

PRELUDE TO THE LAST DECADE : DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI IN THE SUMMER OF 1872 : II¹

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The Letters

WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI'S diary for the week previous to Gabriel's breakdown on 2 June contains five entries. Although there are no further references to his brother's reaction to Buchanan's pamphlet, there is a long and detailed entry relating to an engraving of Rossetti's painting *Dante's Dream* (22 May). The inescapable conclusion is that the crisis came on suddenly, perhaps without warning as a kind of delayed reaction. If some other specific occurrence triggered Gabriel's collapse, there is no mention of it either in the diary or in any of William's published writings.² In fact, Gabriel seems to

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

² The likeliest explanation is that DGR was overcome by the press reaction to Buchanan's pamphlet, which was reviewed, among other places in *The Echo* (18 May, already discussed), the *Athenaeum* (25 May) and the *Saturday Review*. This last, which appeared the day before DGR's breakdown, while to some degree hostile to Buchanan, is nevertheless a brutally frank attack on DGR. Its content and proximity to the commencement of Rossetti's delusions of persecution perhaps suggest for this review a prominence that has not hitherto been attached to it. In the passage most censorious of DGR, the anonymous author says: "It has been suggested that Mr. Swinburne has been overwhelmed with moral reprobation on account of his free-love heresies, while Mr. Rossetti conciliates conventional propriety by confining himself to nuptial confidences, and practising his erotic pranks under a certificate from Doctors' Commons. For our own part we think the old-fashioned notions are the best, and that there are some subjects which poets and artists had better let alone, or which, at least, they are justified in touching only when they have a distinct and important moral purpose in view, and not mere dalliance and sport. Honest plain speaking is an excellent thing in its way, and possibly the world might be better for a little more of it. But honest plainness of speech is not the characteristic of the Fleshly School, any more than simple straightforwardness of thought. It is their sickly self-consciousness, their emasculated delight in brooding over and toying with matters which healthy, manly men put out of their thoughts, not by an effort, but unconsciously, by a natural and wholesome instinct—it is, in short, their utter unmanliness which is at once so disgusting, and, so far as they exercise any

have been capable of conducting business even on the day that he broke.

Unfortunately, there survive only general accounts of the initial stages of Rossetti's breakdown. Scott wrote Alice Boyd on the 2nd or 3rd, but this letter is not among the Penkill manuscripts; and his account in the *Autobiographical Notes* obviously fuses and confuses the activities of several days. On the 3rd, William entered in his diary:

Again with Gabriel, so far as office attendance allowed. Scott, Dunn, F. also about him: & in the evg. he & I went rd. to Brown's. Some table-turning in the evg. rather earlier at Chelsea: the table moved very considerly. but not violently, & some messages came, purporting to be from Lizzie. Nothing very marked in these, unless one can so consider the answers that she is happy, & still loves G.—Initials for her young brother, H.S., given correctly. G. was, I fancy the only person at the table who knew of the "H": I did not—or rather had wholly forgotten.¹

By the 5th, Gabriel's condition was such that William felt he could no longer continue to chronicle it in his diary:

This diary work is becoming too painful now if important matters are to be recorded, & too futile & irritating if the unimportant are made to take their place. I shall therefore drop it. Perhaps a great change may have come over the face of things when—or if—I next resume it: or there will have been, as Swinburne says, "An end, an end, an end of all," & no resumption of it.

On the same day, Rossetti received Browning's *Fifine at the Fair*, and, though he acknowledged it cordially on receipt,²

influence, so mischievous. And on the whole we are not sure that Mr. Rossetti's poetry is not more mischievous in its way than Mr. Swinburne's. In the latter there is at times a fitful breeziness from out-of-doors, while with Mr. Rossetti the shutters seem to be always closed, the blinds down, there are candles for sunshine, and the atmosphere is of a close heavy kind that reminds one alternately of the sickroom and the conservatory, so that one longs, even in the midst of a genuine admiration for so much artistic subtlety, to fling open a window and let in some honest daylight and some good fresh air" ("Mr. Buchanan and the Fleshly Poets", xxxiii, no. 866, 700-701). There is also a real possibility that the traditional anonymity of reviewers in Victorian periodicals may have intensified DGR's sense of a conspiracy.

¹ This letter confirms WBS' report to AB in his letter of 3 October 1865. Quoted in Part I.

² DGR's letter and the presentation copy of *Fifine* are in the Troxell Collection at Princeton; both are quoted in RGG, p. 149. For more information on Browning and DGR, including evidence that Browning in 1872 was in correspondence with and perhaps encouraging Buchanan, see HRA, Chapter 16.

“ he at once fastened upon some lines at its close as being intended as an attack upon him, or as a spiteful reference to something which had occurred . . . at his house. . . . Browning was regarded as a leading member of the ‘ conspiracy ’ . . . ” (*FLM*, i, 308).

The narrative of the next few days is recounted in three principal sources—T. G. Hake’s *Memoirs of Eighty Years*, Scott’s *Autobiographical Notes*, and William’s *Memoir*.¹ Of the three, William’s is unquestionably the most thorough and authoritative ; but, although he is at some pains to correct the chronological sequence, his account is necessarily foreshortened. From this point the narrative is best conveyed through the correspondence, which affords not only a kind of slow-motion exfoliation of events but also the further advantage of multiple perspective.

June 1872

The correspondence opens on the 6th of June with a letter from Brown to Scott (*I*):²

I have arranged that Dunn is to go out for a *very long walk* with D.G.R. to night & if W.M.R. does not sleep with his brother then I will be there about 12 to night—William, Dunn & if possible Arthur Hughes whom I am going to ask to do so can we think with great advantage, take it in turns to walk out with D.G.R. each of these 5 or 6 next nights—Meanwhile I am, by D.G.R.’s wishes, to speak to Knight & Ralston about getting letters from Browning & Tennyson etc etc He thinks you might speak to the latter—of course I said not one word of our project of a Testimonial this of course would be a most fatal proceeding should it fail—but I have spoken of it to Dunn—You, I, Dunn, W.M.R. & Arthur Hughes will be now the sole depositories of this melancholy secret trust I mean as to D.G.R. *health*—& Knight & Ralston in a modified degree—I *must* see you again about it soon.

¹ Hall Caine’s account in *Recollections* is too discreet to be useful ; those in HRA and Doughty draw heavily on WMR, though Mrs. Angeli quotes some extracts from letters in AP.

² Letter 1 : Knight is Joseph Knight (1829-1907), drama critic for *Athenaeum*, editor of *Notes and Queries*, and author of DGR’s life in “ Great Writers ” series ; Ralston is W. R. Shedden-Ralston (1828-89), Russian scholar and assistant keeper in the Department of Printed Books, British Museum ; some light may be thrown on the letters and testimonial by WMR’s diary entries for 21 and 27 May, already quoted. Arthur Hughes (1832-1915), the Pre-Raphaelite painter, is not mentioned again in the letters.

Scott's first extant letter to Alice (on 8 June) provides a retrospective summary of the first week of the crisis (2):¹

The impulse to go off at once very quickly disappeared from Gabriel's mind, and then he reverted to Kelmscott, but that again faded away, and he became more and more restless and was evidently determined to remain. Indeed I began to see it would be very hazardous to have him away from London so far, and be alone with him, he changed his mind so rapidly. At first his disease was simply wounded egotism and monomania about the pamphlet and its author, by and by his constant cry was that he could not fight, he had no manhood and would have to die in shame. It seems the word "cowards" is used in this pamphlet, and some papers have accused the School of poets as unmanly & so on. His next delusion, because we now all saw that he was suffering under delusions, even physical delusions, which he kept to himself as yet—his next delusion was that a conspiracy was formed to crush him. Browning's new book came with an affectionate word from Browning in the front of it, and Gabriel, although at first touched by this even to tears, soon began to find allusions to himself in it, and then Browning was his greatest enemy, determined to hunt him to death. The next step was decisive, he declared the walls to be mined and perforated by spies, and that all he did and said was known to the conspirators. William has all along been more impressed than any of us that his brother's mind was affected, no doubt because he knew more than we did. Yesterday it was at last determined without previously consulting Gabriel, by Dr. Hake, Marshall the surgeon and a Dr. Maudsley to whom Marshall transferred the case, saying he wd. come as a friend, it was a case requiring immediate supervision, and that he must leave home, and as Hake had offered and most pressingly wished him to go out with him to Roehampton, it was settled that Gabriel shd. go. Immediately the medical men were gone, Gabriel swore they too were in the conspiracy, and wd. not go. After a very long and troublesome debate the cab came however, and he is now at Roehampton. William went with him, but the doctors say he must leave him, so I shall most probably see him today.

