## JOHN RUSKIN:

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL BIOGRAPHY.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON, M.R.S.L.

[REPRINTED FROM VOL. V. OF THE PAPERS OF THE MANCHESTER LITERARY CLUB.]

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Very much above the average of such productions manner value, none of them is without interest. . . . . We can strongly recommend the volume.—Westminster Review, Oct., 1875.

PAPERS. Vol. II. Session 1875-6. Pp. vi and 190. Price, in cloth, Six Shillings; paper cover, Five Shillings - - - - -

CONTENTS. Clubs of Old Manchester - - - - - - J. W. Hunter. Circulation of Newspapers and Periodicals in - J. H. Nodal and Abel Heywood, jun. Manchester - - - - - - - - -

On the Cypher of Pepys' Diary - - - J. E. Bailey, F.S.A.

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Morgan Brierley.

A volume of varied interest.—British Architect, July 7, 1876.

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A very interesting and instructive volume. - Preston Chronicle, Sep. 30, 1876.

The collection contains several good papers, notably those on the circulation periodicals in Manchester, and on Pepys' system of shorthand.—Westminster Reminister April, 1877.

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THE literary life of John Ruskin may be said to have extended over half a century. The early dawn of his intellectual powers may be recognized from some childish verses written one month before he had arrived at his ninth year. It was "written on a frosty day, in Glen Farg, just north of Loch Leven," on New Year's Day, 1828 (Queen of the Air, p. 128):—

Papa, how pretty those icicles are, That are seen so near, that are seen so far; Those dropping waters that come from the rocks And many a hole, like the haunt of a fox. That silvery stream that runs babbling along, Making a murmuring, dancing song. Those trees that stand waving upon the rock's side, And men that, like spectres, among them glide. And waterfalls that are heard from far, And come in sight when very near. And the water-wheel that turns slowly round. Grinding the corn that—requires to be ground. And mountains at a distance seen, And rivers winding through the plain. And quarries with their craggy stones, And the wind among them moans.

The child is father of the man, though the evidences of the parentage are occasionally somewhat difficult to discover. This boyish rhyme contains, however, no uncertain prophecy. Mr. Ruskin himself sees in it "all that I ever could be, or all that I cannot be." Verse-writing was not to be the work of Ruskin's life; but he did not abandon the muses until about 1850, when his poems were collected for private circulation. Some of them had appeared in *Friendship's Offering* and other annuals. From this very rare volume two pieces may be quoted:—

#### SONG. (ÆTAT 14.)

I weary for the torrent leaping
From off the scar's rough crest;
My muse is on the mountain sleeping,
My harp is sunk to rest.

I weary for the fountain foaming,
For shady holm and hill;
My mind is on the mountain roaming,
My spirit's voice is still.

I weary for the woodland brook,
That wanders through the vale;
I weary for the heights that look
Adown upon the dale.

The crags are lone on Coniston
And Loweswater's dell;
And dreary on the mighty one,
The cloud enwreathed Scawfell.

Oh! what although the crags be stern,
Their mighty peaks that sever,
Fresh flies the breeze on mountain fern,
And free on mountain heather.

I long to tread the mountain head, Above the valley swelling; I long to feel the breezes sped From grey and gaunt Helvellyn.

I love the eddying circling sweep,
The mantling and the foam
Of murmuring waters dark and deep
Amid the valleys lone.

It is a terror, yet 'tis sweet, Upon some broken brow To look upon the distant sweep Of ocean spread below. There is a thrill of strange delight
That passes quivering o'er me,
When blue hills rise upon the sight
Like summer clouds before me.

#### THE WRECK.

(ÆTAT 19.)

Its masts of might, its sails so free,
Had borne the scatheless keel
Through many a day of darkened sea,
And many a storm of steel;
When all the winds were calm, it met
(With home-returning prore)
With the lull
Of the waves
On a low lee shore,

The crest of the conqueror
On many a brow was bright;
The dew of many an exile's eye
Had dimmed the dancing sight;
And for love and for victory,
One welcome was in store,
In the lull
Of the waves
On a low lee shore.

The voices of the night are mute
Beneath the moon's eclipse;
The silence of the fitful flute
Is on the dying lips.
The silence of my lonely heart
Is kept for evermore
In the lull
Of the waves
On a low lee shore.

In 1839, Mr. Ruskin gained the Newdigate prize for the English poem at the University of Oxford. It was entitled Salsette and Elephanta. The quality of his verses are evident. There is, amidst many evidences of juvenility, a command over the music of language, and a rare power of describing the varying impressions of scenery. The boy, reared amidst the glories of hill and lake, and beneath unsullied skies, became a lover of nature. The imagination is as necessary in science as in poetry. It would perhaps not be far wrong to say that every

great man of science is, if not a singer spoiled, at least a poet in potentiality. Mr. Ruskin's earliest printed pieces were short articles in Loudon's *Magazine of Natural History*, and were written when he was sixteen. It will be best to postpone the indication of Mr. Ruskin's other writings bearing on the study of nature, until we have seen how his attention was for many years diverted from them to other fields.

