

JOHN RUSKIN AND SIR ARTHUR HELPS: II¹

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No correspondence is known to exist for the next six years. However, Ruskin's admiration for Helps and his works continued undiminished. In *Modern Painters*, v (1860), he "had hoped, before concluding this book, to have given it higher value by extracts from the works which have chiefly helped or guided me", Helps among them, but he did not do so because he did not know "how to end".² But in the book he found a passage from Helps to be useful. In trying to show the "dark anger" of northern nations in a work of Dürer, he quotes from Milverton's description of Titian's great "picture of Charles the Fifth"³ (in *Friends in Council*, Second Series, ii. 248-9) which embodies the very quality that Ruskin finds so compelling in the German painting.

Again in *Unto This Last* (1860-2), his formal entry into sociology and economics, Ruskin found the second series of *Friends in Council* an indispensable resource, although his reference is not exact. Ruskin, in questioning whether bayonets and bombs should be considered "serviceable" products, declares (in a note) that he accepts "Mr. Helps' estimate in his essay on War", that a bomb costs ten pounds.⁴ The passage is actually found in the later essay on "Despotism" (ii. 236), where Milverton points out that "a single shell costs ten pounds".

On 2 February 1865 Ruskin wrote Alice Helps [7]⁵ evidently in reply to her inquiry as to whether a Mr. Williams of Southampton was the proper person to whom art work could be sent for critical appraisal. His report is affirmative: "Mr Williams is an admirable master—and has sent me better drawings by his pupils than I can get from my own.—(Miss

¹ The first part of this article appeared in the preceding number of the BULLETIN.

² *Works*, vii. 372 (footnote).

⁴ *Ibid.* xvii. 79.

³ *Ibid.* p. 313.

⁵ Pierpont Morgan MA 2457, no. 27.

Alice Helps even not excepted, in old times though I don't know what she can do now.) And teaching by correspondence is often better than by talk, for the writing is always there, to be referred to and attended to, and the master working before the pupils is of little use—whatever is best in it they cannot see. They may just as well find out a work for themselves—”.¹ The Helps family, in 1865, were still living at Vernon Hill, and Alice, apparently advising villagers at Bishop's Waltham or pupils in a neighbouring school in their art studies, wanted her judgement of their work confirmed by an expert.

In the concluding paragraph of his letter Ruskin finds “very interesting—all that you are doing for your people”, and wishes that he “could come to see it”. This is perhaps another allusion to the art studies. It could, however, pertain to the building of the Royal Albert Infirmary, at Bishop's Waltham, which by early 1865 should have been nearly completed.² Upon this, Helps had expended his share of the proceeds from the publication of Prince Albert's speeches. The clay works, of course, were by now well established.

Ruskin wrote to Alice Helps again [8]³ in late January or early February 1867 to invite her to Denmark Hill to “stay as long as you can, or like. Your room will be a sadly small one—but the best I can give you—(the house is so curiously ill contrived)—and you will get a little fresh air—even here, in the garden—and a flower or two”. He suggests Monday “or any day following” for her arrival because “I hope by next Monday my mother will be about again—at all events my cousin [Joan Agnew] will take good care of you”. That the visit did indeed take place as proposed is indicated in Ruskin's diary entry for Monday, February 11: “Alice Helps comes in afternoon.”⁴ The main reason for her visit is stated in Ruskin's

¹ Five years earlier, in November 1860, Ruskin had written to Williams: “I like your plan of teaching by letter exceedingly . . . [and] have myself adopted it largely, with the help of an intelligent under-master [Ward]” (*Works*, xxxiv. 490-1).

² Royal Archives, Queen Victoria's Journal, 4 August 1864, states that Louis and Leopold have gone to Bishop's Waltham to “lay the 1st stone”.

³ The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/126.

⁴ *Diaries*, ii. 610.

diary entry for the following day: "Working at Queen's book all day."¹ Indeed, editing the Queen's *Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, Alice sharing the major responsibilities and Ruskin offering his suggestions, was a major enterprise of Helps for several months. Ruskin continued to be interested in the work long after Alice's departure (Friday, 15 February) and remembered her visit. In a letter to Joan Agnew (Denmark Hill, 10 January 1868) he wrote: "Do you recollect Miss Helps and I having such hard work over 'that book' in the study? It was the Queen's, which I see is just out. A fine bother I had of it, for Mr. Helps wanted to put all the 'Queen's English' to rights—and I insisted on keeping it as it was written—only cutting out what wouldn't do at all. There were some little bits wonderfully funny in their simplicity, but I got most of them kept in. But I didn't want the book to be published at all, for although all the mamas and nurses will like it, there are some failing points in it which are serious—if people find them out. However, I did my duty in the advice I gave—and now I'm very glad it wasn't taken. I always *hoped* it *wouldn't* be, for several reasons which I mean to keep to myself."²

Ruskin's chronic inability to deal with his personal problems, now particularly painful, is also portrayed in his 1867 letter to Alice, where he writes: "I never can work more than one hour or two now—to my *sorrow* be it said." This statement seems to be related to his diary entry for Sunday 27 January: "Frightfully tormented in various ways: don't know if I shall sleep."³ His editors (Wedderburn and Cook) tell us that in the early months of 1867, Ruskin "saw much . . . of Carlyle, Froude, and Helps; the gentle wisdom of the author of *Friends in Council* was perhaps more helpful to his mood than the stimulus, through thunder and lightning, of Carlyle."⁴ Hence, no doubt, his involvement with Helps, Alice, and the Queen's *Journal*.

Ruskin returned in October, 1868, from two very profitable months spent at Abbeville in drawing and note-taking. It had been necessary for him to return to Denmark Hill earlier than

¹ *Ibid.* p. 611.

³ *Diaries*, ii. 609.

² *Works*, xxxvi. 547.

⁴ *Works*, xix. xxv.

he had wished to serve on a committee on unemployment, of which Archbishop Manning was also a member. Ruskin declared something of his state of mind in a letter to Helps, written in late October or November: [9]¹ "Yes—I am in England and know that I am chiefly by the pleasure I had in reading *Realmah*—being otherwise dead, and given up to dust and stones.—I can't read anything now—except what you write, which always refreshes me and strengthens. Please send me the book." He had been reading *Realmah* as serialized in *Macmillan's*.

