Notes

INTRODUCTION

5. Letter no. 3 of *The Tamworth Reading Room* (London, 1841); Josef Altholz, "Newman and History," p. 293.
6. MS letter of 14 June 1871 to Stanhope Sprigg, Berg Collection, New York Public Library.
9. Ibid., p. 450.

CHAPTER ONE

5. See Helen Gill Viljoen, *Ruskin's Scottish Heritage: A Prelude*.
13. It is indicative of Ruskin's dissatisfaction with contemporary religious leaders that he comments about the heads of this Society: "They were all reverends and wanted somebody to rouse them" (W. G. Collingwood, *The Life of John Ruskin*, p. 69).
17. Ibid., 35:312.
30. Ibid.
33. See Kenneth Allott, "An Allusion to Pope in an Early Unpublished Arnold Letter."
34. Arnold Whitridge, *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, p. 15.
39. Ibid., p. 66.

CHAPTER TWO

18. Ibid., p. 88.
19. Ibid., p. 104.
20. Ibid., p. 90.
21. Ibid., 8:xxxii–xxxiii.
23. Ibid., pp. 245–46.
25. Ibid., p. 20.
26. Ibid., p. 21.
27. Ibid., p. 25.
28. *The Economist*, 26 May 1849, p. 585. Many years later, when he was teaching art at Oxford, Ruskin warned students: "I wish it at once to be known that I will entertain no question of the saleability of this or that manner of art; and that I shall
steadily discourage the attendance of students who propose to make their skill a source of income” (Works of Ruskin, 33:391).

30. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
31. Ibid., p. 175.
33. Ibid., pp. 191-92.
34. Ibid., p. 219.
35. Ibid., p. 260.
36. Ibid., p. 261.
37. Ibid., pp. 265-66.
40. Times, 1 March 1848, p. 5.
41. Letters to Clough, pp. 68-69, 74.
42. According to J. P. T. Bury, "On the 25th February only the eloquence of Lamartine saved the tricolour from being displaced by the Socialist red flag . . . " (France: 1814-1940, p. 74).
43. Letters to Clough, pp. 72-73, 69; Letters of Arnold, 1:3.
44. Letters to Clough, p. 74.
45. Ibid., p. 75.
46. Ibid., pp. 69, 71.
47. Letters of Arnold, 1:4.
50. Letters to Clough, pp. 59, 68.
51. Letters of Arnold, 1:5-6.
52. Ibid., p. 7.
54. Louis Bonnerot, Matthew Arnold, Poète: Essai de Biographie Psychologique, pp. 139-40.
56. Lionel Trilling, Matthew Arnold, p. 30.
57. Letters to Clough, pp. 84, 90.
60. *Letters to Clough*, pp. 88–89.
64. *Letters to Clough*, p. 146. This particular quotation, however, is from 1853.

CHAPTER THREE

2. *Letters to Clough*, p. 95.
15. Ibid., pp. 16–17.

16. In this connection it is ironic that in 1893 Mrs. Arnold replied to a query from Mrs. Clough about the date of composition of "Thyrsis" that it must have been published "as soon as it was written" because "Matt . . . never wrote until the last moment . . . " (MS letter of 16 December 1893 in Yale University Library).
18. But not consistently; see, for example, "In Harmony with Nature."
22. Ibid., p. 127.
23. Ibid., p. 138.
25. Ibid., 18:443.
27. Ibid., p. 38.
28. Ibid., pp. 31-32.
29. Ibid., p. 44.
30. For an excellent discussion of the relation between art and the moral life in Ruskin’s work, see Graham Hough’s essay on Ruskin in *The Last Romantics*, especially p. 18.
37. “All that I did at Venice was by-work, because her history had been falsely written before. . . . Something also was due to my love of gliding about in gondolas” (*Works of Ruskin*, 10:xlvii).
38. Ibid., pp. xxvi–xxviii.
40. Ibid., pp. 134, 132.
41. Ibid., 10:xl.
42. Ibid., 12:lxxiv.
43. Ibid., p. 593.
46. Ibid., p. 261.
47. Ibid., p. 263.
52. *Letters to Clough*, pp. 125, 120.
53. Ibid., p. 118; *Letters of Arnold*, 1:26; *Letters to Clough*, p. 126.
56. See Act II, lines 90–94.
58. Ibid., p. 124.
60. *Letters to Clough*, pp. 132, 143.
61. Ibid., pp. 135, 139, 142–43, 133.
64. *Letters to Clough*, p. 140.
68. *Letters to Clough*, p. 130.
71. Ibid., 11:158.
73. Ibid., p. 6.
75. Ibid., 10:184–89.
76. Ibid., p. 190.
77. *Discourses in America*, pp. 133–34.
79. Ibid., pp. 203, 190.
80. Ibid., 8:250.
82. Ibid., 10:191–92.
86. Ibid., p. 14.
CHAPTER FOUR