To this period belongs his delightful Legend of Stiria, a fairy tale, called *The King of the Golden River*, published in 1851, with Mr. Richard Doyle's illustrations. This was not written for publication, but for the entertainment of a child-friend in 1841.

Mr. Ruskin had in a rare measure those powers of observation and of analysis which make a delight of the observation of landscape. The "book of nature" was no commonplace phrase to him, but had a real and an intense meaning. The glory of cloud and sky, of hill and lake, had a special message for him. This delight in the beauty of landscape made him an early admirer of Turner, whose pictures of sea and sky seemed a new heavenly apocalypse. Mr. Ruskin, himself, tells us that the gift of taking pleasure in landscape "I assuredly possess in a greater degree than most men, it having been the ruling passion of my life, and the reason for the choice of its field of labour." The genius of Turner, the greatest interpreter the world has ever seen of the subtle and mystic meaning of the beauty of earth and sky, was unrecognized, and the artist himself was assailed in a manner which displayed at once the virulence and the ignorance of the critics. One of these articles, more foolish and more furious than usual, drew forth the indignation of Ruskin, who knew it to be "demonstrable that Turner was right and true, and that his critics were wrong, false, and base." The projected letter of defence to the journal grew into a pamphlet, and the pamphlet in its revised and enlarged form was the first volume of Modern Painters. The title originally selected was Turner and the Ancients, but the limitations thus implied were soon overpassed. "The title was changed and notes on other living painters added in the first volume, in deference to the advice of friends; probably wise, for unless the change had been made the book might never have been read at all."

Modern Painters was fiercely and somewhat clumsily assailed in

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Blackwood for October, 1843. One passage, the critic says, "might have been very excusable in a young curate's sermon during his first year of probation, and might have won for him more nosegays and favours than golden opinions" (p. 486). The critic resorts to the dictionary for the meaning of the word "chrysoprase" (Rev. xxi. 20). This laid him open to Mr. Ruskin's retort:—

We are not insulted with opinions on music from persons ignorant of its notes; nor with treatises on philology by persons unacquainted with the alphabet; but here is page after page of criticism, which one may read from end to end, looking for something which the writer knows, and finding nothing. Not his own language, for he has to look in his dictionary, by his own confession, for a word occurring in one of the most important chapters of his Bible; not the commonest traditions of the schools, for he does not know why Poussin was called "learned;" not the most simple canons of art, for he prefers Lee to Gainsborough; not the most ordinary facts of nature, for we find him puzzled by the epithet "silver," as applied to the orange-blossom, evidently never having seen anything silvery about an orange in his life, except a spoon.\*

The critics were not all blind. One of them writing in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1843, whilst evidently startled by the novelty of the doctrines advanced, ends thus:—

Such is the purpose of this work; and the boldness of its design is well supported by the diligence and knowledge, and skilfulness displayed in the execution. The author has laid a solid foundation in the broad and philosophical principles he applies to the art; while, in the very minute, exact, and delicate criticisms he delivers, he shows a practical and artist-like acquaintance with the details of the subject. If his theory is wrong, if his reasonings are incorrect, and his conclusions not warranted, it must arise from other causes than from unacquaintance with his subject, from indolence in the collections of materials, or unskilfulness in using them; for, undoubtedly, he has deeply investigated the laws and principles of the art he discusses—he has dwelt on it with a lover's fondness, and studied it with a critic's attention. He is also an eloquent and impressive writer; he has a command of expression adapted to the varying sentiments he wishes to convey, and can describe the captivating beauties of painting in the brilliant colour of poetic diction.

The first volume of *Modern Painters* appeared in 1843; the Second in 1846; the Third and Fourth in 1856; and the Fifth and last in 1860. A new and final edition of the work was issued in 1873.

<sup>\*</sup> Modern Painters (Preface to Second Edition).

In Modern Painters it is necessary to discriminate between the accidental form which the work assumed and the permanent truths it enforces and explains. The book was "not written either for fame or for money, or for conscience' sake, but of necessity," because injustice was being done and falsehood usurping the place of truth. The cardinal principle of Mr. Ruskin's art criticism may be stated in his own words used in describing Modern Painters: "It declares the perfectness and eternal beauty of the Work of God, and tests all work of man by concurrence with or subjection to that." Apart from its value as a statement of the principles of art and of art criticism, Modern Painters shows extraordinary insight into nature, and power to reproduce the impressions caused by the ceaseless changes of the glory at once evanescent and eternal of shore, and sea, and sky.

