti, Works, p. 618.

62. T. Hall Caine, p. 104.

63. Rossetti, Works, p. 77. Sonnet VII.

64. Rossetti, Works, p. 216-7.

65. A. St. Johnson "Rossetti's Sudden Light", The Academy 624, 19 April, 1884.

66. Rossetti, Letters, p. 377.

67. Ruskin, Works, IV:290.

68. Ruskin, Works, IV: 289.

69. Wordsworth Poetical Works, II:216-217. Poem XII.

70. Rossetti, Works, p. 96. Sonnet LXIV.

71. J.L. Kendall "The Concept of The Infinite Moment in The House of Life", Victorian Newsletter XXVIII: (Fall 1965) 5-6.

72. Ruskin, Works, IV:290.

73. Rossetti, Works, p. 81. Sonnet XIX.

74. Rossetti, Works, p. 78. Sonnet XII.

75. See Rossetti, Letters, p. 377.

76. T. Hall Caine, p. 221. 77. T. Hall Caine, p. 171.

78. Ruskin, Works, VI:36.

79. Troxell, pp. 25-6.

80. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 58, Plate 51.

81. Ruskin, Works, IV:80.

82. Ruskin, Works, IV:81-2.

83. Rossetti, Works, p. 588.

84. Rossetti, Works, p. 573.

85. Wordsworth's Prelude ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 60. Book II 11.335-8.

86. Rossetti, Works, p.557. St. Agnes of Intercession, originally entitled "An Autopsychology" see entry 21 March 1850 in The P.R.B. Journal ed. William E. Fredeman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) p. 64.

87. Rossetti, Works, p. 557 "...I would take paper and pencil, and try in some childish way to fix the shapes that rose within me. For my hope, even then, was to be a painter".

88. Ruskin, Works, IV:77

89. Ruskin, Works, IV:78 and Wordsworth, Poetical Works, (Ode on Intimations of Immortality).

90. Ruskin, Works, IV:290.

91. Wordsworth's Prelude, p. 60 Book II ll. 335-7.

92. Wordsworth, Poetical Works, IV: 281 and IV 283.

93. Rossetti, Works, pp. 589-90.

94. Rossetti, Works, p. 606.

95. T. Hall Caine, p. 218.

96. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:271.

97. Rossetti, Works, p. 587.

Notes to Chapter Fourteen.

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:
2. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:227.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 272.
4. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:236.
5. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:232.
6. Troxell, p. 25.
7. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:228.
8. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:229.
9. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV: 147-174.
10. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII: 267-8.
11. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 29, Text 44.
12. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 154, Text 110.
13. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 156, Text 109.
14. Surtees, Catalogue, Plate 85, Text 78.
15. Ruskin, Works, XIX:206.
16. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:269.
17. Ruskin, Works, XIX:206.
18. Ruskin, Works, XIX:206.
19. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:288.
20. Ruskin Works, XXXIV:155.
21. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:153.
22. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:270.

23. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:168

24. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:227.

25. Ruskin, Works, XXXVII:697.

26. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:329.

27. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:404-5.

28. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:272.

29. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:256.

30. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 301.

31. Ruskin, Works, XVI:137.

32. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:299.

33. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII:271-2.

34. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:235.

35. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 75, Plate 87.

36. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:234.

37. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI:227.

38. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV:168.

39. Ruskin, Works XXXV:639.

40. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:639.

41. See Illustrations for details of paintings.

42. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 174.

43. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 169.

44. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 175.

45. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 181.

46. Surtees, Sublime & Instructive, p. 181.

47. Rossetti, Works, p. 99. sonnet LXXIV.

48. Ruskin, Works,

49. George Landow, Lecture given Oxford, Trinity Term 1977.

50. Ruskin, Works, XXXV:638-641.

51. Rossetti, Works, p. 320.

52. Rossetti, Works, p. 320.

53. Ruskin, Works, XXV:639.

54. Surtees, Catalogue, Text 75, Plate 87.

55. Ruskin, Works, XXXVI: 346-7.

Notes to Conclusion

1. John Dixon Hunt, The Pre-Raphaelite Imagination (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), p.3.

2. John Dixon Hunt, p.84 " ... all the external trappings of the allegory of love are employed ...."

3. Walter Hamilton, The Aesthetic Movement in England (London: Reeves and Turner, 1882), p.5.

4. Hamilton, pp. 4-5.

5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Jane Morris; Their Correspondence, ed. John Bryson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) p. 188.

