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John Ruskin

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The Works of John Ruskin

VOLUME 24: GIOTTO AND HIS WORKS IN
PADUA; THE CAVALLI MONUMENTS; GUIDE
TO THE ACADEMY, VENICE; ST MARK'S
REST

JOHN RUSKIN
EDITED BY EDWARD TYAS COOK
AND ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN



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J Ruskin

M^{rs} Logan & Cumming, Edin^g

The South Side of S^t Mark's.
1846.

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THE WORKS OF
JOHN RUSKIN

EDITED BY

E. T. COOK

AND

ALEXANDER WEDDERBURN



LONDON

GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD

NEW YORK: LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

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VOLUME XXIV

GIOTTO

AND HIS WORKS IN PADUA

THE CAVALLI MONUMENTS

VERONA

GUIDE TO THE ACADEMY

VENICE

ST. MARK'S REST

GIOTTO
AND HIS WORKS IN PADUA
THE CAVALLI MONUMENTS
VERONA
GUIDE TO THE ACADEMY
VENICE
ST. MARK'S REST

BY

JOHN RUSKIN

LONDON
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Note.—Of Ruskin's drawings included in this volume, the originals of Plates A, B, C, and D were exhibited at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1905; the right-hand subject of Plate C and the upper subject of Plate D were in the Ruskin Exhibition at Coniston, 1900 (No. 201), and at Manchester, 1904 (No. 386).

The sketches at Venice and Verona (Plate A) appeared (by half-tone process) as an "Art Supplement to the *Architectural Review*, June 1898." The right-hand subject on Plate C and the upper subject on Plate D appeared (by half-tone process) in the *Magazine of Art*, April 1900. The head of St. George (Plate LXIX.) appeared (by half-tone process) in the *Magazine of Art*, April 1900, and (by photogravure) at p. 139 of Mr. William White's *Principles of Art as Illustrated by Examples in the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield* (1895). Plate LVIII. appeared (by half-tone process) in the *Magazine of Art*, April 1900, and Plate LX. (by the same process) in *Scribner's Magazine*, December 1898.

XXIV.

b

INTRODUCTION TO VOL. XXIV

THIS is a North Italian volume, bringing together various writings upon Padua, Verona, and Venice. They belong for the most part to Ruskin's later period, and the volume comes in its chronological order, except that the first of the books here collected is of a much earlier date. It has been reserved for this place, partly because its inclusion in an earlier volume in its chronological place would have been difficult, and partly because the presentation in a single volume of Ruskin's shorter North Italian pieces is in itself convenient. The pieces thus collected are: I. *Giotto and his Works in Padua*, being Ruskin's descriptions of the frescoes in the Arena Chapel, to accompany the Arundel Society's series of woodcuts, together with an introductory essay on Giotto. The essay was written and published in 1853; the descriptions were published at various dates between 1853 and 1860. II. An essay on *The Cavalli Monuments in the Church of St. Anastasia, Verona*. This was written in 1872, to accompany a chromo-lithograph issued by the Arundel Society. III. *The Guide to the Principal Pictures at the Academy of Fine Arts at Venice* (1877). This was written during Ruskin's sojourn at Venice in 1876-1877. IV. *St. Mark's Rest*, for the most part written at the same time. V. A letter, and a circular, occasioned by the restorations of St. Mark's, Venice (1877-1880). In an Appendix some passages are added which Ruskin wrote, and in part had put into type, for an intended continuation of *St. Mark's Rest*.

In this Introduction, account is subsequently given of these various writings, but first the story of the author's life is continued from the preceding volume, where it stopped at the end of 1874, down to the time of his return from Venice in 1877.