He who walks humbly with Nature will seldom be in danger of losing sight of Art. He will commonly find in all that is truly great of man's works something of their original, for which he will regard them with gratitude, and sometimes follow them with respect. While he who takes Art as his authority may entirely lose sight of all that it interprets, and sink at once into the sin of an idolator and the degradation of a slave.\*

Mr. Ruskin has decided not to republish *Modern Painters* as a whole; but a selection, called Readings, "chosen at her pleasure, by the author's friend, the younger lady of the Thwaite, Coniston," was issued in 1875 and 1876, under the title of *Frondes Agrestes* 

(i.e., the Foliage of the Fields).

The Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849) arose out of memoranda prepared in the composition of one of the sections of the then unpublished third volume of Modern Painters. It was an attempt to raise a noble art from degradation. This is manifest even in the definition: "Architecture is the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man for whatsoever uses, that the sight of them contributes to his mental health, power, and pleasure." The "lamps" are the Spirits of Sacrifice, Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, and Obedience.

Mr. Ruskin now turned aside for a moment to controversial divinity. The *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds* was issued in 1851, and it came to a second edition in the same year.

<sup>\*</sup> Pref. to Second Edition Modern Painters.

Mr. Hill Burton says that he had been informed "that this book had a considerable run among the Muirland farmers, whose reception of it was not flattering." The third edition, which the author calls the second, was issued in 1875, and contains in the preface this characteristic confession: "It amazes me to find on re-reading it, that, so late as 1851, I had only got the length of perceiving the schisms between sects of Protestants to be criminal and ridiculous, while I still supposed the schisms between Protestants and Catholics to be virtuous and sublime."

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In 1851 appeared a tract on *Pre-Raphaelitism*, which was reprinted in 1862. It records his delight at the appearance of a group of men prepared to accept the advice, given at the close of the first volume of *Modern Painters*, to the young artists of England, that they should "go to nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly, having no other thought but how best to penetrate her meaning; rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing." They had been rewarded by scurrilous abuse, and Mr. Ruskin therefore came forward in their defence "to point out the kind of merit which, however deficient in some respects, those works possess beyond the possibility of dispute."

The first volume of *The Stones of Venice* appeared in 1851; the second and third in 1853. As in the *Seven Lamps*, the ethical aspect occupies largely the mind of the author. It is not only a treatise on the archæology and history of Venice, but a sermon on the causes of her downfall and decay. To illustrate this work there was issued a sumptuous atlas folio of *Examples of the Architecture of Venice*.

Giotto and his Works in Padua is an explanatory notice of the wood engravings from paintings of that master issued by the Arundel Society in 1854. It does not profess to be a biography of the artist, though it contains an outline of the artist's life, and, in particular, a subtle and suggestive criticism on the well-known anecdote of his drawing of the O. For the Arundel Society Ruskin has also written a notice of the Cavalli monument, and of Tintoretto's paintings of Christ before Pilate and of Christ bearing the Cross.

In 1853 Mr. Ruskin gave a series of Lectures on Architecture

and Painting, which were printed in the following year. They are intended to give a popular exposition of the principles of art and their application.

The pamphlet on *The Opening of the Crystal Palace*, considered in some of its relations to the prospects of art, was occasioned by the re-erection of Paxton's palace at Sydenham and some of the extravagant utterances occasioned by it.

Well, it may be replied, we need our bridges, and have pleasure in our palaces; but we do not want Miltons, nor Michael Angelos. Truly, it seems so; for, in the year in which the first Crystal Palace was built, there died among us a man whose name, in after ages, will stand with those of the great of all time. Dying, he bequeathed to the nation the whole mass of his most cherished works; and for these three years, while we have been building this colossal receptacle for casts and copies of the art of other nations, these works of our own greatest painter have been left to decay in a dark room near Cavendish Square, under the custody of an aged servant. This is quite natural. But it is also memorable.

There is another interesting fact connected with the history of the Crystal Palace as it bears on that of the art of Europe, namely, that in the year 1851, when all that glittering roof was built, in order to exhibit the petty arts of our fashionable luxury—the carved bedsteads of Vienna, and glued toys of Switzerland, and gay jewelry of France—in that very year, I say, the greatest pictures of the Venetian masters were rotting at Venice in the rain, for want of roof to cover them, with holes made by cannon shot through their canvas. There is another fact, however, more curious than either of these, which will hereafter be connected with the history of the palace now in building; namely, that at the very period when Europe is congratulated on the invention of a new style of architecture, because fourteen acres of ground have been covered with glass, the greatest examples in existence of true and noble Christian architecture were being resolutely destroyed; and destroyed by the effects of the very interest which was slowly beginning to be excited by them.