6. T. Hake and A. Compton-Rickett, The Life and Letters of Theodore Watts-Dunton (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack Ltd., 1916), I: 175-6.

7. Barbara Charlesworth, Dark Passages: The Decadent Consciousness in Victorian Literature (Madison & Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), p.4.

8. Rossetti, Works, p. 555: "Set thine hand and thy soul to serve man with God".

9. William Gaunt, The Aesthetic Adventure (London: Jonathan Cape, 1945), pp. 42-3.

10. William Sharp, Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Record and a Study (London: Macmillan, 1882), p. 414.

11. The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne, 20 vols. ed. Sir Edmund Gosse & T.J. Wise (London: William Heineman, 1926), XII: 137-8.

12. Rossetti, Works, p. 621.

13. Robert Buchanan, The Fleshly School of Poetry and other Phenomena of The Day (London: Strahan, 1872).

14. see "Under The Microscope" in The Complete Works of Swinburne, XVI: 377-444, and XIII:421, "Thus even of the loathsomest bodily putrescence and decay he can make some noble use".

15. Rossetti, Works, p. 618.

16. Rossetti, Works, p. 618.

17. Dante Gabriel Rossetti: John Keats: Criticism and Comment: Five Letters to Harry Buxton Forman (London: privately printed for T.J. Wise, 1919), pp. 16, 17, Letter IV.

18. The Complete Works of Swinburne, XIII: 422

19. Keats Letters p.12., Letter III.

20. Rossetti, Letters, p. 529.

21. Rossetti, Letters, p. 907.

22. Rossetti, Letters, pp: 771-2.

23. Rossetti, Letters, p. 791n.

24. Rossetti, Letters, p. 810.

25. Rossetti, Letters, p. 791.

26. Rossetti, Letters, p. 791.

27. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 872-3.

28. Rossetti, Letters, pp. 872-3.

29. Ruskin, Works, V:48-9.

30. Doughty, p. 489.

31. Rossetti, Works, p. 76. Sonnet V.

32. The Complete Works of Swinburne, I:172.

33. The Complete Works of Swinburne, I:170.

34. The Complete Works of Swinburne, II:69-75.

35. Rossetti, Works, p. 108. Sonnet cI.

36. The Complete Works of Swinburne, II:69-75.

37. Rossetti, Works, p. 191.

38. The Complete Works of Swinburne, II:70.

39. Ruskin, Works, XXXIX:160 and xxii-xxv.

40. Rossetti, Letters, p. 530

41. Rossetti, Letters, p. 526.

42. Rossetti, Letters, p. 526.

43. Maryan Wynn Ainsworth ed. Dante Gabriel Rossetti and The Double Work of Art (Yale: Yale University Art Gallery, 1976) Title.

44. Ruskin, Works, III:48.

45. The Complete Works of Swinburne, XIII:417.

46. The Complete Works of Swinburne, XIII:423.

47. T. Hall Caine, pp. 103-4.

48. The George Eliot Letters, 8 vols., ed. Gordon S. Haight (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), VIII:44. Letter to Mrs. Taylor 18 July 1878.

49. T. Hall Caine, p. 203.

50. Rossetti, Works, p. 620.

51. The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, ed. G.F. Maine (London: Collins, 1948) p. 1027.

52. The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, p. 1028.

53. Walter Pater, The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry (London: Macmillan and Co., 1888 3rd edition) p. x.

54. Pater, The Renaissance, p.ix.

55. Pater, The Renaissance, p.x.

56. Keats Letters, p.13, Letter III.

57. Rossetti, Works, p. 76.

58. The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, p. 1052.

59. Walter Pater "Dante Gabriel Rossetti", Appreciations: With An Essay on Style (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890) p. 217.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A) BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Fredeman, William. Pre-Raphaelitism, A Bibliocritical Guide. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1965.

(B) WORKS AND LETTERS OF RUSKIN AND ROSSETTI.

Adrian, Arthur A. "The Browning-Rossetti Friendship: Some Unpublished Letters." Publications of The Modern Languages Association, LXXIII, (December, 1958), 538-544.

