THE story of the Ruskin marriage has been closely documented, in particular by Mary Lutyens.\(^1\) After Effie had left her husband for ever in April 1854, Pauline Trevelyan was one of the few people who stood staunchly by Ruskin, amid all the chatter and scandal of London and Edinburgh drawing-rooms. Effie, who had once confided in Pauline, was furious at what she considered to be a betrayal, and never forgave her.

Pauline was married to Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, a baronet who owned large properties at Wallington Hall in Northumberland and Nettlecornbe Court in Somerset. She was a brilliant, unusual person, warm, encouraging to young people, an artist and critic, with a delicious—if occasionally rather wicked—sense of humour.

Born Paulina Jermyn Jermyn, the daughter of an impoverished parson,\(^2\) on 25 January 1816, she was nineteen years younger than her learned, taciturn husband, who as William Bell Scott was to say had “many unacknowledged peculiarities”\(^3\). For many years until her death on 13 May 1866 she was for Ruskin the “monitress-friend in whom I wholly trusted”.\(^4\) He consulted her on the names of wild flowers and helped her with her drawing. She used to love teasing him and would refer to

\(^1\) *Effie in Venice* (1965); *Millais and the Ruskins* (1967); *The Ruskins and the Grays* (1972).

\(^2\) Her father, Dr. George Bitton Jermyn (1789-1857), an antiquarian and genealogist, was at the time curate at Hawkeden near Bury St. Edmonds, Suffolk. He was proud of the family name and wanted it to remain with Pauline when she married. On her mother’s side Pauline was of Huguenot descent.

\(^3\) *Autobiographical Notes*, ed. W. Minto (London, 1892), ii. 5. Sir W. C. Trevelyan (1797-1878) was a noted geologist, antiquarian, botanist and philanthropist. He was also in the forefront of the temperance movement, a pacifist, a campaigner against capital punishment and tobacco smoking, a phrenologist, and a supporter of women’s suffrage.

him as "Master". She was also one of those who encouraged him to support the Pre-Raphaelites.¹

Pauline had been swept away in admiration for Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, vol. II immediately after its publication in April 1846. Very probably a mutual friend, Henry Acland,² had urged her to call on the Ruskins at Denmark Hill on 4 June 1847. Euphemia, or Effie, Gray was staying there, as the child of family friends,³ and on the 7th Effie wrote to her mother about the visit: "Lady Trevylian is a nice little woman very quiet and rather pretty, excessively fond of painting and had some beautiful sketches done by her in Greece."⁴ This was the beginning of Pauline's friendship with both John Ruskin and Effie, who some while later became engaged. In the Wallington archives, now kept in the University Library at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, there are seventeen letters from Effie to Pauline—providing a touching commentary on the disastrous course of the marriage.⁵

³ On 22 September 1851 he wrote to Pauline, "I am rejoiced that you like anything I have said about your pre-Raphaelites". It was, of course, Coventry Patmore who got him to write his famous letter to *The Times* in their defence. On 22 January 1852 Pauline reviewed Ruskin's pamphlet *Pre-Raphaelitism* in *The Scotsman.*

² (Sir) Henry Wentworth Dyke Acland (1815-1900), later Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford.

¹ The originals of the letters from Effie and Ruskin to Pauline referred to or quoted in this article are in the University Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, WCT 57 and WCT 38-56. In the quotations above, the original punctuation has been retained. All these letters were unpublished until extracts were quoted in Raleigh Trevelyan's *A Pre-Raphaelite Circle*, London, 1978. The whole extant correspondence between the Trevelyans and Effie, Ruskin and Ruskin's father were published in Virginia Surtees' *Reflections of a Friendship*, London, 1979, with an introduction by Raleigh Trevelyan. The letters from Effie in the Newcastle University Library are quoted with the permission of the Trustees of the Trevelyan Estate and Sir Ralph Milais, Bart., and from Ruskin of the aforesaid Trustees, the Ruskin Literary Trustees, and George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
The Trevelyans had spent much time in Edinburgh and continued to visit it even after Sir Walter had inherited his estates. They were there early in 1848, just before the Ruskins were due to be married. Effie met Pauline again at a smart dance given by Lady Murray and on 9 March Pauline called on her at Lord Cockburn's, where Effie was staying. "She seemed to think nobody like John," Effie wrote to her father, "and gave me many expressions of kindness and invitations to come and stay with her." And Ruskin, who was still in London, wrote to Effie: "Lady Trevelyan is very kind—not that I was not sure that everybody would love you and think well of you—still, her saying you were worthy of me is very delightful—because, you know, it is a compliment—(no—a testimony) to us both, to me more than to you... I know no one—of whom I know so little, of whose friendship I am so desirous for you."

Shortly afterwards he arrived in Edinburgh. Pauline wrote to him in a bantering way, suggesting that he should call on her. To which he replied on 21 March, ending with a postscript: "I showed this note to Miss Gray—who thereupon looked dissatisfied & thoughtful—I asked what was wanting—or erring—and after some pause—and a renewed questioning—obtained the following reply ‘I think, you should tell her I liked her very much’.

The next day he called on the Trevelyans and brought with him this little letter from Effie:

My dear Lady Trevelyan,

Accept my warmest thanks for your kind & beautiful gift, which I hope to be able to thank you for better ere I leave Edinburgh. I shall have great pleasure in wearing it and I assure you that I have long ago forgiven you for punishing me at Mrs. Fullarton's. I did not require to send your note far, for Mr. Ruskin

1 His father, Sir John Trevelyan, 5th baronet, died on 23 May 1846.
2 The Ruskins and Grays, pp. 95-96. Lady Murray was the wife of an Edinburgh judge. Lord Cockburn (1779-1854), also a judge, published his Life of Lord Jeffery in 1852; his Memorials of His Time was published posthumously (1856).
3 Ibid. p. 97.
4 An unexplained incident. “Mrs. Fullarton” could well have been a relative of Lord Fullerton, Lord Cockburn's brother-in-law and another judge. And no doubt Pauline's gift was some Honiton lace, made at Beer near Seaton in Devon where the Trevelyans had property; Pauline was very interested in the lace-workers there and did designs for them.
was sitting by, teaching me to draw a circle which I confess I was doing very badly notwithstanding his encouragements. I am afraid I am too old to learn drawing now. I go home on Monday but if you would be so good as to tell Mr. Ruskin if you are at home on Thursday afternoon I shall have much pleasure in calling for you if then convenient and believe me with many thanks for your kindness.

Yours very sincerely Effie C. Gray.

Effie duly came to see Pauline, and the two seem to have had a frank discussion about Ruskin. On 6 April she wrote again from Bowerswell, her family home near Perth, to tell her about the marriage date. It had only been fixed that very morning, she said, and was to be on 10 April at four o'clock. “My dear Mother will miss me very much as I have no sister older than five years, three having been taken from us at one blow by [scarlet] fever [in 1841].” Ruskin, she added, was out for the day, or he would also be writing. Then:

I have not forgotten your advice about him and I shall endeavour to follow it after we are married as it quite accords with my own ideas. I have known him now for eight years and I always thought the same although he is much changed in many respects since then, but I hope it will not be long before we meet and you will have more things to say to me.

