



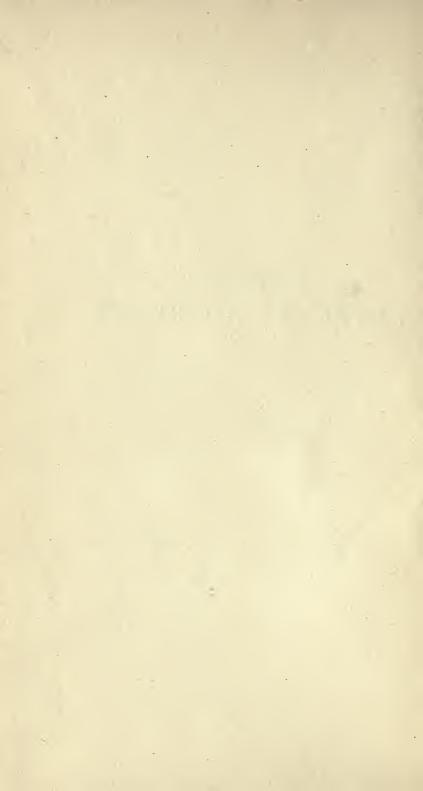






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RUSKIN CENTENARY ADDRESSES







John Ruskin From a drawing made by George Richmond R.A.in 1843, in the National Portrait Gallery

Emery Walker Lh. sc.

Ruskin centenary councils

RUSKIN

CENTENARY ADDRESSES

8 February 1919

Edited by

J. HOWARD WHITEHOUSE

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THE Ruskin Centenary Council was founded to observe the centenary of Ruskin's birth. It held a public meeting on February 8, 1919, the day of the centenary, at the Royal Society of Arts. The first five addresses in this book were delivered on that occasion, and the communication from Sir Herbert Warren, which follows, was read.

The Centenary Council encouraged the holding of provincial and other meetings, and many of these took place. The address on 'Ruskin as a Pioneer Force in Modern Life' was given at one of these meetings held at the Ashburton Club, London, on February 10, 1919.

It will perhaps be of interest to the readers of this book to know that the Council, with the co-operation of the Royal Academy, are arranging for a Ruskin Exhibition to be held in the autumn of the present year at Burlington House.

J. HOWARD WHITEHOUSE.

13, Hammersmith Terrace, W. March, 1919.



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RUSKIN CENTENARY ADDRESSES

I. The Viscount BRYCE O.M.

TT would be altogether superfluous for me to detain you by a statement of the grounds on which we here feel, as I think all lovers of literature and art feelthroughout Great Britain, that a celebration such as has been organized is proper for commemorating the anniversary of Ruskin's birthday. You have already heard interesting tributes in the letters read; you will have a much fuller analysis of some of Ruskin's qualities and gifts from those who are to speak hereafter; all that I shall say will be to indicate in the fewest possible words some of the various aspects in which he has appealed in one way or another, or in all ways together, to every one who has read and thought during the last fifty or sixty years.

To begin with, he was an amazing master of style. It is not too much to say that he was one of the first two or three greatest masters of English prose in his lifetime. I know of no one

whom we should put as his equal except perhaps Cardinal Newman, who was very unlike him in style and unlike him in ways of thinking, but in some respects also a kindred spirit, with the same poetical feeling pervading everything he wrote. If I wished to find a third and a fourth it would be hard to judge, but certainly there was one -probably not much remembered now whom we fifty years ago considered to be a wonderful master of a certain kind of prose, very striking in its way though far less rich and poetical than Ruskin's, the late Mr. Goldwin Smith. Another, whose volumes of essays are less known than his poetry, and who wrote an extraordinarily rich, highly coloured, and at times high and stately style, was the late Mr. Frederick Myers. Perhaps it may interest you to know-because it is the fashion now to depreciate because they were Victorian all those who flourished in the Victorian Age-that another person, who has become famous in spite of having been a Victorian, namely Algernon Swinburne, was the warmest admirer of Ruskin's prose I have ever known. I remember one afternoon at Oxford some sixty years ago, his taking up a volume of Ruskin—the letterpress to Turner's Harbours of England—and reading a description of an old boat lying on the beach with that sort of melodious rhythmical eloquence which Swinburne possessed, and he gave it as his view

view that there was not, and had not been for many a year, any one who could surpass and few who could equal Ruskin's writing of prose. It was Ruskin who first awakened his own

It was Ruskin who first awakened his own generation to a sense of all that there was in art outside the old-fashioned conventions and formulas and unreflective ways of studying pictures and buildings. Those of you who do not remember the pre-Ruskinian days can hardly understand with what different eyes people have ever since looked upon pictures and thought of the scenes or figures that pictures represent.

He was also a great interpreter of Nature, and Nature was to him always present in Art. He was in many respects the best successor of Wordsworth, for he gave the fullest and most varied development to the fundamental ideas which animated Wordsworth in his thinking about Nature. Great as is the contrast between the austere simplicity of Wordsworth and the luxuriant prolixity and exuberance of Ruskin, you can feel the same spirit beneath them. Ruskin taught us not only the appreciation of natural scenery, but how to appreciate the artistic treatment of scenery in landscape painting. We have all had a new sense of what the landscape painter can achieve since we have learnt what Ruskin found in Turner.

(Here perhaps I may interpose for one moment to ask those of you who have not read

it to read a charming sonnet which appears in the Westminster Gazette this afternoon, written by Canon Rawnsley, who is, as you know, an enthusiastic Wordsworthian and Ruskinian. He begged me to say that those of you who have imbibed the spirit of Ruskin and Wordsworth will do well to pay attention to a number of projects calculated to injure the natural scenery of our mountain regions, and especially of the Lake Country, which from time to time have come before the legislature. He hopes that you will give your support to those efforts which the friends of Nature-particularly in Cumberland and Westmorland, which have been consecrated by the genius of Words-worth—are making to prevent these legislative interferences from fatally damaging the places concerned.)

I do not think anything has ever helped any of us who love art, or who think we love art, so much as the new way in which Ruskin taught us to criticize painting. No one to-day goes into a gallery, no one walks or floats through Venice, without having Ruskin constantly in mind. He has doubled the enjoyment that we possess in cities full of history and of beauty, like Venice and Florence and Verona, by the way in which he has taught us to interpret the edifices and paintings there and their relation to the old life of those cities.

Later

Later in his career—without forgetting his earlier ideals or without ceasing to illuminate the subjects that he then touched with vivid flashes of light—he turned to other subjects, which one can best perhaps sum up by saying that they belong to the sphere of social ethics, although that term has a sort of pedantic flavour which would not have commended it to him. There also he certainly did show himself an extraordinary and vitalizing force. A great deal of his inspiration came from Carlyle, but it was changed in the process, passing through a mind so different as Ruskin's was, and it made a more direct, sympathetic, and emotional appeal to many people than the same fundamental principles had made when they were stated with the fiercely vigorous abruptness of Carlyle himself. Perhaps it is in that direction that he has most told upon what I may call the younger half of the generation to which he belonged. The older half of the generation to which most of us here belong was impressed chiefly by his writings upon Art and upon Nature, but those who are still below sixty years of age have probably been more affected by his ethical teachings. In this respect he did make a great difference to his time, and has been the parent of many movements, many new currents of opinion, which have been playing backwards and forwards over the face of the country during

during the last twenty-five or thirty years. To attempt to estimate the value of these things is, of course, out of my power, but it is a rather singular phenomenon that any single mind should have exerted so much influence and left so many traces upon contemporary taste and thought, and should have done this in two spheres which at first sight appear to be far removed from one another.

He has been often spoken of as wayward and inconsistent. May it not be said that in a critic, in an author, in a thinker, it is rather a merit than a fault to have been inconsistent. charge is one most commonly brought against politicians, and politicians are extremely anxious to defend themselves against it. But why should they not be, and, much more, why should not writers be inconsistent? It was, I think, Cardinal Newman who said that in a perfect world people may continue to retain the same opinions, but in a world such as the present this cannot be—to be perfect, one must have changed often. The inconsistencies of a man of genius may be a mark of his greatness. He sees things in many aspects; he sees them in different lights. He records each of these. Each is true. One is not less true because the other is true. He may see a solid figure at one time as a cube and call it a cube; at another time as a hexagon and call it a hexagon; and at another time as

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a parallelopiped and call it a parallelopiped: and all he says may have a truth, though not the scientific truth of fact. We ought to be grateful instead of reproachful to those who can see things from many angles and in many lights. One of the values and charms of Ruskin's writings to us is that we find there such a great variety and diversity of mental attitude, and that we never know that what he tells us in one page will not be altered or modified or even contradicted in another. New critics will arise from time to time, and they will have the faults or conventions or misconceptions of their own times, and new thinkers and prophets will arise from time to time who will have their message to deliver to their age as Ruskin had his, and their messages will be all the better if they are drawn from a mind that was a rich treasury of thoughts and fancies and impressions and prophetic visions, such as Ruskin possessed. However many critics may come hereafter, and however many new prophets may appear, there will always be a place in the honour roll of English letters for a mind so rich, so various, so fertile, so sensitive, always responding to high inspirations, and always scattering forth thoughts that are an inspiration for others. Much of his work may be forgotten, but much will remain to be read for illumination and delight. The memory of such a genius as Ruskin's cannot but endure.

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II. JOHN WILLIAM MACKAIL

Whether the practice of centenary celebrations is one to be commended or otherwise is a question on which there may be, and is, variety of opinion. It is raised in its most acute form when the celebration is of one who has been misunderstood or slighted in his own lifetime, for then it bears the aspect of a tardy and awkward reparation made to his ghost; and even those who celebrate it can hardly do so without some uneasy sense of being among those who build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, 'If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.'

But the occasion is one which suggests a fresh appreciation, an attempt at least at summing up a man's life and work, seen now more clearly as a whole in their effective value, and removed from the dust of contemporary prejudice. And the feeling I have mentioned is only to a limited degree applicable to our ceremony of to-day. In his lifetime, Ruskin compelled attention, even fame, and had not to meet with anything that can be called persecution. His name was universally known, his genius uni-

versally admitted. He had loyal friends and devoted followers; and it would be less than fair to these if one did not frankly admit that he often led them a dance and taxed their patience sorely. What he had to bear, and what he felt more keenly than insult or obloquy—though of these too he had his share—was a sort of good-natured and superior indulgence, which dismissed him as an eccentric and irresponsible man of genius, a writer with a wonderful gift of eloquence who generally talked nonsense, and a champion of absurd paradoxes. It was his bitterest and best-grounded complaint, that people read him for his style and paid no attention to his meaning; that he pleaded with them to choose between the way of life and the way of death, and they only said, What beautiful English he writes! 'Lo, thou art to them', in the words of the Hebrew prophet, 'as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they do them not.