Bryson, John, ed. Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Jane Morris: Their Correspondence. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Burd, Van Akin. The Winnington Letters: John Ruskin's Correspondence with Margaret Alexis Bell and the Children at Winnington Hall. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969.

Cook, E.T., and Wedderburn, Alexander, ed. The Works of John Ruskin, Library Edition. 39 vols. London: George Allen, 1903-12.

Doughty, Oswald, and Wahl, John Robert, ed. The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. 4 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1965-7.

Evans, Joan, and Whitehouse, John Howard, ed. The Diaries of John Ruskin. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-9.

Hueffer, Francis. The Ballads and Sonnets of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1882.

DeLaura, David J. Ruskin and The Brownings: Twentyfive Unpublished Letters. Manchester: The John Rylands Library, 1972: reprinted from Bulletin of John Rylands Library, vol. 54, No.2, Spring 1972.

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel. John Keats: Criticism and Comment. 30 copies for private circulation. London: T.J. Wise, 1919.

-----Preface to Life of William Blake. Alexander Gilchrist. 2 vols. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1863.

Rossetti, William Michael, ed. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Works. London: Ellis and Elvey, 1911.

Rossetti, William Michael, ed. Ruskin: Rossetti: Pre-Raphaelitism. London: George Allen, 1899.

-----Rossetti Papers. London: Sands, 1903.

-----Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters With a Memoir. 2 vols. London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895.

-----ed. The Germ: Thoughts Toward Nature in Poetry, Literature and Art: being a Facsimilie Reprint of the Literary Organ of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood Published in 1850. London: Elliot Stock, 1901.

Oxford. Bodleian Library. Transcript Letters of John Ruskin. MSS. English Letters. c.33.

Surtees, Virginia, ed. Sublime and Instructive: Letters From John Ruskin to Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, Anna Blunden, and Ellen Heaton. London: Michael Joseph, 1972.

-----Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Paintings and Drawings 1828-1882. A Catalogue Raisonné. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Troxell, Janet Camp. Three Rossettis: Unpublished Letters to and from Dante Gabriel, Christina, and William. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937.

Viljoen, Helen Gill, ed. The Brantwood Diary of John Ruskin. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971.

(C) BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES OF RUSKIN AND ROSSETTI

Angeli, Helen Rossetti. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, His Friends and Enemies. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1949.

Caine, T. Hall. Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. London: Elliot Stock, 1882.

Champneys, Basil. Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore. 2 vols. London: George Bell and Sons, 1900.

Collingwood, W.G. The Life of John Ruskin, 2 vols. London: Methuen, 1900,

Cook, E.T. The Life of John Ruskin, 2 vols. London: George Allen, 1911.

Davies, J. Llewelyn, ed. The Working Men's College, Records of its History and Its Works for Fifty years, by Members of the College. 1854-1904. London: Macmillan & Co. 1904.

Doughty, Oswald. A Victorian Romantic: Dante Gabriel Rossetti. London: Muller, 1949.

Dunn, Henry Treffry. Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and His Circle. London: Elkin Matthews, 1904.

Evans, Joan. John Ruskin. London: Cape, 1954.

Fredeman, William. The P.R.B. Journal. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

Holman Hunt, William. Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1905-6.

Hunt, Violet. Wife of Rossetti. London: John Lane, 1932.

Jackson, Holbrook. Dreamer of Dreams: The Rise and Fall of Nineteenth Century Idealism. London: Faber and Faber, 1948.

Leon, Derrick. Ruskin: The Great Victorian: London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949.

Prinsep, Val. "Dante Gabriel Rossetti: A Chapter from a Painter's Reminiscence Part II". Magazine of Art, XXVII (1904), 281-286

Rossetti, Helen M.M. (Angeli). The Life and Work of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. (Easter number of the Art Journal) London: Virtue, 1902.

Rossetti, William Michael. Pre-Raphaelite Diaries and Letters. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1900.

-----Dante Gabriel Rossetti, His Family Letters with a Memoir. London: Ellis & Elvey, 1895

Preston, K. ed. Letters from Graham Robertson. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1935.

Sulman, Thomas. "A Memorable Art Class". Good Words, XXXVIII (August 1897), 547-552.