So the first act of the tragedy is finished, let us hope he will gradually become right again, and then we will all have to be very careful of the world knowing anything about it.

William's forebodings are most melancholy. The effect on his mother he thinks will be fatal, and on Christina too. We must not think of these things, and wait in hope.

On Friday (7 June), Rossetti was taken to Dr. Hake's home at Roehampton. There, suffering from increased delusions, he took an overdose of laudanum on the Saturday evening, from

¹ Letter 2: Buchanan refers in the second paragraph of the Preface to attacks on himself as "the invention of cowards, too spoilt with flattery to bear criticism, and too querulous and humorsome to perceive the real issues of the case" (pp. v-vi). Marshall the surgeon is John Marshall (1818-91), Rossetti's physician and in 1872 Professor of Clinical Surgery, University College, London; "Dr. Maudsley" is Henry Maudsley (1835-1919), English alienist, author of several books on mental diseases.

which on the following day he nearly died. "Of course", William says, "his intention was suicide; but it was a case in which suicide was prompted not only by generally morbid and fallacious ideas but by a real hallucination. . . ." ¹ A local doctor who was called in diagnosed the patient as suffering from an "'effusion of serum on the brain'", and said that Rossetti was "already past all hope. He added that, if by chance he should survive at all, his intellect would be irrecoverably gone—a sentence far worse than death" (*FLM*, i, 313). In his next letter to Alice (10 June), prefixed with the headnote, "Keep any papers I send", Scott again summarizes Rossetti's condition, but omits any specific reference to his attempted suicide (3): ²

After my former note you will not be quite suprized to hear worse news of our dear friend. William and G. Hake got him safely out to the doctor's home at Roehampton, but in the evening he seemed more excited than in town. This was Friday night you know. On Saturday he showed signs of violence, a party of merry making people passed going to Richmond Park carrying a kind of double pole with a flag. This he called a gibbet, and that it was for him, they being on their way to gibbet him in the Park, and he rushed out of the house shaking his fists at the crowd, William and Hake had to follow and detain him by force. Then followed fits of prostration, till he was got to bed. In the morning of yesterday Sunday, William went in and found him sleeping: and again later, and again he and Hake went in and found he could not be roused. This is the state in which he has been last seen, as far as I know. Finding this to be so, William determined to have his mother out. She had been very partially informed you may be sure, and William came in for her last night, Hake with him,

¹ Describing DGR's "hypochondria," WMR says: "He not only supposed things contrary to reason, but he had actual physical delusions or hallucinations. I cannot remember—then or afterwards—any visual delusions; but there were auditive delusions . . ." (*FLM*, i, 310). Perhaps the most terrible of all those delusions WMR had "over-much occasion to specify" was that which directly prompted DGR's attempted suicide. WMR says only, "Having gone to bed on the Saturday night, my brother heard (this was of course a further instance of absolute physical delusion) a voice which twice called out at him a term of gross and unbearable obloquy—I will not here repeat it" (*FLM*, i, 313). It is no small feat, seventy-seven years after the fact, to recover the term of opprobrium that DGR in his deluded state thought he heard; but such is the intrepidity of biographers, no barrier is insurmountable: "Probably the term was 'murderer'", writes Professor Doughty, "a projection of his anxiety complex and self-accusation *re* Lizzie's death. Hence, too, his attempted suicide afterwards and by the same means" (p. 520 n.).

² Letter 3: Eliza Harriet Polidori took charge of Christina during the absence of Mrs. Rossetti and Maria.

and it seems the scene was not so painful as it was feared by everyone. The old Lady was first made partially aware of the state of things by the Aunt Polidoré, and the end was both she and Maria went out to Roehampton.

Alice received Scott's first letter on the 10th and answered immediately (5). Her concern in all her letters is for Scott's health and well-being, but she is also genuinely solicitous about Rossetti :

Tell me above all things how you are yrself, you dear kind friend—your work must have been quite stopped & I fear you must be quite upset. We must as you say be most careful to keep this state of things quiet. For my part I quite shudder to think what may be the end knowing him as we do, what he might be tempted to do. I dont like writing on this subject still cannot help it this once.

In her next (11 June) she broaches a matter that recurs throughout the early correspondence—the possibility of bringing Rossetti to Penkill (6).

I have just received your sad, sad letter.

Our dear, dear Gabriel this is too dreadful do please let me have a word soon again and say if the Drs think he will recover.

What a mercy you had not brought him to Penkill where we should have been without help.

My heart bleeds for his sweet old mother & sisters & poor affectionate Wm.

Darling I will write more when I get home if there is time before the postman comes—you must be badly shaken by all you have gone through—

On the Sunday (9 June), following Rossetti's "lethal trance", William had rushed to town to bring his mother and sister Maria out to Roehampton, perhaps to see Gabriel for the last time. The family had purposely been left in ignorance as to the seriousness of Gabriel's illness. If William's record of the sequence of events of that day is correct, even he was not aware until his return from town that his brother had taken laudanum. Once informed of the fact—however serious might be the consequences of attempted suicide as evidence of Gabriel's mental upset—"now we could at least dismiss the horrible idea of any such mortal illness as serous apoplexy, or of idiocy as its alternative . . ." (*FLM*, i, 315). The Rossetti ladies, mother and sisters, he says, "finished their days in ignorance of the facts"; but Christina, bed-ridden at Euston Square with "exophthalmic bronchocele", seems to have had some apprehensions, perhaps from something Brown said to her, for she writes on the 10th (4): "I know not (having heard of one fearful alternative) what

to hope : but with my whole heart I commit our extremity to Almighty God ”.

William, his mother, and Maria remained at Roehampton until the 13th, though Brown brought Gabriel back to Cheyne Walk—on the 12th (not on the Thursday as William states)—“trusting”, as he wrote to Lucy, that “the common sense treatment will be the best and we shall restore Gabriel with care ” (9). Scott, who visited at Roehampton on the day previous to Rossetti’s departure, wrote to William the same day (7) :

So many of our friends have been out to you that I have refrained, especially as I did not feel that I had any aid to offer and heard from Dunn and others twice a day. The great thing to do is what it appears the doctor recommends, that no one associated with Gabriel during the last week at Cheyne Walk should be visible to him, and you would be better for your own sake to have a change. We must not expect you can stand this without some reaction. Today will most probably determine dear Gabriel’s state, I hope will confirm the favourable symptoms, and if you would like to be near Cheyne Walk, and with friends not of your own family, I would be so glad to see you here, where we have plenty of rooms and conveniences. Yesterday Letitia went up to Euston Sqre and sat a long time with Christina. She found her quite able to talk on this sad subject and tried to give her some support.

Following his return from Roehampton, Scott sent a full account to Alice (8) :¹

I drove out to Roehampton last evening after dinner. Gabriel is there, William, their mother and Maria. He has quite recovered from the lethargy which all the doctors thought was suffusion of the brain, and now his delusions are more dreadful than ever. It is impossible he can remain there, and William’s state is becoming critical he is so desponding as to the result on all the family and their affairs, Gabriel being seriously in debt and, as you know, having people depending on him. I seconded Wm in his feeling of the absolute necessity of getting Gabriel under proper care removed from every one he knows. This must be done.

Then will come the question of finances, the home in Cheyne Walk, and the pictures now there—(his large pic. for instance) that belong to other people. The action of creditors Wm fears will put everything into a breakup.