Another passage in this now rare tract foreshadows also the striving of his soul under the burden of the social misery:—

If, suddenly, in the midst of the enjoyments of the palate and lightnesses of heart of a London dinner-party, the walls of the chamber were parted, and through their gap, the nearest human beings who were famishing, and in misery, were borne into the midst of the company—feasting and fancy-free—if, pale with sickness, horrible in destitution, broken by despair, body by body, they were laid upon the soft carpet, one beside the chair of every guest, would only the crumbs of the dainties be cast to them—would only a passing glance, a passing thought be vouchsafed to them? Yet the actual facts, the real relations of each Dives and Lazarus, are not altered by the intervention of the house wall between the table and the sick bed—by the few feet of ground (how few!) which are indeed all that separate the merriment from the misery-

The pamphlet ended with an earnest plea for the prevention of the desecration and destruction then in progress under the name of restoration, and which has since done such irretrievable mischief.

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From 1855 to 1859 Mr. Ruskin issued Notes on some of the Principal Pictures Exhibited at the Royal Academy each year. The series was then discontinued, but resumed for the year 1875 only. The Notes on the Turner Gallery at Marlborough House appeared in 1856, and show in a brief and compendious form the views of the greatest of English critics on the greatest of landscape painters. Next year there was a privately-printed Catalogue of Sketches, and two editions of a Catalogue of the Turner Exhibition of 1857–8.

Turner's Drawings of the Harbours of England were engraved by Thomas Lupton, and published in 1856, with an illustrative text, by Mr. Ruskin. This book will always have a deep interest alike for the admirers of Turner and of Ruskin. The introduction contains a noble prose-poem in praise of the sea. In Frondes Agrestes he notes that he was rather proud of the short sentence in this book, describing a great breaker against rock: "One moment, a flint cave,—the next, a marble pillar,—the next, a fading cloud" (page 73).

The Elements of Drawing, first published in 1857, came to a second edition in the same year. It is interesting as containing his views on the method of art teaching, which should not begin before the age of twelve or fourteen.

"I do not think it advisable," he says, "to engage a child in any but the most voluntary practice of art. If it has talent for drawing, it will be continually scrawling on what paper it can get; and should be allowed to scrawl at its own free will, due praise being given for every appearance of care, or truth, in its efforts. It should be allowed to amuse itself with cheap colours almost as soon as it has sense enough to wish for them. If it merely daubs the paper with shapeless stains, the colour-box may be taken away till it knows better; but as soon as it begins painting red coats on soldiers, striped flags to ships, &c., it should have colours at command; and without restraining its choice of subject in that imaginative and historical art, of a military tendency, which children delight in (generally quite as valuable, by the way, as any historical art delighted in by their elders), it should be gently led by the parents to try to draw, in such childish fashion as may be, the things it can see and likes—birds, or butterflies, or flowers, or fruits. In later years, the indulgence of using the colour should only be granted as a

reward, after it has shown care and progress in its drawings with pencil. A limited number of good and amusing prints should always be within a boy's reach; in these days of cheap illustration he can hardly possess a volume of nursery tales without good woodcuts in it, and should be encouraged to copy what he likes best of this kind; but should be firmly restricted to a few prints and to a few books."

Mr. Ruskin's latest views on the method of art teaching are given in The Laws of Fésole. In 1859 appeared The Elements of Perspective. The Two Paths are lectures on art, and its application to decoration and manufacture, delivered in 1858-9, and printed in 1859. A new edition appeared in 1878. The subjects of these discourses are the deteriorative power of conventional art over nations, the unity of art, modern manufactures and design, the influence of the imagination in architecture, and the work of iron, in nature, art, and policy. The lectures on the Political Economy of Art, originally delivered in Manchester in 1857, and printed in the same year, mark a fresh development of Mr. Ruskin's teachings. In his opinion a large number of our socalled merchants are as ignorant of the nature of money as they are reckless, unjust, and unfortunate in its employment. Mr. Ruskin's views as to the adaptability of Gothic to all the requirements of modern life are set forth in his two letters to Dr. Acland, printed in 1859, in the volume descriptive of the Oxford Museum.

Unto this Last is a volume containing four essays on the first principles of political economy, which originally appeared in the Cornhill Magazine. The first edition appeared in 1862, the second in 1877. It is a protest against the "idea that an advantageous code of social action may be determined irrespectively of the influence of social affection." The outcry against them was so great that the editor of the Cornhill, "with great discomfort to himself," had to limit their number to four.\* For the first time, as he believes, he gives, in plain English, a logical definition of wealth. Subsequent essays in Fraser's Magazine, in 1862-3, were stopped by the intervention of the orthodox publisher of that periodical. This more systematic treatment of the economical problem finally appeared in 1872 under the title of Munera Pulveris. It contains essays on storekeeping, coinkeeping, commerce, government, and mastership.