After their honeymoon in the Highlands Ruskin and Effie spent some time in London. They then, in the company of the Ruskin parents, set off for Dover, the nearest point to the Continent—travel abroad being for the time being debarred in that year of revolutions. As is well known, the marriage was never consummated, and Effie was soon to become irritated by the domination of Mr. and Mrs. Ruskin over their son. Obviously she was anxious to keep a lifeline going with Pauline:

Dover, 24th June 1848

My dear Lady Trevelyan

I do not know whether I ought to write to you or not but I want to do so, and the temptation of your giving me an address which would always find you, has strengthened my wishes. I have been wondering for a long time where you were and I did hope that during the six weeks we spent in London after our arrival from Scotland I might have seen you at some of the parties we were at, but I was unfortunate and the dreadful fever in Westminster of which you must

1 C. stood for Chalmers, the maiden name of Effie’s maternal grandmother.
3 An outbreak of typhoid.
have heard prevented me from becoming better acquainted with Miss Buckland who doubtless could have told me some news of you. We were rather early in our Highland tour and John did nothing but abuse every place one after another when he was awake, for to hide out what he calls the most melancholy country in the world, he slept most of the way which I am sure you will be quite shocked at and I had the poor advantage of having the beauties all to myself. I enjoyed London very much and the streets and shops were quite delightful, and my philosopher thinks me quite a pattern wife because I am content with the outside of the latter but I think that no merit at all since I want for nothing. But now we are at Dover and it is such a nice place. We have been here ten days and the weather most lovely, we are never tired of being on the beach and throwing stones into the water and the ships riding on the waves of all kinds and sizes are perfect. The French coast is very clear, and the other day through a glass we saw the church spires of Calais. Some alarm is caused today by the nonappearance of the French Mail and they are fearful that a Massacre has taken place in Paris but I trust the report will be found untrue and false but in the present state of the world one is not now to be surprised at anything after the extraordinary events of the last few months. You know my husband's love for the Continent and these changes at times dishearten him very much and he is constantly longing to be on the other side of the Channel, but excepting this I may say he is truly happy and yesterday was one of the most delightful days we have spent since our marriage. . .

That day had been spent in Canterbury. Effie was having more drawing lessons from her husband, she said, and greatly enjoying them.

Afterwards Ruskin and Effie went to stay with the Aclands at Oxford. When Pauline, who loved giving house parties, knew that all four Ruskins would later be at Salisbury, she suggested they should come on to Nettlecombe, not so very far by train. The Aclands might be persuaded to join them too. Effie wrote on 15 July from the White Hart Inn, Salisbury. "Mr. Ruskin [John] I am sorry to say," she said, "has had a bad cold ever since we were at Dover which accompanied by a severe cough has cost him much annoyance. This is the only thing which prevents us from acceding to your kind request." As soon as he was well enough, she added, they would certainly come.

1 Elizabeth Oke Buckland, daughter and future biographer of the eccentric geologist Dr. William Buckland (1784-1856), Dean of Westminster, a very great friend of the Trevelyan family.
2 There had been an uprising of workers, during which the Archbishop was accidentally killed.
3 Acland had married Sarah Cotton, daughter of a director of the Bank of England, in 1846.
Actually, as Mary Lutyens has pointed out, it was this cold which was the first real *casus belli* between Effie and the Ruskin parents.¹ Effie loved the Wiltshire countryside. As for Ruskin, he "allows it to be beautiful in its way but grumbles about the want of hills, and goes to sleep over a book upon Star Fishes."² In short his heart is in Switzerland that is all one can say. However, he is happy with the Cathedral which he is writing criticisms upon to his heart's content and cutting poor Salisbury to pieces in comparison to that of Florence but he will tell you about it himself. How could you Lady Trevelyan ever suppose John and I living in a house as large and empty as a barn. When we get a house and you come to see us if we can persuade you you will find it a small place furnished with great taste and for a beginning to the furniture John bought at Oxford a very grand plaster Owl which I suppose is to be the guardian of the place."

On 3 August she wrote apologetically to say that they could not, after all, come to Nettlecombe. "I am sure that you will think Mr. Ruskin and I the most tiresome people in the world."

For the Continent had suddenly become a safer place for travelers, and they were crossing to Boulogne "and then going on we don't exactly know where". "I think myself the change of air and getting to places he has so much affection and has been pining lately so much for will do him I hope a good deal of good and he requires it."

However, they never went further than Normandy. For the next eleven weeks Ruskin was busy gathering material for *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Effie tried hard to accommodate herself to her husband's habits. She sat near him on a camp stool "as quiet as a mouse" while he sketched. She followed him on walks, but became so tired that she was reduced to tears. Ruskin seems to have been aware that he was behaving rather selfishly, but he had to get on with his work. Meanwhile they heard that their respective fathers were squabbling about finances.³ Against this background Effie wrote a brave letter to

¹ *The Ruskins and the Grays*, pp. 126-7.
² Presumably *Star-fishes* (1842) by Edward Forbes, whom the Trevelyans got to know and like in Edinburgh.
Pauline from Falaise on 30 August:

... I need hardly tell you that with beautiful warm weather, heavenly skies, & beautiful scenery we are as happy & enjoying ourselves as much as possibly can be. I have a letter from Mrs. Acland yesterday perfectly delighted with Scotland which she says has made Dr. Acland quite ruddy and goodnatured. I am afraid I cannot yet give France the credit of bringing roses into my husband's cheeks but he is very good tempered and would be perfectly contented were it not for the spirit of restoration in this country which by way of improving or restoring old buildings is pulling them to pieces not slowly but in rapid strides, down they come the black with age sides of Rouen Cathedral with all its lace-like work statues, niches, crochets, foliated windows, which I daresay you know to be of the most exquisite workmanship are all being demolished to make room for staring yellow stone uncarved which the workmen said was to be finished at some future time. The front of the Cathedral is still spared, but the whole front of St. Ouen has been removed and newly built, at Lisieux the same thing is going on, all this distresses John exceedingly and he was very busy during the week we spent in Rouen taking sketches of some of the most valuable parts and getting a number of Daguerreotypes taken... We have had charming walks, I never saw such a place for walks and with everything combined to make them perfect, trees, and fair green banks, old cottages, rocks, heather, brambles, little streams....

Meanwhile the Trevelyans had gone to Ireland on family business. It was a grim time in that country, and Pauline was shocked by the condition of the starving poor. Early in November Ruskin and Effie moved into a furnished house, 31 Park Street, Mayfair. On 18 December Effie replied to a letter from Pauline, who had written from Limerick. She wrote brightly about things that she knew would interest Pauline. Their house was small but "just large enough for us". The Aclands had been to dinner. "I had a great treat last night on hearing the Elijah splendidly performed at the Exeter Hall, Jenny Lind taking a part in English which she pronounced extremely well and sang the beautiful and sublime composition of her late friend with great feeling and correctness not adding or reducing a single note of the original text." Pauline had written to her

1 The "further education and guardianship" of Sir Walter's nephew, Alfred Trevelyan, whose mother was Irish. Sir Walter's cousin, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, was in charge of Irish famine relief at the Treasury.