Smart, William. John Ruskin: His Life and Works. Glasgow: Wilson and McCormick, 1883.

Troxell, Janet Camp. Three Rossetti's: Unpublished Letters to and From Dante Gabriel, Christina, and William. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937.

Vincent, E.R. Gabriele Rossetti in England. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.

Waugh, Evelyn. Rossetti: His Life and Works. London: Duckworth, 1928.

Wilenski, R.H. John Ruskin: An Introduction to Further Study of His Life & Work. London: Faber & Faber, 1933.

(D) CRITICAL STUDIES OF RUSKIN AND ROSSETTI

Abbott, C.C. and Bertram, eds. Poet and Painter: The Correspondence of Gordon Bottomley and Paul Nash. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Ainsworth, Maryan Wynn. ed. Dante Gabriel Rossetti and The Double Work of Art. Yale: Yale University Art Gallery, 1976.

Bassalik de Vries, J.C.E. "William Blake in His Relationship To Dante Gabriel Rossetti". Ph.D. dissertation, Zwolle (Holland), Basle, 1911.

Bate, Percy H. The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters: their associates and successors. London: George Bell & Sons, 1899.

Benson, Arthur Christopher. Rossetti (English Men of Letters). London: Macmillan, 1904.

Bowness, Alan. "The Victorians" in The Genius of British Painting ed. David Piper. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1975.

Bowra, Sir Maurice. The Romantic Imagination. London: Oxford University Press, 1950.

Browning, Robert. Critical comments on Swinburne and D.G. Rossetti, with an Anecdote Relating to W.M. Thackeray. London: privately printed for T.J. Wise, 1919.

Buchanan, Robert, The Fleshly School of Poetry and other Phenomena of the Day. London: Strahan, 1872.

Cammell, Charles R. Dante Gabriel Rossetti and The Philosophy of Love. London: Poseidon Press, 1933.

-----A Look Round Literature. London: Ward and Downey, 1887.

Chesneau, Ernest. The English School of Painting. trans. L.N. Etherington. London: Cassell and Co. 1884.

Collingwood, R.G. Ruskin's Philosophy: An Address delivered at the Ruskin Centenary Conference, Coniston, 8 August 1919. Kendall: Titus Wilson and Son publishers, 1922.

Charlesworth, Barbara, Dark Passages: The Decadent Consciousness in Victorian Literature. Madison & Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965.

Cooper, Robert M. Lost on Both Sides: Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Critic and Poet. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1970.

Doughty, Oswald. "Rossetti's Conception of The 'Poetic' in Poetry and Painting". Essays by Divers Hands Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. New Series xxvi. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Fredeman, William E. Rossetti's "In Memoriam": An Elegiac Reading of The House of Life. Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. XLVII, No 2, Manchester: March 1965.

Gray, Nicolette. Rossetti, Dante, and Ourselves. London: Faber, 1947.

Grieve, A.I. The Art of Dante Gabriel Rossetti: The Pre-Raphaelite Period, 1848-50. Norfolk: Real World Publications, 1973.

Groom, Bernard. The Diction of Poetry From Spenser to Bridges. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955.

Hueffer, Ford Madox. Rossetti: A Critical Essay on His Art. London: Duckworth & Co., 1902.

Hough, Graham. The Last Romantics. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd., 1949.

Hardie, Martin. The Victorian Period. Vol.III of Water Colour Painting in England. ed. D. Snelgrove,, J. Mayne, B. Taylor. 3 vols. London: B.T. Batsford, 1966.

Howard, Ronalie Roper. The Dark Glass: Vision and Technique in the Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1972.

Hueffer, Francis, memoir to Poems, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Liepzig: Tauchnitz edition, 1870.

Johnson, A.St. "Rossetti's Sudden Light", The Academy XXV No. 624 (19 April 1884), 279

Kendall, J.K. "The Concept of the Infinite Moment in The House of Life", Victorian Newsletter XVIII (Fall, 1965) 5-6.

Ladd, Henry. The Victorian Morality of Art: an analysis of Ruskin's esthetic. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith inc., 1932.

Landow, George. The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Maitland, Thomas (= Robert Buchanan) "The Fleshly School of Poetry: Mr. D.G.Rossetti". Contemporary Review, XVIII (October 1871); 334-350.