3. Ibid., 12:lxix.
7. *Millais and the Ruskins*, p. 231. See, in the same vein, his letter of November 1853 on "the utter unchangeableness of people" (ibid., p. 107).
10. *Works of Ruskin*, 36:185, 217, 223. There is irony in the fact that in this year Ruskin wrote, and then canceled, the following conclusion to the second chapter of *Modern Painters* III, to be published in 1856: "Let either the artist base his efforts, or the critic his opinion, on a desire to be great, and they are as sure to fall into a spurious art, and a false judgment, as if they had deliberately chosen the paths of Darkness. Both of them must love what is beautiful and right for its own sake, and must follow it, and judge of it, by instinct. . . . They may rest assured that they are never right but when they were working for enjoyment, or judging by enjoyment; if they enjoy what is wrong, they may discipline themselves, so as to enjoy something else, but if they once pretend that they enjoy what they do not, it is all over with them. One honest question, therefore, will always keep both artists and critics right: 'Do I heartily love this? Am I doing it for love of it? If not, I will not do it, I will not praise it' " (ibid., 5:43 n).
11. Ibid., 36:193.
12. Ibid., 30:110.
15. Ibid., 5:xxxvi, xli. It is instructive to set alongside this disavowal Ruskin's later statement (November 1871) in *Fors Clavigera* that "a true artist is only a beautiful development of tailor or carpenter" (27:186).
16. Ibid., 5:xxxix.
21. MS letter of 15 May 1869 in University of Texas Library; *Discourses in
America, pp. 126–27. The report to which Arnold refers was made in 1876: "Even second year students still show . . . an astonishing crudeness. 'Doctor, can you fulfil the duties of your profession in curing a woman who is distracted?' or again 'Can you not wait upon the lunatic?'—these are paraphrases of Shakespeare's Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased, from which I am even now fresh" (Matthew Arnold and the Education of the New Order, p. 221).