Ruskin, about a month later, acknowledged receipt of the published volume²:

[10]

Denmark Hill, S.E.
21st Nov., [1868]

My dear Helps,

I am much more than grateful for your book and its inscription. Already—in its lunar flashes of interrupted light—it has again and again helped me and quieted, when I could read nothing else—but I shall get much more good of it now.

Behold, I—poor hermit—water-cup fed—even I, have had lately to come from my cave—and mingle in "public business." Shall I tell you of the things that have most struck me—in the entirety to me new and wonderful conditions of it. First—the ludicrous and awful power of chance and the turn of quite critical events finally depending upon somebody's taking the wrong turn at a street corner—and being ten minutes late—etc., etc.

2. The more than wonderful way in which the little and outer feelings of the best men over-ride their deeper ones—without their knowing it.

3. The delightful goodnature of the worst-tempered—or apparently hardest—or even the most self-interested men—if you can only get at them on their right side—and fairly appeal and trust to them upon that ground only.

The other day I had a hard fight for a thing contrary to the interests of some of the most influential men on the committee.—and appearing doubtfully expedient to the others—I let the men who had points to gain have their way first in several things which they knew I disliked—without a word of opposition. This put them into entirely good humour—and called up whatever generosity there was in them, *under* the interested motives. Then I said what I could, quietly, to bring the doubtful people to think with me on the main matter—I had some business which forced me to leave at a fixed time.

I did not care—for I saw there would be a majority against me if I stayed. The man who was most against me came round the table himself to beg me to wait to see the matter out—I said I could not, but was quite sure—now that they all knew what I thought—that they would allow me—in necessary absence—

¹ The original is Ryl. Eng MS. 1254/119.

² *Correspondence*, pp. 314-16, incorrectly dated.

as much influence as I was worth, and that I knew the *right* of the thing was perfectly safe in their hands.

They did what I wanted the moment I was out of the room!

Love to Alice—with my cousin's also.

Ever, dear Mr. Helps,

Believe me faithfully and affectionately yours,

J. Ruskin

There is evidence, other than in his letters, to suggest that Ruskin's interest in *Realmah* was sincere. He found a passage from it to be of great practical value in his lecture *The Flamboyant Architecture of the Valley of the Somme* (1869). Here, in stressing that "You must not build for pleasure in the front of the house, while there is despair at the back of it," he remarks: "Do you recollect in Mr. Helps' beautiful story of *Realmah*, what Ellesmere's final maxim about architecture is? 'Never mind the outside.' I suppose Ellesmere himself knew, but I doubt if all his hearers knew, how deep it went." Ruskin continues, "Never mind the outside. Never mind the house that looks to the Park. Mind the houses that look to the Seven Dials."¹

Milverton had emphasized in an essay "On the Art of Making Men Comfortable", read at the end of *Realmah*, that too often ornate modern architecture left very little room on the inside for comfortable living. Accordingly, in his discussion of the essay, Ellesmere declared that in all building, of houses or otherwise, particular stress should be placed on construction: "Never mind the outside", but attend to inner structure, with its end "to dignify and purify all other departments in human life".² Thus Helps provided Ruskin with a maxim to fill out his own argument.

The final enthusiastic endorsement of *Realmah* occurred in a letter from Ruskin to his cousin Joan (25 January 1870) in which he inquired whether "Isola" (Mrs. Cowper-Temple) "has read *Realmah* carefully? What a delicious book it is in its dialogues—containing everything one wants to say, and ever so much besides—better than one ever wanted to say."³

No correspondence between Ruskin and Helps survives from 1869.

¹ *Works*, xix. 266.

² *Realmah*, pp. 477 ff.

³ *Works*, xxxvii. 4.

A letter [11]¹ from Helps to Ruskin on 15 January 1870 promises a copy of *Casimir Maremma*, his novel about emigration, as soon as it is ready, "perhaps in a fortnight's time". The immediate occasion of Helps's writing, however, is a communication to the *Daily Telegraph*, Ruskin's contribution to a controversy that had raged in the columns of this newspaper concerning the morality of fox-hunting.² Ruskin here seems to be more concerned about the effects of the sport on man than on the fox; not just the poor, usually considered to be its worst victims, but the upper classes whose energies are misdirected. Indeed, fox-hunters might better serve their country "in extending English life and dominion in waste regions, against the adverse powers of nature. Let them become Captains of Emigration". Helps now writes in his letter of 15 January, "Those are exactly my sentiments—so much so that those few persons who have seen the proof sheets of my new book [*Casimir Maremma*] . . . will almost believe that you determined to give me a lift in what you say about the Captains of Emigration." He concludes: "I always say that, in many respects, your views and aspirations resemble so closely mine, or those which I desire and endeavour to hold, that we ought to be very much attached to one another; and I believe we are."

Ruskin's reply, written on the very day of the letter's arrival, indicates that Helps had indeed struck a responsive chord³:

[12]

Denmark Hill, S.E.

16th January, 1870.

My dear Helps,

I cannot tell you what great comfort and gladness (a rare thing, the last, with me) your letter gave me. Indeed we *do* feel and think alike, except that you always feel with a wiser intricacy and think with a more searching light. I think widely and massively enough—but I don't get down into things. At least I get to their tap-root, but I miss ever so many of the fibres.

But you can't think what a mere faint echo of Carlyle—and coarse echo of you, I seem to myself—when I read either of you, now. I would fain stop talking—but yet I know it is better that there should be this echo—at least good

¹ *Correspondence*, p. 275. In this letter Helps also acknowledged a copy of *Queen of the Air* and approved of Ruskin's denunciation of a statement in *The Westminster Review* that music has no connection with ethics.

² *Works*, xxxiv. 498.

³ *Correspondence*, pp. 276-7.

in prolongation,—and I know also that I *am* myself—though much moulded by both of you.

There's more about emigration in the Woolwich lecture, which I hope soon to send you. The infinite meanness and baseness of governments in thinking that nations ought to multiply like a polype—instead of spreading like a tree—and that their colonization should be a fissile—by spores like plague and fungi.

I want to have grand cities built with noble walls and the shield of England on every tower of them—and that—at the touch of one telegraph wire—we should be able to send out a hundred fleets under English Captains—fifty the reflection of the other fifty—masts downward. And “commerce” indeed; exchange of finest Food and Tissue—and wood—and stone—from the Spice Islands to Labrador—and from Table Mountain to North Cape.