2 Jenny Lind appeared before a London audience for the first time in 1847, the year Mendelssohn died. Mendelssohn wrote the soprano part in Elijah especially for her.
of the hardships of travelling in Ireland, but Effie was sure that
with her perpetual high spirits Pauline had always enjoyed
herself. Ruskin had yet another tiresome cold: "He says you
do not speak of your drawing and he wants to know why you
send dutiful regards to him. I think he imagines he ought rather
to send his to you. It must be very painful to you to see so
much distress, the number of beggars here is something quite
dreadful and there are so many imposters that we have found it
best to buy Mendicity tickets for the multitude and find out
individual distress, but it is sometimes amusing to see how the
countenances fall on presenting the ticket for they are too lazy
to walk the length of Red Lion Square where they would be
provided with every thing they require and work besides if they
wished it. We go out next week to spend a fortnight with Mr.
and Mrs. Ruskin for our Christmas. They are both quite well.
John is busy writing his book, but presents his most dutiful
regards together with my best ones for Sir Walter."

"Dutiful" was an allusion to Pauline's joking way of signing
letters to Ruskin "Yours dutifully" or "Your dutiful scholar".

There were no further letters from Effie for a long while.
This presumably was partly due to a miserable sojourn at
Denmark Hill, when Effie's relationship with her in-laws
worsened irretrievably. At the end of January, possibly because
she was worried about her health, she went back to her parents in
Scotland. Then her small brother died, so she was still with her
parents in April when Ruskin and his parents set off on a five
months' trip to Switzerland.

People in Edinburgh began to gossip about Effie being
separated for so long from her husband, which no doubt was why
Pauline paid a special visit to her at Bowerswell. When Ruskin
finally returned to England Effie refused to come to London
unless he fetched her. It is also possible that Pauline, afraid
for the marriage, urged her to take this course. In any case
Effie's health was not good, and it seems that she was troubled,
among other things, by a perpetual sore throat.

Ruskin finally gave in. On the way south they stopped in
Edinburgh, so that Effie could see Dr. Simpson, a delightful

1 The Ruskins and the Grays, pp. 247-50.
character who was fast becoming the leading gynaecologist of the day. Pauline, also childless, had been consulting him too.

For much of 1849 Venice had been under siege by the Austrians. At last, on 22 August, the siege had been lifted. Ruskin, fearful of the damage caused by the bombardments, was longing to see the place again. Thus it was an engaging, and wise, idea of Effie’s to suggest going there at once. Three weeks after their departure, on 27 October, she was writing cheerfully to Pauline from the Albergo Reale, Milan. They had “taken a run”, she told her, to Chamonix, where Ruskin had been only so very recently with his parents. The Alps had been in “perfect beauty”, but she had thought that the women of the Valois were hideous. Simpson’s suggestion had been that she should winter in some place like Nice, but perhaps after Venice they would spend the “severer months” in Pisa. At Lake Maggiore they had visited Isola Bella and had seen Count Borromeo, its owner:

He did not look particularly distressed by the fine of £20,000 he has to pay to the Austrians... His fine Palace here is turned into an Hospital, many of the other Palaces have shared the same fate and all the nobility and gentlemen of Milan have left the town with their families, the town is still in a state of siege and 20,000 Austrians in it.

As might be expected, she said, the ordinary Milanese were “boiling with anger” at having been betrayed by Charles Albert of Sardinia and hated “their enemies from the very bottom of their souls”.

Soon after the Ruskins had reached Venice it was decided that after all they would not travel elsewhere in Italy. Effie’s health had to take second place to Ruskin’s work, from which The Stones of Venice was to evolve. Effie wrote on 15 January 1850 by far her longest letter to Pauline, about the charms of the city, which had not suffered nearly as much as they had feared from Austrian bombs:

1 (Sir) James Young Simpson (1811-70), then Professor of Midwifery at Edinburgh. In 1847 he discovered the anaesthetic value of chloroform and introduced it into obstetric practice, against much opposition.

2 Charles Albert (1798-1849), after his defeat at Custozza in July, had signed an armistice which delivered Milan to the Austrians—the Milanese having driven out the Austrians after the Cinque Giornate in March 1848.
Mr. Ruskin is busy all day till dinner time and from tea till bed time, we hardly ever see him excepting at dinner, for he has found that the short time we are able to remain is quite insufficient for the quantity of work before him, he sketches and writes notes, takes Daguerreotypes and measures of every Palace, House, Well, or any thing else that bears on the subject in hand, so you may fancy how much he has to arrange and think about. I cannot help teasing him now and then.

She spoke of the heavy snowstorms, which people said had not been so bad since 1829. When a thaw had come, Ruskin's gondola had nearly been sunk by an avalanche of snow sliding off a roof. As in Milan, families “of rank” were mostly staying out of town, not so much because of the Austrians, however, but for fear of the local republicans. The Austrian commander, Field Marshal Radetzky, was “mildness itself” and had said that he would give dinners and balls at Verona, and that if the ladies would not go his officers would have to waltz together:

He gave one ball last week and I asked Madame Miniscalchi if she went. Of course not! she answered we all had colds! and now she and the Count are en route for London and intend returning in June to see how things are getting on. We have seen Marshal Radetzky many times, he is truly astonishing, his figure is very upright and he walks very firmly his hair is grey and his eyes very much inflamed which detracts much from his personal appearance. Everyone says he is very good and those attached to his person have a great affection for him. He sent for his Countess the other day to come and stay with him at Verona. She came and is a thin little old woman with a flaxen wig no teeth and a cap. They had not met for thirty years before but had always corresponded and been on amicable terms and now I suppose they will continue to live together.¹

There was only one British resident left in Venice, Mr. Rawdon Brown. He has become concerned about Effie's health and had brought a friar to see her, “one of the Fate-bene-Fratelli”.² “He [the friar] is so kind and so humble and quiet . . . He brings me a bottle of new milk across the Lagoon every morning from the cows in the Monastery and every day he thinks me better.” She ended her letter, warmly as usual: “Believe me your most affectionate Effie Ruskin.”

¹ Countess Miniscalchi was wife of the head of a leading Veronese family.
² The aged Field Marshal Josef Radetzky (1766-1858) had won renown as a result of his defence of the “Quadrilateral”. He was much loved by his troops. His wife was thirteen years his junior.
³ The historian Rawdon Lubbock Brown (1803-83), was to spend fifty years in Venice. The Fate Bene Fratelli were Dominicans and worked in the hospitals.
On the 27th Ruskin wrote to Pauline. After a fine, and characteristic, description of Venice under snow, he said:

Effie is—if that be possible—fonder of Venice than I am—and I think it is possible—for she has perhaps some two thirds or three quarters of my pleasure in St. Marks and the Doge’s Palace—without suffering my pain from the sight of restoration or ruins—while I mourn over cannonshot, & quarrel with Carpenters, she is making friends with Austrian officers—and projecting improvements in saloons—while I mutter and growl at the people, she is chatting to them and laughing at them—and—if she were not still ill, poor thing, would decidedly have the best of it.

One of the officers was Effie’s “second doctor”, the handsome Lieutenant Paulizza, who became devoted to her. If ever she had wanted to let herself have an affair with anybody, he would have been an easy choice.

Pauline must have shown Effie’s last letter to her friend Dr. John Brown, in Edinburgh, for he wrote to her: “I like ‘Effie’ both for her own sake and ‘John’s’. She is a natural, vivid, right-minded girl. How she makes me wish to see Venice before I leave this unintelligible and beautiful and vile world of ours...”