The question of William’s reaction to his brother’s state is one that has been much debated, and Scott’s observation in the *Autobiographical Notes* that William was made “seriously ill ” (p. 172) by it and so “prostrated by anxiety ” (p. 174) that

¹ Letter 8 : The large picture is *Dante’s Dream* which DGR was painting for William Graham.

business matters were placed in the hands of Ford Madox Brown has been contested, especially by William's daughter, Helen Rossetti Angeli (HRA, p. 233, n. 2). William says only that he was "distressed" and "afflicted" (*FLM*, i, 317, 320)—"had I not been so, the more shame to me"—but, as many of these letters show, his own health was seriously threatened and he was for much of the period of Rossetti's convalescence protected by Brown and Maria from receiving adverse news of his brother.¹

In his next letter (13 June) Scott tells Alice of the decision that Brown should look after Rossetti and ends with a more optimistic prospect for the future (10):²

It has indeed been a very sad page in life this illness of Gabriel's, but now I have to tell you of a sudden break in the cloud, which I hope may be the beginning of better times. Dunn and I were out the evening before last (Tuesday evening) at Roehampton and saw William, whose account of his brother was that of a maniac with so many and such dreadful delusions that there seemed nothing for it but to send him to an asylum. He said he had spoken of it to his mother & Maria and they concurred. Hake knew one and Marshall was to be out next day when it wd. be decided. William's representations and state, for he seemed very excited and in absolute despair, required immediate consideration and I quite acquiesced. The doctor's visit yesterday however, was accompanied by Brown's who took out Allan, and as Gabriel was crying out that he must leave the house,

¹ In an unpublished letter in PP (dated 31 October 1873), WBS writes AB: ". . . I accepted an invitation to dine at Euston Sqre. and meet Maria the last dinner she wd. share with them [as she leaves home entirely today and becomes a Sister of the most strict kind], and while we three (Christina, Mammy, & I) were talking over this curious fact in a protestant country, we touched on William, and they both, but especially Christina, confided to me how very much alarmed they had been for William ever since Gabriel's illness, and that they were truly glad of the Lucy advent, as they wd. of anything else that might break the spell that seemed to hold him. For weeks they said he never uttered a word to any of them, and now he talked 'when Lucy is here'; this and a good deal more made me entirely relent towards poor Billy Waggles, and as Old Bruno is painting a portrait in Wales, Lucy duly turned up Billy accompanying, and we were all very cordial, although William is manifestly just the same morose brother they described him, and also not very hospitable, leaving his guests to amuse themselves."

² Letter 10: Allan is DGR's servant, the husband of Emma, another servant; their surname is nowhere recorded. Allan was an ex-soldier, and an alcoholic suffering from tuberculosis. The honesty of this pair is always in question. Rossetti's lameness, WMR identifies as "hemiplegia, or partial paralysis in the region of the hip-joint, brought on, as Mr. Marshall said, by his remaining so long in a recumbent position, under the benumbing influence of the laudanum" (*FLM*, i, 316). Leyland is Frederick R. Leyland, a Liverpool ship owner, father-in-law of Valentine Prinsep and patron of DGR.

and Wm. had no influence, Brown proposed to bring him back to Cheyne Walk, and alone to take charge of him. This all agreed to as an experiment, and to my infinite surprise, Emma came running on to me about 9 O'C last evening for me to come along as Mr. Rossetti was back again with Mr. Brown and Mr. George Hake, and just the same as he was on leaving!

So it is, I sat with them, Dunn being added, and he is not the least worse than he was. His delusions are I think rather less. William, his mother, & Maria are to return from Roehampton to Euston Sqr. this morning, everything to fall into its old order, and the experiment to be fairly tried. It is very noble of Brown this independence of view, and the determination to keep him out of an asylum, and if the move is successful we must honour him for it. I confess it never occurred to me, as doctors and others all said he must see no one but strangers.

He is a little lame but that decreases they say. The doctors thought he had had a slight attack of paralysis, but now it appears only numbness and sprain, and there they were wrong, as they have been in other matters.

The large picture, and a number of other pictures belonging to Leyland, &c, were removed yesterday to this house with much bother, under the impression that were he to go to an asylum, his creditors might prevent any of these being sent out of the house. I feared when he missed the great picture he would be inclined to consider its removal as part of the conspiracy, but it was quite otherwise, he was highly pleased and said it was the very best thing to do. This looks well, and as I find his state very much less dreadful than William represented, I begin to hope that we have all been too much excited by the dreadful affair.

The letters of the next few days are generally more cheerful in tone. On the 14th, Scott sends Alice word that "Gabriel was low and weak yesterday but not excited . . . his delusions continue, but are not perhaps so bad on the whole, and he *does* sleep . . . and eats too. William . . . is getting into a more composed state, and does not look upon his responsibilities as so overwhelming" (11). The same day, Maria wrote Dr. Hake of good news from "dear Gabriel" (12), and Brown assured William that there was "improvement" and "the most perfect quiet & reasonable behaviour". In the same letter he informed him that a joint chequing account had been established on which William could draw (13). In fact, all the principals seem determined to send optimistic reports to William: Hake writes on the 14th offering him a night's lodging at any time (14); Dunn on the 16th assures him that Gabriel was "cheerful & chatty" and that Marshall "speaks hopefully but says his state will fluctuate for some little time". He concludes with the note that "there is not the slightest objection to your seeing him Marshall says" (18).

Alice Boyd, who is always a day or two behind activities in London, is on the 14th horrified with the "fearful state of things" described in Scott's letter of the 12th—worried that "all hope of a speedy recovery were over" and that "our dear friend could *never* be himself again & that a breakup of every thing would be necessary" (15); on the following day (15th) she is elated by Scott's letter of the 13th, informing her (17):

That our dear Gabriel is back to his home & not worse than when he left it, & that the dear affectionate old Brown has him in charge instead of unknown strangers—Noble old Brown, whether the experiment answers or not he is worthy of all honour & I trust our dear friend may yet live to thank him—But comforting as it is to know he is in such hands we must not let our hopes rise too high while these dreadful delusions continue. Dear old Mammy I am so glad she is able to return to poor Christina. Only fancy what it must have been to her seeing him in that state.

Scott's next two letters confirm continuing improvement. On the 15th, he writes (16):

I write you just a line. Gabriel is considerably better. I was there last night till 1 O'C and Brown, George Hake and Dunn all remain with him. He is gradually becoming just like himself and likes to hear us talk. The slight lameness is not paralysis the doctor now thinks, but sprain. We played a game of whist, and he joined for a little time. After listening for a while, he said "Now don't you all acknowledge how much stiller it is tonight than it has been for many days?" This shows that the physical condition is rectifying itself, and although he believed the stillness was the absence of the conspirators, it showed a great step towards being well.

His letter of the 17th contains the first reference in the correspondence to Jane Morris (19):¹

Gabriel remains just the same yesterday and today: perhaps I ought to say a little better. His health, bodily health seems restored entirely, except his lameness which still continues; he eats well sleeps 3 or 4 hours, although he is persuaded he does not sleep a wink. His delusions continue, and the idea of a conspiracy continues, but in a more limited way. On Friday afternoon Janey Morris was taken down to see him by her more than amiable husband and he was of course thrown into a miserable state for a while, but all through the fortnight he has really alluded very little to Mrs M. On the contrary seems to revert to the ancient Fanny whose dimensions are becoming considerable. She has been out and in constantly.

I did not tell you that I went up to Queen's Sqre on Thursday of last week, when he was getting into his worst state, to see Janey and tell her he was ill. She

¹ Letter 19: Jones is Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98); Fanny is DGR's friend and model, Fanny Cornforth.

had expected him, and he was becoming anxious, fearing that she was in some dreadful way. I found her on the sofa, and not discomposed by my intelligence. G. was very partially indicative of the real state of things. I quieted his mind this way. Next morning he took me aside and said he had had a note with her signature, but a forgery evidently. This note was to say if he went to the country she hoped he would be able to look in first. Since then he has scarcely alluded to her. After this interview he subsided and altogether our anticipations and fears, about her rushing out to Roehampton or to Chelsea, and about his derangement being increased by thinking of her, have been entirely groundless. . . .

Jones and Morris were with Gabriel yesterday, and Morris offered to go on taking care of him as Brown has done, and let B. get home. Brown however devised a different plan. He proposes Gabriel to go with him to Fitzroy Sqre which most probably will be carried out, so that I shall see less of him and be more at liberty to leave London when I get my work done.

Answering Scott's of the 15th, Alice herself asks whether Gabriel has "ever said anything about Jainey as if he wished to see her". (20), so in his next (18 June) Scott is silent on the point, replying only, "My last wd answer your question about Janey Morris". He does, however, refer again to the visit from Jones and "her more than amiable husband" (22):¹

Gabriel was still a good deal better yesterday, and as Brown, who has sacrificed so much time that shd have been spent on the portraits he is painting, could not remain longer from home, he has been day & night with D.C. Jones & then Morris offered to take his place. Neither of them wd. have done it, I am sure, after the first day, but Brown proposed another alternative, and that was that Gabriel shd go with him to Fitzroy Sqre.

I expect this was accomplished last night. A matter of some difficulty from his extreme dislike to go out, and expose himself as he supposes to all kinds of attacks. I shall therefore not be so much with him. Dunn and George Hake will have a rest. I can't go among Brown's womankind. He has acted nobly.

William has been interdicted by the doctors coming near Gabriel *for his own sake*.

The transfer to Brown's house in Fitzroy Square was accomplished on the 17th. Writing to William, Brown informs him of the decision and raises various points of business, including the sale of blue china, negotiations over which occupy many of the letters to mid-July (21):²

¹ Letter 22 : For reasons that are never specified, WBS was hostile to FMB's wife and daughters, as numerous letters in his correspondence with AB testify.