1875-1876

At the period of Ruskin's work to which we have now to turn, the reader will be struck by two characteristics. The work is broken, scattered, incomplete, and the tone of the author's mind becomes increasingly marked by irritability. The old energy remains, but, though

sometimes in thoughts and studies which did not excite his strongest feelings there is the serenity of his earlier work, yet on the whole the fire now becomes fitful and feverish. Thus in 1875 Ruskin gave only one course of lectures at Oxford, while in 1876 he gave none. He wrote in these years chapters, rather than books—parts of *Ariadne Florentina*, of *Mornings in Florence*, of *Proserpina*, of *Deucalion*, and a single number of *Academy Notes*. His monthly letter, *Fors Clavigera*, went on regularly, but these letters, though they had a certain inner consistency, were disconnected in immediate subject, and they were also fiery in temper. A remark in a letter of Carlyle to John Forster, of an earlier date, introduces us to one explanation of this temper. Carlyle is describing a meeting with Ruskin at the end of 1872. “Ruskin,” he writes, “good and affectionate. He has fallen into thick quiet despair again on the personal question; and meant all the more to go ahead with fire and sword upon the universal one.”¹ Incidental reference has been made in previous volumes to the alternations of hope and disappointment which accompanied Ruskin’s attachment to Miss Rose La Touche—a subject to which we shall recur, when we come to his own account of “Rosie” in *Præterita*. Here it need only be said that the clouds which were settling upon this “personal question” had in 1874 shown some break, as we have seen;² but the clearing was only for a brief time, and early in 1875, all earthly hope was extinguished. “The woman I hoped would have been my wife,” he wrote in *Fors Clavigera*, “is dying.”³ In May she died.

The chequered course of this romance, which was also in some aspects a tragedy, had for many years placed a severe strain upon Ruskin’s emotions; now that it was closed by death, he was left numb and paralysed. “That death is very bad for me,” he wrote to his friend Dr. John Brown (June 18), “—seal of a great fountain of sorrow which can now never ebb away. Meanwhile I live in the outside of me, and can still work.” He had much work on his hands; at Oxford, the reorganisation of his Drawing School (already described⁴), and elsewhere, the development of various schemes in connexion with *Fors Clavigera* (of which an account may more conveniently be given in an introduction to that book). In other directions his work during 1875

¹ Letter of December 20, 1872, in *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, 1904, vol. ii p. 293.

² Vol. XXIII. p. liii.

³ *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 49, § 13. Compare Letter 61 (p. 4).

⁴ Vol. XXI. p. xxiii.

INTRODUCTION

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and 1876 was for him comparatively light. In March 1875 he lectured at the Royal Institution on Glaciers;¹ and in November at Oxford on the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds.² In the spring of the following year he lectured at the London Institution on Stones,³ repeating the lecture, no doubt with modifications, at Christ's Hospital and Woolwich. For the rest, he spent most of the time at Brantwood, paying, however, several visits and also taking some driving tours.

Of his visits, one was of peculiar importance to Ruskin's mental and spiritual life. This was to Mr. and Mrs. Cowper Temple (afterwards Lord and Lady Mount Temple) at Broadlands. Mrs. Cowper Temple, the *φίλη* of *Sesame and Lilies*⁴ and of his intimate letters, had been the confidante of Ruskin's romance, and when the end came she begged him to visit her and let her surround him with the affection as of a mother's care. "It is so precious to me," he wrote in reply (Brantwood, August 10, 1875), "to be thought of as a child and needing to be taken care of, in the midst of the weary sense of teaching and having all things and creatures depending on one,—and one's self, a nail stuck in an insecure place." So he went to Broadlands, and his friends interested themselves in his pursuits, as he relates in letters to Mrs. Arthur Severn:—

"(October 8.)—I am beginning to feel that it is right I should be here. Botany and Polit. Econ. will be all the more complete for being worked in this garden and under such trees, and with Lord Palmerston's library for reference—and the perfect quiet of the Park view with its long avenue, and no railroad sights or whistle, is very good for me. I gathered a rose and a piece of Oxford weed and sent them in by Juliet to Isola⁵ this morning, and I'm going to give her a feather I'm going to draw to-day, out of her hen's breast—picked up in poultry yard yesterday, for my first St. George's lesson."⁶

"(October 20.)—Things are going nicely with me—*φίλη* has an angelic cook . . . who does everything I want, and we're making experiments on the glaciers, in the kitchen with jelly and cream and blanc-mange, and I got two quite terrific crevasses opened to-day which William and *φίλη* were there to see."