26. Ibid., p. 33.
27. Letters of Arnold, 1:58. Although this letter and the one to William Arnold are both dated 31 March, Arnold says that the date on the letter to William is "a false date."
34. Works of Ruskin, 5:xlix–l.
35. Ibid., p. lvi.
36. Ibid., p. liv. See Millais's comment of 29 August 1853 on Ruskin: "I never heard a man contradict himself like he does. I have given up reminding him of his own remarks for he always forgets" (Lutyns, Millais and the Ruskins, p. 89).
39. Ibid., p. 221.
40. Ibid., p. 230.
41. Ibid., pp. 232–33.
42. Ibid., p. 255.
43. As if to accentuate the departure from Gothicist orthodoxy, Ruskin goes on to revel in the subordination of curved lines, "which are chiefly the confusing lines," to straight ones in medieval painting (ibid., p. 258).
44. Ibid., p. 320.
45. Ibid., p. 327.
46. Ibid., p. 233.
47. Ibid., pp. 321–22.
49. Ibid., p. 1.
51. I stress this because Arnold did not publish the lecture until 1869.
53. For a detailed application of the doctrine of "the man and the moment" to a particular author, see Arnold's much later (1880) essay on Thomas Gray.
55. Ibid., p. 24.
58. "Yes, in Greece, in the Athens of Pericles, there is toleration; but in England, in the England of the sixteenth century?—the Puritans are then in full growth" (*On the Classical Tradition*, p. 24). Arnold's cryptic reluctance to develop this point is suggestive of his later hostility to nonconformists. There must have been some people in the Sheldonian who asked themselves: "Were the Puritans always the instruments of intolerance, and never its victims?"
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p. 30.
62. Ibid., p. 35.
63. *Works of Ruskin*, 5:336, 338. One reason for Ruskin's toleration was that he had learned for himself that, as he wrote in April 1857, "no wreck is so frequent, no waste so wild, as the wreck and waste of the minds of men devoted to the arts . . . " (ibid., 36:259).
64. *Letters to Clough*, p. 146.
68. See Hough, *The Last Romantics*, and Harold Bloom's remarks on Ruskin as the "most original critic that Romanticism has produced, as well as one of its most celebrated avatars" (Introduction, *The Literary Criticism of John Ruskin* [New York: Doubleday, 1965], p. xxvii).
70. Ibid., p. 46.
71. Ibid., p. 21.
72. Ibid., pp. 333, 26-27.
73. Ibid., 28:647; 22:211.
74. Ibid., 5:202, 204, 211.

76. Works of Ruskin, 5:49. In chapter 1 Ruskin explicitly denies any opposition between poetry and painting. "Both painting and speaking are methods of expression. Poetry is the employment of either for the noblest purposes" (p. 31).

77. Ibid., p. 52.

78. On the Classical Tradition, p. 15.


82. I am here indebted to the discussion of this problem in Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution, pp. 19-23.


84. Letters of Arnold, 1:147.


86. In his eagerness to tarnish Ruskin with the accusation of romanticist falsehood, Arnold has probably misunderstood Sainte-Beuve's phrase genre romanesque as "the romantic genre." According to Professor Samuel N. Rosenberg, the distinguished philologist of Romance languages, Sainte-Beuve's adjective can have as its primary value only the technical sense: "novelistic," and since "novelistic genre" is awkward, the phrase is best translated simply as "the novel." That Arnold did not so translate it is indicated by a letter of 1882, in which he wrote of a play advertisement that irritated him that it had "an unpleasant touch of le faux—that danger, as the critic tells us, of the romantic artist:—Comme chaque genre de composition a son écueil particulier, celui du genre romanesque, c'est le faux" (Letters of an Old Playgoer, ed. Brander Matthews [New York: Publications of the Dramatic Museum of Columbia University, 1919], p. 24).


88. Letters of Arnold, 1:63-64. Ruskin, for his part, once said: "Take Homer first, and think if there is any sadder image of human fate than the great Homeric story" (Works of Ruskin, 18:160).

89. Works of Ruskin, 12:322, 157; 5:188. Here and elsewhere Ruskin says that the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood must add to its faithfulness in transcription the "great imaginative element" if it is to attain the level of the noblest art (see 12:161-62).

90. On the Classical Tradition, p. 105. R. H. Super has suggested the possibility of Arnold's awareness of Ruskin at this point (ibid., p. 243 n).