Now it is different. Those earlier and more ambitious works, whose dazzling eloquence captivated their readers and made him famous as a master of language, have had their day. It has faded, and they have in some measure ceased to live. A new generation has ceased to read *Modern Painters* with enthusiasm, or

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even with patience; it is no longer fascinated by the gorgeous elaboration of the Stones of Venice. His reputation as an exponent and interpreter of art was once unequalled. Time has not confirmed it; it is now even said, with some measure of truth, that he did not know what art meant.

It is as an interpreter, not of art but of life, that he now stands. Here his influence has been, and continues to be, immense. It is perhaps greater, so far at least as England is concerned, than that of any other single thinker or teacher. His social doctrine was germinal: it colours the whole movement of modern thought, and shapes the whole fabric of modern practice. The quotation from Ezekiel may be continued of him in the full weight of its meaning: 'And when this cometh to pass (lo, it will come), then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them.'

Like other prophets, Ruskin was a man of sorrows. He was the servant, not the master, of his message. The inspiration descended on him fitfully, with intervals of obscurity, confusion, or eclipse. Few men have ever been less fitted by nature, or enabled by temperament, to conquer circumstance, to pursue a steady course, to do large constructive work. The most dutiful and affectionate of children, he remained all his life a child: with the acute

sensitiveness

sensitiveness of childhood, with its passionate loves and loathings, with its terrible simplicity; and also with its touching helplessness and its distracting childishness. 'No other man that I meet', Carlyle wrote of him to Emerson, has in him the divine rage against iniquity, falsehood, and baseness that Ruskin has and that every man ought to have. Unhappily, he is not a strong man—one might say a weak man rather—and has not the least prudence of management.' These words are like those of a wise and kind parent; and indeed the relationship between the two (Carlyle was twenty-four years older) was felt and spoken of by both as that of a spiritual father and son.

With their two names a third is instinctively joined when we regard the nineteenth century as a whole, that of Tolstoi. Tolstoi was perhaps the greatest of the three; at all events he has had the most potent influence over the world: and one that was for harm as well as for good. Turgenev, with his penetrating insight, noted of him that he was possessed by an immense spiritual arrogance. His whole life, through its manifold phases, was one of strangely sublimated selfishness: nothing was good enough for him. Carlyle, too, had in full measure the pride characteristic of his nation, and strongest among them in the class to which he belonged: only he knew it, and even ('Teufelsdröckh, beware

beware of spiritual pride') could laugh at it. Ruskin's humility was as remarkable as his sincerity. He deferred to his juniors as much as to his elders; he was always willing to accept correction, and to believe himself mistaken.

All three were prophets, on whom the weight of their inspiration was an agony. All three lived to a great age, and with them all it ended in gloom. All three had for many years become the object of a cult among a younger generation. All three were consummate artists in language. Strangely enough, Carlyle was the only one of them who had any reverence for that art, to whom words were something divine and sacred. Tolstoi, the greatest artist perhaps of his age, despised and hated all art indiscriminately. Ruskin's attitude to art was more fluctuating: it at once attracted and repelled him. Even in his early writings, before he had put off the singing-robes of the poet to put on the sackcloth of the prophet, and was absorbed in the glory of art, he had raised in the most trenchant form that opposition between art and puritanism which is one of the great permanent antinomies in human life. But it was not till 1860 that the change (so we may call it) in his whole moral axis took full effect. It would be needless to recapitulate here the well-known story of the appearance, from August to November in that year, of the four papers headed

headed 'Unto this Last' in the Cornhill Magazine; of the storm of outraged protest from the whole reading public; of Thackeray's capitulation to it, and of their abrupt close. It is strange to handle that old volume, and read in it, alongside of the instalments of *Framley Parsonage*, those four papers which may almost be said to have changed the world; to realize how deep into the roots of things, how far into the future, that lonely mind saw. Our whole social legislation, and the whole attitude of mind of which legislation is the result, have since followed, haltingly and fragmentarily, the principles then asserted for the first time. Nor have sixty years lessened their vital and germinal force. Much of what was then taken for monstrous paradox has become accepted truth, the mere commonplace of social organization. Much more still awaits fulfilment, and remains to us what it was for him, an obscure and terrible inspiration, a sound of trumpets in the night.

Like others who have had a prophetic message (Carlyle and Tolstoi are but two instances among many) Ruskin was enormously voluminous. He could not help writing, and could not help pouring out into what he wrote all that he thought or felt. In the huge mass of his work there is much that is of little value; there is much that detracts, by its wilfulness and

and whimsicality, from the effective value of the whole. The childlike simplicity which is his great charm often takes shape as freakishness and inconsequence. Flamboyant in his youth, he becomes garrulous in his age. Even when he is at his highest concentration he can never be trusted to withstand the influence of some verbal or fanciful suggestion. No one, I suppose, would sit down to read through the thirty-nine volumes in which all his work has been collected by the pious industry of Sir Edward Cook and Mr. Wedderburn. It is like being faced with the lifelong accumulations of a painter's studio; sketches and scribbles, tattered cartoons, vast canvases thrown aside when they were half finished or barely begun, false starts, repetitions, failures. Those who adventure into this wilderness, 'a maze trod indeed thro' forthrights and meanders', may indeed hope—nay, may be assured—that they will come every here and there on some unsuspected fragment of lovely outline or lustrous colour. But they will have a toilsome journey.

It is not necessary to make the attempt. For his best work and his most vital teaching lie in little compass. More and more, I should think, readers of Ruskin will concentrate on those writings of his—few, and, for him, brief—which are the masterpieces, and the permanently live forces. To know Carlyle, the vital

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and imperishable Carlyle, it is sufficient to know Sartor Resartus, Past and Present, and the French Revolution. To know Ruskin, the vital and imperishable Ruskin, even less is sufficient. I would not wish to say anything which might seem to slight or ignore the Stones of Venice or the Seven Lamps. The famous chapter 'On the Nature of Gothic' in the second volume of the Stones presents the spirit of his beliefs with a force of truth and eloquence which makes it immortal. Nor is there any more delightful reading than his last work, the unfinished Praeterita, with its delicate fragrance, its pellucid atmosphere, its autumnal charm. And indeed one may say that there is hardly any writing of Ruskin's in which there is not something keenly felt, truly thought, memorably expressed. Of all his volumes, Sesame and Lilies was for long the most popular, and probably, therefore, had the widest influence. Ruskin himself thought, as it is reported, that Unto this Last was the book of his which would stand the longest. His effective and permanent message is contained in the Two Paths—five lectures given in 1857-9 -and in Unto this Last, the Cornhill articles of 1860. If we know these, we know Ruskin; and if we add to these the Nature of Gothic as a preface, and the Crown of Wild Olive as an epilogue, we know him, in all essentials, fully. In the central period represented by these writings his powers were at their highest. He was not then, as he became later, shattered by the weight of his own prophetic burden. 'Not a strong man,' as Carlyle had in the early years gravely and tenderly noted, he succumbed to a weight of crowded thoughts, an agony of lacerated feelings: he became, in the full sense of words which may not be quoted lightly, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted: cut off out of the land of the living. 'I feel', he writes pathetically in 1884, 'as if nobody could ever love me or believe me or listen to me or get any good of me ever any more.' 'The thoughts come into my head,' he had written to the same correspondent several years earlier, 'and if I don't set them down, they torment me—the angry ones chiefly.'

The obsession of these angry thoughts, as he calls them, was indeed a constant torture to one so fragile and so high-strung. But their bitterness only struck inward. It never affected his boundless generosity in word and act, or impaired his noble courtesy. Newman's famous definition of a gentleman, one who never gives pain, applies to him. Towards no human being was he capable of bearing malice. From all, even from those who least understood him and were least in sympathy with him, he craved,

and was touchingly grateful for, any fragment of affection, any scrap of appreciation. He never wilfully gave pain, though he was often distressed by the thought that he might have given it. Nor did he ever take amiss, or allow to rankle in him, any attack made on his work or on his teaching. No wonder that, just at the time when he was speaking of the torment of his angry thoughts, Burne-Jones wrote of him, 'I am better in Ruskin's company than in that of any man.'

Ruskin was above all things uniformly and transparently sincere. From first to last there was not a trace in him of self-seeking or envy, of conceit or pretence. No adverse criticism can be passed on his work, as regards either form or substance, which he has not anticipated himself and often put more pungently than any one else could put it. He takes for granted the same sincerity of spirit in others, and, by taking it for granted, he helps to create it. We are better in his company.

Thus his many-faceted genius gives expression, with equally trenchant force, to one side and another of the *insolubilia*, the fundamental antinomies of life and thought. He belongs to no school and confines himself to no system. His searchlight darts from point to point, throwing whatever it touches into startling illumination, and leaving it thenceforth some-

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thing different for us. It is not necessary to agree with him, nor is he much concerned about being in agreement with himself in any particular judgement. In these he was, one may say frankly, often fantastic and capricious. Many of his later annotations on his own writings are disavowals of what he had formerly asserted: for he was as far from any false pride as he was from any affected humility. It is part of his secret that he is (like life) so full of contradictions. An ardent and even fanatical Protestant, he is one of the great interpreters of mediaeval Catholicism. The champion and hierophant of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, he does not shrink from saying that the Pre-Raphaelites are all more or less affected by morbid conditions of intellect and temper. While he condemns and renounces the Renaissance and all its works, he steadily proclaims that in Titian and Velasquez art reached perfection. Going even further, in the same breath with which he glorifies art as the essence and flower of life, that in which the hand, head, and heart of man go together', he also says in precise and unqualified words, that 'the period in which any people reach their highest power in art is that in which they sign the warrant of their own ruin'; that 'art followed as such is destructive of whatever is best and noblest in humanity'; that he has never-the courage

courage of the famous words is as noble as their frankness is wonderful—has 'never yet met with a Christian whose heart was, as far as human judgement could pronounce, perfect and right before God, who cared about art at all?