But Pauline had been very ill, and Sir Walter had even been afraid that she might die. It was typical that she did not even mention this in letters to the Ruskins. Indeed, she had to have a tumour cauterized under chloroform, a horrible ordeal. Incredibly, whilst she was in such pain, she continued to write book reviews for *The Scotsman*. She also had some sepia drawings on display at an exhibition in Edinburgh.

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1 Effie in *Venice*, p. 111.
2 Trevelyan MSS., WCT 59, Newcastle. Undated. Dr. John Brown (1810-82), physician and essayist, was a popular figure in Edinburgh and in Ruskin’s old age his “darlingest doctor”.
3 In an undated letter to Louisa Stewart-Mackenzie (author’s collection) Pauline wrote: “I forget if I told you of my and Mr. Ruskin’s great friend here, Dr. John Brown? You would delight in him as much as I do. Well, this said Dr. J.B. propounded to me some time ago his opinion that it was my duty to put some studies into the exhibition, because Mr. Ruskin says the landscape people here don’t study half enough and that they ought to do large light and shade things of the same sort as mine. I told him I would do nothing of the sort while Mr. Ruskin was away, but he persisted, persuaded—and teazed, so that I was obliged to consent at last, he promising to take all the blame if the Maestro does not approve of the proceedings”.
By the time Effie wrote again, on 1 April, she and Ruskin were on their way home. They were at Montélimart, and had only just heard from Lord Cockburn’s daughter about Pauline’s illness:

... I did not know what to judge from your long and kind letter to me at Venice because you write in such excellent spirits... If you have any leisure second in your conversations with Dr. Simpson who I think one of the good and talented of the earth and as you saw persuasive to the last degree, pray remember me most kindly to him for I think he cannot have forgotten us especially as I have consulted him since I was in Venice. Say to him I am much better but not well and that the Italian winter from its severity was particularly unfortunate for me, sometimes I think I am quite [sic?] and then again my throat hurts me and sometimes I think I am as ill as ever.

Pauline’s “master”, she said, rejoiced that her work had been so much praised at the exhibition. “I am sure he will be delighted to lend you any book of sketches that will be of the slightest use to you, only please come and get them in person for I should like above all things to take a lesson from you in seeing you take one from him...” Ruskin had left Venice in the end with some relief, feeling that the natives were “sinking their country still lower by their sulkiness and indolence”:

We spent a pleasant week at Verona, and the Scaliger Monument underwent a thorough examination and John had me up at the top of a long ladder to see the features of Can Grande who he pronounced to be vulgar and commonplace. I did not think much about going up a ladder as I was to see something I had not seen before at the top of it but when I reached the ground I was rather annoyed and covered with blisters by seeing that the Veroneses had collected to a considerable number and gave me a sufficiency of staring as if I had done something quite out of the ordinary course of things.

Once back in London Effie continued her social life. She became very friendly with one of Pauline’s few bêtes noires, Lady Eastlake,¹ the malicious, vigorous, high-powered wife of the future director of the National Gallery. It was Lady Eastlake in whom Effie later confided that her marriage had not been consummated and who thereupon urged her to leave Ruskin. Meanwhile, Ruskin would leave Park Street every morning after breakfast to go to Denmark Hill where he could get on with his writing without interruption.

¹ 1809-93. Pauline had known her in Edinburgh as “Lofty Lucy” because of her great height.
From the end of August 1850 until October Effie was at Bowerswell. Presumably she again saw Simpson, for she wrote to Rawdon Brown telling him that he had said that if she could have children her health would be restored. Pauline must have pulled her leg about slackness in correspondence (as she often did with Ruskin in future years). On 6 November Effie wrote back in protest from Park Street:

How I wish I had only one room more that I might lay it at your feet as the Mexicans say but my little house is quite full and an extra bedroom is all I want to make it very comfortable for us. John is deep in his stones and occupied with Printers people who do mezzo-tints and lithographs, spoil some & make more work and John is so delighted with his work and so happy that I assure you it is a great blessing to live with a man who is never cross nor worried but always kind and good. He was at Oxford last Saturday with the Aclands standing Godfather to their last baby who is about three weeks old, he says they are very well but Dr. Acland has too much to do and he would not lead the life he does for the world. I am much better than I was and quite gay and merry.

Pauline's health however was about to collapse again, and she had to have another agonizing operation in Edinburgh. Again, almost from her sick-bed, she wrote a review for The Scotsman—a very long one, running for three successive days—this time of the Scottish Academy exhibition, and as usual her comments were astringent and witty. She wrote to her close friend “Loo” or “Lulu” (Louisa) Stewart-Mackenzie, the future Lady Ashburton, who was in London, and urged her to call on the Ruskins. “You would do her good, and I am sure you would delight in him.”

So in due course Effie wrote, on 1 March 1851, on grand crested notepaper:

Miss Mackenzie I have seen several times lately and was promising myself the pleasure of taking her to Denmark Hill some of these days to see the Turners but I hear that the pictures are not at Home for a fortnight as the Walls on which they hang are being cleaned. What a fine noble creature Miss Mackenzie is,

1 Effie in Venice, p. 171.
2 Henry Dyke Acland, born 14 October 1850. Ruskin had said, when they visited the Aclands in July 1848, that babies before breakfast made him sick (The Ruskins and the Grays, p. 126)—no doubt an additional reason for not wishing to have progeny himself.
3 Pauline had first met Loo—her “sister” as she called her—in 1842 at Corfu, where Loo’s father was High Commissioner. Loo married Lord Ashburton in 1858 and became a friend of both Carlyles.
there is such a repose and power and depth about her at the same time. The other night at Sir G. Clerk's Concert Lady Eastlake and I were admiring her fine head and calm expression through some hundreds of uninteresting ones. I think this year we shall see more of each other, and I shall deem myself happy if she likes me half as much as I am sure I should her. John is very busy now with his second Volume of the Stones, his first comes out today as well as a Pamphlet upon some ideas of Church Government which he calls "Notes on the construction of Sheepfolds". I am afraid you will not like it but be sure and read it and tell us exactly what you think of it.

After receiving this, Pauline wrote to Loo: "Effie is quite as much delighted with you as even I could wish, and she is so anxious that you should like her. I was sure when you knew her you would be fond of her. She is so honest and true-hearted and loving, her manner does her injustice." And Dr. John Brown, who must also have been in London, wrote to Loo: "Kitty [his wife] writes to me that you called with Effie Ruskin. She likes you rather better than Effie. Much and so she may; if Effie is a butterfly, you are a dragonfly." Effie in any case did not much like Dr. Brown, as some while later we have Ruskin enigmatically telling Pauline that Effie had an "unfortunate prejudice" against him, because of a "concealment" over a young man left in his charge some years previously.

As Pauline was a Puseyite, and Sheepfolds was anti-Puseyite, she certainly could not approve of the pamphlet. In any case, as she told Loo in that same letter, she considered it "weak". On the other hand she loved The Stones volume I. "It has been a great delight to me, lying in bed, to study it." She went on: "I think he would be a great deal happier leading a quiet country life, but I agree with you that she would find it a trial at first."