92. I have used Richmond Lattimore's translation, The Iliad of Homer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), partly because in his introduction, p. 55, Lattimore says that he has tried to reproduce three of the four qualities that Arnold ascribes to Homer: rapidity, plainness, and directness. Lattimore does not think nobility a quality to be striven for directly.
95. Ibid., 5:244, 339.
97. Ibid., p. 135.
100. Ruskin shed tears over Elizabeth Browning's poetry, was enthralled (and enraged) by Dickens, responded eagerly to In Memoriam and many of Tennyson's "contemporary" poems, and was an enthusiastic admirer of Longfellow.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. John Stuart Mill described in his Autobiography how Bentham's principle of utility became for him "a creed, a doctrine, a philosophy . . . a religion . . . " and how "all those to whom I looked up, were of opinion that the pleasure of sympathy with human beings, and the feelings which made the good of others, and especially of mankind on a large scale, the object of existence, were the greatest and surest sources of happiness" (Autobiography of John Stuart Mill [New York: Columbia University Press, 1924], pp. 47, 97).
3. Ibid., 29:88.
4. Ibid., 7:xl.
5. Ibid., 29:89; 7:xli. See George P. Landow, The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin, pp. 281–85, for an instructive discussion of the different accounts Ruskin gave of his "un-conversion."
7. See Hough, The Last Romantics, p. 28.
10. Ibid., 36:296–97.
12. Ibid., p. 311; 18:539.
13. Ibid., 18:539, 541.
15. Ibid., 18:542.
16. Ibid., 16:481-82.
17. Ibid., p. 484.
18. Ibid., p. 485.
23. Ibid., p. 78.
24. Ibid., p. 84.
27. *Letters of Arnold*, 1:115; *Letters to Clough*, p. 150. To Gladstone, Arnold wrote on 5 August: "It is an honour to be read by you—a still greater honour to be read by you with sympathy—the greatest honour of all to be read by you with sympathy when one writes of Italy, for which you yourself . . . have done so much" (MS letter in British Museum, Add. MSS. 44392, f. 109).
29. The introduction to *The Popular Education of France* was not given the title "Democracy" until its separate publication in 1879.
31. MS letter owned by Arnold Whitridge.
33. *Democratic Education*, p. 16.
34. Ibid., pp. 6, 9-10.
35. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
36. Ibid., p. 11.
40. Trilling charges Arnold with a lack of realism in citing only the religious repression by the earlier state and not its economic discrimination in favor of landed interests and against free enterprise and large-scale manufactures (*Matthew Arnold*, p. 187).
43. Ibid., p. 126.
44. *On Liberty*, p. 161. Mill was not, however, unmindful of the problems created by the application of laissez faire to education. In 1869 he maintained that education was emphatically not "one of those marketable commodities which the interest of rival dealers can be depended on for providing, in the quantity, and of the quality required" (*Dissertations and Discussions*, 4:12).

45. *Dissertations and Discussions*, 2:35; *Considerations on Representative Government*, pp. 278, 375.


50. *Works of Ruskin*, 28:402; 7:229 n; 19:127. John Morley recalled how, on the occasion when they met, Ruskin, even as he "filled the festive hour with unbridled railing at Mill, felt drawn to some of the truths in *Liberty*, which he found both important and beautifully expressed . . ." (*Recollections*, 1:64).


54. Ibid., 36:316; 16:482.


57. *Works of Ruskin*, 17:xxv. Rosenberg has pointed out that Ruskin was, in choosing his words here, consciously rebutting the metaphor his father had in 1852 applied to his politics as "Slum Buildings liable to be knocked down" (*The Darkening Glass*, p. 117).


65. Ibid., p. 27.

66. Ibid., p. 28.

67. Ibid., pp. 29–30.

68. Ibid., pp. 30–31.


73. Ibid., pp. 39–40.

74. Ibid., 5:202.

75. Ibid., 17:84.

76. Ibid., pp. 85, 164, 81.

77. Ibid., pp. 106–7.


79. Ibid., pp. 216–17.

80. Ibid., pp. 215, 217.


83. Ibid., p. 235. Not just this passage but the whole essay is written with a zestful ferocity unknown in Arnold's earlier work. "I am surprised myself," he told his mother on 5 March 1862, "at the length of many of the sentences in my article, but I find that for everything new I write there comes a style which I find natural for that particular thing, and this tendency I never resist" (*Letters of Arnold*, 1:188).


87. Ibid., p. 254.

88. Ibid., p. 282. I am guilty of some anachronism here, since Arnold does not use *David Copperfield* to illuminate the state of the English schools until his June 1881 essay in *The Nineteenth Century*, "The Incompatibles, II."