Mills, Ernestine. "Rossetti's Method of Oil Painting". Apollo, XLIX (February, 1949), 49.

Morse, B.J. "A Note On The Autobiographical Elements in Rossetti's 'Hand and Soul'". Anglia, LVI, (1930), 331-337.

Nicoll, John. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. London: Studio Vista, 1975.

Pater, Walter. "Dante Gabriel Rossetti". Appreciations. London: Macmillan and Co., 1889.

Peckham, Morse. Victorian Revolutionaries: Speculations on Some Heroes of a Culture Crisis. New York: Braziller, 1970.

Pissaro, Lucien. Rossetti: Masterpieces in Colour. London: Ballantyne Press, 1907.

Rosenberg, John D. The Darkening Glass: A portrait of Ruskin's Genius. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963.

Rossetti, William M. "Ruskin as a Writer on Art". Broadway New Series II, (March, 1869), 48-59.

Rossetti, William M. Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer. London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1889.

Sonstroem, David. Rossetti and The Fair Lady. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1970.

Smart, William. John Ruskin: His Life and Work. Glasgow: Wilson and McCormick, 1883.

Spens, J. "The Ethical Significance of Rossetti's Poetry". International Journal of Ethics, XII (January 1902), 216-225.

Turner, Albert Morton. "Rossetti's Reading and His Critical Opinions" Publications of the Modern Language Association, XLII (June 1927), 465-491.

Townsend, Francis. Ruskin and The Landscape Feeling Illinois: Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XXXV No.3 (1951).

Vogel, Joseph F. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Versecraft (University of Florida Humanities Monograph, number 34) Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971

DeVane, William Clyde. "The Harlot and The Thoughtful Young Man" Studies in Philology xxix (January 1932), 463-484.

Wilenski, R.H. "The Pre-Raphaelite Movement: Rossetti" in English Painting. London: Faber & Faber, 1954.

Walton, Paul H. The Drawings of John Ruskin. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Weatherby, Harold L. "Problems of Form and Content in the Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti", Victorian Poetry II Winchester 1964), 11-19.

(E) OTHERS

Angeli, Helen Rossetti. Pre-Raphaelite Twilight: The Story of Charles Augustus Howell. London: Richards, 1945.

Abrams, M.H. The Mirror and The Lamp: Romantic Theory and the critical tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Bagehot, Walter "Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning; or Pure, Ornate and Grotesque Art in English Poetry", The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot 8 vols. ed. N. St. John-Stevas. London: The Economist, 1965. Vol II.

Bate, Walter Jackson. From Classic to Romantic: Premises of Taste in Eighteenth Century England. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946.

Bates, William. ed. The Maclise Portrait-Gallery: A Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters (1830-38) republished from Frasers Magazine . London: Chatto and Windus, 1873.

Bell, Quentin Victorian Artists London: Academy Editions, 1967.

Birrell, Augustine. ed. The Poetical Works of Robert Browning 2 vols. London: Smith Elder & Co. 1897.

Bowness, Alan, "The Victorians", The Genius of British Painting ed. David Piper. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975.

Bredvold, Louis "The Tendency Towards Platonism in Neo-Classical Esthetics" Journal of English Literary History, I No.2 (September, 1934) 91-119.

Buckley, Jerome Hamilton. The Triumph of Time A Study of the Victorian concepts of Time, history, progress and decadence. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Campbell, Lily B. "The Grotesque in the Poetry of Robert Browning "Bulletin of The University of Texas, No.92. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, April 1907.

Chadwick, Charles. Symbolism (The Critical Idiom, vol.16) London: Methuen, 1971.

Clark, Kenneth, The Gothic Revival: An Essay in The History of Taste. London: Constable, 1928; 3rd ed. John Murray, 1962; reprinted. 1970.

Clayborough, Arthur The Grotesque in English Literature. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965.

Croce, Benedetto. Aesthetic, trans. Douglas Ainslie, London: Macmillan & Co., 1922.

Dafforne, James, ed. Pictures by Daniel Maclise, R.A. with descriptions and a biographical sketch of the painter. London: Virtue and Co., 1872.

Edwards, Paul, ed. The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy. London: Collier Macmillan Ltd. 1967.