² Letter 21 : Murray Marks (1840-1918), English collector and art dealer ; Howell is Charles Augustus Howell (c. 1839/40-90), entrepreneur, agent and friend of DGR. For Marks see G. C. Williamson's *Murray Marks and His Friends* (London, 1919); for Howell, Mrs. Angeli's *Pre-Raphaelite Twilight*

George Hake will leave this for you as he has to go to Fitzroy Sqre. for me. We have decided that Gabriel is to come back to my house with me this evening—John Marshall thinks it a desirable arrangement—George Hake who has been so very kind I shall press to stop a day or two after we are gone along with Dunn, as I think he would enjoy it after all anxiety is off his mind—I have spoken to Gabriel about the china & he joyfully acquiesces, so that it would be desirable that you should go either to Murray Marks or to Howell at once & see what they could do in the matter of giving a cheque down—700 or 800 £. You will have also to come round here & settle about the board wages for Emma & her husband & the discharge of the cook—I opened a letter from Knight to Gabriel this morning stating that he is now convinced R.B. himself wrote the article in the “Echo.”

About this time, William Graham, M.P. for Glasgow and one of Rossetti's friendliest patrons, offered to make two of his country seats available should they be required. On the 18th, William writes to Scott (23):

Gabriel now at Brown's. Marshall urges strenuously that he shd as soon as possible—even as early as Thursday—avail himself of Graham's offer, placing Gr's house at Gab's disposal for 3 weeks or so. Near Pitlochry, in Perthshire, & named Urrad Castle (or something of the sort). Gr. understands that one or two friends wd. accompany Ga.—Marshall distinctly objects to my being of the party. We are therefore beating up for possible friends. Cd you be one? (It wd. be all the nearer to Miss Boyd thereafter). Brown wd. find much difficulty in going at all, & *cd. not* remain more than a day or two.

I write this on my own hook. Any answer shd. go to Brown rather than me. Different men are working in different directions towards this end of getting a suitable companion for Ga—so I can't say what the upshot may be, but, if you can make a serious effort of friendship, & be available in case things shd so turn out, we shd all be eternally grateful.

Few letters concerning the arrangements survive, but on the 19th Dr. Hake wrote to say that his son George, then between terms at Oxford, would be “entirely at your disposal” and “most happy . . . to go with R.” He agreed with Marshall that Rossetti should not remain in town, but he cautioned William that “no companion can do more than advise & persuade on material matters” (24). By the next day, plans had been firmed, and Rossetti, with Brown, George Hake, and Rossetti's servant Allan, departed for Scotland, to the first of the three houses Rossetti would occupy over the next three months.

(London, 1954—abbrev. *PRT*). A full account of the transaction over the blue china is given by Mrs. Angeli. The article in *The Echo* has already been discussed; it was almost certainly not by Buchanan.

Because William's request that Scott join Rossetti as a companion opened again the possibility of Penkill becoming a harbour of refuge, Scott's next letter to Alice (20 June) is more urgent than usual (25):¹

I now write you regarding a new complication which may become very important to you and me and our pleasant time at Penkill.

Gabriel has got an invitation to take possession of Mr Graham's house near Pitlochry Perthshire, that is to say he and all the family are in London till the end of the season, and he places the house at Gabriel's service till the children come home, a fortnight it may be or three weeks. Gabriel, accompanied by Brown, George Hake and Allan start this afternoon at 8-20 I think.

Sitting by him last night, in Brown's back studio, with Howell shut up in one room below, come to talk about disposing of the china, William & Dunn sitting in the dark in the front studio with two lay figures personating Mr & Mrs Fawcett whom Brown is painting, so that one could not tell which were which, he said to me "I am going to Graham's place but I am not likely to stay there, I shall get to Penkill, that is the place for me." Now, Brown can't stop above a few days, and then I am to be applied to, to fill his place. On my doing so, and I am willing to do so bearing my part in the friendly work every one is doing, the chance is he wants to go direct for Penkill. There wd. be Allan with him, if indeed it wd. not be necessary to ask George Hake as well, and every one of us would require to give up every thing and devote ourselves to him.

Now it appears to me there are many reasons for considering this too great a sacrifice. William is laid off, it has been too much for him. Neither his mother nor Maria, as far as I know, wish to nurse him, and Wm considers he has a suicidal tendency. I do not think you shd. be subjected to this visitation and its chances. For my part I have every desire to serve him by going to Perthshire, but I have looked forward to the quiet of Penkill, and wd rather not go at all a hundred times than go with him. He is not the least dangerous, never does any thing erratic or even says anything but the Doctor still does not like his state, and we should have to be slaves, night and day. I shall fulfil what I undertake in Perthshire, but I can't undertake an indefinite prolongation of it, and see you and the dear old place turned into an asylum.

The expense of all these men going to Perthshire is tremendous, and if we come to Penkill not only will our holiday be turned into grinding anxiety, but the expense to you will be too great. I wd. not go through what I did before with him at Penkill ever.

You must write me immediately on receipt and say what you will do, and what I must say. Every one about him is now an absolute slave.

¹ Letter 25 : Ford Madox Hueffer, in his *Ford Madox Brown : A Record of his Life and Work* (London, 1896—abbrev. *FMB*) states that the portrait of Professor and Mrs. Fawcett was one of two paintings *FMB* completed in 1872. The portrait of Henry Fawcett (1833-84), the blind Liberal M.P. for Brighton associated with the Reform Bill of 1867, and his wife was commissioned by Sir Charles Dilke. *WBS*' reference to a former crisis at Penkill must relate to Rossetti's visit there in 1868 and 1869.

Alice wrote on the 20th suggesting that it might do William good to come to Penkill for "a little quiet & rest" as he had "been interdicted by the Drs from being with Gabriel & most likely will not like to go abroad this Summer" (26). Answering Scott's of the same day, she tried to resolve the dilemma over Rossetti's coming to Penkill. This "new complication", she writes (28),¹

makes one fear that there is to be little rest for you or pleasure for either of us this many a day, still we must do what is right by the poor Gabriel who is indeed to be pitied—I have read & reread your letter & I cannot make up my mind whether it is right for you to be with him for a length of time—you are you know so very sensitive and for my part I cannot tell if it might not be too much for you—From what the Drs say it is evident that they are, to say the least of it very doubtful how matters will end—Of course you must not undertake the charge for an unlimited time either in Perthshire or here—For my part if you are to be with him I would greatly prefer its being here to there, as I should then know how *you* were & might even help you, for the Gab likes me in a sort of way—But whatever you do I must beg of you not to be without *another* besides Allan—As to the expence I could manage that part, & willingly say for a fortnight & if he was better by that time it might be for longer. All I beg of you is, if you bring him, bring George Hake or some other besides Allan.

But do dearest, before undertaking any thing consider your own health—much as we would be willing to sacrifice for our dear friend your health *must not suffer*—And if it is decided that he comes here be sure & mention to the medical men how ill off for Drs we are in these parts—that may be a reason for his not coming here—if it is not proper for him to be without constant medical watching—pray mention this before you undertake the charge of him here—But you must not take the responsibility alone & do have a clear understanding as to when you will be relieved.

The entourage arrived at Urrard House around noon of the 21st, and Gabriel immediately wrote a letter to his mother (27). Scott, who remained in town, was preparing to go to Penkill on Monday (24 June) but he was persuaded by William to delay his departure until Brown returned from Scotland on the Monday or Tuesday. Still worried about Gabriel coming to Penkill, he informed Alice on the 22nd (29):²

Emma wrote Letitia yesterday and says they will most likely not be able to go north with her to Penkill. But if I find Gabriel wants to get to Penkill I shall

¹ Letter 28 : DGR's letters indicate that he did indeed like AB immensely ; not however in the way suggested by Hugh R. Williamson, who tried to suggest a love-relationship between the pair in an article in *Time & Tide* (1959).

² Letter 29 : Emma is unidentified, but she must have been a friend, perhaps a cousin, of AB or of WBS' wife, Letitia.

say they & Letitia are going there. If he is very much better it may make a difference.

When he learned from Brown (30) that he would stay on until the Wednesday, at which time he hoped Scott could relieve him, "for by then I shall have been 3 weeks without working & half ruined", Scott telegraphed Brown—"Must go to Penkill tomorrow morning. Will arrive at Urrard Thursday or Friday. Leave Gabriel with Hake".¹—and sent Alice notice of his departure for Penkill on the following day (31).