So, too, with regard to conduct, to the organization of human life. By religious and intellectual conviction no less than by temperament, Ruskin was a passionate lover of peace. But no one has written more burning or more memorable words than his on the duty of patriotism and the sacredness of soldiership. 'You have put yourselves', he says to the cadets of the Royal Military Academy, into the hand of your country as a weapon. You have vowed to strike when she bids you, and to stay scabbarded when she bids you: all that you need answer for is that you fail not in her grasp.

Or again, in Unto this Last:

'The consent of mankind has always, in spite of the philosophers, given precedence to the soldier.

And this is right.

'For the soldier's trade is not slaying, but being slain. This, without well knowing its own meaning, the world honours it for. The reason it honours the soldier is because he holds his life at the service of the State. Our estimate of him is based upon this ultimate fact, of which we are well assured, that put him in a fortress breach, with all the pleasures of the world

world behind him and only death and his duty in front of him, he will keep his face to the front; and he knows that his choice may be put to him at any moment, and has beforehand taken his part, virtually takes such part continually, does, in reality, die daily.'

And so, once more, a socialized commonwealth was what he presented, more and more fully as his thought plumbed deeper and ranged wider, not as a radiant and unapproachable ideal, but as a matter of obvious duty and of plain practical common sense. He is the prophet of the Socialist movement; he taught its leaders and inspired their followers. But the doctrines of Socialism, whether in its bureaucratic or its anarchic form, were to him false and even deadly. If this seems an overstatement, I can but quote his own very carefully chosen and very deliberate words:

'All effectual advancement towards true felicity of the human race must be by individual, not public effort.'

'Division of property is its destruction; and with it, the destruction of all hope, all industry, and all

justice.'

'The poor have no right to the property of the rich. Neither is the Socialist right in desiring to make everybody poor, powerless, and foolish, as he is himself.'

'The rich man does not keep back meat from the poor by retaining his riches; but by basely using them. Riches are a form of strength, and a strong

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man does not injure others by keeping his strength, but by using it injuriously.'

Strangely reactionary doctrine from this source it may seem to some who have Ruskin's name often on their lips. But we must take, alongside of it, his presentation of the other side of the matter.

'No agitators, no clubs, no epidemical errors, ever were or will be fatal to social order in any nation. Nothing but the guilt of the upper classes, wanton, accumulated, reckless and merciless, ever overthrows them. Of such guilt they have now much to answer for-let them look to it in time.'

It is sixty years since these words were written, and they have lost nothing of their profound and terrible significance.

His own synthesis, his own statement of the truth for the individual and the community, he puts as incisively and even more briefly. First, as to the individual: 'That your neighbour should or should not remain content with his position is not your business; but it is very much your business to remain content with your own.' Secondly, as to the community: 'My principles of political economy are all summed in a single sentence: Government and Co-operation are in all things the laws of life; Anarchy and Competition, the laws of death.' From all classes alike, what Ruskin calls

calls for is the controlling sense and the exact fulfilment of duty; and the reward he holds

out for this is joy and peace.

Joy and peace he did not himself find; though there are those here among us whose affection and devotion did all that was humanly possible to give them to him. But he has helped, and may still help, many to find them. Their sources lie in each human soul, and no one can well indicate to another in what thought, or in what words, they are to be found. If I cite here two more passages from the core of Ruskin's writings, it is merely because they have to some certainly, and perhaps to many, been an actual refuge, a heightening impulse, in these last years, and for us upon whom the ends of the world have come.

In the awful week of 1914, two sentences in the Crown of Wild Olive rang, and rang true, for those on whom the call was suddenly made to face a momentous decision and accept their

share in responsibility for it:

'No man who is truly ready to take part in a noble quarrel will ever stand long in doubt by whom, or in what cause, his aid is needed. The principle of nonintervention as now preached among us is as selfish and cruel as the worst frenzy of conquest, and differs from it only by being not only malignant, but dastardly.'

And in the days now present, equally momentous

mentous in their issues, we may well reflect on another passage from the same volume:

'The wonder has always been great to me, that heroism has never been supposed to be in any wise consistent with the practice of supplying people with food or clothes. Spoiling of armour is an heroic deed in all ages; but the selling of clothes, old or new, has never taken any colour of magnanimity. Yet one does not see why feeding the hungry and clothing the naked should ever become base businesses, even when engaged in on a large scale. If one could contrive to attach the notion of conquest to them anyhow! so that supposing there were anywhere an obstinate race, who refused to be comforted, one might take some pride in giving them compulsory comfort! and, as it were, occupying a country with one's gifts, instead of one's armies.'

And yet once more. The State is inaugurating a great constructional work in what Ruskin had so deeply at heart, National Education. I need make no apology for quoting another sentence of his, uttered when he was still the voice of a forerunner crying in the wilderness: 'Do not hope to feel the effect of your schools at once. Raise men as high as you can, and then let them stoop as low as you need; no great man ever minds stooping.' Had these words been more borne in mind for the last sixty years we should now be a more civilized commonwealth, a better and happier people, than we are. They apply now with equal force and with an added depth of meaning.

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'No great man ever minds stooping': and the more he stoops the more he lifts others towards his own level. Those addresses of Ruskin, with their marvellous texture of impassioned rhetoric, lucid exposition, searching irony, and flashing wit, must have been—indeed they were—far over the heads of their immediate audiences. One may speculate as to the feelings with which a meeting of Bradford manufacturers listened to his description of the temple he suggests they should build to the Goddess of Getting On, and the long pas-sage from Plato with which the address ends; or what working men really thought when he called their attention to passages in Aristophanes and Livy, or clinched his argument with lines cited (in the original Italian) from Dante. What he was in fact doing, there as elsewhere, was taking his hearers or readers into his unreserved confidence, stooping to them in order to lift them up beside him. He sowed, in the old saying, with the whole sack; and if the seed often fell among thorns or stony places, he did not care so long as some of it fell in good ground and struck root. By assuming o intelligence and sympathy, as by assuming right feeling and high aspiration, he created them; and this is the secret not only of education, but of all human progress. There is an authentic record—well known, yet not so well known as it should be—of a conversation between Ruskin 9999

Ruskin and the Duke of Argyll, in which, after listening with some impatience to Ruskin's eloquent pleading, the Duke crushingly, as he thought, observed, 'You seem to want a very different world to that we experience, Mr. Ruskin'. That, of course, was just Ruskin's case. Unless we want a world different from what it is, we are not likely to get it; and it is faith in its possibility which makes it possible.

Ruskin's vision was intermittent and often clouded. In the gloom which fell on his later years, his hope sank, his faith wavered; the burden of life became too heavy for him. Tenderness, he says, is the chief gift of all really great men; but his own tenderness, fragile and over-sensitive as he was, had from the first something excessive and even morbid. At last the tired brain succumbed; and the rest was silence. But he must be estimated, he takes his place among the living Powers-for it is the living and not the dead whom we cele-brate—by those shining virtues which were mixed in him with human weaknesses. He claims remembrance, he calls forth our honour and our gratitude, not only as a brilliant writer, a subtle thinker, an inspired teacher, but as one who sought truth and loved goodness; who hated all cruelty, pride, and falsehood; who was unselfish, generous, dutiful; who shows us an example of utter transparency, of high courtesy, of courageous humility.

III. HENRY WILSON

President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society.

AFTER the very delightful even moving address which Professor Mackail has given us this afternoon I feel that all of you will want to go home and think over his words without any interruption from me. But if you will permit me I should like to say one or two things about the immediate possibilities which lie before us as a result of Ruskin's life and

work and teaching.

When I found that I was faced with the ordeal of addressing a meeting after Professor Mackail on the subject of Ruskin, I thought it might be well if I re-read some of his writings. So I spent a short time in trying to find out what I had felt about Ruskin and what I had thought about him when he first flashed into my world. I then made the electrifying discovery, which every one, I suppose, makes who takes up and re-reads after an interval the work of any great writer. I found that as an artist my whole outlook on life, my whole idea of the world, my whole aim, object, and ideal, were there, either explicit, implicit, or foreshadowed in all or almost all that Ruskin has written. I came to the conclusion that

the

the intellectual stimulus which Ruskin has supplied to every artist and youth becomes, has become, or will become, the driving force of his life. The little seed of understanding which Ruskin planted grows and spreads into every nook and cranny of our being. There is nothing to which that ideal does not stand in some relation. Ruskin's life plan includes all that is vital, all that is real, in work and life to-day. His influence has permeated the whole world of artistic creativeness. But what was perhaps more significant still to me was the discovery that Ruskin perceived in the industrial world of his day the premonitory tremors of the vast upheaval which now threatens the whole world, the whole of civilization, the whole of our life, our ideals, our religion, and everything else. The organization in the midst of which we have been living, to which we have got accustomed, is being shaken to its very foundations, and who knows that it may not fall in ruins about us. Yet one cannot feel, or think, or believe that it is going to fall in ruins, because after all, although Ruskin foresaw and foreshadowed and wrote clearly about the very thing that has fallen upon us, he did at the same time indicate the cure for the industrial evil. And that remedy which is in our own hands is, briefly, to return again to a creative life, to individual, collective, and co-operative productivity.

productivity. We must, as Carlyle says, produce produce, be it but the infinitesimalist product'we must produce. Ruskin never wearied of reminding us that there is no way of learning all and quickly about anything but by the labour of our hands. Years before Stanley Hall, his pupils, and other American writers taught that muscular activity influences mental growth, Ruskin was teaching the same thing more beautifully, and therefore perhaps more truly. Ruskin shows that the man who builds his own house, tills his own ground, makes his own furniture, has more wealth and more essential culture than he who only makes fortunes by the labours of others. Workers have learnt by Ruskin's precept and their own practice that the basis of craftsmanship is vital morality, vital religion. Creative work is philosophy in being. That is why the great teachers of the world have all been craftsmen.

Of Ruskin's craftsmanship what can we say? There can be no two opinions about it. His drawings were not like drawings; they were rather the most exquisite efflorescences of beauty upon the surface of the paper, Nature, as it were, smiling at herself in the mirror of his soul. Under his touch the pure pale paper blossomed into memories of things seen, until we all feel, as Edward Hughes, the painter, once said: 'To me it is as if an angel had come down

to show us how to draw.' So that had we no other ground for our belief in the schemes of a new world-order of which Ruskin dreamed, for which he worked and lived and died, his perfect craftsmanship would convince an artist that he who could make such drawings, who could penetrate so completely into the spirit of things and render their beauty so perfectly, was more likely to be right in his views of life than one less perfectly gifted. Moreover, every creative worker is convinced by his own life experience that there is no other solution of our difficulties, no other possible means of rebuilding a world in ruins, than the immediate endeavour to evoke, develop, and apply the creative powers of every human soul in the service of the nation.