¹ See *Deucalion*, i., parts of chaps. ii., iii., and iv.

² Vol. XXII. pp. 493 *seq.*

³ See *Deucalion*, i., ch. vii.

⁴ Vol. XVIII. p. 47.

⁵ "Isola" (like *φίλη*), a name for Lady Mount Temple; Juliet, her adopted daughter.

⁶ See the feather engraved at the bottom of Plate I. in *Laws of Fésole* (Vol. XV. p. 367).

The experiments on the glaciers with cream will recur when we come to *Deucalion*;¹ but there were other experiments at Broadlands which had a profounder influence. Mrs. Cowper Temple was a devout believer in spiritualism. In earlier years he had attended séances with her, without, however, being firmly persuaded.² Perhaps this is a region in which the will to believe is an essential condition of belief, and Ruskin was now in a mood to lend himself, not unwillingly, to experiments. Broadlands had been the scene of some of his happiest hours, for there he had been wont to meet the girl he loved. His friend was eagerly persuaded that the partition between the life of this world and the spirit world was impenetrable only to the hard in heart. Gradually the conviction was borne in upon him also. He notes the conclusive dates in his diary:—

“December 14.—Heard from Mrs. A—— (in the drawing-room where I was once so happy) the most overwhelming evidence of the other state of the world that has ever come to me; and am this morning like a flint stone suddenly changed into a firefly, and ordered to flutter about in a bramble thicket. Yet slept well and sound all night.”

“December 18.—Increasing anxiety about illness, and more and more wonderful or sad things told me unfit me much for my work. . . . Mrs. W—— sees me in evening, *φίλη* throwing her into trance, tells me all things that ever I did.”

“December 20.—Again, first through *φίλη* and her friend, then conclusively in evening talk after reading, the truth is shown to me, which, though blind, I have truly sought,—so long.”

What was this truth and how much of it was shown to him, and in what guise? Frederic Myers, who was of the company at Broadlands and whom Ruskin presently visited at Cambridge, has told us something of the revelation:—

“Chiefest I think of him,” he wrote to the Psychical Research Society, “in that house of high thoughts where his interest in our inquiry first upgrew. For the introduction to the new hope came to him, as to Edmund Gurney and to myself, through a lady whom each of us held in equal honour; and it was on the stately lawns of Broadlands, and in that air as of Sabbatical repose, that Ruskin enjoyed his one brief season,—since the failure of his youthful Christian confidence,—of blissful trust in the Unseen. To one among that company a vision came,—as of a longed-for meeting of souls

¹ Chapter iii. (“Of Ice Cream”); and see *ibid.*, i. ch. vii. § 23.

² See Vol. XVIII. pp. xxxi.—xxxiii.

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beloved in heaven,—a vision whose detail and symbolism carried conviction to Ruskin's heart.¹ While that conviction abode with him he was happy as a child; but presently he suffered what all are like to suffer who do not keep their minds close pressed to actual evidence by continuous study. That impress faded; and leaving the unseen world in its old sad uncertainty, he went back to the mission of humanising this earth, and being humanised thereby, which our race must needs accomplish, whatever be the last doom of man."

Myers goes on to relate how "half in jest I would complain to him that to earth he gave up what was meant for Infinity, and bent a cosmic passion upon this round wet pebble of rock and sea. 'Ah, my friend!' he answered once when I spoke of life to come, 'if you could only give me fifty years longer of this life on earth, I would ask for nothing more!'"² Nor did any vision of the angels in heaven seem recompense to him for what he had lost on earth. "You," he once wrote to Miss Susan Beever, "expect to see your Margaret again, and you will be happy with her in heaven. I wanted my Rosie *here*. In heaven I mean to go and talk to Pythagoras and Socrates and Valerius Publicola. I shan't care a bit for Rosie there, she needn't think it. What will grey eyes and red cheeks be good for *there*?"³ At a later date the present writer, in some notes submitted to Ruskin's criticism, had chanced to quote from William Cory's "Mimnermus in Church":—

"You promise heavens free from strife,
Pure truth and perfect change of will;
But sweet, sweet is this human life,
So sweet I fain would breathe it still.
Your chilly stars I can forgo:
This warm, kind world is all I know."