I've been looking over some photographs of Titian and Mantegna to-day. How like that face of the Charles V. on horse-back is to you. Some one must have told you before—or I would tell you as a triumphant discovery.

Ever affectionately yours,
J. Ruskin.

The “Woolwich lecture”, referred to in this letter, containing additional treatment of emigration, is “The Future of England”, delivered by Ruskin at the Royal Artillery Institution in 1869. Eventually published in the fourth edition of *The Crown of Wild Olives* (1873), it was first printed by the Royal Artillery Press. It is a copy of this first separate publication that Ruskin promises in his letter to send to Helps. In the lecture, Ruskin had suggested that the transporting of mere quantities of human beings abroad is less important than the quality of life the emigrants are to live.¹

Helps, at work in 1870 on *Brevia: Short Essays and Aphorisms*, to be published the following year, had written to Ruskin to find examples from the lives of painters and sculptors to prove that great men are almost invariably good-tempered. Ruskin's reply was sent in late October [13].² Although his evidence is quite detailed, he does not feel that it is very conclusive. Indeed, an essay in the completed book of Helps which asserts that “the greatest men of letters, the greatest kings were essentially good-tempered men”, mentions only Raphael among artists.³ Ruskin had evidently impressed Helps by the perhaps deliberate inconsistencies of his proof :

¹ *Works*, xviii. 513.

² *Correspondence*, pp. 289-90. The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/120.

³ *Brevia: Short Essays and Aphorisms* (London, 1871), p. 203.

[13]

Denmark Hill
S.E.
Oct. 21st [1870]

My dear Helps,

I am very unwell to-day and cannot command my thoughts—nor if I could, do I think that it would be easy to strengthen your point from the histories of painters.—Their work is apt to go wrong—not merely as literary work does, ~~to~~ by falling short of their aim—but ~~to~~ by turning out false or useless—; their habitual state is one of effort, and in a skill in which it is easy to see when they are excelled by others. These are not conditions favourable to good temper. The gentleness of Reynolds is of course proverbial—since Goldsmith's—“Reynolds is [a] lamb”—and that of John Bellini and Durer—Perhaps the most perfect exhibition of ~~good~~ gentle temper must have been in Phidias, when he allowed the population ~~to~~ of Elis to see his Jupiter, and altered it according to their comments—watching the effect upon them as they saw it first—Still, his business was to impress them—& there was no other true criterion. Polycleitus however is said to have mocked the people of Argos by making another Juno as *they* would have it—so showing the difference of his temper from that of Phidias [.] Mantegna and Francia are two other great Italian names celebrated for perfectness & sweetness of character—Giorgione—like all the Venetians a lovely musician—

I think the way Michael Angelo puts up with Vasari, and the strong affection he won from him, says much,—though Vasari is Michael's Boswell, and would no doubt, bear a growl, if needful.

—Leonardo is I think more vain and technical—lively rather than good tempered—conscious of being able to do—what he could. Luca Signorelli is little known to the British public—else Vasari's ~~anecdote~~ report of him is very pretty—and he seems to have died in working at Cortona merely to please Cardinal Paperini.

There is no doubt whatever as you well know of the real gentleness of the great men—but they get sorely fretted sometimes by the little ones.

Ever lovingly yours,
J. Ruskin

I will look out more for you tomorrow—if that's any use—

V

1871 was an interesting and eventful year in the relationship. In the introduction to the 1871 edition of *Sesame and Lilies*, Ruskin found an allusion to Helps to be useful. Here he declared that he wrote the book “to please one girl” [Rose La Touche] just as “Ellesmere spoke his speech on the intervention . . . altogether for the sake of Gretchen.”¹ The reference is to Helps's *Companions of My Solitude* (1871), where Ellesmere

¹ *Works*, xviii. 46-47.

tells of his one-time infatuation with Gretchen, a German girl, whom it was impossible for him to marry. For her sake he had become interested in German politics.¹

Helps graciously acknowledged the receipt of the first number of *Fors Clavigera* in a letter written at Kew, where the family now lived² :

[14]

Kew

Jan[uary] 12th 1871

My dear Ruskin

Your letter in the *Daily Telegraph* of today is excellent

I have to thank you for the first number of "Fors Clavigera." There are many excellent things in it ; but it itself is the thing which I most admire. That a man who has the highest capacity for art, and for enlightening other people about art, should turn away from his own proper work because he cannot put up with the misery of the poor people by whom he is surrounded, is one of the noblest examples that can be offered to the world now.

If I were not your friend, if indeed I had never seen you, I should be very much drawn towards you by this exploit of yours, which especially wins my heart.

It is a lesser matter, but I am very grateful to you for having taught me to see many things that I should never have seen without it. I am afraid you have taught me to be more critical, and so have taken away some pleasure which I should have had in inferior productions. But, as an American would say, the balance is greatly in your favour, and I am always

Yours affectionately

Arthur Helps

Alice to whom I am dictating this begs to be cordially remembered to you.

In the communication to the *Daily Telegraph* endorsed by Helps, Ruskin, deploring the recent inundations of the Tiber, had declared that the very men whose lives had been lost could have helped prevent the catastrophe by "embanking" this and other dangerous streams.³ The essential significance of Helps's letter is perhaps in the thorough appreciation of his friend's self-sacrificing abandonment of art criticism under the ever-increasing pressure of social concern.

Helps commended the new direction in Ruskin's life and writing more emphatically in his dedication of *Conversations on War and General Culture* (1871) to him. Here he declared : " I sympathize with you very cordially in the great effort you

¹ *Companions of My Solitude*, 8th edition (London, 1874), pp. 113 ff.

² Viljoen, p. 35.

³ *Works*, xvii. 547-8.

are making to draw attention to the wants of the labouring classes. Whatever may be the measure of your success in that difficult work, you, at any rate, have set a great example in showing that a man, who has an especial aptitude for teaching the most advanced students of high art, can, for the moment, put aside his especial vocation, in order to make mankind address themselves to the far greater question of how the poorer classes can be raised to independence of thought, comfort of living, and dignity of behaviour.”¹

No “heretical doctrines” of the book were likely to offend Ruskin—with one notable exception. This was Milverton’s proclamation: “A human being—any human being—is a far more beautiful production than the finest work of Art . . . I would purchase exemption from suffering for this one human being by the finest work of Art in the world.”² Ruskin’s difficulty in expressing his horror was enhanced by the book’s having been dedicated to him. His response to the gift of the volume, artfully laboured, is a masterpiece of discretion³:

[15]

28th March [18]71

My dear Helps,

I am very grateful—as I hope you entirely believe, for this book, and its dedication. —You know how much I feel with you, not in sympathy, but in similar experience of pain. —There is one point in which I have before regretted, and now more than ever regret, ~~what~~ some passages—you have written—your curious idea expressed through Milverton, that a work of art is one thing and a human being a separate and different thing.