The thought of national service reminds me of what has been called reconstruction, though no one seems to agree as to what the word really means. To some it appears to mean the reconstitution of all the destructive agencies which have produced the present disaster; it seems to mean intensified machine production, new industrial towns, vast exports, colossal trusts, immense profits, and at the end of it all another cataclysm bringing more opportunities of more unscrupulous profiteering out of the bitter need of suffering humanity. But to Ruskin's followers reconstruction means other things. He

has shown us, and we have discovered for ourselves, that national prosperity does not and cannot consist in the multitude of material possessions, but it does consist, and always will, in the quality and extent of its creative capacity. Greece was a tiny nation. A modern American millionaire could buy the whole outfit with hardly a tremor in his bank balance. But think of all the inspiration, all the thrills' of admiration and love, that their work has evoked in all the great minds in all the ages, thrills of admiration and inspiration which will continue throughout all time. Yet we need not turn to Greece for such an illustration of the effect of creative capacity in a nation. We have only to go back to the thirteenth century in our own islands to find constructive beauty and design and thought and energy, all produced at a time when, if we are told rightly, the whole population of England was less than that of London to day. And the thought comes to one, why should it not be possible for us, not to imitate, for imitation is futile, but to live the life out of which that beauty, that glory, that magnificence sprang. There is no reason why artists should not go down into the world and make a living for themselves as craftsmen, and in so doing help towards the reconstitution of England, towards the reconstitution and the reconstruction of a ruined

ruined world. That is a thing for which we live and hope. That is the thing which Ruskin would have hoped for to day, for the very obvious reason that the whole of his life was spent in advocating such a reconstructive ideal in the

England of fifty years ago.

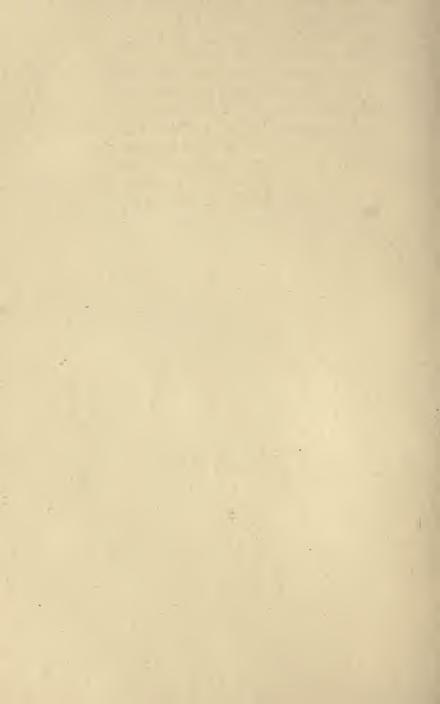
Therefore it has occurred to me to suggest that of all the schemes of reconstruction which are before the world to-day, and before ourselves in particular, the most promising are those schemes which, consciously or unconsciously, are giving effect to Ruskin's ideal as outlined in the constitution of St. George's Guild, and seek to plant both able and disabled soldiers on the land and to give them opportunities of craft activity, to help them to make a happy, productive, and real life for themselves, and in so doing to give to England again some degree of that beauty of creative activity which she possessed in the earlier periods of her history.

The scheme of the St. George's Guild might well now be carried into effect, with the aid and help of all artists and craftsmen of to-day, the help of the Art Workers' Guild, the Arts and Crafts Society and other handicraft societies, and the Royal Academy. If all artists would combine to urge upon all the authorities the necessity of establishing at least a few real, reconstructed, reconstituted villages, towns, districts, whatever limitation you may prefer,

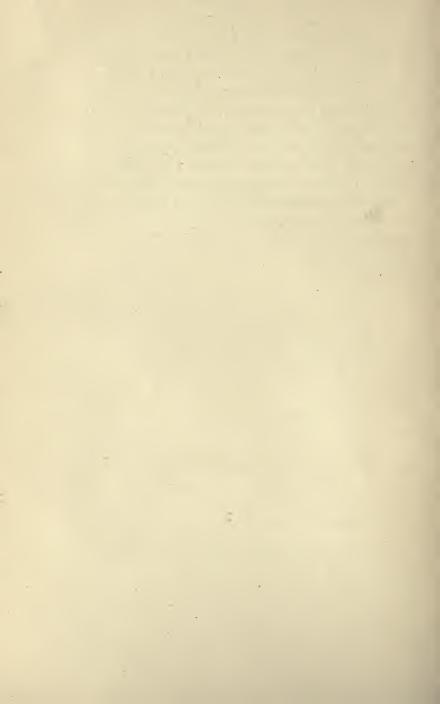
MARKET PLACE, ABBEVILLE PENCIL STUDY FOR DETAIL. 1868







if they would urge the reconstruction of some few centres, however small at first matters not, in which the soldiers who are returning from the front, wounded and sound, could settle and live a rational, Ruskinian, and therefore natural life, then real effect might be given to Ruskin's ideal of a new order of production, and his three graces, his three beauties of life, his three cardinal virtues, admiration, hope, and love, might again flower among the ruins of the world and something would have been done to heal the wounds which war has made.



IV. Sir EDWARD TYAS COOK

I T is very kind that my name should be received with so much indulgence, because in collaboration with my friend and colleague, Mr. Wedderburn, I was engaged for many years in what a critic described as 'burying Ruskin securely under thirty-nine huge volumes', and Mr. Mackail himself had some rather unkind things to say about those volumes. It is only a fool who follows every word in an author, but what I do say about those thirty-nine volumes is that in them you will find a great deal that is very interesting and nothing that is not stamped with Ruskin's personality. It is perfectly true that he ranged over a most enormous field, and, as he stated himself, the curse of Reuben was upon him, 'Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel? 'But', he added, 'I console myself with the reflection that it is sometimes better to irrigate than to excel.' I believe you will never read his works without finding something sparkling and characteristic of the man.

I think the addresses we have heard this afternoon, and also the remarks which we have read in the daily papers this morning, would have given very great pleasure to Ruskin, because, mixed up with a great deal of candid criticism,

criticism, there has been an appreciation of him on the lines he himself most desired. In my opinion the distinction has been made rather too trenchant between his writings on art and those on social reform, because, as any close student will find, the one thing sprang inevitably from the other and the two are closely combined. But certainly it is the fact that, whereas at one time he was the oracle in matters of art, he is now considered rather an oracle in matters of social and political affairs. We have heard very little about his authority as an art critic, but you will remember that fifty or sixty years ago, when he was writing his Academy notes, these lines appeared in *Punch*:

The Pathetic Lament from an Academician..

I paints and paints, Hears no complaints, And sells before I'm dry, Till savage Ruskin Sticks his tusk in, Then nobody will buy.

Nowadays nobody would dream of not buying a work because it was not approved by Ruskin.

But the address we have just listened to shows us that his real value was not in what particular works he praised or not, but in the fundamental view he gave of art as an expression of human life.

One or two characteristics of Ruskin have

not yet been touched upon. He was a great deal more cheerful than has been represented, and he had a great deal more humour. The humour was sometimes rather dry, and sometimes mixed up possibly with certain of the inconsistencies we have heard of—and there again, by the way, how delighted Ruskin would have been to hear all that. He said plaintively, 'I am accused of being rather given to contradiction. I hope I am very much given to contradiction, because I am never satisfied that I have spoken the truth on any subject until I have contradicted myself at least three times.'

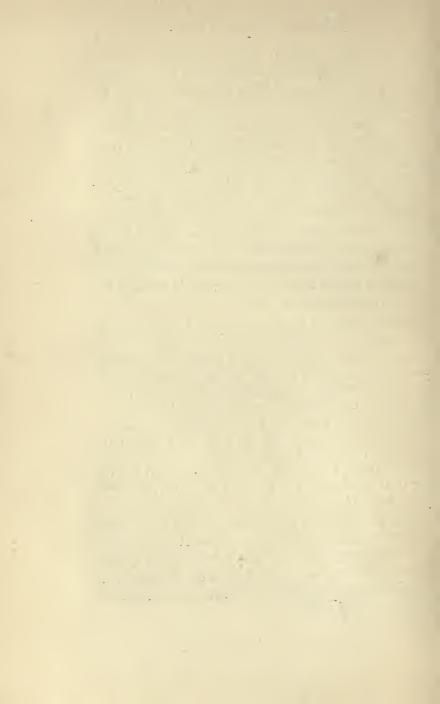
I have jotted down just one little passage of

his concentrated wit:

'In a community regulated only by laws of demand and supply but protected from open violence, the persons who become rich are, generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person.'

I beg to move a most hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Mackail for his most interesting, suggestive and searching analysis of Ruskin's place in English literature, and to Mr. Wilson for his interesting remarks on Ruskin in connexion

with arts and crafts



V. ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN K.C.

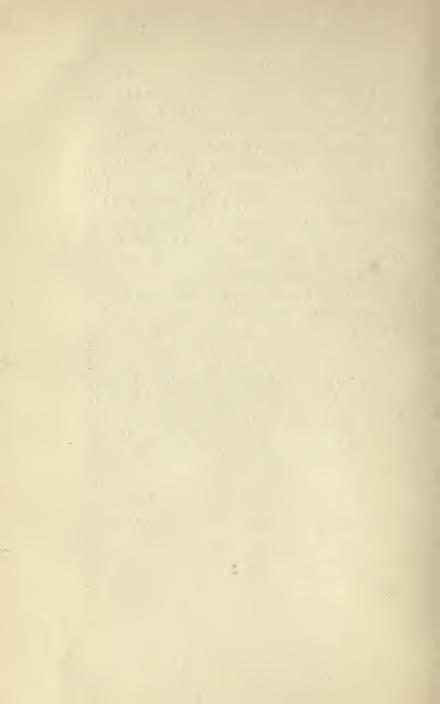
T gives me great pleasure to join with my friend Sir Edward Cook in editing this vote of thanks. It is not, as you know, the first thing we have edited together. But perhaps on this occasion I may take him as having spoken on behalf of the great public who see in Ruskin the writer, the thinker, the teacher, the prophet, while I myself may claim to thank the speakers on behalf of the intimate Brantwood circle, to which it was my good fortune to belong, and of which we are delighted to see Mr. and Mrs. Severn with us here to-day.