The lines were new to Ruskin, and he inquired for particulars about the author of *Ionica*. "I like this one verse," he said, adding characteristically, "I have never thought of stars as chilly." A transcript of the whole piece was sent to him. "They are beautiful lines," he wrote in reply; "so true of me also."⁴

¹ Compare the letter to Professor Norton of January 13, 1876 (reprinted in a later volume of this edition).

² *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*, by Frederic W. H. Myers, 1904, pp. 90, 91.

³ *Hortus Inclusus* (1887), p. 18 (reprinted in a later volume of this edition).

⁴ See *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 3, 1891.

The vision, then—granted not to Ruskin, but to another¹—was doomed to fade; he had heard something from the spirit world of fulfilled Love, but he sought not to peer further beyond the veil. He turned back, here on earth, to “Duty loved of Love.” Yet much remained to him from these experiences and thoughts at Broadlands. The conviction and the hope, there borne in upon him, strengthened the religious development which we traced during his sojourn at Assisi,² and faith in the very real presence of ministering spirits coloured much of his later writing. The practical bent of his mind, the good sense in which he interpreted that faith, are shown in a beautiful letter to a girl-friend:³—

“AYLESBURY, 17th August, '76.—I am so very thankful for all, but chiefly for the last part of your letter, in which you speak of feeling the angels nearer you.

“It is strange that this letter of yours should come to me and be read this morning in the room in which I received the tidings of her death, a year and a half ago. If *anything* is true of what all good and noble Christians have believed, it is true that we not only may, but should pray to the saints, as simply as we should ask them to do anything for us while they were alive. Do but Feel that they ARE alive and love us still, and that they have powers of influencing us by their love and wisdom, and what else *can* we do? I should like you to think of Rose as a perfectly pure and innocent friend, who could, and only besought to be permitted to, teach you and inspire you in all things relating to feelings about which you have had no other adviser.

“One of your greatest charms to me was your tender hearing of her and your belief in the vision of her. I think it is very likely she may speak to *you*, when she will not to me—or cannot. I cannot tell you why I think this, but I do, very earnestly.

“Do not permit yourself to be disturbed by the so often repeated foolish saying that we should never go to any one but God. Of course such a principle would take living friends from you more swiftly than dead ones, being less pure. It is the greater sanctity and power of the ‘Cloud of Witnesses’ which makes simple people fancy they are idolatrous in addressing them instead of Christ. But they are all as the Angel who *talked* with John—but when he would have worshipped him, said, ‘See thou do it not.’⁴

¹ See, again, a letter to Professor Norton of February 1, 1876.

² See Vol. XXIII. pp. xlvi.–xlvii.

³ Miss Sara Anderson, a frequent visitor at Brantwood, where she helped Ruskin in secretarial duties.

⁴ Revelation xix. 10.

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“It is strange that I was reading yesterday with extreme care the two sonnets of Guido Guinicelli at p. 273 of the Cary’s *Dante* which I send you by this same post; I should like you to read these, and the 30th, 31st, and 33rd canto of the *Purgatory*, in my own book, but you must send it back to me when the one comes I have ordered for you.

“There is one thing I am sure both Rose and Beatrice would say—and Dante, now he is with them—that in *this* day of the dark world, no one who loves truly should think of being happy *here*; that we are called upon to labour and to wait¹—being sure of joy, such as we know not, and need not know, till it is revealed to us by the Spirit.

“I can’t write less gravely from this place, dear; but all your letter is delightful to me.”