A work of art is the thing which a human being is born to produce so far as it (the being) is to be of value in this world. A bee that makes no comb is—not a bee—but a stinging beast. —If all the honey ever produced by bees is of no importance in comparison with bees—you had better do away with bees altogether—

—Except as we can either write—paint—or plough—all these things being artist work—we are swine—not human beings—for idleness does not change us ~~on~~ towards the angelic—but ~~on~~ towards the beastly side.

I would myself unhesitatingly fight *any* number of battles and lie, ~~in~~ at the last as long as a human being can lie, dying—with the happy consciousness that

¹ Cook and Wedderburn (*Works*, xi. 153, n. 2) state erroneously that Helps dedicated *Friends in Council*, Second Series, to Ruskin.

² *Conversations*, p. 100.

³ *Correspondence*, pp. 307-8. The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/121.

I had killed—any number of ciphers long of mob [*sic*—if only by that process I could save the Georgics of Virgil—or the pictures of John Bellini.

—I don't suppose I've expressed myself "logically"—but you'll know what I mean—I always *mean* logic you know. (J.S.M. talked logic and never meant it, *I* mean—he is essentially an Illogical Semi-minded inferior animal—incapable of Whole Reason on any subject,) I'm always wholly Reasonable—only of course—when one's so *very* reasonable as all that one never put it into words[.] Except that I am for good reason, your affectionate Friend

J Ruskin
(much tired)

Arthur Helps, Esq.

Ruskin's reactions, those of a man to whom art is more important than life itself, strongly accent the differences from Helps, whose social consciousness was far more fully developed than his aesthetic sense. Helps acknowledges the reproof in a letter to his friend Bruce, to whom he wrote that he had received a "severe scolding from Ruskin"¹ for having allowed Milverton to make such a statement. And that Ruskin did not find *Conversations* completely to his liking is further confirmed in *The Eagle's Nest* (lectures delivered at Oxford early in 1872): "Some of you have, I hope, looked at the book of Arthur Helps on 'War and Culture', about which I cannot now say what I would because he has done me the grace of dedicating it to me."²

Ruskin wrote in early September, 1871, following his serious illness at Matlock in July³:

[16]

Denmark Hill, S.E.
[Sept., 1871]

My dear Helps,

I am so grateful for your letter—it was curious I just wanted to write to you to ask where the Spanish peasant is in Friends in Council who makes the beautiful bow when Spain is praised. And the benevolent Turk I want, too, who takes such horrid liberties with the Koran. I think I shall make an index of the Friends—myself.

I've been sharply ill—heartache got into the stomach. The Doctors gave me ice and brought me within 48 hours of the eternal ice-house. I drove them out of the house at last and cured myself with hot brandy and water. But I'm still thin and staggery.

¹ Helps to Henry Austin Bruce, 13 March 1871. The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/128.

² *Works*, xxii. 266.

³ *Correspondence*, p. 273. Erroneously dated May 1869.

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When *shall* I see you? I'm going out of town for three weeks. After that you must come and dine with me.

Love to Alice.

Ever your grateful,
J. Ruskin

Helps's reply was sent on the day before Ruskin's departure for Coniston to have a first look at his new house, Brantwood¹ :

[17]

I entrust this letter to one of my messengers who happens to live near you.

Privy Council Office

Sept. 10/71

My dear Ruskin,

Neither Alice nor I can find the passages you allude to. I think, however, that what you have in your mind in relation to the Spaniard is to be found in "Casimir Maremma" Vol. 2 p. 259, and the 3 or 4 following pages, in which a scene in a bandit village is described—

I knew that you had been ill—very ill ; but somehow I did not like to speak of it. It had given me the most anxious concern ; but I had contrived to hear about you indirectly, and that you had got over it. I am afraid one might as well preach to the birds as lecture you about your health, for there is a fiery vigour in you which will work itself out. But, if possible, you ought to think sometimes of the anxieties of your friends in this matter. There are I believe many persons much attached to you ; and they grieve greatly when they think you are working over-much or taking anything too much to heart.

It is very audacious in me to talk in this way, ("Satan reproving Sin") for I am a signal sinner in this same fashion.

I am very hard at work at present, amongst other things am writing a life of the late Mr Brassey. It is interesting work, and it is a labour of gratitude—Besides, as you know, I have other reasons.

No more about myself. I look forward to seeing you.

Always affectionately
Arthur Helps

In addition to showing serious concern for Ruskin's health, Helps's letter is of considerable importance as it points out the possible source for one of the passages in which his friend is interested. The episode that Helps refers to in *Casimir Maremma* occurred on a visit of Milverton and Ellesmere to Spain, where they had been forced to spend the night in the hut of a Spanish Bandit. Milverton, shrewd and quick-witted, had seen them safely through the ordeal.²

¹ Original in the possession of the writer.

² *Casimir Maremma* (London, 1871), ii. 259-66.

Only one letter survives from Ruskin to Helps concerning the latter's financial distresses upon the failure of his pottery enterprise¹ :

[18]

Denmark Hill
S.E.
2nd December
1871

Dear Mr Helps

It has greatly grieved me to hear that any inconvenience has been caused you by business matters over which I have control, in any particular.

I hereby entirely acquit you of any obligation, as regards myself—in money matters. —You have heard me lately again and again say that I hold it wrong to receive interest on loans. Let me begin the carrying out of my principles by being at the same time of some comfort to my most honoured friend. —I will take *no* interest, from you—on that loan—henceforwards—and you shall take your own time for the repayment of the principal—so only that you will always believe me

Faithfully and affectionately yours
J Ruskin

Arthur Helps Esq

Writing only three days before his mother's death, Ruskin addresses his friend as "Mr Helps" rather than the by now customary "Helps", most likely because of the seriousness of business matters. The circumstances referred to in the letter are perhaps more clearly understood by reference to one that Ruskin had written, more than two years earlier, on 11 July 1869, to his cousin George Richardson. One learns here that Ruskin had lent his friend £2,000, to provide for which he ordered a sale of stock: "Please get the money fairly lodged and out of the way; it has been teasing me this three years".²

VI

The letters concerning the proper quotation from Ruskin to use as a "motto" for the forthcoming *Some Talk of Animals and Their Masters*, the subject matter of which was congenial to both men, are the most complete in the surviving corres-

¹ Pierpont Morgan, MA 2457, no. 25.