\* Munera Pulveris, p. xxii.

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The two greatest living prose writers are undoubtedly Carlyle and Ruskin. They are great by reason of their command of style; they are great by their influence upon the lives and thoughts of the generation amongst whom their lot has been cast. We are too close to see in accurate vision either of these men. We lack the perspective of time. Giants in literature themselves, they have each uttered admonitory counsels on the uses of books, the dangers and delights of the study of literature, and their bearing on the life that now is. In Sesame and Lilies, which were originally delivered as lectures at Manchester in 1864, we have Mr. Ruskin's views "about books; and about the way we read them, and could or should read them;" as also on the education of women. On books there are many pregnant sentences, as this one which goes to the root of the matter:—

You might read all the books in the British Museum (if you could live long enough), and remain an utterly "illiterate" uneducated person; but that if you read ten pages of a good book, letter by letter—that is to say with real accuracy—you are for evermore in some measure an educated person.

As an example of real reading, he gives that passage from Milton's Lycidas about "the pilot of the Galilean lake." and explains it word by word. He indignantly remarks: "If a man spends lavishly on his library you call him mad—a bibliomaniac. But you never call anyone a horse-maniac, though men ruin themselves every day by their horses, and you do not hear of people ruining themselves by their books." It is to be regretted that neither Ruskin nor Carlyle have given lists of the works which they recommend for students. In this respect Emerson has been more systematic, for he has given a long and remarkable list of the great books of all ages.\* We may perhaps consider Mr. Ruskin's Bibliotheca Pastorum (1876) as an indication of books that he would advise to be read. The two volumes of that series, so far issued, consist of an English translation of The Economist of Xenophon, and of Rock Honeycomb, being selections from Sir Philip Sidney's Psalter. Each is fitted with an introduction and explanatory notes. Returning to the contents of Sesame and Lilies, in addition to the lecture on King's

<sup>\*</sup> There is indeed a list at the end of the *Elements of Drawing*, among things to be studied, but it appears to be special and not general in its aim.

Treasuries (i.e., books, &c.), there is a second, entitled Queen's Gardens, which treats of the education of girls. There were several editions between 1864 and 1871. In the last there is added also a Dublin lecture on the Mystery of Life and its Arts.

Ethics of the Dust appeared in 1866, and again in 1877. The subject-matter appears from the sub-title, "ten lectures to little housewives on the elements of crystallization." The Crown of Wild Olive contains three lectures on Work, Traffic, and War. It was published in 1866, and in 1867 had reached a third edition. He complains:—

But it has not been without displeased surprise that I have found myself totally unable, as yet, by any repetition, or illustration, to force this plain thought into my readers' heads, that the wealth of nations, as of men, consists in substance, not in ciphers; and that the real good of all work, and of all commerce, depends on the final worth of the thing you make, or get by it."

The title of the book is explained in the preface (p. xxxii. of third edition), as being taken from the heathen belief that to those engaged in the contest of life Jupiter gave a crown:—

No proud one! no jewelled circlet flaming through heaven above the height of the unmerited throne; only some few leaves of wild olive, cool to the tired brow, through a few years of peace. It should have been of gold, they thought; but Jupiter was poor; this was the best the god could give them. Seeking a greater than this, they had not known it a mockery. Not in war, not in wealth, not in tyranny, was there any happiness to be found for them—only in kindly peace, fruitful and free. The wreath was to be of wild olive, mark you: the tree that grows carelessly, tufting the rocks with no vivid bloom, no verdure of branch; only with soft snow of blossom, and scarcely fulfilled fruit, mixed with grey leaf and thornset stem; no fastening of diadem for you but with such sharp embroidery! But this, such as it is, you may win while yet you live; type of grey honour and sweet rest.

A revised edition issued in 1873 contains also a lecture on the future of England, delivered in 1869, and an appendix on the political economy of Prussia.

In the spring of 1867, when the working classes were calling out loudly for a reform in Parliament, Mr. Ruskin entered into a lengthy correspondence with Mr. Thomas Dixon, a working corkcutter of Sunderland, on many of the questions that were then and now of special moment to the industrial population. These letters were published in the *Manchester Examiner and Times*,

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and were read with keen and vivid interest. They have since been thrice reprinted. Time and Tide, by Weare and Tyne, consists of these twenty-five letters to a working-man of Sunderland on the laws of work. The burden of the work is that parliamentary influence is useless unless they who possess it have made up their minds as to what they desire from it, and that having made up their minds they can do what they want for themselves without Parliament, and no one can do it for them. This volume deals with "honesty of work and honesty of exchange." Fors Clavigera may, in a certain measure, be regarded as the continuation of this series.