Eliot, Thomas Stearns. "Tradition and the Individual Talent", Selected Essays. London: Faber & Faber, 1932; 3rd enlarged ed. 1951.

Ferguson, George. Signs and Symbols in Christian Art. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954; Oxford University Paperback, 1961.

Ford, George. Keats and the Victorians: A Study of His Influence and Rise To Fame 1829-1895 (Yale Studies in English, vol. 101). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944.

Fordham, Freida. An Introduction to Jung's Psychology. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1953; reprint edition 1956.

Fredeman, William E. ed. The P.R.B. Journal: William Michael Rossetti's Diary of The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood 1849-53. Oxford; Oxford Clarendon Press: 1975.

Furness, R.S. Expressionism. (The Critical Idiom, vol. 29) London: Methuen, 1973.

Gaunt, William The Aesthetic Adventure. London: Jonathan Cape, 1945.

Gosse, Sir Edmund and Wise, T.J. ed. The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne (The Bonchurch Edition) 20 vols. London: Heinemann, 1927.

Gowing, Lawrence. Turner: Imagination and Reality. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966.

Hake, Thomas, and Compton-Rickett, A. The Life and Letters of Theodore Watts-Dunton, 2 vols. London: T.C. and E.C. Jack Ltd. 1916.

Hamilton, Walter. The Aesthetic Movement in England. London: Reeves & Turner, 1882.

Hilton, Timothy. The Pre-Raphaelites. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.

Hood, T.L. ed. The Letters of Robert Browning, collected by T.J. Wise. London: John Murray, 1933.

Hueffer, Ford Madox. Ford Madox Brown: A Study of His Life and Work. London: Longmans Green and Co., 1896.

Hunter, Ian M.L. Memory. Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1957; reprint ed. 1974.

Hospers, John. ed. Artistic Expression. New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1961.

Kandinsky, Wassily. Concerning The Spritual in Art, and Painting in Particular. 1912 (The Documents of Modern vol 5) trans. M. Sadlier as 'The Art of Spiritual Harmony', 1914. re-trans. Golfing, Harrison and Ostertag; reprinted 1972.

Kenyon, Frederick J. ed. The Letters of Elizabeth Barret-Browning. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1897.

Lang, Cecil Y. The Swinburne Letters. 6 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959-1962.

Levey, Michael. A Concise History of Painting from Giotto to Cézanne. London: Thames and Hudson, 1974.

Mabbott, T.D. ed. The Collected Works of Edgar Allen Poe. vol I Poems. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969.

Maine, G.F. The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde. London: Collins, 1948.

Mills, Ernestine. The Life and Letters of Frederick Shields. London: Longmans, 1912.

Owen, W.J.B., and Smyser, J.W. ed. The Prose Works of William Wordsworth. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Pater, Walter. The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry. London: Macmillan and Co., 1888.

Reitlinger, Gerald. The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices, 1760-1960. 2 vols. London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1961.

Salvesen, Christopher. The Landscape of Memory: A Study of Wordsworth's Poetry. London: Edward Arnold (publishers) Ltd., 1965.

Selincourt, E. de. Wordsworth's Prelude. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1959.

Scott, Sir Walter "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft", The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. 30 vols. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1871. XXIX

-----"The Novels of Hoffman" Miscellaneous Works, XVIII (1870).

Selincourt, E. de. ed. Wordsworth's Poetical Works. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.

Staley, Allen. The Pre-Raphaelite Landscape. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973.

Stange, G. Robert. "Art Criticism as a Prose Genre", The Art of Victorian Prose. ed. Levine, G. and Madden, W. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Steig, Michael "Defining The Grotesque: An Attempt at Synthesis". Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism. XXIX: (Winter 1970), 2.

Symonds, John Addington. "Caricature, The Fantastic, The Grotesque". Essays Speculative and Suggestive. 2 vols. London: 1890.

Thompson, Philip. The Grotesque (The Critical Idiom. vol 24) London: Methuen and Co., 1972.

Watkinson, Raymond. Pre-Raphaelite Art and Design. London: Studio Vista Ltd., 1970.

Whistler, James A. McNeil. The Gentle Art of Making Enemies. London: William Heinemann, 1890.

Yates, Frances. The Art of Memory. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.