² The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1246/8.

pondence. In the first letter of this series Helps (now Sir Arthur) invited Ruskin to suggest a passage¹ :

[19]

Privy Council Office
Nov. 17th/72.

My dear Ruskin,

I was delighted to see your handwriting again. It is always a most welcome sight to me.

I did not expect you to care much about, or even approve at all of the main employment of Brassey's life and time—namely the making of railways. I think with you that his energy would have been better directed if it had been used in the way that you indicate. I knew, however, that you would not fail to appreciate the worth of the man, and to approve, in some measure, of the way in which he did his work.

I was mightily pleased with your letter to the *Pall Mall*. It seemed to me that the right thing had not been said about the matter till then. I had observed the controversy, and had been puzzling over it myself endeavouring to see what was the root of the matter. And then you came and dug it up. I forgive you for having done what I feel I ought to have been able to do.

This, by the way, is a great stretch of forgiveness.

Now to quite another matter.

I am writing, and indeed have almost finished, a work which chiefly relates to the nature and treatment of Animals. I have had especial experience as regards this subject, having been the Chairman of the "Transit of Animals Committee," and being bent upon making the knowledge I have thus gained of some use to the world. Now what I want you to do is to give me a passage from some work of yours, which will go with one which I shall subjoin from Montaigne as a motto for my book. Alice, who is writing this at my dictation, and who, as a dutiful pupil of yours, declares she knows your books very well, cannot supply me with the kind of passage that I want. You must invent one if you cannot recollect one.

Alice desires to be most kindly remembered to you, and I am as ever,

Yours affectionately,
Arthur Helps

This was written in reply to Ruskin's acknowledgement of the gift of Helps's biography of Thomas Brassey, in which he had evidently expressed some reservations about the man, not the book.² Ruskin's letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which may have been especially pleasing to Helps because it mentioned this biography, had been written on 15 November.³ It was actually a response to an article published in this newspaper on

¹ *Correspondence*, pp. 336-8. The quotation from Montaigne is cited at the end of the letter.

² Helps also worked with Brassey's son on *Works and Wages* (London, 1872).

³ It was published in the issue of 16 November. It has never been reprinted.

the preceding day taking issue with the recent recommendation by the Bishop of Gloucester of "the horse-pond as an appropriate discipline for agricultural agitation". Ruskin, equally disapproving of the Bishop's proposal, however, had written: "Permit me to express my regret at your careless sentence—'It (competition) produces what we call, when it suits our taste, respectfulness.' In all right relations between the employer and the employed, each respects the other because both deserve respect. But the feeling of deference is greater on the part of the person employed, because the person who directs him is (always supposing the relations to be right) the wiser of the two. Many invaluable facts relating to this matter under existing conditions of large employment may be found in Mr. Helps's 'Life of Mr. Brassey.'"

Ruskin, obviously pleased that Helps had written a book on the treatment of animals, offered his suggestions for a motto¹:

[20]

Corpus Christi College
Oxford
[November, 1872]

My dear Sir Arthur,

Your letter made me very proud, yesterday, and especially happy in what you tell me of your book on the treatment of animals. It is in every way a subject which it was desirable you should take up, both in your much experience—and because you understand animals more deeply than any one I ever heard or read utterance of—except Scott, and he just the least bit put his dogs on the stage and gave them tragic business which took the bloom off them. Rollo has all his bloom on, always—never touched too insensitively nor made to stand on his hind legs.

And I think that I may have the delight of giving you some little help in what I have said of the horses of Achilles, p. 14 of "Fors Clav." for September '71, or perhaps pp. 170-171 of "Eagle's Nest" may be more useful. I don't know if you have your "Eagle's Nest" yet—it will come by second post after this, if you have not. There will be a long bit on the myth of Chiron in "Fors" for December—but the horses are best, I think.

So many thanks to Alice for her beautiful writing and my love to her always. How I wish I could see more of you both.

Your old friend,
John Ruskin

Ruskin was now at Oxford preparing and delivering lectures entitled *Ariadne Florentine*. In praising Helps for his under-

¹ *Correspondence*, pp. 338-9.

standing of animals, he states his preference for Rollo (the sometimes too friendly dog in *Friends in Council*, First Series) to any dog in Scott. Of the two suggestions for a motto, Helps was eventually to choose the extract from *Fors Clavigera* (Letter 9, September 1871), portraying the talking horses, sorrowing over the death of Patroclus, as emblematic of "human tenderness, and honour for the mystery of inferior life".¹ The passage in *The Eagle's Nest*, to which Ruskin alludes, is that concerning the egret thoughtlessly killed by a peasant because he could not "see" it.²

On 1 December, several days having passed, Ruskin, still at Oxford, wrote again. At the beginning he thanks Helps for a letter, mailed on the 13 July but just received. Then he laments the death of his old nurse, Anne, which occurred shortly before that of his mother on 5 December 1871. Undoubtedly the lost "loved mistress" is Rose LaTouche, estrangement from whom was now almost complete. Ruskin is sending Helps a copy of the December *Fors* (Letter 24), in which he is unable to get to the treatment of Chiron as planned. The statement in this work describing the Minotaur in Dante as having "a man's body, a bull's head (which is precisely the general type of the English nation to-day)"³ could well illustrate the "uncivil" and "sulky" for which Ruskin apologizes⁴:

[21]

Corpus Christi College
Oxford
1st. Dec. 1872

My dear Sir Arthur

The enclosed rags are part of the envelope of your most kind letter which reached me yesterday forenoon—bearing date July 13th[.] I would not have lost it for much. It is one of the prettiest expressions of friendship you have granted me—friendship I always valued, for its own sake so much as scarcely to be able to believe in it—and to me *now* all the more, for my own sake, precious, because I am curiously alone in this Oxford room entered from the public wooden stair—my nurse, my mother, and my ten years ~~loving~~-liking and loved mistress, being all taken from me in this last year. I miss my nurse more than most men I fancy—it was such a blessed thing to have somebody whom one could always make happy by being a little ill.—And I miss—everything else—more than most men at 53 would—because though I have quantities of vanity, I have no.