The Queen of the Air, first issued in 1869, is Mr. Ruskin's contribution to the new and fascinating field of comparative mythology. It is a study of the Greek myths of cloud and storm, both in their natural origin and in their deeper significance. The Queen of the Air is Athena or Minerva, "having supreme power both over its blessings of calm and wrath of storm; and, spiritually, she is the queen of the breath of man, first of the bodily breathing, which is life to his blood, and strength to his arm in battle; and then of the mental breathing, or inspiration, which is his moral health and habitual wisdom; wisdom of conduct and of the heart, as opposed to the wisdom of imagination and the brain; moral, as distinct from intellectual; inspired, as distinct from illuminated." There was a second edition of this work issued in 1874.

With 1871 Mr. Ruskin began the issue of Fors Clavigera. This consists of letters addressed to the workmen and labourers of Great Britain, and is in the main a continuation of the exposition commenced in the letters to Mr. Thomas Dixon, of his views on the organization of labour. They are, however, very discursive, and contain delightful bits of autobiography, art-criticism, science, history, and almost everything. Running through them is a fierce indignation against those social inequalities, which are evidenced by the death of one man from starvation and of another from gluttony. The consideration of these have led Mr. Ruskin to advocate a form of ordered socialism, which is to be exemplified in St. George's Guild. These socialist leanings Mr. Ruskin shares with Plato, with Thomas More, and probably with the church of the early Christians. Eighty-seven

numbers of Fors have appeared, the last of which, called No. 3 of a new series, is dated 1st March, 1878.

Fors, he explains, "is the best part of three good English words, Force, Fortitude, and Fortune." The root of the adjective Claviger being either, as he likes to put it, clava, a club; clavis, a key; or, clavus, a nail or a rudder; and gero meaning to carry, "Clavigera may mean, therefore, either club-bearer, key-bearer, or nail-bearer. Each of these three possible meanings of Clavigera corresponds to one of the three meanings of Fors. Fors, the club-bearer, means the strength of Hercules, or of Deed. Fors, the key-bearer, means the strength of Ulysses, or of Patience. Fors, the nail-bearer, means the strength of Lycurgus, or of Law." (Fors, No. ii., pp. 2-3; and cf. iii. 5, and xv. 15.)

As Slade Professor Mr. Ruskin delivered seven Lectures on Art before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870, and they were printed in the same year at the Clarendon Press. After the inaugural discourse the subjects are the relation of art to religion, the relation of art to morals, the relation of art to use, and the more technical subjects of line, light, and colour. To accompany this there was printed a catalogue of examples for study in the university galleries. Mr. Ruskin, again as Slade Professor, in 1870, gave lectures on the elements of sculpture before the University of Oxford, and two years later printed six of them under the title of Aratra Pentelici-i.e., the Ploughs of Pentelicus, a mountain in Attica where marble abounded. This contains a great deal also relating to the artistic aspect of numismatics. One of the plates is that never-to-be-forgotten comparison of the Apollo of Syracuse and a self-made man of the present day glorifying his own maker. The seventh lecture on sculpture was issued in 1872 in a separate form, and sets forth the relation between Michael Angelo and Tintoretto. It was printed thus that it might be used at once in reference to the drawings exhibited in the galleries, and with a warning word that its business is to point out "what is to be blamed in Michael Angelo and that it assumes the facts of his power to be generally known." The Eagle's Nest is a collection of ten lectures on the relation of natural science to art, which were given before the University of Oxford in Lent Term in 1872, and printed in the same year.

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Ariadne Florentina is the title given to six lectures on wood and metal engraving, given before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term of 1872. These deal with the relation of engraving to other arts in Florence, to the technics of wood and metal engraving, to design in the German schools of engraving as represented by Dürer and Holbein, and in the Florentine schools by Sandro Botticelli. There is an appendix on the present state of engraving in England. The volume entitled Val d'Arno contains ten lectures on the Tuscan art directly antecedent to the Florentine year of victories, given before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1873, and printed in the following year. The main subject is the art-work of Niccolo and Giovanni Pisano. All the above-named volumes are illustrated by plates, &c., many of them from Ruskin's originals.

Mr. Ruskin's love of nature is shown under another phase in the lectures on Greek and English birds given before the University of Oxford, and printed in 1873 under the title of Love's Meinie. This is the old French meiny, a household or retinue of servants. Only two parts have so far appeared. The first deals with the robin, and the second with the swallow. The title appears to have been suggested by the description in the Romance of the Rose of the God of Love, whose robe has on it figures of birds, whilst around him fly living birds:—

But nightingales, a full great rout
That flien over his head about,
The leaves felden as they flien
And he was all with birds wrien,
With popinjay, with nightingale,
With chelaundre, and with wodewale,
With finch, with lark, and with archangel.
He seemed as he were an angell.
That down were comen from Heaven clear.