I was particularly glad that Sir Edward Cook said something to you about Ruskin's cheerfulness. It was my lot as an undergraduate to make Ruskin's acquaintance, and in that way I became, as I have said, a member of the Brantwood circle. I used to spend summer after summer there, and I am glad to look back to-day and see Ruskin as a not uncheerful personality. I emphasize this because Professor Mackail's address, if he will allow me to say so, rather left on my mind, as I listened to it, the impression that in his view Ruskin had not cheerfulness and humour, that he was oppressed by his own genius and thoughts, and that on

the whole he was a sad and melancholy man. It was not so. I can remember that when in 1875 we young men, my old friend Mr. Collingwood (Ruskin's first biographer) and myself, stayed at Brantwood, we found in Ruskin a delightful companion, joining us as we rowed on the lake, or climbed the hills; taking the greatest interest in all we did, the best of listeners, the brightest and most interesting of hosts. Of course he had his moods, but the impression which I should like everybody in this audience to carry away is that of Ruskin as I knew him in his best days. I am not here to defend the thirty-nine volumes for which Sir Edward Cook and I are responsible, but I should like to tell you this about them. I had the pleasure of presenting them to the library of a great institution—the Inner Temple. The other day the librarian said this to me: 'Very often a man comes to me and says, "Where can I find something on such and such a general topic?" and again and again I reply, "You might look in the index to the Library Edition of Ruskin, you are very likely to find something of in-terest there".' I mention this because a point about Ruskin which has not been touched on and which I want to make is this-that his works are one of the greatest commonplace books in the world. He always quotes beautifully;

fully; he touches and adorns a vast variety of subjects; his readers learn with him and from him, as those who enter what Professor Mackail has called 'the wilderness' will find. Let me tell you another story. At my own table I have frequently quoted Ruskin or things I have found in him, and once one of my children said to me, 'Do you get everything you tell us out of Ruskin?' I said, 'Not quite'; but the fact remains that the number of topics on which he touches is enormous, and that in the result you have, as I have said, one of the greatest commonplace books in the world.

I had meant to refer to the fact that it has been specially appropriate that Professor Mackail should have spoken to-day, because of his close connexion with the great artist (Sir Edward Burne-Jones) who was one of Ruskin's most valued and attached friends. We thank him for having come here, and in addition I hope that I may also be allowed to tender to you, Lord Bryce, my personal thanks for your understanding and sympathetic speech.



VI. Communication by Sir HERBERT WARREN

President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

THINK it 'entirely fitting', as Ruskin would have said, that a message should be sent, on this 'commemorable' day, to his friends who are celebrating his Centenary in London, from friends of like loyal memory in his own Oxford. I count it a privilege to be invited, in default of a better, to send such a message, and only wish I could deliver it in person.

For the name of John Ruskin is assuredly among the great Oxford names of any century, and is one of the very greatest of the last century, even though Oxford within that period turned out, in more senses than one, both Shelley and Gladstone. Ruskin owed much to Oxford, and Oxford owed and owes much to Ruskin.

'Another book I long to see', wrote Tennyson, 'is that on the superiority of the modern painters to the old ones, and the greatness of Turner as an artist, by an Oxford undergraduate, I think.'

The

The mistake was a natural one. The book was of course the first volume of Ruskin's Modern Painters. It was described as being by a 'Graduate of Oxford'. Ruskin was then twenty-four. He was proud of his Oxford degree. His days at Christ Church were his introduction to the great world. He has told their story in Praeterita, in a chapter so charming that, like Froude, we say, when we come to its closing page, 'Is there to be no more Oxford?'.

He is one of our Benefactors. We still possess the treasures he gave us. We have his Drawing School. What is more, the Drawing Master', a true master of Drawing, whom he himself appointed, Mr. Alexander Macdonald, is still its presiding genius, and still preserves, in his eightieth year, the skill of eye and hand, the nice fidelity, the ennobling touch, which commended him to the founder.

Ruskin was our first Slade Professor, appointed in 1869. I myself heard his fame as a schoolboy at Clifton a year or so later—heard of him as a vivid prophet, with a new message of beauty and truth. I brought my enthusiasm as an undergraduate to Balliol in 1872. seniors there were critical. The great Jowett told us Ruskin had the vision, but also the caprice, of genius. Another brilliant Balliol don whom Lord Bryce will identify, Henry

Smith,

Smith, was asked, 'But has not Ruskin a bee in his bonnet?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'a whole hive, but how delightful it is to listen to the

humming.

But we undergraduates, if doubting, still went to worship at the shrine. We crowded his lecture-room, we sought his personal intercourse. He uttered hard sayings, after the manner of the prophets. He told us to forsake rowing and take to road-making.

We did the latter without the former. I myself 'dug' on the Hincksey track, that 'Pathway to Ideality'. Ruskin came to watch us, half amazed, half amused, rather pleased,

I thought.

Thanks to Mr. Wedderburn, I went to his breakfasts in his fine classical rooms in the Meadow buildings of Corpus. There the Jowettian scepticism and Balliol confidence followed at any rate some of us. Ruskin wanted to talk of Political Economy, we wanted to hear him discourse on art. Brought up on Mill and Ricardo, we thought we knew all about 'the Dull Science', and we wished to hear of Mantegna, and Raphael, and, above all, to see his Turners. We did see his Turners, a revelation. Above all we saw him. Gradually it dawned on us that he might be right, that John Stuart Mill, as Disraeli said of his father, was not infallible because he was dull. But

it was only later and gradually that I learned the full import of these hours.

'Forty years ago when I was an undergraduate at Oxford, voices were in the air there which haunt my memory still. Happy the man who in that susceptible season of youth hears such voices! They are a possession to him for ever.'

So Matthew Arnold said of Newman. So I would say of Ruskin. And more—the message of truth and beauty which Oxford heard then, and reverberated to the world, has to-day not less, but more value. We do well to remind ourselves of Ruskin, to read again the inspiring passages of this Plato of our nation and time: his books, with their beautiful titles, and their lofty and chivalrous style, in which is written, if I may say so, as in letters of gold, the legend of that idealism which, amid all its faults and foibles, the Victorian Age knew and recognized as the better part.

Ruskin was a scholar, but he was also a seer. Of the first there are many, as Plato tells us;

of the latter, few.

We do well to give thanks that of the few, we have known one or two, to commemorate their names, and to hand on the torch of their tradition.

VII. JOHN HOWARD WHITEHOUSE

RUSKIN AS A PIONEER FORCE IN MODERN LIFE

THE centenary of Ruskin's birth takes place under conditions which enable some estimate to be made of the influence of his teaching in recent years, for Ruskin began to publish his works nearly three-quarters of a century ago. The first volume of Modern Painters appeared in 1845, and his works on social and general questions began to appear very soon afterwards. Unto this Last, which was by no means the first of his writings on social questions, appeared in the year 1860. We are thus far enough away from Ruskin's writings to be able to take a dispassionate view of their subsequent influence upon national thought and action.

It is difficult for us even in imagination to reconstruct the conditions under which Ruskin first appealed to the public as a guide towards a better way of social and industrial life. He was writing before the modern development of Trade Unions, before a representative franchise, such as we now understand it, was introduced, before Labour had entered the House of Commons, before the Education Acts had been

passed,

passed, and before any party had even adumbrated the great measures of social reform which have been passed within the last twenty years. There was no great organized opinion of which Ruskin was the mouthpiece. He emerged as an individual teacher, preaching sentiments which sounded revolutionary and which were greeted with a great outburst of indignation. The condemnation which his doctrines received was all but universal. It came from the Church, from both political parties, from all the accepted writers upon economics, and from the representatives of capital. To-day many of the principles which Ruskin set forth are accepted as commonplaces by the same classes and circles which had joined in condemning them when they appeared. A consideration of these facts will help us to appreciate the debt the modern world owes to Ruskin. The lonely teacher of the middle of the nineteenth century has become an acceptable guide, not merely to a small cult, but to the nation generally.

It is not my intention within the limits of the present paper to attempt to describe exhaustively either Ruskin's views or the philosophy underlying them, but rather to set forth in brief summary his constructive teaching on some questions where it has since been adopted or widely accepted in various aspects of our social life. But the points dealt with are only

illustrative.

John Howard Whitehouse

illustrative. Large fields of Ruskin's work must necessarily be left untouched.

Ruskin and Modern Educational Reform

A great part of Ruskin's teaching is concerned with education. He set forth what to his mind were final principles, but he also considered practical details. His teaching was constructive in the truest sense. He rebuilt wherever he destroyed. The basis upon which he raised the whole of his educational system can be described in a few words. Education was not the acquisition of knowledge; it was primarily the cultivation of noble character. It was not to teach people something they did not know before: it was to make them something which they were not: to persuade them to act as they would not have acted.

If, then, we keep his ideal in mind, each criticism of our existing system of education is not only understandable but is consistent with all his teaching. He attacked the narrow conception which was shown in all forms of education. He ridiculed the idea that it consisted at any stage of acquiring the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. He attacked with great, but not unjust, violence the various codes sanctioned by the Government under which bounds were placed upon the subjects which might be taught in elementary schools.

2222 H То-day

To-day official recognition is given to the principles Ruskin expounded. Codes have been widened, and although much progress has yet to be made in connexion with our whole system of national education, that which has taken place is precisely on the lines which Ruskin laid down. He urged, for instance, so far back as 1857 that drawing should be taught as an integral branch of education. He pleaded for the inclusion of music and noble literature as essential things in education. He desired that o all schools in themselves should be beautiful. He desired to form standards of taste and judgement by surrounding children with beautiful things. He fought against the idea that education was something to be confined to class-rooms or in buildings, and he made a noble plea for the value of the outdoor life and scenes of natural beauty in all schemes of education. All these expressions of educational principles have been in part at least realized. The bare and ugly school-rooms of the past are replaced by buildings furnished in many cases on the lines indicated by Ruskin. Pictures, sculpture, colour, architecture, are realized to be great instruments of education. Drawing was made a compulsory subject in elementary schools in 1890. Even the introductions issued by the Board of Education to the various editions of their code now give expression for the guidance of school managers

managers to the Ruskinian views we have set

Ruskin's views on the subjects and methods of education are particularly stimulating. They are also very complete and form in themselves a guide to an educational system in which details as well as principles are considered. His practical experiments no doubt greatly helped the adoption of many of his proposals. His desire, for instance, to see noble music, pageantry, and dancing given their proper place in education was helped in its realization by the May Queen festivals he inspired and organized. His plea for surrounding youth with noble objects of admiration was carried out by his foundation of the museum at Sheffield, and by the countless gifts he made to schools of all types, colleges, and universities. Original pictures, copies of great masters, manuscripts, precious stones; of these there was a constant stream from Ruskin's home to wherever he thought they would do good.