¹ *Works*, xxvii. 154-5.

³ *Works*, xxvii. 428.

² *Works*, xxii. 242.

⁴ Pierpont Morgan MA 2522.

ambition—and if one cared for climbing, one could climb alone—but if only for being praised—and one has no Love to be praised by?—and if people ever throw me a bouquet—~~wh~~ I have not one to take it to—now.

Your last letter was not unanswered in carelessness—The piece about Chiron puzzled me & did not get itself done and I did not write to say so because I wanted to copy out some notes for you—but they involved all sorts of verification of references—and would not be subdued into any available shape—I hope to send you ~~a~~ the Fors in question by this post however—but it contains (though something with a vengeance about treatment of animals!) nothing available for *you*—it is more than usually uncivil—and sulky—and your contrary in all ~~with~~—manner & temper.

Ever your affectionate
J Ruskin

Love to Alice

Helps promptly acknowledged this letter and the receipt of the December *Fors*¹ :

[22]

Privy Council Office
December 2nd/72

My dear Ruskin,

This is only to ask whether you will be at Oxford during this week. I will tell you why I ask.

I should like you to see, before it is printed off, the proof page of the mottoes to my forthcoming book.

I shall read the new "Fors" to-night; as I do not feel sure, notwithstanding what you say, that there may not be something that may be available for me.

I agree with you in not caring for praise, unless it comes from, or can be offered to those whom we love and who love us. I mean more than the last sentence expresses. Praise, or at least recognition, is a pleasure to one when it gratifies the loving ones. You understand.

Now I do believe there are many people who have a real affection for you—many that you have never seen or heard of—and, therefore, I think you ought to take more interest in life than sometimes, I fear, you do.

I know, on my part, that it is a real pleasure to me to meet with people, as I often do, who have a great regard for you, and express themselves gratefully as to what you have taught them and done for them.

Always affectionately,
Arthur Helps

Ruskin, having seen the proof page of mottoes, was obviously delighted, according to a brief letter [23]² written at Herne Hill (his boyhood home, recently given to his cousin Joan Agnew, now Severn, as a wedding present) on 15 December 1872. "I

¹ *Correspondence*, pp. 339-40.

² The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/122. Ruskin's cousin, Joan Agnew, as now married to Arthur Severn.

never was so flattered (or delighted) by praise, implied [he writes] or pleased in a personal way, before, in all my life." Indeed, "I am so very proud of being put by *you* in fellowship with those two men . . . And really I think my bit is not less interesting than the others."

Slightly more than two months later (18 February) [24]¹ Helps was able to send Ruskin "the long-promised book", of which the "mottoes are the best part" (from Goethe and Montaigne in addition to Ruskin). Indeed, "you ought to think so too". He earnestly requests, moreover, that his friend give him "a helping hand in this matter" of serving the cause of mistreated animals. Surely, "A word from you, for you have many more people who look up to you than you perhaps think, would be of great use in promoting what I sincerely believe to be a good object". As for himself, "It would be such a consolation to me to find that I had been of service to these poor animals; and, mark you, the fate of men is very much bound with their fate."

Ruskin replied promptly and cordially²:

[25]

Brantwood
Coniston
22nd Feb. 73

My dearest Helps,

I have this moment (—1/4 to XI) got your letter, having been reading the book all breakfast time—I think really the brightest—much as that is to say—wittiest—delicousest—you have yet written (Ellesmere on Lady Ellesmere as a butterfly is exquisite!)—

But your letter pleases me still more—in the thought that I can help you in this with all my heart—For I write this note inconveniently enough, on my thick octavo Heynes Virgil—the only smooth place I can find on my table covered—as it is with Ovids—Horaces—Lucretiuses—White of Selbournes—all the editions I have necessary for the different notes—in which I am hunting down all my memoranda for three lectures to be given next month at Oxford on 'the Robin,' 'the Swallow,' and 'the Crow'—and if I don't say something about shooting and birdsnesting that people won't like—I'll never trust the scolding side of my tongue more.

The bit about Cortes is very interesting. I've only got as far as Milverton's ~~introduction of his subject~~ no—I am confusing—as far as his *practical* thing—

¹ The original is in the collection at Bembridge School, Isle of Wight (Bem L8).

² *Correspondence*, pp. 347-8. The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/123.

Please—all practical things are absurd—Teach children to love and look at animals[.] All practice will follow.

By the way I remonstrate against the high praise given to that passage of Barrow—I think I can mend it!—notch his arrow for him, as Locksley says of in Ivanhoe[.] Your 'second place'—page 33 is 'consistent ideas'—Now Barrow's last sentence is inconsistent with his first. But substitute in the first sentence 'infirm and infinite quicksand' for 'firm and vast continent' and all will be gain as much in truth as in harmony.

The *Packing* sheep is awful. I've got a duck story somewhere to put with it—All that about the humour of dogs is delicious—they are quite infinitely superior to cats in their intellectual sense of a joke. A cat is stupidly grave; even pursuing her own tail.—Mine *will* put hers into the candles at night—and I always catch it out, weakly dreading for her the proper lesson she ought once for all to get if I left it in—

Ever your affectionate,
John Ruskin

This letter is a testimony to Ruskin's unsystematic reading habits. Indeed, he has difficulty telling exactly how far he has gone. Milverton's "practical thing" is apparently his statement (pp. 57-58) that what is needed most "in our conduct to animals, in some little use of our imaginative faculty. An imaginative person cannot well be cruel". Ellesmere, in refuting Milverton, brings up Cortes, "undoubtedly a man of powerful imagination", but who treated natives cruelly "just as brutal men among us treat animals". Milverton, steadfast in his opinion, insists, in turn, that "the imagination of Cortes made him thoroughly aware of the suffering that he was inflicting. That same power of imagination led him to believe that he was doing great things for civilization". Earlier in the book Ellesmere had suggested that all women, not just his wife, (p. 50) "will, of course, be butterflies; and how you will look at each other's fine dresses, and say of the empress butterfly, 'I wonder how her husband can afford to let her dress in that expensive way—in all the colours of the rainbow, too'." The sentence from Barrow criticized by Ruskin (pp. 34-35) is from an extract cited by Milverton as an example of clear and forceful English. It reads: "We have but a very narrow strait of time to pass over, but we shall land on the firm and vast continent of eternity." The "packing sheep" episode is an allusion to 646 animals suffocated aboard a German ship (pp. 15-16). And finally, Ellesmere, to demonstrate his appreciation of fun in dogs,

had pointed out (p. 54) that his dog Fairy would understand as humorous his pretending to throw her into the water.