In an early letter, Alice Boyd had asked Scott (15): "Has Wm. any idea do you think of the extent of Gabriel's debts? Surely making so much money as he has done lately they cannot be so very large as to prevent the possibility of arrangement." The fact of the matter is, however, that Gabriel was seriously in debt, and much of William's distress was undoubtedly owing to worry that if news of Gabriel's breakdown were to leak out, creditors would demand instant payment from funds that were non-existent. The removal of Rossetti's pictures, especially the *Dante's Dream*, was precautionary; and the selling of the blue china was to secure some financial hedge against emergencies, since the costs of maintaining Gabriel would be infinitely greater now that he had been removed to Scotland. Writing to Brown on the 24th (32), William informed him of Murray Marks' generous willingness to "take back, at the price paid by G. all such china as G. purchased from himself"—between £600 and £700, "for china & other things". Rossetti himself was concerned "to secure the furniture in Fanny's house to her" (35, 36), for throughout his illness he was solicitous about Fanny's welfare in the event that he did not recover. As later letters make clear, the spectre of financial ruin confronted William throughout the summer, as current bills continued to pile up and outstanding accounts were submitted for settlement.

Meanwhile, George Hake wrote to William the first of his thorough progress reports from Scotland on 27 June (33):

We have taken constant exercise since our arrival here—six to seven miles a day walking. Your brother walks without any pain but complains that he has

¹ This telegram, written at the bottom of FMB's letter (30) in WBS' hand, was probably sent on the 24th.

to drag his leg along with him. There certainly is a stiffness still remaining wh. has not much if at all altered in character during the week we have been here, but time only can settle whether this is temporary or not.

The delusions I am sorry to tell you still continue but in a modified form. He now discusses them rarely, but when he does so it is in a calm way. But his silence on this point he has told us is due more to our want of faith than to his. He occasionally throws off his gloominess and enters into discussions of characters and books with all his old brilliancy.

As regards stimulants he does not require so much now as he did when he first came down, but we find it impossible to reduce either the whisky or the chloral at night. One improvement however, I have been able to introduce viz—the taking of the whisky about 20 minutes before the chloral ; and the eating of biscuits directly after the chloral instead of the old plan wh was to swallow the chloral then the whisky and then about a pint of water. He gets about 5 or 6 hours sleep now which he admits unwillingly.

We find it hard to get through the day sometimes as he will not draw (having made but one sketch of an hour & a half's duration) ; but walking is our chief employment besides drives. On the whole, I may say he is somewhat better, physically at least—and mentally he is calmer. I hope that exercise and amusement may rid him of the idea wh. at present he holds viz that there is no chance of recovery for him—in fact he gets angry if we tell him he is better—

This may perhaps seem a gloomy account but it has its bright side. As I have told you he frequently rouses himself either during our drives (wh. we have taken almost daily) or during the evening and monopolises the conversation almost entirely—I think also you may take as a good sign the 5 or 6 hours sleep wh. he gets continually—He is also looking much better in the face.

The next day, Rossetti received an offer from Howell for the blue china, and Brown forwarded it to William with the last letter from Urrard (37). That evening the party departed for Stobhall, near Stanley in Perthshire, another house provided through Graham's generosity. Scott arrived the following day from Penkill, and Brown, whose "brotherly lovingness"¹ had saved Rossetti thus far from commitment to an asylum, departed for London.

The last letter of June and the first from Stobhall was Scott's to Alice (of the 29th) announcing his safe arrival and giving her a preliminary report on the all-consuming topic of Gabriel's condition (38)² :

As to the very important matter of Gabriel's state, I fear no very encouraging account can be given. He is well in health, and the lameness is nearly gone, but

¹ DGR's own term in his letter to his mother (27).

² FMB had not yet left when WBS arrived, so the two were able to compare notes briefly.

the delusions remain and the sense of being mentally incapacitated. There are materials here for sketching canvas and painting but he simply refuses to do anything whatever, even to look about him or to read even a letter. He will simply sit and listen and think of things that he does not dare to speak of. He breathes a little heavy and his hand shakes a little, so that if we could get him to try painting the result might be a disaster. Both Hake and Brown are discouraged, and have the impression that he is not better, and that the mania is becoming confirmed in some respects.

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i

In his first letter to Alice, Scott had reported that "Gabriel . . . never liked the other place (Urrard) and seems to like this immensely, so perhaps it will have a good effect" (38). Stobhall, which Scott found "wonderfully curious," he described in the *Autobiographical Notes* as "one of the houses of the ancient family of the Drummonds, the head of which, the Duke of Perth, as the Jacobites called him, lost everything in the rebellion of 1715."

But if Rossetti was less restless at Stobhall, it was not apparent to his two companions. He was at times sufficiently composed to discuss matters of business such as Fanny's house or the sale of the blue china (see Letter 39), but during the fortnight that Scott was in attendance the pace of Rossetti's recuperation was not viewed favourably. Scott's first letter to William (1 July) supplemented Rossetti's of the same day (41)¹:

Gabriel has written you, but there are some supplementary points he asks me to add. In the first place he thinks the idea of an auction with an illustrated catalogue is to be set aside at once, and in the second place, if Marks' offer is accepted, money down is a necessary condition. Marks or anyone else this condition must conform to. He repudiates the sale of the China as his "Collection" so that the auction & illustrated catalogue can't be entertained.

This is a very curious old place as Brown may describe. Gabriel was very disturbed yesterday, and at night I thought it necessary to resist his desire for whiskey to so large an extent as he would take it by way of making him sleep. This forenoon he is wonderfully like himself as of old, and preferred reading your letters & answering them himself. He understood my resistance last night as a serious remonstrance, and I think it has done him good.

¹ Letter 41: No other reference to the suggestion of a sale catalogue of DGR's china has been located.

Writing to Alice, Scott was less optimistic (42) :

My feeling is not very favourable about his state, and what is to be the result of this experiment of keeping him in a quiet place here or elsewhere, under the care of friends I cannot think. I fear however that after all the doctors were right and Brown too sanguine. His delusions about everything (and everybody except us) being in a conspiracy against him continues, only he conceals it better. All the birds even on the trees are villains making cat-calls. One thing I fear will cause us to coerce him, and that is his desire for whiskey and chloral under the idea they are necessary to make him sleep. He does sleep, but insists that he does not. Last night I tried to restrain him from insisting on whiskey, and the scene of fury was too painful to have repeated. George Hake who is a splendid fellow keeps the key of his cupboard with these things locked up.

George Hake, in his first report to Brown since the latter's return to London, confirmed Scott's diagnosis and approved his tactic with Rossetti (44) :

Rossetti has been very variable since you left—We made an attempt to induce him to reduce the amount of whiskey and he got more excited than I have yet seen him saying that if we attempted to take his sleep from him he would throw himself out of [the] window. Mr. Scott hinted pretty plainly that if he would not do it for his friends he would have to do it for the doctor. He fully understood what was implied but told us it would be very difficult to prove him mad !

The conversation however did him good : for he has not insisted on so much whiskey and is altogether more sensible and does not break out if we oppose him—

The routine at Stobhall was dull and unvaried. Between stints of watching Rossetti, Scott managed to do some sketching ; when he could, George Hake sampled the local fishing. On his fourth day at Stobhall, Scott was given his first private view of Rossetti's hallucinative world (46)¹ :

Yesterday G.H. went fishing with the keepers here, and Gabriel left alone with me gave me a full and confidential account of all the conspiracy that is surrounding him. The whole scheme is drawing closer, and when ripe, he will be murdered or made to disappear. All this he told me with much his usual manner of announcing any thing of personal importance !

Writing to Brown (on the 3rd) George Hake elaborates on Scott's account (47) :

¹ WBS continued his description of DGR's hallucinations in his letter to AB of 4 July (49) : " I have had him very much to myself both yesterday and the day before, and he has confided to me all the secret impressions he has in the hopes that I will be convinced they are true. The walls here, (which are panelled not by small oak panels but by large ones the size of doors painted white), he now thinks are hollowed and contain people who hear through the small holes made by the hooks for curtains that have been removed."

... I am afraid the delusions are becoming more fixed and that he is more apt to misinterpret things than ever. You know I applied for a day's fishing here for yesterday and hoped that he & Mr. Scott would come with me. He would not hear of it but insisted that I should go which I did leaving him with Mr. Scott. He showed symptoms of uneasiness about 3 hours after I had gone asking what time it was every quarter of an hour : at last he told Mr. Scott that I should not return that I had been decoyed away and that now there would be one less friend with him. Nothing Mr. Scott could say would convince him to the contrary and they came out to seek me and found me sitting on a bank smoking with the two fishermen. He said nothing to me : Scott told me all this afterwards.