A long gap now follows. The Ruskins went again to Venice in the autumn of 1851. There is a letter dated 22 September from Ruskin to Pauline. He and Effie were staying in the Casa

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2 Author's collection. Undated.
3 Northampton MSS., Castle Ashby. Not numbered.
4 15 April 1854. Ruskin himself did not like Kitty Brown—"vicious expression like a biting horse" (27 November 1853, in a letter to his father. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library. Not numbered).
Wetzlar, overlooking the Grand Canal—"so comfortable that I feel for the first time in my life as if I were really in my own house". He told Pauline that he had always considered Park Street as "lodgings of the most disagreeable kind". Now at last he felt inclined to put his possessions in proper order, and was beginning to consider himself an "exemplary person". "As for Effie, I have no doubt she is a very exemplary mistress of the household;—for she is scolding me from morning till night: and is always discovering something wrong."

Life in Venice this time was even more brilliant for Effie. She had at last met Radetzky, who had admired her. There were masked balls and innumerable parties. Ruskin, engrossed as usual in his own work, had allowed her to go out alone. In December he had been named as executor in Turner's complicated will. At first he was elated by the possibilities, but when he heard that there were objections from the family he determined to renounce the executorship. All the same, he returned to London eager to discover what treasures could be unearthed among his hero's effects.

The lease of 31 Park Street had expired. Effie now had to face up to living in a small house at Herne Hill, not far from the old Ruskins at Denmark Hill. There could hardly be more of a contrast to her glittering existence during the previous months. It was from here that she wrote to Pauline on 25 July 1852:

I have been a fortnight nearly in England but what with moving into a new house, want of servants and quantities of workmen and other troubles I have not been able till now to answer your kind note—that we left Venice after a year's residence there with much regret you will easily believe, we passed the St. Gothard in the finest weather . . . Mr. Ruskin found so many interruptions in London to his work and quiet habits that wishing to be nearer his Turners he has taken a house in which we are now residing about ten minutes walk from his Father's house. He now intends to finish his second Vol. of the Stones and 3rd Vol. of Modern Painters at his leisure. Much of his time is at present spent in Mr. Turner's house where he finds boxes and drawers full of most wonderful drawings of untold value which he is glad to look at now as they will probably be sold afterwards as determined in his will but John is anxious to get rid of the executorship as it might cause him a great deal of trouble if the case remains in Chancery—where if all Mr. Dickens says is true concerning that establishment, it is likely to remain some time. 

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1 Now the Gritti Hotel.
2 In Bleak House, coming out in monthly instalments.
to Wallington. You must really think us the most ungrateful of our species, but
you know we have been such wanderers that we must stay a little at home when
we are in England and I suspect this Autumn that we shall not move again and if
I go to Scotland to see my family I do not think I shall trouble John to go with
me as I know how much he has to do... I have a little garden too which I
suppose is about the size of your drawing room but contains a little of everything
and is one of my principal pleasures for I must confess that everything else (but
nature) about here looks hideously ugly after Venice and the extreme cleanliness
squareness and precision of everything perfectly painful after living in tumble-
down Palaces with Tintorettos and Veroneses for furniture. . . Do let us hear of
you, for we are both so fond of you.

By February 1853 the Trevelyans were in London. On the
15th Pauline dined with the Ruskins—the first time she had seen
them in five years. She wrote a report to Loo, half tongue in
cheek¹: "I am so thankful to find that I can worship him as
entirely as ever, and also that he is as kind and loving as ever..." He had been very complimentary about her drawings and had
asked her to "go very often in the mornings" for quiet talks.
"Effie Ruskin was very nice, she had a picturesque dress on, but
it was quiet, and in good taste. After all, dear, if she is a little
too fond of fine people and fine ways, there is a deal of truthfulness
and trueheartedness in her."

No doubt Pauline was aware of Effie's discontent, which was
why she came to Herne Hill so frequently, usually every other
day. She was also even able to be of some assistance to Ruskin
in his work² and on his advice took lessons from "Bird's Nest "
Hunt.³

At first Effie refused to go into society, but it was Lady
Eastlake who urged her to circulate among her friends. During
April she went about with Pauline a great deal, and Pauline had
her and Loo photographed together for a stereoscope.⁴ On the
25th the Trevelyans and Loo lunched with the Ruskins, another

¹ As usual, undated.
² She supplied plants for Plate X in The Stones of Venice, ii, Works, 10, facing
p. 164, "The Four Venetian Flower Orders". A footnote in Stones, iii, Works,
ii. 271, acknowledges Pauline's help with that plate.
³ In some books it is erroneously stated that Pauline had lessons from Holman
Hunt. In 1846 she had studied under John Varley. She also took lessons
from John Leech.
⁴ A difficult task. "I should think they did us 14 times, it was so difficult to
get Louisa to look pleased" (Effie to her mother, 21 April 1853).
guest being John Everett Millais. On the 27th the Trevelyans dined with the Ruskin parents. Again Millais was present.

We shall have to skip over the events of the next weeks—Ruskin's enthusiasm for his new protégé, Millais, and his decision to take him up to the Highlands on a sketching holiday—the exhibiting of Millais' picture "The Order of Release" with Effie as the model for a main figure in it—Effie's continued chafing under the Ruskin parents, who "enslaved" Ruskin and "treated her like a rival". It was decided that Ruskin, Effie, Millais and his brother William would all stay at Wallington on their way north. The Trevelyans were preparing to make structural alterations to the house, but had decided to hold back the work until after this visit.

The party arrived on 22 June and stayed until the 29th. Loo was also in the house. Judging from Ruskin's letters to his father, it was all very enjoyable, in spite of the bad weather. The two brothers fished a great deal, and Millais did a drawing of Effie for Pauline. William Bell Scott, who came to know the Trevelyans well, and who loathed Ruskin, claimed that Millais and Effie fell in love with one another at Wallington. He said that Pauline had become aware of "something of a telegraphic nature between the lovers" and had been mystified by "Ruskin's inexplicable silliness". She had therefore asked Sir Walter to speak to Ruskin but "that innocent creature poo-poohed him". Ruskin, said Scott, "didn't believe there was any harm in their pleasing themselves. He did not see what harm they could do: they were only children!"

2. Tradition has it that Ruskin suggested that the central hall at Wallington should be covered over, but this is incorrect. As a result of his visit the balustrade was, however, altered, to copy Fig. 4, Plate xiii, in The Stones of Venice, ii, Works, x, facing p. 281.
3. Quoted Lutyens, Millais and the Ruskins, p. 277, from the Troxell Coll., now at Princeton (not numbered). Millais (1829-96) was one year younger than Effie and ten years younger than Ruskin. Scott (1811-90) has often been found inaccurate in his autobiographical writings, though allowance must be made for lapses in memory. Nevertheless there is one definite falsehood in this account: "Mrs. Ruskin used to escape after breakfast, and joined by Millais was not heard of until the late hour of dinner." Sir Walter's diaries prove that this was never the case. The point about "telegraphic" language could, however, have been true.
It has also been suggested that the two drawings by Millais, "Rejected" and "Accepted" were inspired by the events at Wallington that June. This is, of course, conceivable, but the house in "Accepted" is certainly not Wallington (though it has something of its atmosphere), and the woman is not much like Effie in either of them.