One of the poems which Ruskin had been reading is this:—

“‘Comfort thee, comfort thee,’ exclaimeth Love;
 And Pity by thy God adjures thee ‘rest’:
 Oh then incline ye to such gentle prayer;
 Nor Reason’s plea should ineffectual prove,
 Who bids ye lay aside this dismal vest:
 For man meets death through sadness and despair.
 Amongst you ye have seen a face so fair:
 Be this in mortal mourning some relief.
 And, for more balm of grief,
 Rescue thy spirit from its heavy load,
 Remembering thy God;
 And that in heaven thou hopest again to share
 In sight of her, and with thine arms to fold:
 Hope then; nor of this comfort quit thy hold.”

And, again, in the other:—

“I would from truth my lady’s praise supply,
 Resembling her to lily and to rose. . . .
 A mightier virtue have I yet to tell;
 No man may think of evil, seeing her.”

One may find further reason² here for what Ruskin says in the autobiographical preface to *Sesame and Lilies*: “In all that is strongest and deepest in me,—that fits me for my work, and gives light or shadow to my being, I have sympathy with Guido Guinicelli.”³

¹ Longfellow: *A Psalm of Life* (the last line).

² Compare Vol. XVIII. p. lx.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Such were Ruskin's thoughts, as they were revealed to intimate friends, at this period. In general society he was as eager and enthusiastic, often also as gay, as ever. The very pressure of sad thoughts and his disinclination to sustained mental labour made him the readier to give and receive pleasure by mixing among his friends. He called often upon Carlyle and upon Miss Jean Ingelow. He saw something of Manning, whom he took to see Burne-Jones's pictures.¹ He had a warm liking for his "darling Cardinal," though he found the Papal pretensions as light as the Cardinal's puff pastry: "you had but to breathe upon it and it was nowhere."² A friendship of a different kind which became intimate at this time was with the Royal Academician, Stacy Marks. Ruskin had made his acquaintance some years before, and early in 1876 wrote at Marks's invitation a notice of the works of Frederick Walker.³ Henceforward Ruskin saw a good deal of Marks, and found much pleasure in his jovial society.

A letter to Mrs. Arthur Severn, undated, but belonging to the year 1876, reveals the Professor in an unfamiliar scene. He was staying with one of his Oxford pupils (Dr. Dawtrey Drewitt), and enjoyed a close sight of the hounds:—

"(PEPPERING, ARUNDEL.)—It has been a bright day! really lovely!! and I've been out with the hounds!!!—only—on foot. But there was a meet on the Downs, and Dawtrey drove Lucy and Alice and me; and Papa and Helen rode, and for inconceivable wonder, I was lucky for them, for first the hounds and riders came down a lovely two miles of dingle and glen in front of us—with shadows across from bright sunshine, then they reached a piece of wood close to us.

"How difficult it is to explain anything [sketch]. D is high open down; V. a steep valley in it; C, copse on side of valley; A, Alice and Lucy and Dawtrey and me on foot, looking on.

"The hounds searched the copse at C, right opposite, on the face of the hill. Drove the fox out at B. The black thing is the fox, with his tail behind him. As soon as he got off, we ran up the hill to D, and were just in time to see him cross the down, where the big dots are, as if he meant to go up the valley, V. Instead of that, he turned and came down J, throwing dogs and men all out at the steep hill at X, came down to his own wood, ran into it, doubled, and got out again, leaving all the dogs in the wood, went up the valley again, and came across right in front of us, still at D, and

¹ See *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, vol. ii. p. 61.

² *Hortus Inclusus* (a letter of a somewhat later date, reprinted in a later volume).

³ Printed in Vol. XIV. pp. 339–348.

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then put steam on and went away, where I've drawn him big, and got safe off afterwards.

"I ought, if I had had room, to have given him a much wider sweep from B at first, else we should not have been in time to see him cross.

"Dawtreys says it is very rare to see a fox that way. He got away at last into a big wood, so full of hares that the huntsman, the last time he went in, said, 'The hares got all together, and drove the dogs out!'