Then too although I have convinced [him] that the whistling wh. he hears out of doors is nothing but birds by showing him the wren perched on a branch whistling, and the sand-lark as it flits over the water making its peculiar plaintive cry, he is not satisfied but says there are boys also who make other cries.

There is a method of fishing which at the seaside at all events is called *seine fishing*. A boat starts from one bank and lets out from the stern a large net heavily loaded so as to sink at one end while the upper part floats on the water supported with corks. I daresay you have seen them. The boat describes a circular course and lands lower down. The nets are then drawn in at each end gradually narrowing the semicircle of water. When R. saw this he at once said you see that—It is an allegory of my state. My persecutors are gradually narrowing the net round me until at last it will be drawn tight—In this way he looks at the most trivial and ordinary circumstances—

Alice Boyd, who in a later letter describes herself as “wandering about like a discontented bogey” (51), wondered how it would all end, admitted that she was “daily losing hope,” and expressed as her only source of comfort her relief that Scott had such a splendid companion in George Hake (48).

The only source of comic relief in this early correspondence relates to the disposition of Rossetti's servant, Allan ; but probably Allan was more a cause for worry than amusement. A tubercular and an alcoholic, he became an impossible burden, and shortly after the party's arrival at Stobhall, it was proposed to send him back to London. In his letter to Brown, already quoted, George explained that Rossetti “objected because he said he was the only friend we had here and that he acted as a check upon the servants in their designs.” But by the 5th Allan had been despatched, as Scott informed Alice (55).

On 4 July, Rossetti received an offer of £650 for the blue china from Marks,¹ which he accepted subject only to a better offer that might possibly be extracted from Howell (see 52, 53).

¹ Oddly, there is no reference to Marks' transactions in G. C. Williamson's *Murray Marks and his Friends*.

At this point, an unfortunate lacuna in the correspondence occurs, and neither of Scott's letters to William (on the 4th and 5th) is extant. George Hake's letter of the 5th (54), enclosed with Scott's, was sent to Brown, who acknowledged both on 6 July (63), observing, "You & G.H. did quite right *not* to send your letters to William he is not in a state to bear them." Scott's letter of 5 July must have been an extremely vital one for he informs Alice that he "had to fill two sheets" with Gabriel's delusions, "to inform William exactly as to the true state of his brother." He continues (55):

I have come to the conclusion that his mental state has little to do with his bodily health and will not be soon changed. Also I come to the conclusion more firmly than ever that he must not be brought to Penkill. Indeed he has never suggested it, although often asks about you almost with tears. His discontent with food and drink and the entire uncertainty of getting the wine or the food that he can take, the almost impossibility of getting his bed right, and the impatience he exhibits about every thing, besides the delusions—the walls being hollowed out and containing people set to watch him, and so on, make together such a difficulty in managing him that it is out of the question to bring him to Penkill.

If there was some attempt to protect William, he was nevertheless overburdened at this time by his brother's affairs, to which was added distress over Christina, temporarily residing at Hampstead. Even when the daily progress reports were sent to Brown, William saw them eventually, and he was increasingly discouraged by them. "I see he takes a very gloomy view of things not only of this matter but of affairs in general," Dunn wrote Scott on 6 July (60). William did not answer Scott's letter of 1 July until the 5th (56):

I have not yet had the grace to answer directly yours of 1 July: but have no doubt that you will believe not a day passes—& sometimes not an hour or two consecutively—without my being called off to write some letter, run some errand, receive some visit, offer some information, &c &c, regarding Gabriel or his affairs, so that the pull upon my working faculties & my spirits continues not small, & I know you will be ready to make allowances.

The next day, he answered Scott's of the 4th, in which the latter had apparently raised issues relating to Swinburne and Jane Morris (62)¹:

¹ Letter 62: WMR's letter to ACS is unhappily not extant; for ACS' reply, in which he averred that he would "take every precaution against a meeting" with DGR, see Letter 58.

In consequence of what you say about Swinburne, I wrote to the latter last evening explaining that, if he shd be in the way of meeting Gabriel in Scotland, he ought to avoid rather than seek him. I put the thing in a form wh. I am satisfied Sw. will appreciate, & not resent. So far as I know, he is as yet still in London—&, since the removal from Urrard, the chance of a meeting in Scotland is, I suppose & hope, not *very* considerable.

I note with full concurrence what you say about Mrs. Morris

Dunn writes to Brown yesterday suggesting that we shd. now see what to do with Allan & Emma. I hardly like writing direct to Gabriel about it, for fear of agitating him, but plague you about it instead, & beg you to act as may seem to you best. Brown thinks they ought both to be paid off, with any liberal treatment that may be fitting, & I also think this the most sensible course: but no doubt they ought not to be exasperated, or they mt. spread many rumours abroad *on more subjects than one*, of a very unpleasant kind.

It is clear that Rossetti's condition was deteriorating to such an extent that both Scott and George Hake felt incapable of judging competently his actual state. The logistics of caring for him were difficult to say the least. William, Brown, and Dunn were trying to cope with practical matters in London and at the same time attempting to provide therapeutic advice based on the written accounts received from Stobhall. But the brunt was borne by Scott and Hake. On the 6th George writes to William (59):

If we could only rouse him from the state of indifference which he is now in we might do much in the right direction. But at present we can get no assistance from him in anything we propose for his benefit. We have now reduced stimulants to three wine glasses of whiskey per diem 2 at night and one in the morning after his first sleep. Nothing more in that direction can be done yet, nor I am sorry to say in the direction of the chloral. For his idea is, that if we diminish either any more, sleep will go; and he also holds that no amount of exercise will add to the sleep he gets wh—he says—is purely the result of the stimulants. Now I hold strongly and would prove it to him if he would only let me that a judicious course of exercise would at least do as much for him as the whiskey and in time replace both. Last night he was almost asleep whilst sitting up in bed waiting for his chloral. He had taken the whiskey about a quarter of an hour & that with the exercise would have been quite sufficient to give some natural sleep—

I get him up as early as I can in the morning and out as much in the day as possible. He objects to getting up early because sitting is so painful (owing to the hydrocele) but walking he is comparatively at ease. He certainly walks easier and even without a stick, but the stiffness at the hip remains—

It was almost inevitable that the London and Stobhall groups should occasionally cross their lines. Thus Scott writes to Brown on 6 July (64)¹:

¹ Letter 64: As Mrs. Angeli insists in *PRT*, despite his chicanery, CAH had a generous regard and a “‘warm corner for Gabriel.’” Certainly his letters

You speak of Howell selling the Botticelli. I enclose a letter forwarded to me from Bellevue to warn you as to Howell's present financial condition. I send it *in confidence*; read it *and return it* at once. Perhaps you remember Haydon. Howell has a blackish as well as a false tongue, and it is prudent to let [it] have a wide berth, but I can't help thinking it unsafe to give him credit. Gabriel says by all means let him have the Botticelli, but only for ready money . . .

What *can* you mean when you speak of *buying* Fanny's house? If it is a house of bricks and mortar, and not of cards and paste, it wd. cost the money just got for the China, &c, and which of course must be a fund for the future.

Letitia goes to Penkill on Tuesday. Miss Boyd is wanting me to bring our dear G. there; she wants me back in fact, but he would not be so quiet there as here, and in short it will not do. He wd. not drive out ever with her carriage at his command, and the grind about the want of sleep and the difficulties of making his bed, about his wine, everything indeed, makes it out of the question.

In his reply of the 8th, Brown puts the record straight and informs Scott of another possible expedient to postpone still longer any decision to incarcerate Rossetti in an asylum (68)¹:

As to Howell, it is inconceivable how he can behave so foolishly for such a small sum, but that is *his* affair—mine with him is this—He gave himself a deal of trouble in getting offers for the china & as Gabriel had said to me "by all means

to WMR during this period are filled with genuine concern for DGR's well-being. The letter forwarded to WBS and thence to FMB is not identified, unless by F. W. Haydon, the son of Benjamin Robert, whose letters and table talk he edited. WMR offers some clarification of the Haydon letter in writing to WBS on 27 July (106): "I am not at all surprised to hear that G wished for Howell as a companion. There are indeed grave objections to him, but on *some* grounds I think he wd be one of the most likely to bring G. round again, & I may add that he has proffered himself to me for any such purpose in the most unreserved & affectionate way (I have thought it best not to mention this to G.)—That fishy affair about Haydon is already known to me—in fact he wrote to Gabriel first of all, & the letter thus written reached me, & I had replied to it, before he addressed you at all. I dare say Howell will pay *some time or other*—but certainly that is no excuse." DGR's Botticelli is described in FLM (i, 264).