Literature and Education

An essential part of his scheme of education was the place he gave to the influence of noble literature. It would have been strange indeed if Ruskin, who as a small boy had had his imagination kindled, and his work in life largely determined, by the message of the poets, novelists, and philosophers

philosophers read to him by his father, had not desired to secure this legacy for the youth of England. His schools of St. George, never actually started, though fully planned, were each to have their special libraries of great literature. Ruskin himself began the publication of masterpieces which he thought should be in every library.

His influence in this connexion to-day is shown by the existence of the National Home Reading Union, founded to organize reading in the spirit of his teaching. The society also carried out in this connexion the suggestion which Ruskin so often made for a better use of bibliography. He attached great importance to the preparation of lists of books. We have still much to do in this direction, but in America far more progress has been made on the lines he advocated. The lists of books issued by the leading free libraries there are of the most elaborate character and meet the most diverse needs of readers and students.

Ruskin as an Interpreter of Literature

Before passing from the question of Ruskin's plea for a fuller use of literature in education, some mention ought to be made of the service he has rendered as an interpreter of some of the masterpieces of the world. For the Bible, for Dante, for Scott, for Shakespeare, Ruskin has performed a service greater than that of any commentator

commentator or editor who has ever attempted the task. His explanations of biblical texts and writings are in themselves a great store-house of broadminded teaching, which in modern years has profoundly affected the more advanced schools of theology. He has swept away great masses of prejudice, bigotry and narrowness and error. As for the other writers mentioned, he has sent great numbers of people to them either as new readers, or else with a new zeal for their teaching and their beauty. Let any one who wishes to realize Ruskin's matchless powers of analysis and exposition turn to 'Fiction Fair and Foul, and re-read the three pages in which he discusses the two following examples of perfect style, the first in expression of anger, the second of love.

(1) We are glad the dauphin is so pleasant with us, His present, and your pains, we thank you for. When we have match'd our rackets to these balls, We will in France, by God's grace, play a set Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.

(2) My gracious silence, hail!
Would'st thou have laughed, had I come coffin'd
home

That weep'st to see me triumph? Ah, my dear, Such eyes the widows in Corioli wear And mothers that lack sons.

Ruskin shows why these passages are perfect examples of style, in their command over passion,

passion, their choice of the fewest and simplest words to express the thing meant, their perfect emphasis, their spontaneity, melody, and utmost spiritual contents. No one can read this exposition by Ruskin without a fresh conception of the genius of Shakespeare. The debt which modern literary criticism owes to Ruskin can be seen when it is remembered that what he did for hundreds of passages in Shakespeare, he did for a score of other great writers.

Handicrafts and Education

One of the greatest services Ruskin rendered to the cause of education was his insistence on the need for handicrafts to be regarded as an essential factor in all forms of education. is easy to misunderstand Ruskin's teaching in this connexion. The conception which is prevalent in some circles of education to-day that handicraft means a few hours' training in a carpenter's shop weekly for younger children is not what Ruskin meant. Ruskin desired to see handicrafts used as a method of moral and intellectual training. The association with manual work which Ruskin wished was in no sense met by its being regarded as a sort of hobby for young children. He desired all education to be associated with practical work—the tilling of the land, the management of sailing boats, the knowledge and care of living animals;

all

all the activities of a natural outdoor life. But beyond this he desired that every pupil should be taught a craft, and the whole spirit of his teaching in this connexion amounts to a noble appeal to us to put aside all traditions which, by regarding handicrafts as outside the scope of true education, have thus degraded all forms of education. Ruskin's teaching with regard to craftsmanship in connexion with education is, of course, only a part of his larger teaching on the whole question of social reform, to which reference is made elsewhere. Ruskin saw that to teach a child noble arts and crafts not only gave him a greater power of selfexpression, not only cultivated his moral and intellectual qualities, not only gave him new interests in life with new standards of taste and judgement, but also forged an instrument of social reform, giving the pupil so educated a truer outlook upon our life and its problems.

Ruskin's teaching in this connexion has made steady headway in our educational life. Most of the developments on the lines of his teaching, so far as younger children are concerned, have taken place in the secondary schools of England and Scotland. I am not now referring to the work that has been done in technical institutes and similar institutions, which in the main cater for advanced students who are specializing in subjects they intend to take up as their life's

work,

work, but to ordinary schools dealing with children before they have reached an age where specialization would be appropriate. Thus, for instance, at a number of ordinary high schools in Scotland the potter's wheel, the blacksmith's of forge, and many other facilities for the practice of some of the earliest of the arts and crafts of mankind are installed, and are used as a normal instrument of education and with the happiest results. So, too, in some schools in this country. But, notwithstanding the advance which has been made towards the realization of Ruskin's views, it remains true to say that an enormous amount of progress has yet to be made. Great numbers of our secondary schools are purely academic in their curriculum, with perhaps some carpenter's work for the younger children at weekly or fortnightly intervals. Where most progress has to be made in this as in so many other questions is the elementary school, where the facilities, generally speaking, do not as yet exist.

Influence on Social Policy

Ruskin's teaching covers almost every phase of domestic social reform, and it is only possible to make illustrative references to it. It is, however, particularly necessary to remember in connexion with this phase of his teaching that, although much of it now sounds trite and commonplace,

commonplace, this is because in the time which has intervened since he wrote, the country—or at least considerable sections of opinion within it—has adopted his views, and in many cases has carried them out. Far-reaching, diffuse, detailed, and occasionally contradictory as Ruskin's writings on social questions are, it is after all easy to state the principle upon which he based everything that he said. For this principle was the substitution of co-operation for competition. So stated, it sounds commonplace enough. For years the phrase has been on every one's lips. However far we may be from generally acting upon it, the modern world is crowded with discussions, threats, exhortations, and experiments, all made in the name of this principle. But to the world which Ruskin addressed it sounded as a deadly challenge to the whole basis of life.

The hostility to Ruskin's social ideals was probably the more violent because he left the world in no doubt as to what the application of the principle meant in the world of industry. Unto this Last and its associated books are a remorseless exposure of the industrial system and the economic dogmas then in vogue, and whatever other criticisms might be made of his teaching, it could not be said that there was any ambiguity in his exposition of the methods by which the principle of co-operation was to

be applied in the world of labour. It is worth while considering in connexion with the outcry which greeted Ruskin's social theories, whether he was not really the victim of the infidelity of the formal Church to the principles of Christianity. Those preaching religion, as Ruskin has so often pointed out, never attempted to apply the meaning of the faith they pro-fessed as a solution of the social evils around them. Religion was a thing of creeds, of intellectual belief, of formal observances which made one day duller than all other days, but which had no connexion with what were regarded as economic laws and the working of our industrial system. Ruskin in his teaching denounced the methods of the Church, and applied Christianity as he understood it to the problems of those six days so long neglected by the custodians of the faith. The responsibility for the reception which Ruskin's attempts in applied Christianity met with rests in part upon the whole social spirit fostered by long generations of formal ecclesiasticism.

Ruskin's social works are, of course, crowded with references to the proper relations between Capital and Labour, and he puts forth a constructive policy which has either been carried out already or which forms the basis of many of the demands now made in the industrial world. It is worth while recording that the

case for Labour at one of the great conferences held in connexion with the present unrest was opened by the quotation of Ruskin's prophetic words:

'There is no wealth but life; life including all its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings. That man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest possible influence both personally and by means of his possessions over the lives of others.'

It is therefore of peculiar interest to recall that fifty-nine years ago, Ruskin anticipated the cardinal questions which are now raised by the industrial classes, and which are at the bottom of the present series of crises in the Labour world. He then warned the Government of the need for limiting the hours of labour, but he accompanied his warning with an even graver statement. It was no good for the Government to think that the mere limitation of the hours of labour was sufficient in itself. The hours of labour which remained, however shortened, must be made not competitive and not oppressive to the workmen. in this connexion he suggested a standard upon which to base action: to suppose that the workman was our son and that he was left without parents, and that what we should like to be

done

done for our son so left, we should strive to do for the workman. A doctrine which told the wealthiest capitalist that he must provide for his poorest workman as for his own son went as far as any theories of responsibility which

are advanced to-day.

In 1857 Ruskin appealed for Old Age pensions. It was probably the first time such an appeal had been made by any responsible person. It sounded to his contemporaries much as an appeal to open the public schools to the working classes would sound to-day. These were his words: 'It ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country because he has deserved well of his country.' It took fifty years before Ruskin's policy was carried out by Mr. Asquith's Government in 1908.

This question of the State care of the aged poor is a good illustration of the prophetic vision which Ruskin showed in so many of the definite proposals he made for the reform of our social system. He saw before any one else the need for the minimum wage. When the first Wages Boards were set up in this country, largely owing to the way in which the late Sir Charles Dilke had worked for them, Parlia-

ment

ment was carrying out a reform for which Ruskin had been the first to plead half a century before. No amount of competition, he said, could justify sweating. Similarly, the Labour Exchanges established so recently simply sought to deal with the vital problem of fixity of employment which Ruskin first dealt with in a constructive spirit.

The Land Question

Ruskin showed the same spirit of prophecy in most that he said concerning the land problem. He proclaimed that this was at the bottom of most modern reforms. The popular indictment of slums and their owners, and of the social system which enables them to exist, came not from a modern Prime Minister but from Mr. Ruskin more than half a century ago. He did not want to see slums tidied up o and made a little more decent; he wanted to see them wholly abolished. He advocated fair rents, fixity of tenure, the elimination of the profiteer. Where land or houses were owned by private persons, he insisted upon the observance by those persons of the two principles of personal responsibility and personal service. He was not content with preaching. In this as in so many other questions he set a great personal example, and it was he who made possible the work of Miss Octavia Hill

Hill which resulted in the reclamation of so

many slum properties.