The guests left in high spirits for Edinburgh en route for the Trossachs and Callander. Effie was hoping first to be able to consult Simpson, as she told Pauline on 1 July 1853:

... John is awfully bored & would be thankful for an express train to carry him to Callander. The P.R.B.s have behaved very properly tell that Darling Lulu about Scotland. They admire it in their different ways. William Millais is always sketching or bursting into enthusiastic fits abusing all the rest of the world and keeping us extremely merry for as his Brother says he thinks if he were dying "that Boy would make him laugh". The three went up to the Calton Hill at ten last night and came back immensely delighted the Millais' saying it was the only lovely city they had seen. Today they are going to look over the town and I shall remain in all day in hopes of a visit from Dr. Simpson. We all voted Melrose [on the way from Wallington] a decided take in but Sedbergh is very striking ... the gentlemen ate so much Gooseberry Tart and cream that they were extremely sleepy after it.

Effie wrote again five days later from the New Trossachs Inn, Brig o' Turk, at the head of the valley then known as Glenfinlas. For the first time she started a letter "Dearest Pauline", no doubt in response to a "Dearest Effie" one:

I thought I have sent you an answer to your letter by return of post but I have been in bed all day with my customary troubles rendered however as far as pain is concerned much lighter by some Chloroform Pills Dr. Simpson gave me which however make me feel so sick and fainting like that I fear my note will be a stupid one. I cannot thank you sufficiently for procuring me two visits from the little Genius [Simpson] which without your aid I never should have managed and I am so much better already that John Millais declares I do nothing but laugh & eat & grow fat besides which my drawing goes on he says splendidly.


2 There is an amusing drawing of the guests' departure from Wallington by William Millais (1828-99) in John Guille Millais, The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais, i (London, 1899), 196.

3 A reference to both Loo and Effie being Scottish.
get a lesson of an hour and a half every morning. He sits by and watches my 
feeble efforts to draw poor William who sits to me and is a perfect martyr. He 
gets so wearied and yawns and fidgets upon which his brother gets up and ad-
ministering a box on the ear & a scold at the same time gets him to sit still a 
little longer and really his temper is so good and his delight in every thing so 
unceasing that he is quite invaluable. He fishes a great deal on Loch Achray and 
often tells us some myth about a salmon which he was just on the point of catching 
but didn’t, and certainly facts and the plates at breakfast are in favor of Perch 
very well fried of which he devours much the larger share. They are all out & 
have been so all day looking for a habitation for us, as we find this so expensive 
and I think they will find some difficulty in finding any place near. John is quite 
well and very happy. They have all found a waterfall they like and are to begin 
sketching tomorrow. Till now the weather has been rather bad & of course I 
am responsible for every shower that falls and get it accordingly. They are much 
delighted with the way the people speak English but John Millais says he has 
found out they never give a direct answer but are very honest notwithstanding. I 
ho~e we shall soon get settled and rough it a little. The Gentlemen are most 
anxious to live upon the Perch they catch and they say they never wish for more 
but if you only saw the Whiskey, Beer, Sherry, Honey, Lamb and Chickens 
etc. that they regale themselves with I think it remains to be seen how they will 
relish living on their swill. I must now tell you what Simpson said to me. He 
thought me very thin and found the throat and mucous membrane more diseased 
than formerly, the heart irritable and internal arrangements disordered. He 
said as I could not bear nourishment within he would recommend mv rubbing 
myself all over every night with olive oil and give me some pills besides which I 
find great benefit from already. I sleep better and have had no headaches.

As it happened, the party found somewhere to stay quite 
close to the inn: a thatched schoolmaster’s cottage. Later they 
were joined by Acland for a few days. Ruskin wrote to Pauline 
on several occasions. His letters, most of which have survived, 
do not of course mention the tragedy that was developing, even 
if he was aware of it. Only part of Effie’s next letter remains. 
It must have been written on about 10 August. In this she 
mements the famous portrait of Ruskin by the waterfall that 
Millais was engaged in painting:

... he [Ruskin] wishes the people there to build pretty houses with heather 
and fern windows and Everett is drawing such lovely illustrations or examples of 
said windows with huge herons and hares and swallows and mice, corn and every 
thing else the land produces. His large picture of John with a torrent bed goes 
on perfectly and very slowly as he is doing it all like a miniature and about two 
inkes a day is as much as he can do. William the happiest being I ever knew is 
also getting on very well with his oil picture but leaves us next week to spend a 
couple of days at Bowerswell en route to London...
And Ruskin told his father how "Millais is chattering at such a rate—designing costumes—helmets with crests of animals, and necklaces of flowers".

Effie accompanied William Millais to Bowerswell on a short visit. By that time the general euphoria had abated. On her return Millais sank into gloom. Again we must pass over the tensions and hints of quarrels as the weeks dragged on. On 6 October Ruskin wrote to Pauline telling her that Millais might not after all finish the portrait. And Effie scribbled a postscript: "Dearest Pauline, I don't write now because I have much to do, & John & you carry on so steady a correspondence." She cannot have been all that busy in that tiny cottage, with Ruskin's valet Crawley doing all the work. The note must simply be read as a symptom of her distress, and of her growing love for Millais.

Ruskin's last letter to Pauline from Glenfinlas was on 19 October and in this he said: "You are setting Effie a worse example than usual in being ill so often—pray don't." This was also in reference to the fact that Pauline must have said that she would be coming to Edinburgh to consult Simpson when he was giving his lectures there in November.

The Ruskins left Glenfinlas on 26 October, by which time Millais had become "almost hysterical"; and Ruskin told Holman Hunt that "Everett is lying crying upon his bed like a child". Millais found Ruskin's behaviour "provokingly gentle"—the man was a "plotting and scheming fellow" and ought to be ducked in a mill pond. He could not, however, bear to stay away and followed the Ruskins to the Royal Hotel in Edinburgh, where they were joined by the Trevelyan.

1 2 August 1853. Quoted in Lutyens, *Millais and the Ruskins*, p. 75 (from the Beinecke collection at Yale). Mrs. Gaskell, in a gossipy mood, and as anxious as Scott to make a good story out of the drama, wrote to Catherine Winkworth on 11 October 1854: "She [Effie] used to say about 11 a.m. "Everett come & walk with me" & they were out till dinner time 7 o'clock, Ruskin very uneasy all the time. She used to come down to breakfast with natural flowers in her hair, which he also objected to buts he continued the practice" (*The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, ed. J. A. V. Chapple and Arthur Pollard, Manchester, 1966). This was mere hearsay, as, of course, Mrs. Gaskell had not been at Glenfinlas.


3 *Millais and the Ruskins*, p. 100.

4 Ibid. p. 120.
Ruskin gave three lectures, which were a great success. They were attended by Effie’s parents and, of course, the Trevelyans, but Millais left before the last. It seems clear that he and Effie, possibly on her mother’s insistence, had decided never to communicate again.