Concerning AB's wishing WBS to bring DGR to Penkill, she wrote on 5 July (57): "Each account you give of our dear G. appears to be more sad than the one that went before. How he must suffer sitting thinking hour after hour listening for sounds. It really is too dreadful & I am sure you ought not to be subjected to it for long, and as he is not improving under the present treatment one fears that a continuance of it may do more harm than good. If anything could be invented to change his ideas, moving about from place to place so as not to give him time to take up notions of holes in walls &c. Then again I fancy there is always a fear when he sees strange people that he might do something violent so that the anxiety to those about him would be dreadful."

¹ For DGR's reaction to FMB's proposal about *buying* Fanny's house, see Letter 66, not published in DW. See also Letter 163 (DW 1219).

let him sell the Botticelli," also, "if he gets us the money for the china let him have the Botticelli to sell as a mark of confidence." William & I decided to let him have the Botticelli—you need not trouble D.G. on the subject—if Dunn has not yet sent the picture to him I will countermand it—but between you & me Gabriel has had at least a 1,000 £ out of Howell & at this moment owes him 8 drawings for which Howell paid him 150 £ cash more than a year ago—This I know to be fact from Gabriel himself, so that Howell does not show in any bad light versus Gabriel—As to Fanny the suggestion came first from Gabriel, next from *William*—the matter is thus—Gabriel had already begun giving Fanny 100 £ towards buying her house which was to be for 400 or 500 £. There is now a 1,000 £ at the bank—William thought that if 300 or 400 £ were given to complete the purchase of the house it would in any event clear off all Fanny claims; by further sale of divers drawings it would be easy to replace this money & still have the 1,000 to go on with—You understand that to Gabriel Fanny is the one responsibility that presses on him at this moment—However I wd not offer advice under the circumstances—I am sorry now that we have employed Howell at all, but *before* the sale of the china, we did not know but that he might be most needful & he did get us the offer of 600 £. John Marshall . . . has spoken to a young Doctor—a graduate of Oxford—& very pleasant companion—who not yet having settled down to practice would be willing to take charge of D.G.R.—Marshall thinks that if no progress is made by the present system—it would be next best to try this one as an intermediary one between the asylum & the present friendly treatment. Cutting off all friendly sympathy being thought a means of restoring the brain to its equilibrium—William is rather more composed but by no means fit to hear discouraging reports as yet—I had a long consultation with Mrs. R. after your last letter & J. Marshall's opinion of the case.

Scott was certainly not sanguine about Rossetti's recovery; indeed, if he quotes Rossetti accurately in his letter to Alice of the 6th (61), Rossetti himself had grave doubts:

He has twice asked me "what is to be the end of all this Scott,—staying here this way? It is all the same, Cheyne Walk, Roehampton, at Brown's, Urrard, and here, they are always round me."

There is no mention, save a query in a letter from Alice to Scott (65), of suicide, but on 8 July, Scott notified Alice that he and George had come to an agreement about their charge (67):

I have no good news to tell you. Last night Gabriel was very demonstrative, and G.H. and I have come to the conviction that his friends in London must hold a meeting and determine the next step to be taken. Last night he asked me to take him away from this. They must determine whether he is to go from this or to remain. I have this morning told Brown that I will stop till Friday, and they must act accordingly.

If he is to leave this, I consider they have next to determine whether he is to go to an asylum Mr Graham knows and recommends in the Highlands, or to be taken south, nearer London, where his friends may get about him more easily, i.e. Kelmscott.

The prospect of Scott's departure from Stobhall at the end of a second week brought to a head the necessity of making a decision about what ought to be done with Gabriel. Mr. Marshall was of the opinion that a stranger might function better with Gabriel than his friends, and there was general concern about George Hake, who had spent more time with the patient than anyone else. Howell, who had befriended Rossetti at Speke Hall during an illness in 1868, offered his services (69, 76), but William vacillated between remedies as extreme as commitment and travel. Scott objected violently to Marshall's scheme, seeing in it a slight against George Hake, and his outspokenness involved him in a rather sharp exchange with Rossetti's physician (81). When Brown, probably acting on Marshall's advice, recommended a resumption of painting and a new treatment involving a shower bath, Scott wrote to William on 9 July (72):

All the parcels, picture, &c have come, but I assure you it is only irritating our dear Gabriel to open the box and ask him to think about it or to work. As to the *shower-bath*, &c although he is in the last degree exacting and fidgety about everything he fancies himself, relating to food, bed, toilet, to propose any new treatment to him he does not wish originally himself is only to disturb and anger him, and to me it appears in the last degree futile to think any bath or tonic will make any change upon him. One most important matter we cannot do anything for is the hydrocele, which must be considered in any determination you and his friends in London arrive at as to his arrangements for the time coming. I have written largely to Brown, and told him that I shall have to leave at the end of the week. A fortnight was the period I arranged for, and my work at Penkill waiting me, besides Letitia & Alice Boyd being anxious about me, I must go. If there was any essential variation in his state so as to hold out a hope that I could do good, I would stay any length of time, but it is not so, and any listening to his revelations is to be discouraged.

He will not take the ale. I told him about the bills. The wine bill he said he knew, there was a monstrous sum claimed but he could tell nothing about it. He said—"let Wm pay installments on them." I ventured to ask him also what he thought of Emma and Allan being sent away, but after much difficulty he would only say that things must remain as they are just at present. So the present £1 a week board & wages 10/ each as *usual* had better be continued till the next step in his treatment is determined upon. Emma wrote two letters to Allan that arrived after Allan had left. Gabriel wished to open them, expressing the fear that they (E & A) were leagued with his enemies. We prevented him however, as whatever was in the notes it wd. have agitated him and besides, the action wd. not have been right. I have no trust in Emma, on the contrary, I look upon the overcharges he has been subjected to as impossible with an honest housekeeper. Utterly impossible, even this wine bill shows they have been

drinking wine in the kitchen or selling it. As to Allan he is too stupid to be worth considering.

In future I shd. advise you to do exactly as you think right about bills. Money matters of that kind seem to give him only trouble: he has so little interest in them.

I am sorry to say not only Emma & Allan, but Marshall he considers with suspicion, reverting to the time at Roehampton. As to Maudsley, if that is the right name of the doctor Marshall brought, he must never see him again, his dislike to him is so decided.

Scott was as concerned as anyone with finding some beneficial solution to the problem of caring for Rossetti. At Stobhall, he attended to his friend's business, answered importuning letters from Jane Morris (73), and sought to assist the London group in coming to decisions. But nursing Rossetti was for him, as for Brown, done at the expense of his own work and there was about it all an overwhelming sense of frustration. Writing to Alice on 9 July (71), he advised her:

Don't think of me as to health. I am not going to break down although this life is very trying. It is not however anything like so much so to me as to G.H. who sleeps in his room and walks with him. I get writing and drawing or painting done before he gets up and when he is out walking.

Sometimes he speaks and acts so as to make it difficult to resist the hope that the darkness has left him, then by and bye the old horror of his delusions is confided to us by him just as bad or worse than ever.

On 10 July, Brown wrote informing Scott that "Dunn and my son Oliver will arrive to take your place. . . . Don't be surprised if I send Nolly¹—it would only be for a few days & he is 5 feet 10½ inches & has his wits about him" (75). When this plan was confirmed by William in his letter of the 11th (79), Scott, as Brown reported to Dr. Hake on 12 July (82), sent "a rather enigmatic telegram . . . just as my son was about to start & detained him. . . ." This turn of events was determined substantially by Rossetti himself, as George Hake's letter to William of 13 July makes clear (83):

I suppose I ought to write and tell you some details of the alteration of plans on your brother's part—Yesterday we told him of the plan that young Mr Brown was coming here on Mr Scott's departure and he was much excited and said that he was too young to be with him in his present state and insisted that we should send off a telegram, which he dictated, at once. "You know he said—turning

¹ Nolly is Oliver Madox Brown.

to Scott—"that you are scarcely company for me now then why in the world send him?" He then proposed telegraphing to Mr. Stillman¹ and my father; he said it would comfort him to have them here and at this time he feels the need of plenty of society. It will probably do him good even if my father only can come—I fancy there is a shade of improvement in his mental state; he admits the possibility of his ideas being delusions though with the same breath he declares them to be facts and in a conversation last night he said that if everything did not terminate frightfully very soon as he anticipated it would he might come to see that he was wrong; or rather that his enemies were getting tired of their persecutions—

Everyone involved, but especially William, was searching desperately for a remedy which would effect an eventual cure, but there were objections to almost every suggestion made, and the reports from George Hake and Scott were not encouraging. Two days before Scott's departure, George wrote to William, dampening any idea of travel as a palliative for the ailing Rossetti (78):

... first I had better give you more detailed reasons for differing with you about the plan you mentioned. If he shows such manifest reluctance to walk beyond these grounds even when he has my protection (I use his own expression) could he be induced to brave the inconveniences of travel or the annoyances which in his present frame of mind would simply be to him innumerable? I think not even with you, or any old friend—A sea-voyage would be on the same grounds, a constant annoyance and a fearful monotony.