89. *Culture and Anarchy*, pp. 210, 213, 217.


93. "One need not ask how [Marx], living on Engels and Engels on Manchester cotton, could escape the universal taint. A prophet's garments are pure from the very fact that he is a prophet and cries out" (Jacques Barzun, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner*, p. 183).

95. *Culture and Society*, p. 140. Williams himself, it should be noted, has recognized and studied Arnold's influence on Tawney in *Culture and Society*, pp. 216–26.

96. J. Dover Wilson has made this point well in the introduction to his edition of *Culture and Anarchy* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1932), p. xxxiii.


98. In a memorable speech in the House of Commons, Lowe told his colleagues: "You have had the opportunity of knowing some of the constituencies of this country; and I ask, if you want venality, if you want ignorance, if you want drunkenness and facility for being intimidated; or if, on the other hand, you want impulsive, unreflecting, and violent people, where do you look for them in the constituencies? Do you go to the top or to the bottom?"


101. In "On Genius and Common Sense" Hazlitt writes: "A view of a subject, to be connected and regular, cannot be all new. A writer will always be liable to be charged either with paradox or common-place, either with dulness or affectation. But we have no right to demand from any one more than he pretends to. There is indeed a medium in all things, but to unite opposite excellencies, is a task ordinarily too hard for mortality" (*The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols. [London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1930-34], 8:48).


CHAPTER SIX


2. Ibid., p. 339.


6. Ibid., p. xxxix; p. 143.


8. Ibid., pp. 417, 423.

10. Ibid., pp. 403, 400.
13. Ibid., 5:209.
17. "Stanzas in Memory of the Author of 'Obermann,'" lines 78–80.
27. Morley, *Correspondence of H. C. Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle*, 2:826.
30. "The Critical Character." I am indebted to Professor Walter E. Houghton, editor of *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*, for identifying the author of this article as Samuel Reynolds (1831-97). A note rather similar to Reynolds's is sounded by the writer of Arnold's obituary in the *Pall Mall Budget*, 19 April 1888, p. 13: "Mr. Ruskin is a greater prophet of culture, but RUSKIN'S work has not always had that stamp of moderation which comes to Mr. ARNOLD from his criticism."
32. Ibid., pp. 233–34.
33. Ibid., p. 240.
34. Ibid., pp. 247–48.
35. Ibid., p. 255.
39. Ibid., p. 245.


42. Ibid., pp. 251–52.

43. Frye remarks: “Now whether Ruskin is right or wrong, he is attempting genuine criticism. He is trying to interpret Shakespeare in terms of a conceptual framework which belongs to the critic alone, and yet relates itself to the plays alone. Arnold is perfectly right in feeling that this is not the sort of material that the public critic can directly use. But he does not seem even to suspect the existence of a systematic criticism as distinct from the history of taste. Here it is Arnold who is the provincial” (*Anatomy of Criticism*, pp. 9–10). See also the remarks by Geoffrey Tillotson and John Rosenberg in *The Art of Victorian Prose*, ed. George Levine and William Madden (New York, London, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 79–81, 183–84.

44. *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, p. 252.

45. See Super's notes, ibid., pp. 462–64.


47. Ibid., p. 519.


50. Ibid., pp. 166–68.


52. *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, p. 259.


54. *Letters to Clough*, p. 71; *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, p. 274.

55. *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, p. 270.

56. Ibid., p. 275.

57. For information about Arnold's composition of “Thyris” I am indebted to Kenneth Allott's detailed notes to the poem in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*.


65. Ruskin was delighted by the appearance of Colenso's book (*The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, 1862) both because he agreed with it and because it rescued him from the loneliness of solitary heresy. See *Works of Ruskin*,

66. Works of Ruskin, 36:586-87; 37:14. Ruskin went on to point out the superiority of his own translation of Homer's Aeolus (in Queen of the Air) to Sainte-Beuve's, a fact that may indicate Arnold's use of Sainte-Beuve, in 1860, to condemn Ruskin's Homeric criticism still rankled.