Then Effie went to Bowerswell, where she was subsequently joined by Ruskin. Afterwards they made their way to London. On 28 December, in snowy and wintry weather, Pauline called on Mrs. Gray at Bowerswell. But the day had long past since she could have been considered a confidante by Effie or her family. Ruskin wrote to her from Herne Hill on 9 January 1854: “Effie is I think better—but is never happy here, which makes her ill, and I must be here; for I am hard at work on Modern painters.” As it happened, on New Year’s Day, Effie had written a despairing letter to her mother, about how she had made an attempt to patch up her marriage, but had been brushed aside in a very unkind way. She became desperate, working herself up into a pitch of hatred against the entire Ruskin family, which she thought was trying to drive her out of her mind. She wrote a disjointed, undated letter to Pauline, the last to survive between them:

Dear Pauline,

You are a dear good lady [body?] to be so kind as to write me two letters and also to be pleased with the Cloak which I think quite suited you and hope you mean to hire a carriage on purpose to pay little visits and be told that green and brown become you vastly and that you look so comfortable and warm in this wild cold weather. I am shriveled to a Mummy and hardly able to bear this keen air. I have just been giving myself a dose of it by breaking a pane of glass at my back and getting Crawley who is the comfort of my life to patch brown paper across the place to keep Sophie [her ten year old sister] and I in the Body. John has gone to Den Hill with his friend Newton who has come over from the Greek Isles wearing a beard and quite the old man, talking Philosophy and Phidias, intermingled with remarks I suppose for my benefit of how all the women in Rhodes spin & make their Husbands clothes and how shocking it is to be waited on by a Greek lady in a satin gown & Parisian corsets who eats scraps after her Lord occasionally gets a beating and hands coffee to the guests...

All this while Ruskin was continuing his sittings to Millais for the portrait begun at Glenfinlas, and poor little Sophie was

2 (Sir) Charles Newton (1816-94), archaeologist, recently Consul at Rhodes.
used by everyone as a go-between.¹ On 7 March Effie told her father the painful truth about her married life: “I do not think I am John Ruskin’s wife at all.”² Then, egged on by Lady Eastlake, she made a plan for her escape, which took place on 25 April. Meanwhile lawyers’ opinions had been taken in secret. Ruskin saw her off at King’s Cross, in the belief that she was going to Bowerswell while he would be in Switzerland with his parents. But she was never to return, and later that day a citation was served on him. The manner of her leaving Ruskin has brought her grave discredit in the eyes of some, and it certainly dismayed Pauline. All the same, Effie must have been near breaking point.

Only ten days before, Ruskin had been writing cheerfully to Pauline: “What Effie has been about, all this time, I cannot exactly tell you, she has a friend with her, a Miss Boswell—elderly rather, and stout—and they went about town together seeing sights. Effie has been drawing a little—but I believe the drawing fit will die off like the woodcarving one!” He told her that he expected to leave for Switzerland on 9 May. “Effie will probably leave for Scotland some days previously so that if you and Sir Walter do not come before the beginning of May, you may miss her altogether.”

Maddeningly for Lady Eastlake’s set, Ruskin behaved quite coolly. He wrote a statement for his proctor and was seen in public at various exhibitions. Pauline arrived in London on 8 May, by which time he was already in Dover. She had heard from Effie a day or two before leaving Wallington, and had at once replied. Since she always believed in complete frankness,⁴ she cannot have given Effie all the sympathy that had been hoped for. She had also written to Ruskin.

It is disappointing for biographers that Effie’s letter has disappeared. No doubt it was destroyed by Sir Walter after Pauline’s death, as was to be the case with some other (no doubt much more outspoken) letters of the 1860s from Swinburne. Living with Sir Walter could not have been easy for Pauline,

¹ Millais and the Ruskins, pp. 138-53.
² Ibid. p. 155.
³ Jane Boswell, a family friend of the Grays.
⁴ Cf. Autobiographical Notes, ii. 256.
let alone ardent—judging from the account of his courtship in his diary. Nevertheless Pauline had made her marriage into a success, and she was sustained by strong religious faith. She believed in the sanctity of the marriage bond, and it seems obvious that she eventually impressed this on her unfortunate young friend, Mrs. Pattison, the future Lady Dilke. All the same, one can be sure that in those early days in May 1854 she was distressed both for Effie and Ruskin.

On the 9th Effie wrote to Rawdon Brown, who was in England and playing a double game by being friendly to Ruskin whilst receiving Effie’s confidences: “He [Ruskin] can have written to nobody but Mr. Furnivall, who is an amiable weak young man, a vegetarian, Christian Socialist and worshipper of men of genius, as I had a letter from his [Ruskin’s] greatest admirer and friend, Lady Trevelyan, with whom he maintains a very constant correspondence. She said she had not had a word on the subject from himself or anyone else but me. She was in Northumberland but now in London.” Millais wrote to Mrs. Gray, the day after seeing Acland at a party, that “Dr. Acland expressed deep sorrow, and doubtless is the same way of thinking as Lady Trevelyan.” Acland had quoted St. Matthew Chapter 5 verse 33 at him.

Pauline must have been appalled by the barrage of gossip and vituperation against Ruskin when she reached London. Thanks to Lady Eastlake the news had been spread long before she had had Effie’s letter. On 6 May Lady Eastlake had reported to Effie that she had seen Loo, whose eyes had overflowed with tears, and who had said: “Do you really think him so utterly devoid of feeling?” Effie was wounded when Pauline continued to refuse to condemn Ruskin, and consequently grew to hate her. On 17 May Lady Eastlake wrote to Effie: “I should

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2 F. J. Furnivall (1825-1910), a barrister. On 18 August Ruskin wrote to Furnivall: “You are one of the three people who have been perfectly staunch to me” (B. L. Ashby MS. 3922, fol. 103). It has always been assumed that the other two were Pauline and Mary Russell Mitford.
6 It is likely that Effie could have been further infuriated by the fact that a sister of Sir Walter, Helena Faussett, had been party to a notorious divorce case in 1849, and that some of the Trevelyan family had condoned her behaviour.
be glad if Lady Trevelyan came my way. Mama always calls Sir Walter a 'Hamadryad' which may have confused Lady T's notions of conjugal duty." A hamadryad can mean a cobra or a wood-nymph living in a tree. It has also been suggested that Lady Eastlake had confused the word with "hermaphrodite", which at the time was a synonym for homosexual.¹ Then, to feed the flames at Bowerswell, Millais wrote to Mrs. Gray on 16 May: "I saw Sir W. and Lady Trevelyan coming out of church; they stopped and spoke for a moment. Sir W. has had the bad taste to grow a pair of moustaches and looks quite different."² And on 18 May he wrote: "I am sure nothing will ever make Lady Trevelyan see J.R. in the wrong, and it will be useless trying to explain the wretchedness of her [Effie's] position with him before this change."³ Ruskin had written to Pauline from Dover on May 8:

Dear lady Trevelyan,

I received your little line with deep gratitude—fearing that even you might for a little while have been something altered to me by what has happened. I do not know what Effie has written of me. I am thankful that neither by word nor look of mine, at least voluntarily, any evil was ever spoken of her—She has now put it out of my power to shelter or save her from the consequences of the indulgence of her unchastised will. For me you need not be in pain. All the worst—to me—has long been past. I have had no wife for several years—only a shadow—and a duty. I will write you a long letter soon—at least to Sir Walter. There are only two people beside my parents whom I mean to acquaint with the whole circumstances of this matter—those are Dr. Acland, and your husband. The world must talk as it will. I cannot give it the edifying spectacle of a husband and wife challenging each others truth. Happily I have long been accustomed to do without the world—and am as able to do so as I ever was. But I will not give my two best friends the pain of having to trust me in ignorance.