Some problems connected with the land which have been forced upon the attention of the nation in consequence of the war were anticipated by Ruskin. He saw that we were wasting land and that we were putting it to wrong and sometimes degrading purposes. He saw that we should want more food in the future, and he told us how to get it. It sounds simple enough now, but it was not until the war that we acted upon it. The way to produce more food, he said, is to bring in fresh ground. 'To break rock, exchange earth, drain the moist, and water the dry,' and in this connexion he urged us to increase facilities of carriage. He thus stated both the problem and one of its solutions which is before the country at the present moment. He was the first to plead for the reclamation of waste lands and for the national practice of afforestation.

Taxation

Sixty-seven years ago Ruskin set forth principles of taxation which, then novel, are now an accepted feature of State policy. When Ruskin wrote the income-tax was hardly regarded as a permanent feature of financial policy, nor was it a graduated tax. It was then so low, that to-

day

day such a tax would appear negligible. There was no super-tax. Ruskin pleaded for a graduated tax, and was the first to suggest the super-tax. The income-tax had been graduated and the super-tax had been instituted before the European war took place. The war appears to have placed the permanence of the tax beyond discussion.

It is a tribute to Ruskin's prophetic vision that so much of his teaching, some of it nearly three-quarters of a century old, sounds curiously topical to-day. Thus we find him calling attention to the conditions under which the work of miners is carried on and insisting upon the conditions of labour in the mines being made

safe.

In this paper it may be thought that the claim which has been advanced, that so many of modern political and other reforms are due to Ruskin's teaching, is exaggerated, that the work of other teachers has been overlooked and that other causes could be set forth which have resulted in the progress which has been made. All these things may be true. But they do not destroy Ruskin's supreme position as a pioneer reformer. It is worth while considering one reason for this. On some aspects of his teaching others had written of the same things before him. This is mainly true in connexion with certain phases of his educational

tional teaching, though it remains true that a great part of his teaching, particularly on social questions, was wholly original. But no teacher before Ruskin had been so successful in the ultimate appeal which he made to unlettered people. Some educational thinkers had taught some of the things Ruskin taught and before he wrote. But they made no popular appeal. Ruskin's strength, after all, came from the fact that he appealed to the conscience of the entire nation. The widest response to his appeal came from the working classes. They have always been the greatest readers of his books. His language made to them something of the same popular appeal as did the prose of the Bible to an earlier age. Passages like this came to working men as a new vision of life:

'The great cry which rises from all our manuturing cities, louder than the furnace blast, is all in very deed for this; that we manufacture there everything except men. We blanch cotton and strengthen steel and refine sugar and shape pottery; but to brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit never enters into our estimate of advantages. And all the evil to which that cry is urging our myriads can be met only in one way . . . by a right understanding on the part of all classes of what kinds of labour are good for men, raising them and making them happy; by a determined sacrifice of such convenience or beauty or cheapness as is to be got only by the degradation of the workmen and by an equally

John Howard Whitehouse

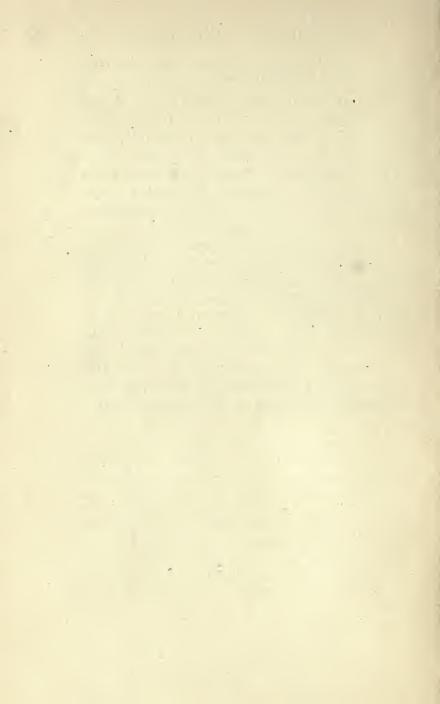
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equally determined demand for the products and results of healthy and ennobling labour.'

When once the poorer classes began to read Ruskin they understood him. His magic eloquence in its influence was to them like the discovery of a new Holy Scripture. Their material demands for better conditions of life were now given a spiritual significance. The demand for reform became part of the eternal

conflict between right and wrong.

But apart from the response from working people themselves every generous spirit in all ranks of society was fired by Ruskin's appeals and the grounds from which they sprang. A hundred chivalrous movements were set on foot to help the building of his new world. And if Ruskin's name has been heard with less frequency in recent years it is yet true to say that his ideals have received an ever-increasing recognition in the modern world.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Ruskin's Life and Works

Only the more important of Ruskin's writings and the events of his life are included.]

1819. Born February 8, London.

1825 (aged 6). First visit to Paris and Brussels.

1826 (aged 7). First visit to Scotland.

1830 (aged 11). First poem printed, Skiddaw and Derwentwater. First general tour through England.

1831 (aged 12). Sent to day school in London. Receives birthday present of Rogers's Italy with Turner vignettes.

1832 (aged 13). Continental tour. First visit to Italy. 1834 (aged 15). Minor scientific articles published.

1837 (aged 18). Went into residence at Oxford. First magazine articles on architecture, &c.

1838 (aged 19). Articles on architecture, &c. 1839 (aged 20). Won the Newdigate Prize for poem Salsette and Elephanta.

1840 (aged 21). Introduced to Turner. Serious illness.

1841 (aged 22). Continental tour-France, Pisa, Florence, Siena, Rome. Wrote King of the Golden River.

1842 (aged 23). Took B.A. degree, Oxford. Began Modern Painters.

1843 (aged 24). Took M.A. degree, Oxford. Modern Painters, vol. i, published.

1845 (aged 26). Writing Modern Painters, vol. ii.

1846 (aged 27). Modern Painters, vol. ii, published. Began plans for writing Seven Lamps of Architecture.

1848 (aged 29). Married Miss E. C. Grey. Wrote Seven Lamps.

1849 (aged 30). Joins Council of Arundel Society. Seven Lamps of Architecture published. At Venice at work on Stones of Venice.

1850 (aged 31). Collected poems published. Wrote essay on Baptism.

1851 (aged 32). Wrote Notes on the Construction of Sheep-folds.

Stones of Venice, vol. i, published. Began defence of Pre-Raphaelites. Met Carlyle.

1852 (aged 33). Renounces executorship under Turner's will.

Wrote Letters on Politics. At work on Stones of Venice.

1853 (aged 34). Stones of Venice, vols. ii and iii, published.
Wrote lectures on Architecture and Painting.

1854 (aged 35). Friendship with Rossetti. Co-operates in

foundation of Working Men's College.

1856 (aged 37). Modern Painters, vols. iii and iv, published.

At work on Oxford Museum.

1857 (aged 38). Published Political Economy of Art, Elements of Drawing, and Catalogue of the Turner Sketches at the National Gallery. Works on Turner Drawings at National Gallery.

1859 (aged 40). Published The Oxford Museum and Two Paths.

Lectures at Manchester. Letters to press on Italian

questions.

1860 (aged 41). Published Modern Painters, vol. v. Unto this

Last in Cornhill.

1861 (aged 42). Presents Turner Drawings to Oxford. Others to Cambridge.

1862 (aged 43). Essays on Political Economy in Fraser's

Magazine.

1863 (aged 44). Continuation of Essays on Political Economy in Fraser's Magazine.

1864 (aged 45). Death of his father. Purchases property in Marylebone.

1865 (aged 46). Published Sesame and Lilies and the Study of Architecture in our Schools.

1866 (aged 47). Published Ethics of the Dust and the Crown of

Wild Olive.

1867 (aged 48). First scheme for St. George's Guild foreshadowed. Co-operates with Miss Octavia Hill's work.

1869 (aged 50). Meets Holman Hunt. Appointed Slade Pro-

fessor at Oxford.

1871 (aged 52). Published Fors Clavigera, Letters 1-12.
Buys Brantwood. Starts St. George's Fund. Endows
Master of Drawing at Oxford. Death of his mother.
Street cleaning experiment in Seven Dials.

1872 (aged 53). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation).
Published Munera Pulveris. Enters into residence at
Brantwood. Undertakes publication of own books.

1873 (aged 54). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation),

Love's Meinie. Re-appointed Slade Professor. 1874 (aged 55). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation). Roaddigging at Hincksey. Franciscan Studies in Italy.

Opens tea-shop at Paddington.

1875 (aged 56). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation), Proserpina, and Deucalion. Death of Miss La Touche. Makes over Oxford Collections to the University. Draws up constitution of St. George's Guild.

1876 (aged 57). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation).

Starts St. George's Museum, Sheffield.

1877 (aged 58). Published the Laws of Fésole. Edited Bibliotheca Pastorum. Abstract of the object and constitution of St. George's Guild. St. Mark's Rest. Fors Clavigera (continuation).

1878 (aged 59). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation). Visits

Gladstone.

1879 (aged 60). Published Letters to the Clergy on the Lord's Prayer and the Church. Resigns Slade Professorship.

1880 (aged 61). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation), Arrows

of the Chace, and A Joy for Ever.

1882 (aged 63). Published General Statement explaining the nature and purposes of St. George's Guild. Contemplates autobiography.

1883 (aged 64). Published Art of England. Accepts re-appointment as Slade Professor. Lectures at Oxford. Attends

lecture by William Morris at Oxford.

1884 (aged 65). Published Fors Clavigera (continuation), The Storm-cloud of the Nineteenth Century, The Pleasures of England.

1885 (aged 66). Published introduction to Usury and the English

Bishops, On the Old Road, Praeterita.

1886 (aged 67). Published continuation of Praeterita, Dilecta.

1887 (aged 68). Published continuation of *Praeterita* and *Dilecta*.

1888 (aged 69). Continuation of *Praeterita*. Last tour to Switzerland and Italy.

1889 (aged 70). Completion of Praeterita. Literary work now ceased.

1900 (aged 81). Died at Coniston.