68. Ibid., 20:77; 36:511.


70. Ibid., pp. 260, 223; Essays, Letters, and Reviews, pp. 308-9.


72. Works of Ruskin, 17:xxxix. Ruskin's father remarked, in August 1861, "It seems to me to be as much a want of purpose as a want of Health" (ibid., 36:380).

73. Essays, Letters, and Reviews, p. 309.

74. Lectures and Essays in Criticism, pp. 260, 285. The change from February 1858, when Arnold pronounced himself "dead sick of criticism" and declared he had "no intention to keep preaching in the wilderness," is noteworthy.

75. Works of Ruskin, 36:523, 543.

76. Ibid., p. 404. See also 19:101; 36:461.

77. Lectures and Essays in Criticism, p. 289. See, in a similar vein, the letter of 31 December 1869 to Henry Dunn: "We belong to a time when every one is in movement and no one has arrived" (MS letter held by Professor F. L. Mulhauser).

78. Lectures and Essays in Criticism, pp. 275, 285.

79. Works of Ruskin, 36:524; Leon, Ruskin, p. 381.


82. Ibid., 20:107; Leon, Ruskin, pp. 432-36.


84. Leon, Ruskin, p. 513.


86. Buckler, Matthew Arnold's Books, p. 66.

87. Works of Ruskin, 28:220, 206, 203. Ruskin's reference to "that other Hospital" is to the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlehem, known as Bedlam (from Middle English Bedlem-Bethlem).


89. Dissent and Dogma, p. 30.

90. MS letter of 20 January 1871, Bodleian Library, Oxford.


96. *Works of Ruskin*, 34:318. Ruskin apparently confuses Silver How with Fox How, the Arnold family home about half a mile from Rydal Mount. But Professor Helen Gill Viljoen has informed me that there is a hillock called Silver How behind Goody Bridge, Grasmere.


98. Ibid., p. 318.

99. Ibid., p. 320.

100. Ibid., p. 322.

101. Ibid., pp. 328, 326, 342, 344.

102. Ibid., pp. 323, 341–44.


104. MS letter of 5 December 1880 in Macmillan Papers, British Museum 54978 (811D); *Essays in Criticism: Second Series*, p. 177.


107. Ibid., pp. 203, 172; “Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse,” lines 121–44; “Stanzas in Memory of the Author of 'Obermann,’” lines 53–54; *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, pp. 121–22.


109. Ibid., p. 197. Arnold here is quoting Professor John Nichol.


111. Ibid., pp. 184, 172, 185, 198.

112. *Works of Ruskin*, 34:32–33. Ruskin wrote these passages in July 1871 and first published them in *Fors Clavigera* for August of that year.

113. Ibid., pp. 40–41.


117. *Works of Ruskin*, 32:xxiii. The wild extravagance of Ruskin's praise for Francesca Alexander in this lecture, which was reported by the *Spectator*, seems of a piece with the eccentricity and intemperance that characterized his Slade lectures at Oxford during this year; and the lecture may have confirmed Arnold's suspicions about Ruskin's mental state. Yet it did not impede the development of his sympathy for Ruskin at this time.
118. Arthur Galton, *Two Essays upon Matthew Arnold with Some of His Letters to the Author*, p. 110.

119. MS letter of 17 February 1888 in Osborn Collection, Yale University Library.

120. E. T. Cook, *The Life of John Ruskin*, 2:395; *Brantwood Diary*, ed. Helen Gill Viljoen, p. 48. Professor Viljoen suggests that one cause of Ruskin's displeasure was that he "had probably tried to enlist Arnold's opposition to using the Lake of Thirlmere as a source of water for Manchester" (ibid., p. 48 n).


122. Arnold's note of 1869 to "Stanzas in Memory of the Author of 'Obermann,'" *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, p. 129.

123. *Beyond Culture*, p. 158.