A letter written by Ruskin on 25 February from Brantwood apparently belongs to 1873 and therefore is placed next in sequence [26].¹ In it Ruskin is pleased to hear about Alice: "It's very nice to have girls caring about one's drawings—what dear creatures they are", and promises to "find a drawing" for her "the moment I get back to Oxford". He also writes: "I was talking about the French Revolution the other day. If you and Milverton go on with that nonsense about liberty we shall have one here, soon. However I mean to come out in the Robespierre line, if you will have it: and I shall guillotine all the *old ladies* instead of the young ones." Ruskin is evidently replying to a statement Helps had made in a letter or conversation, the lighthearted tone of which is here maintained. Other than a casual suggestion in *Thoughts upon Government* (p. 213) that while revolution is always painful, it may, sometimes, "for the ultimate prosperity of the nation . . . be absolutely essential", there is little foundation for any serious belief that he was ever an advocate of Revolutionary "liberty".²

Ruskin took advantage of the privileges of friendship mildly to chastise Helps for the lack of realism in all his fiction, including the newly published *Ivan de Biron*³:

[27]

[January or February 1874?]
Corpus Christi College
Oxford

My dear Helps

I have not acknowledged your gift, for I have been unable to read anything serious for the last few weeks—having been first in a fit of pantomimes and then

¹ Pierpont Morgan MA 2228. James S. Dearden, *Facets of Ruskin* (London, 1970), p. 148, asserts that the "first Brantwood die" was apparently not used after March 1873. Since, however, Ruskin was residing at Brantwood on 25 February in both 1873 and 1874, it is not entirely impossible that the letter was written in the latter year after Ruskin's receipt of a copy of *Ivan de Biron* (1874). In this novel Lestocq, a not very savoury Frenchman at the Russian court, instigates the revolution that brings Elizabeth to the imperial throne.

² Earlier in the same work (p. 16) Helps had written: "There are certain national questions which cannot be decided by the head or the tongue, but which must be left to the arbitrament of physical force".

³ The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/124.

of cough and cold—But I wish you had not such a way of getting ~~into~~ out of the way into Siberia & enchanted islands—and Chili—and heaven knows where. Utopia is like Covent Garden in comparison—

I like this book—but I don't think you study as much as a tale writer should, the materials close to you.

I have been re-reading the *Conversations in Culture*, while I lay in bed with cold. They are full of things I want to quote. But my feeling always is—If there were no wars, what would be the use of Fairy?

Love to Alice

Ever your affectionate
J Ruskin

This is the last surviving letter from Ruskin to Helps.

Helps wrote his final letter to Ruskin that is extant on 6 February :¹

[28]

Privy Council Office
Feb[ruary] 6 [18]74

My Dear Ruskin

Alas! it is impossible for next week. I am engaged to the uttermost. Among other things (Pity me!) I have to take the chair at a great public dinner for the Clerks & Warehousemen of London—at which I mean to say some things that are in my mind.

Yes : you are very great in aphorisms, and in what, for want of an English word, I must call *aperçus*. In description, too, in the present time you are unrivalled. But I maintain that your specialty is in looking hard at things, and seeing more in them at once than the rest of us do.

If I were asked, in one of these competitive examinations, who is able to compete with you as regards this power, I should get no marks for that question, for I really do not know of any one to put by your side.

Alice moans over the last numbers of the 'Fors' not having been sent to us ; and I moan ditto to her moanings.

By the way how truly you speak about what should be our feelings to our fathers.

Enter lots of people

Ever your affectionate
Arthur Helps

The Times report indicates that on the evening of 10 February Helps presided over the annual dinner of the Warehousemen and Clerks' Schools, where he spoke of the "increasing gap between the employer and the employed".

E. A. Helps was evidently successful in his attempts to ensure that little of his father's correspondence pertaining to

¹ Viljoen, pp. 457-8.

the deepening financial crisis and its profound mental and physical effects on him should survive. However, there are at least two references in Ruskin, additional to letters already cited, to suggest his awareness of and sympathy with his friend's distresses. As early as Tuesday, 29 January 1867, he wrote in his diary: "Arthur Helps came out; told me strange things",¹ evidently concerning the disaster of the clay works. In January 1870 Ruskin had written to Mrs. Cowper-Temple: "I was talking with Helps last night about the way both he and I who were both trying to do good have had our best strength crushed. He answered, 'Indeed—there is but one answer. There is a Devil'."² The keenest observer, perhaps, was Charles Eliot Norton, who noted on 12 April 1873 that because of the effects of disappointment and bad fortune on his sensitive nature, "He [Helps] reminds me of a fine picture ruthlessly treated by varnishers and restorers".³

And yet Helps continued to conduct the affairs of his Council office, official and unofficial, with efficiency and equanimity. For instance, he "deplored the decision" not to allow Effie Millais, Ruskin's ex-wife, to be presented to Queen Victoria, because she had been divorced, so Sir Robert Collier wrote to Millais on 8 May 1874.⁴ "Helps", he continues, "has promised . . . to lay the whole matter before the Queen". Sir Arthur, in turn, on Saturday 9 (or 16) May wrote to Collier that he was trying to arrange an interview between the two of them and Ponsonby: "We could tackle him better together".⁵ This appeal to the earlier unfavourable decision was, however, unsuccessful.

Evidence exists that Ruskin read *Social Pressure* (1875), Helps's final published work, perhaps more systematically than was his wont. There is no letter surviving acknowledging a

¹ *Diaries*, ii. 609. It is possible that Helps had told him about his increasing financial difficulties due to the failure of the clay works. Royal Archives, Queen Victoria's Journal, April 28 1867, tells us how these were now distressing Helps.

² *Letters of John Ruskin to Lord and Lady Mount-Temple*, ed. J. L. Bradley (Columbus, Ohio, 1967), p. 248.

³ *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton* (Boston, 1913), i. 471-3.

⁴ Pierpont Morgan MA 1485, H7.