¹ Askwith p. 30 n., but this would seem unlikely. To compare the tall, rather lugubrious figure of the learned Sir Walter with a wood-nymph would have been equally malicious. A further example of tittle-tattle can be quoted from Jane Boswell's letter of 1 June 1854 to Effie (not in Lutyens): "I am glad to hear of Mrs. Macdonald [wife of William Macdonald, who had been Ruskin's best man] so staunch; it will perhaps cause the Farquharson party [Macdonald had changed his name from Farquharson in 1841] to rescind their judgement, when they find she will not side with them. Lady Trevelyan should have more of the woman in her, as Sir Walter should of the man. My good opinion of them will soon cease."


³ Ibid. p. 212.
I am very very sorry you have been ill—but it was no wonder. I am sure you loved Effie—it must have been a cruel shock to you to receive her letter—whatever it said.

I hope to be in France tomorrow—in Switzerland in a fortnight—my father & mother are with me—I will write again speedily. Be assured all is for the best; and take my earnest thanks for your steady trust in me—at a time when I most need it. For indeed Effie has said such things to me that sometimes I could almost have begun to doubt of myself—and what then might my friends do.

I hope Hunt's picture will make you quite well again. It might comfort my grief, I think.—I mean the "Light of the World".¹ I cannot write more this evening—but I hope I have said enough to put you out of fear for me—

Ever affectionately yours, J. Ruskin

It was probably true that he had never voluntarily spoken evil of Effie.

Enough had been said to retain Pauline's support. She was now convinced that it was her duty to help this man, her friend, whom she sincerely believed to be a genius,² in spite of obvious weaknesses in character. She would also have known that as a young man he had collapsed in health when his first love, Adèle Domecq, became engaged to another.³ Perhaps she herself was even a little in love with him.... She was standing by Ruskin, but it did not mean that she was against Effie; and this was not good enough for Effie.

Ruskin did write to Sir Walter, only briefly. He also wrote at length and frankly to Acland, who was asked to forward the letter to Sir Walter—a letter which until recently was thought to have been destroyed.⁴ On 6 June he wrote a two thousand word

¹ "The Light of the World" was on display at the Royal Academy. Ruskin's enemies claimed to be disgusted by his letter to The Times about the picture and said it was hypocritical.

² In this respect there is some parallel with her attitude towards Swinburne during a time of scandal at the end of 1865.

³ Adèle-Clotilde Domecq's father had been Ruskin's father's partner in a sherry firm.

⁴ The letter was published by Jeffrey L. Spear in the Times Literary Supplement of 10 February 1978. It must have been returned to Acland when the Trevelyans went to stay with him on 11 June 1854. The letter was placed in the Bodleian in 1931 by H. D. Acland (Ruskin's godson) in a sealed envelope, with instructions that it was not to be opened for twenty-five years; it has now been added to MS. Acland d. 72. Although Ruskin writes in specific terms about the non-consummation of his marriage, the letter in effect adds little to what has been said or deduced about the marriage. Particularly interesting is his admission that he was indeed aware that Effie's "wild proceedings" were a "consequence of her having conceived a passion for a person".
letter to Pauline from Geneva, a letter simply and sincerely expressed, though containing plenty of things which supporters of Effie would have scorned. Effie’s constant lack of sympathy for his work is perhaps its keynote:

How did she make you believe she was so fond of me? and how by the by—came you to think I was not fond of her? I am not demonstrative in my affections—but I loved her dearly. Much however of the show and gloss of the affection was taken off by hard wear. Effie never did anything for me. No gratitude was ever mingled with my love. . . .

He also wrote: “Except only with you and Miss Fortescue, it was generally sure that Effie would take a dislike to the people whom I liked best.”

On 15 July Effie was granted her decree of nullity on account of Ruskin’s “incurable impotency.” Three days later Ruskin was writing to Acland from Chamonix: “My real griefs are about other matters. I could get another wife if I wanted one, but I cannot get back the north transept of Rouen Cathedral.” How Millais would have enjoyed reading that letter.

Pauline twice mentioned Effie in letters to Loo during the next months. In October 1854 she wrote:

I can tell you nothing of Effie. Dr. John Brown fancies she is still at Perth—but he does not know. He thinks her conduct shocking. As for my master, Calverley [Sir Walter] saw him in London two days ago and thought him looking tolerably well. He is luckily very busy, preparing lectures and has no time to give way to sorrow. He says that the worst time is over and that now he can give his full time to other things. He is living of course with his father and mother.

And on 17 February 1855 she again wrote:

Effie is at home, and I ought to tell you that I had a very nice account of her from some friends of ours who have taken a cottage near Perth. They say she is quiet and good, devotes herself to the teaching of her little sisters, dines early with them and walks out with them like a governess, and is kind to poor people. I am so glad. I hope she will keep good. I shall always have a great regard for her. With all her faults—which are horrid—she has some noble qualities.

On 2 July 1855 it happened that William Bell Scott, who was director of the government school of design in Newcastle, came

1 Harriet Fortescue, later Mrs. Urquhart (1825-89), sister of the future Lord Carlingford. She stayed with Effie and Ruskin for a week in 1853.
2 Bodleian MS. Acland d. 72.
to Wallington for the first time. In a draft page for his *Autobiographical Notes*—though not included in the book—we are told that "every other day" during his visit Pauline received letters from Effie, "beseeching sympathy", and that they were laid aside unread.¹ This has often been quoted, but is nevertheless a farrago, for Effie and Millais were married the day after his arrival at Wallington, on 3 July.

The Millais marriage was apparently very happy, and there were eight children. On 22 December 1857 the Trevelyans went to a party given by the sculptor Baron Marochetti in Onslow Square and were confronted by Effie. Pauline put out her hand, but Effie snubbed her. Millais described in a letter to Mrs. Gray how Effie came home in a very excited state. "Nothing could have been better for Effie than dining there and being made so much of by the Marochettis in the sight of the Ts, who must have felt ashamed of themselves and occasioned the clumsy attempt at reconciliation."²

The only other mention of Effie among Pauline’s papers is in connection with Ruskin’s notorious “Tree Twigs” lecture in 1861, when Effie was taken by Lady Eastlake “on purpose to disconcert him”—which she succeeded in doing, for he broke down half way through.³ The mention is by Mrs. Carlyle in a letter to Pauline, who had written to her from Paris in June 1863, evidently to ask Mrs. Carlyle to wish Ruskin luck with his lecture on “The Stratified Alps of Savoy” at the Royal Institution on 5 June:

> Oh my Heavens! how I wish that he may not break down again on Friday evening, that the shadow of his last disastrous lecture may not fall upon this one! I suppose there is no hope of Lady Eastlake or Mrs. Millais, or both, being laid up with smallpox or scarlet fever.⁴

The lecture was, however, undisturbed, and a success.

¹ Quoted by Lutyens, *Millais and the Ruskins*, p. 212, from The Troxell Collection.
² *Millais and the Ruskins*, p. 212. n.
⁴ Trevelyan MSS., WCT 103, Newcastle. Undated.