Proserpina began in 1875; the fifth part was issued in 1878. It is still incomplete. It is, as the title-page tells us, a series of "studies of wayside flowers, while the air was yet pure among the Alps, and in the Scotland and England which my father knew." The title is chosen with reference to the lines in The Winter's Tale, Act iv., Sc. iii., ll. 116-118. In the introduction he gives advice which few of us will wish to see followed:

"If any scientific man thinks his labours are worth the world's attention, let him, also [like Linnæus], write what he has to say in Latin, finishedly and exquisitely, if it take him a month to do a page. But if—which, unless he be one of the chosen of millions, is assuredly the fact—his lucubrations are only of local and temporary consequence, let him write, as clearly as he can, in his native language."

One purpose of the book is to interpret for the young the Latin or Greek names, altering some of the names because they are "founded on some unclean or debasing association," so that "children who learn botany on the system adopted in this book will know the useful and beautiful names of the plants hitherto given, in all languages; the useless and ugly ones they will not know." Whilst insisting on the learning of the Latin, Mr. Ruskin would also preserve the English names, some of which mirror poetic fancies as beautiful as the flowers. This work is illustrated by some fine specimens of Mr. Ruskin's own artistic powers.

Of *Deucalion* the first part appeared in 1875, the fifth in 1878. It is still incomplete. The object of the book is to present to the public "collected studies of the lapse of waves, and life of stones." In the time of Deucalion, according to the classic story, the deluge came on the earth. Mr. Ruskin's familiarity with the sciences of geology and mineralogy is well known. In the introduction to the present work he says:—

But I think it due to my readers, that they may receive what real good there may be in these studies with franker confidence, to tell them that the first sun-portrait ever taken of the Matterhorn (and as far as I know of any Swiss mountain whatever) was taken by me in the year 1849; that the outlines (drawn by measurement of angle), given in *Modern Painters*, of the Cervin, and aiguilles of Chamouni, are at this day demonstrable by photography as the trustworthiest then in existence; that I was the first to point out, in my lecture given in the Royal Institution, the real relation of the vertical cleavages to the stratification in the limestone ranges belonging to the chalk formation in Savoy; and that my analysis of the structure of agates (*Geological Magazine*) remains, even to the present day, the only one which has the slightest claim to accuracy of distinction or completeness of arrangement.

The work contains lectures on the Alps and the Jura, the symbolic use of the colours of precious stones in heraldry, and on Yewdale and its streamlets, in addition to some controversial matter respecting glacial theories.

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The Mornings in Florence came out in 1875, and are intended as a further performance of the "real duty" involved in his Oxford professorship, by giving "simple studies of Christian art for English travellers." The book is in the form of letters "written as I would write to any of my friends who asked me what they ought preferably to study in limited time." The first part deals with Giotto's work at Santa Croce; the second describes his painting of the meeting of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate in the church of Sta Maria Novella; the third part, "Before the Soldan," deals with Giotto's pictures of the life of St. Francis of Assisi, and especially of that where that noble Italian stands before "the best of Paynim chivalry to declare the message of the gospel." The fifth part, "The Vaulted Book," describes the "Spanish Chapel" of Sta Maria Novella, which is continued in the next part under the title of the "Strait Gate." The sixth part is "The Shepherd's Tower," and explains the meanings of the bas reliefs in which Giotto has given us his views of the mysteries of life and of religion. The Mornings in Florence have been left so far incomplete, the last belonging to the year 1876.

Venice is the subject of some of his smaller works. St. Mark's Rest (1877) is described as the History of Venice written for the help of the few travellers who still care for her monuments. It was intended to extend to twelve parts and two supplements. Two parts only have been issued, and one supplement devoted to a description of the pictures by Carpaccio in the chapel of San Giorgio de' Schiavoni. Mr. Ruskin issued in the same year a guide to the principal pictures in the Academy of the Fine Arts at Venice, intended in a similar manner for the use of English travellers.

His views on the teaching of art are further explained and exemplified in *The Laws of Fésole* (1877–8), of which two parts have appeared. The title is derived from the hermit home of Angelico, and the book is "a familiar treatise on the elementary principles and practice of drawing and painting as determined by the Tuscan masters." Mr. Ruskin regards the very name of Schools of Design as involving "the profoundest of Art fallacies. Drawing may be taught by tutors but Design only by Heaven; and to every scholar who thinks to sell his inspiration Heaven refuses its help." The first chapter

is headed by that pregnant sentence, "All great art is praise." Some of the aphorisms contain instruction put in a humorous form:—

"Please paint me my white cat," said little Imelda. "Child," answered the Bolognese Professor, "in the grand school all cats are grey."

Be economical in everything, but especially in candles. When it is time to light them, go to bed. But the worst waste of them is drawing by them.

"I can do what I like with my colours, now," said the proud young scholar. "So could I at your age," answered the master; "but now, I can only do what other people like."