⁵ *Ibid.* H8.

gift, but in Ruskin's personal copy of the book, now in the collection at Bembridge, one finds underscorings and marginal notes as well as a brief index written on the last flyleaf—all in his handwriting. Some of these are important as they suggest certain of Ruskin's interests and concerns. For instance, he thoroughly approves of Helps's emphatically-phrased convictions concerning the need for decentralization of population (pp. 101, 410) and the absurdity of political economy (pp. 41, 168). He likes, too, Helps's depiction of the two political extremes (p. 376), both dedicated to "chaos". On the one hand its "unreasoning conservatism" and on the other its radical opposite "an intense love of destructiveness, or at least of change". To one or the other of these, Helps wrote, most people, early in life, are addicted.

Ruskin, too, shows interest in what Helps says about dreams and spiritualism, as where Godolphin comments (p. 215): "No man has ever related to me a dream in which . . . public affairs entered. Their [men's] dreams, however absurd and irrelevant, are always, if I may say so, personal", and later (p. 225) reports that "during the last five-and-twenty years there have been indications of the existence of certain unknown forces which it is of the highest importance to mankind to investigate". He continues: "At present the spiritualist, the juggler, and a few men of science, are the only persons who have given real attention to these subjects". Ruskin indicated both in his marginal scoring and in his index (where he writes "me") his interest in the statement in Mr. Maulever's essay on "Intrusiveness" concerning the "primary" and "secondary" work of notable men: (p. 86) "It is a very rare man, indeed, who should have taken such a complete survey of his own powers and capabilities, as to know what he can do best; and a still rarer man who, having gained this knowledge, should have the hourly courage that is needed to confine his exertions to his own proper work".

An envelope addressed to Helps in Ruskin's handwriting and postmarked "Oxford, February 28, 1875", but not the letter itself, is now at Yale. This may have contained comments on *Social Pressure* or expressions of concern about the health of Helps (his death occurring but seven days later), or both.

Ruskin's letter to Alice [29]¹ expresses the depth and extent of his liking for Helps.

[29]

Brantwood
Coniston, Lancashire
10th April 1875

My dear Alice

I suppose, of all your Father's friends I am the last to write to you. I should think also I am the saddest, for I have not written, merely because to say to you what was in my heart would have added, if it were possible to add, to your sorrow. All things in this world have of late become very terrible to my thoughts; and of any other world than this, I am not able to think. It seems to me that the only peace left to a daughter who has been in continual relations of sweet service to a father such as yours (if any other such could be)—must be simply in the hope of seeing him—and serving him, again, without fear of parting—and every day that passes over my own head since my own father left me—increases that longing—and seems to render it more visionary.

There are happier people than I, who may be able to help you and cheer you. But—when you want a friend who *remembers*,—and always with the same sorrow—if I live—whatever time, little or long, think of me. I had seen your letter to Joanna today I need not say how I shall treasure that letter of his, nor how I shall miss his sympathy, nor how I shall miss the power of pleasing him, which I had in my own true admiration of all he wrote—when I was able to tell him so at all rightly.

I wonder if you can take pleasure in living over past life again? I never can—so that all the happy hours of my early life are now—an increased burden to old age! But I know that some minds have this noble imaginative power of calling the things that are not as though they were. How much you have to recall,—how great a pride,—if also pain, in mourning for such a father—and in knowing how widely, by the kindest of hearts in England—your grief is shared & held sacred.

I surely need not tell you how thankful I shall be to hear from you—if anything should occur to you in which I can be of the least help;—and how truly and faithfully I am always, affectionately yours

J Ruskin

The relationship between Ruskin and Helps, best described perhaps as a friendship by correspondence, had been a remarkable one.

For some years after Helps's death, Ruskin continued to make respectful references to him and his work. One of the last, and most distinctive, is found in *Fors Clavigera* (Letter 94, March, 1884). Here Ruskin stresses that schoolmasters should learn to “recognize the special faculties of children”. For

¹ The original is Ryl. Eng. MS. 1254/127.

evidence he points to the "beautiful story of little George, *Friends in Council*",¹ a passage which the Ruskin editors are unable to identify. The obvious reason is their failure to discover that this was the anecdote of little George Smith in *Social Pressure* (pp. 93 ff.)²

Her father's death by no means terminated the friendship between Alice Helps and Ruskin. He entertained her at Brantwood in August of that year. A letter written by Ruskin to Prince Leopold on 20 August, during the period of her visit, indicates that Alice brought with her drawings of the Prince's sister for Ruskin to criticize.³ Indeed, for many years after Sir Arthur's death, Alice served Her Majesty as a kind of unofficial copyist and often visited her.⁴ Continuing her friendship with Ruskin and his family, Alice became godmother to Agnew, Joan Severn's son, born 15 October 1875.⁵ She left him in her will, upon her death in 1924, "two pencil drawings by John Ruskin and a sepia drawing all given me by John Ruskin also a packet of John Ruskin's letters to my said Godson's mother Mrs Arthur Severn".⁶

¹ *Works*, xxix. 485.

² Another reference to Helps occurs in *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 90, May 1883 (*Works*, xxix. 434). In *Brantwood Diary*, 26 January 1878, p. 83, Ruskin writes: "Read yesterday Mr Brassey on slavery—". The entry for 16 September 1879 (p. 201) compares favourably Helps's treatment of St. George with that of Emerson. On 22 April 1883 (p. 317) Ruskin writes: "A wonderful morning of help—from Arthur Helps! and Orpheus—and thoughts of my own". He was evidently at work on the May issue of *Fors Clavigera* mentioned above.

³ *Works*, xxxvii. 174-5. Alice had arrived on 17 August (*Diaries*, iii. 857). On the same day (20 August) Alice Helps wrote from Brantwood to the Queen concerning a serious collision in which the Royal yacht had been involved in the Solent (RA F41/39).

⁴ That personal friendship may have transcended the value of her literary labours is indicated in a letter of 29 August 1881, when the Queen wrote to Theodore Martin: "Will Alice Helps never help in any way any more?" (RA Y165/72).

⁵ See Sheila Birkenhead, *Illustrious Friends: The Story of Joseph Severn and His Son Arthur* (New York, 1965), pp. 252 ff.

⁶ Most of the letters from Ruskin to Joan Severn are in the collection at Bembridge School. A group of 26 letters (12 September-30 October 1888) are in the library of the University of Illinois (MS. 4102). These may be the ones formerly in the possession of Alice Helps.