Contemporary Literature

1819 Scott, Ivanhoe. Wordsworth, Peter Bell. Shelley, The Cenci. Washington Irving, The Sketch Book.

Scott, Monastery; Abbot. 1820 Keats, St. Agnes.

Principles of Political Economy.

De Quincey, Confessions. Scott, Kenilworth. Byron, Cain. 1821 Shelley, Prometheus. Hazlitt, Table Talk.

Rogers, Italy. Scott, Pirate; Fortunes of Nigel. 1822

1823 Scott, Quentin Durward. Lamb, Elia.

1824 Bentham, Book of Fallacies. Scott, Redgauntlet. Byron, Don Juan.

Scott, Talisman. Coleridge, Aids to Reflection. 1825

1826 Disraeli, Vivian Grey. Scott, Woodstock.

Scott, Life of Napoleon. A. and C. Tennyson, Poems of Two 1827 Brothers. Keble, Christian Year. Hallam, Constitutional History.

Scott, Tales of a Grandfather. Napier, Peninsular War. 1828

Coleridge, Constitution of Church and State. Lamb, Album 1830 Verses. Tennyson, Poems.

Poe, The Raven. Whittier, Legends of New England. 1831

Carlyle, Sartor Resartus. Lamb, Last Essays of Elia. 1833

Bulwer, Last Days of Pompeii. Dickens, Sketches by Boz. 1834 Southey, The Doctor.

Wordsworth, Yarrow Revisited. 1835 Browning, Paracelsus. Longfellow, Outre-mer.

Dickens, Pickwick Papers. Whittier, Voices of Freedom. 1836

Hallam, Introduction to the Literature of Europe. Carlyle, 1837 The French Revolution. Thackeray, Tellowplush Papers. Hawthorne, Twice-told Tales. Dickens, Oliver Twist.

1838 Carlyle, Miscellanies. Dickens, Nicholas Nickleby.

1839 Longfellow, Hyperion.

1840 Browning, Sordello. Dickens, Old Curiosity Shop.

Carlyle, Heroes and Hero-worship. Browning, Pippa Passes. 1841 Emerson, Essays. Longfellow, Ballads.

Macaulay, Lays of Ancient Rome. Tennyson, Poems. 1842

Browning, Dramatic Lyrics.

Browning, Blot on the 'Scutcheon. Carlyle, Past and Present. 1843 Macaulay, Essays. Dickens, Martin Chuzzlewit; Christmas Carol.

Contemporary History and Biography

- 1819 Kingsley born. General unrest. Cotton Mills Act forbade labour of children under nine in mills.
- 1821 Keats died. Revolt of Greece against Turkey.
- 1822 Arnold and Pasteur born. Shelley died.
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine proclaimed in America.
- 1824 Byron died.
- 1825 Stephenson constructs Stockton and Darlington Railway.
- 1826 Partial repeal of Act prohibiting combinations of workmen marks beginning of modern Trade Unions.
- 1827 Blake died. Greek independence secured.
- 1828 George Meredith and Dante Gabriel Rossetti born.
- 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act.
- 1830 Opening of Liverpool and Manchester Railway. Hazlitt died.
- 1831 Great reform agitation.
- 1832 Reform Bill passed. Scott and Goethe died.
- 1833 Slavery abolished in British Empire. Ashley's Factory
 Act limits hours of labour for women and boys. Annual
 grants to two societies for schools begun. Oxford
 Movement developed. Great Western Railway begun.
- 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. William Morris born. Coleridge and Lamb died.
- 1835 Municipal Reform Act.
- 1836 J. S. Mill died. Marriages legalized in Nonconformist chapels. Stamp duty on newspapers reduced to one penny per issue.
- 1837 Accession of Queen Victoria. Swinburne born.
- 1838 Issue of the People's Charter by the Chartists. Foundation of the Anti-Corn Law League.
- 1839 Penny Post established. Opium war with China, 1839– 42. Formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.
- 1840 Thomas Hardy born.
- 1841 Oxford Movement. Publication of Tract Ninety.
- 1842 Free Trade Budget. Duties on raw material greatly reduced.
- 1843 Disruption of the Scottish Church. Free Church established. Southey died. Wordsworth Poet Laureate.

1844 E. B. Browning, Poems. Hood, Song of the Shirt. Disraeli,

Coningsby. Dickens, The Chimes.

1845 Carlyle, Oliver Cromwell. Disraeli, Sybil. R. Browning, Dramatic Romances and Lyrics. Dickens, The Cricket on the Hearth. Hawthorne, Mosses from an Old Manse.

1846 R. Browning, Luria. Hood, Poems. Dickens, Dombey

and Son.

1847 Tennyson, The Princess. C. Brontë, Jane Eyre. Thackeray, Vanity Fair. Longfellow, Evangeline.

1848 Arnold, The Strayed Reveller. Lowell, Biglow Papers.

Mrs. Gaskell, Mary Barton.

1849 Thackeray, Pendennis. Browning, Poems. Macaulay, History

of England. Whittier, Voices of Freedom.

1850 Carlyle, Latter-day Pamphlets. Dickens, David Copperfield.
Tennyson, In Memoriam. Whittier, Songs of Labour.
Wordsworth, Prelude.

1851 Carlyle, John Sterling. Hawthorne, House of the Seven

Gables.

1852 Dickens, Bleak House. Thackeray, Esmond.

1853 Kingsley, Hypatia. Mrs. Gaskell, Cranford. 1854 Coventry Patmore, Angel in the House.

1857 Kingsley, Two Years Ago. Hughes, Tom Brown's School-days.

1858 George Eliot, Scenes of Clerical Life. Tennyson, Idylls of the King. William Morris, Defence of Guinevere. Holmes,

Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.

1859 George Eliot, Adam Bede. Meredith, Richard Feverel. J. S. Mill, On Liberty. Dickens, Tale of Two Cities.

Darwin, Origin of Species.

1860 Emerson, Conduct of Life. G. Eliot, Mill on the Floss. Holmes, The Professor at the Breakfast Table.

1861 George Eliot, Silas Marner.

1863 George Eliot, Romola. Bryce, Holy Roman Empire. Longfellow, Tales of a Wayside Inn.

1864 Swinburne, Atalanta in Calydon. Tennyson, Enoch Arden.

Newman, Apologia.

1865 Arnold, Essays in Criticism. Dickens, Our Mutual Friend. Carlyle, Frederick 11. Lecky, History of Rationalism.

1866 Swinburne, Poems and Ballads.

1867 Swinburne, Song of Italy. Arnold, Celtic Literature.

1868 Browning, Ring and the Book.

1869 Lecky, History of European Morals. Blackmore, Lorna Doone. Arnold, Culture and Anarchy. 1844 Campbell died.

Potato famine in Ireland. Newman joins the Catholic 1845 Church.

Repeal of the Corn Laws. 1846

Year of Revolutions. France becomes a republic. Louis 1848 Napoleon elected president. Revolution in Italy and Germany. Emily Brontë died. Chartism suppressed.

Roman Republic decreed. 1849

Death of Wordsworth. Tennyson Poet Laureate. Death 1850 of Peel. Foundation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

1851 Telegraphic communication between France and England. Crystal Palace Exhibition. Turner died.

- Moore died. Napoleon III proclaimed emperor of 1852 France.
- Gladstone's first Budget. 1853

Crimean War, 1854-6. 1854

C. Brontë died. Abolition of duty on newspapers. 1855

1856 Treaty of Paris. G. Bernard Shaw born.

1857 Outbreak of Indian Mutiny.

- 1858 East India Company abolished. Jews allowed to sit in Commons. Abolition of the property qualification for M.P.'s. Telegraphic communication between England and America.
- Disraeli's Reform Bill rejected. Death of Hallam, 1859 Macaulay, De Quincey, and Leigh Hunt.
- American Civil War. Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy. 1861 E. Barrett Browning died. Foundation of William Morris's firm.

Death of Thackeray. 1863

- 1865 Lincoln assassinated. Completion of the Atlantic cable,
- 1867 Disraeli's Reform Bill passed.

1868 Gladstone Prime Minister.

1869 Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Suez Canal opened.

1870 D. G. Rossetti, Poems. Morris, Earthly Paradise. Dickens, Edwin Drood.

1871 Swinburne, Songs before Sunrise. George Eliot, Middlemarch. Lowell, My Study Windows.

1872 Holmes, Poet at the Breakfast Table.

1873 J. S. Mill, Autobiography. Pater, Studies in the Renaissance.

1874 Green, History of the English People.

1876 George Eliot, Daniel Deronda.

1878 Justin McCarthy, History of our own Times. Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century.

1879 Browning, Dramatic Idylls. Meredith, The Egoist. Sir E.

Arnold, The Light of Asia.

1880 Disraeli, Endymion.

1881 Carlyle, Reminiscences. D. G. Rossetti, Ballads and Sonnets.

1884 R. Browning, Ferishtah's Fancies.

1885 Pater, Marius the Epicurean. 1886 Morris, The Dream of John Ball.

1887 Browning, Parleyings with Certain People.

1888 Arnold, Essays in Criticism.

1889 Tennyson, Demeter and other Poems. Pater, Appreciations.

1890 Morris, News from Nowhere.

- 1870 Franco-Prussian War. Irish Land Act. Forster's Education Act. Dickens died.
- 1871 Abolition of religious tests in the Universities. Capitulation of Paris. Trade Unions legalized.
- 1872 Ballot Act.
- 1873 J. S. Mill died.
- 1875 Russo-Turkish War.
- 1876 Gladstone's pamphlet on Bulgaria advocates the expulsion of the Turks from Bulgaria.
- 1877 Telephone invented in America.
- 1878 Treaty of Berlin.
- 1879 First telephone exchange in London.
- 1880 Elementary education made compulsory. George Eliot died,
- 1881 Carlyle died.
- 1883 British occupation of Egypt.
- 1884 Siege of Khartoum.
- 1885 General Gordon killed. Victor Hugo died.
- 1886 First Home Rule Bill defeated.
- 1888 Matthew Arnold died. Establishment of County Councils.
- 1889 Browning died. Dockers' strike led by John Burns.
- 1890 Bismarck dismissed from office. Newman died. Morris founded the Kelmscott Press.
- 1892 Tennyson died
- 1893 Second Home Rule Bill defeated in the Lords.
- 1894 District and Parish Councils established.
- 1896 Jameson Raid.
- 1897 Workmen's Compensation Act.
- 1899 Outbreak of the South African War.

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