#### The title is thus explained :-

Under the term "Laws of Fésole," therefore, may be most strictly and accurately arranged every principle of art, practised at its purest source, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century inclusive. And the purpose of this book is to teach our English students of art the elements of these Christian laws, as distinguished from the Infidel laws of the spuriously classic school, under which, of late, our students have been exclusively trained. Nevertheless, in this book the art of Giotto and Angelico is not taught because it is Christian, but because it is absolutely true and good; neither is the Infidel art of Palladio and Giulio Romano forbidden because it is Pagan; but because it is false and bad; and has entirely destroyed not only our English schools of art, but all others in which it has ever been taught, or trusted in.

Fésole, an eminence hard by Florence, is introduced by Milton in his great epic, with the accent on the last syllable, as one of the places whence Galileo studied the heavens (Book i., l. 289).

This book is called *The Laws of Fésole* because the entire system of possible Christian Art is founded on the principles established by Giotto in Florence, he receiving them from the Attic Greeks through Cimabue, the last of their disciples, and engrafting them on the existing art of the Etruscans, the race from which both his master and he were descended.—(Preface, pp. xii., xiii.)

He therefore ranges under the term every principle of art, practised at its purest source, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century inclusive. Plate iii. of the *Ariadne Florentina*, page 114, is a reproduction of Baccio Bandini's Astrologia, under which is engraved Milton's line, above referred to:—

At ev'ning, from the top of Fesolè.

In March, 1878, there was an exhibition of the Turner drawings belonging to Mr. Ruskin at the Fine Art Society's galleries. For this Mr. Ruskin issued a thin volume of explanatory notes.

The epilogue, left incomplete through the writer's illness, contains much interesting matter respecting his early acquisition of Turner's drawings. A very sumptuous edition of these notes, with illustrations in photogravure, has also appeared. How sadly falls the sound of the words with which Mr. Ruskin closes his preface:—

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Yelsa,

Morning breaks as I write, along those Coniston Fells, and the level mists, motionless and grey beneath the rose of the moorlands, veil the lower woods, and the sleeping village, and the long lawns by the lake-shore. Oh, that some one had but told me, in my youth, when all my heart seemed to be set on these colours and clouds, that appear for a little while then vanish away, how little my love of them would serve me, when the silence of lawn and wood, in the dews of morning, should be completed; and all my thoughts be of those whom, by neither, I was to meet more!

This lengthy list by no means represents the full extent of Mr. Ruskin's literary activity. What have been named are his principal works, but in addition he has contributed to the Architectural Magazine, Quarterly Review, the Contemporary, the Nineteenth Century, and other reviews, to the Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, of the Geological and of the Meteorological Societies. In Fors (No. lxxv., Dec., 1875) he states that he had seven books in the press at once—"and any one of them enough to take up the remainder of my life." We have his own testimony that he has also collections for other works. In the preface to Deucalion (1875) he says:—

Of these materials, I have now enough by me for a more interesting (in my own opinion) history of fifteenth-century Florentine art, in six octavo volumes; an analysis of the Attic art of the fifth century B.C., in three volumes; an exhaustive history of northern thirteenth-century art, in ten volumes; a life of Turner, with analysis of modern landscape art, in four volumes; a life of Walter Scott, with analysis of epic art, in seven volumes; a life of Xenophon, with analysis of the general principles of Education, in ten volumes; a commentary on Hesiod, with final analysis of the principles of Political Economy, in nine volumes; and a general description of the geology and botany of the Alps, in twenty-four volumes.

What, then, is the teaching of Ruskin,—taught with so much passion and fervour, with such wealth of illustration, with such power and melody of language. It is that Art should be true to Nature, and that Man should be true to God. When Art loses its faith in Nature, it ceases to possess utility. When Man ceases to work Righteousness, there follow disorders and social perils of

every kind. Ruskin beholds in our modern society an aristocracy which has abdicated its functions, a middle class largely given up to greed, a working class struggling in the dark, but dimly conscious of injustice. He sees the fair fields replaced by "jerry-built" houses, the lechery, the drunkenness, the brutality that disgrace our towns and degrade men and women below the level of the beasts, and put them on a par with the fiends of the pit. He says we want Reverence, Obedience, and Organization, to grapple with these evils. He not only denounces the wrong, but has a method for its redress. Even if it prove impracticable, we still owe him a debt of gratitude. He has taught us, perhaps more than any man, the glory of the visible universe. He has taught us also that it is an ill return for God's gift of delight in beauty and order to leave our brethren festering in misery and despair.

Note.—The preparation of this paper has been helped by the well stored library and scholarly courtesy of Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A. Free use has also been made of the almost complete series of Mr. Ruskin's works in the Manchester Free Library.



#### LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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