"It was all very lovely, every creature enjoying itself; I'm not sure that even the fox wasn't laughing all the time. The horses were scampering in pure delight on the soft grass; Dawtreys quite wild; I had Lucy to pull up a bit of steep hill, and just at the top came on one of the riders! the son of my old Dean Gaisford of Christ Church, who was one of the merriest at my first Freshman's college supper!

"There has just been the most glorious vermilion sunset I've seen for many years."

A diversion which gave Ruskin some pleasure at this time was that of posting tours to Derbyshire and Yorkshire with Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Severn as companions.¹ These expeditions, on which Ruskin and Mr. Severn sketched together, must have been wholly good for Ruskin if they were as breezy as the account of one of them given by Mr. Severn:—

"The Professor said to us, 'I will take you in a carriage and with horses, and we will ride the whole way from London to the north of England.' He further said, 'I will not only do it, but I will do the best in my power to get a postilion to ride, and we will go in the old-fashioned way, stopping at Sheffield for a few days.' Mrs. Severn was delighted when she heard of this beautiful scheme, for what woman is there who can resist a postilion? The Professor went so far that he actually built a carriage for the drive. It was a regular posting carriage, with good strong wheels, a place behind for the luggage, and cunning drawers inside for all kinds of things we might want on the journey. The Professor took a portable chessboard, and over some long, and, to him, rather wearisome

¹ At the end of January 1875 he drove by himself through Brantwood to Yorkshire and Derbyshire (see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 50, § 16, and Letter 52, §§ 6, 9, 10), returning to London. Letters written from Bolton and Castleton may be read in *Hortus Inclusus* (reprinted in a later volume of this edition). In July 1875 he drove again, this time with Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Severn, through Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and thence to Brantwood. And again in April 1876 from London to Sheffield, and thence to Brantwood (see *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 66, Notes and Correspondence).

Yorkshire moors we used to play games of chess. We started on one fine morning from London, and, I must say, without a postilion; but when we arrived at the next town, about twenty miles off, having telegraphed beforehand that we were coming, there was a gorgeous postilion ready with a fresh horse, and we started off in the right style."

And so they rode to Sheffield. His plans for a "St. George's Museum" at Sheffield were now beginning to take shape,¹ and he spent some days there in meeting many local people and discussing the matter with them. When this business was finished, the journey was resumed:—

"Then the Professor gave orders that the carriage should be got ready to take us on our journey. We were to start after luncheon, and sure enough there was the carriage at the door, and a still more gorgeous postilion than any we had had so far on our journey. His riding breeches were of the whitest and tightest I ever saw. His horses were an admirable pair and looked like going. A very large crowd had assembled outside the inn to see what extraordinary kind of mortals could be going to travel in such a way. 'Well, Professor,' I said, 'I really don't know what the people expect—whether it's a bride and bridegroom, or what.' He said, 'Well, Arthur, you and Joan shall play at being bride and bridegroom inside the carriage, and I will get out on the box.' He got hold of Mrs. Severn by the arm and put her into the carriage; I was put in after, and he jumped upon the box. The crowd closed in around us and looked at us as if we were a sort of menagerie."

Sometimes there were delays and hitches on the road, but the Professor "treated that sort of thing with the utmost coolness, and seemed very glad because it enabled him to look at the view and point it out to us."² Sometimes information picked up on the road was disillusioning. They had made a deviation to see Hardraw Fall, one of Turner's subjects in the "Richmondshire" Series, and Mr. Severn, who had gone on in front, fell into conversation with a countryman.

"Mr. Severn expressed his surprise that so large and powerful a body of water did not wear away the edge of the cliff much more. The man, with an amused smile, said, 'To tell you the truth, sir, it does wear it away, only you see we work at it.' 'Work at it?' 'Yes, build it up again. You will see mason's work, sir, if you go to the top of the cliff and look close.' 'You will meet a gentleman and a lady a little farther on,' said Mr. Severn; 'I wish you would tell this to the gentleman, he would be so interested!' 'Arthur! Arthur!' exclaimed Ruskin when he

¹ See *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 59, § 10.

² Report of a speech, at the opening of the Ruskin Museum, in the *Sheffield Independent*, April 16, 1890.