I told you yesterday how he would view a stranger; he might perhaps get to like him when introduced by Marshall; but here another difficulty suggests itself viz—a suspicion of Marshall himself wh. he before entertained—this has shown itself strongly within the last three days. He does not state positively that M. has injured him but he thinks that the *continued numbness* is inexplicable on other grounds—Whether this suspicion has caused him to declare that the medicines sent down are of no use and that he will not apply them I cannot say—but he wont take them or apply them outwardly in spite of all our efforts at persuasion. One more word about travelling—*Inconveniencies* mean to him many things that most travellers would hardly if at all notice: and that would necessitate great expense and *annoyances* or what rather he would interpret as such would tend to keep up the mental irritation. When I say all this it is of course on the supposition that he might at any time, between this and two months hence, start off; and my objections would only be valid, were he in the state he is now in—You have no idea how he invests with an undue importance the most trivial circumstances. If we start a rabbit, (you know how they lie in the grass) or if a passing countryman civilly bids us "Good night" or even a watch-dog barking as we pass—all are studied insults—What then would it be if he was travelling? If he is brought

¹ Stillman is William J. Stillman (1828-1901), American journalist instrumental in introducing Pre-Raphaelitism into America; friend of DGR's since 1870. Stillman was in fact unable to go up.

to London and operated on much good might result and an irritation would be removed. The effect would be to keep him in bed for a week or ten days, I suppose, distract his attention from his present thoughts by the local pain and for all we know give a favourable turn to his malady by so doing—Should he wish it and you, I would willingly attend on him during that period—I must tell you that he has a most exaggerated idea of my usefulness both as an attendant and as a body-guard, and that being the case he might possibly wish me to be there—

The hip is progressing. He walks better—can pull his own boots on—and cross the bad leg over the good one—

I deceived him again last night but satisfied myself that the end justified the means. I have given him such good measure since Brown's departure that I can now diminish the dose without suspicion and if he asks if it is the same it certainly is the same—as the last two doses! The whiskey forwarded from London is much weaker than what we got from Perth wh. was very strong and of the best, so that his dose of that is now also reduced—His sleep was again *good* last night.

As George's letter makes plain, except for the inconvenience and annoyance of the hydrocele, Rossetti was physically mending, perhaps even beyond expectation. Psychologically, however, he was little improved over what he had been a month before at Roehampton. For William, the situation was despairing, and his last letter to Scott before the latter's departure for Penkill is one admitting virtual defeat (79)¹ :

Yours of 9 July recd this morning. I am sorry to observe (& not for the first time) how far from favourable a view you take of our dear Gabriel's condition : but in fact I take the same, & regard as the too transparent palliative devices of friendship & affection those references to amelioration &c wh. Brown & others sometimes give out. That in a certain space of time—say 5 or 6 mos.—Gabriel will be restored to soundness of mind is, I fully suppose, more probably than the reverse ; that any considerable progress towards that result has as yet been made I have too good ground for disbelieving. . . .

Believe, dear Scott, in our deepest gratitude to you for your affectionate attention to Gabriel. I know you have done all that cd be done. It had been proposed that Dunn shd. go down to relieve you : but last night Brown informed me that D. does not take kindly to the proposal (as indeed I can readily think, without any imputation on his well-proved friendliness), so now the idea is that Nolly shall go down—this evening in all probability. But all this will be to you matter of the past by the time you receive my present letter . . .

¹ Letter 79 : In a postscript to Letter 106, WMR mentioned to WBS the exorbitant expenditures laid out by DGR for spirits : " I have . . . done *something* in the way of paying Gabriel's bills . . . the only one still leaving a *large* balance is the wine-merchant's. . . . In accordance with your suggestion, I got Dunn to look up the present stock of wine & spirits : it is trifling. Nothing can, I suppose, be done with regard to past treatment of the wine, but only look sharp as to the future. The bill shows 2 doz. Cognac sent on 1 Jan./72, & a third doz. on 19 Feb.!! "

I greatly fear that, as a method towards recovery, my original view was the right one—i.e. that G. shd. be placed under treatment in an asylum of one sort or other ; & I believe you did & do agree with me. Still I am most grateful for having as yet been saved from that horrible last resort ; & indeed consider that it was on every ground *right*—tho not perhaps conducive to recovery—to try some plan, such as is now under trial, intermediately. . . .

I wish you wd. write me whether there is any prospect of Gabriel's going to Penkill (as to wh. I have heard very conflicting statements) & if so when. Be under no scruple in speaking out about it—as I know that, whatever decision is come to, this will, & can alone be, compatible with the warmest & most self-sacrificing friendship towards G. on the part both of Miss Boyd (to whom please remember me with corresponding warmth) & of yourself.

On 13 July, Scott left Stobhall and returned to Penkill, from where, though less directly involved, he managed to keep fairly close contact with Rossetti's progress. On the day of his departure, George Hake, alone with Rossetti, wrote that he had
(84)

passed a terribly slow morning without you : smoked three cigars with poor comfort : then Beef and Edinbro' Ale ! and finally after in vain waiting for the post fell asleep imprecating. Our dear patient has made several wily attempts to get an alteration in the character of his morning draughts ; but in vain—If he storms and persists tomorrow, I shall give warning !

The day following Scott's leaving, George's father, Dr. Thomas Gordon Hake, took up residency at Stobhall ; it is really only from this point that Rossetti can be said to have moved into the recuperative stage.

ii

Of the twenty-seven extant letters written during the remainder of July, all but three are either to William Rossetti or Scott. The day following his father's arrival at Stobhall, George sent preliminary reports to both. To Scott he was more direct
(86)¹ :

¹ Letter 86 : WBS' controversy with FMB was mainly centred on the latter's intention to send his son Oliver to Stobhall to wait on DGR (see Letter 89). WBS' conviction of Mr. Marshall's complicity in this scheme and FMB's indiscretion had prompted an angry letter from Marshall (see Letter 81). " I should like much to see Marshall's letter and your mollifying reply," wrote CGH on 17 July (90) ; " I dont think there was any occasion for Brown to show your letter." He concluded : " You need not return the Brown correspondence. I shall take the hint contained therein and write no more save to Euston Sq."

The signs of improvement wh. we noticed in Rossetti continue : and I may tell you that my father who has not seen him for nearly a month is struck by the improvement in his mental state.

I enclose *volumes of detailed opinion* (see Brown's letters *passim*)

The plan for the present is to stay on here for some time. My father says that it is useless for us to make plans for Rossetti : that he is far too sane for anything to be done *without his sanction* : and his general opinion is that R is only *hypochondriacal* and that we may hope for ultimate recovery. This is a cheering account : which for the present *keep to yourselves* at Penkill as we do not wish to buoy them up too suddenly in London with the same account.

With William, however, he was more tentative, explaining that "as regards all particulars my father will write to you towards the end of the week after a few days' observation" (87) :

The improvement I mentioned on Saturday is going on : he listens to my father's explanation of certain things and is taking his advice about the medicine. My father thinks that you may keep your mind quite at ease this week without going over any plans for future movements. Your brother is getting into that state of mind that makes us hope that what is most desirable for him will work itself round and declare itself through him—

He has had some very pleasant chats with us for the time seeming to forget everything else but the subject of conversation ; his delusions taking more of a moping form and as at present observable of no harm to anyone but himself ; for he is free from violent demonstrations—and if managed judiciously there is no reason to think that he will be otherwise. . . .

Two days later (the 17th), George wrote to Scott (90) :

Rossetti continues quiet and rarely alludes to his troubles except in a subdued manner ; he is much pleased at seeing my father and takes his advice on all subjects but one ! You will suppose R. is better when I tell you that we have not been hob-nobbing with Death since your departure but have passed the evenings in conversation.

Several reasons might be advanced for Rossetti's sudden rally under Dr. Hakes' care, but it was doubtless his professional presence more than anything else that accounts for the change. A trained observer, as well as a friend, he interpreted more carefully symptoms which to the untutored eyes of George and Scott had appeared ominous. His first report (to Brown) does not survive, but it was sufficiently optimistic in its prognosis to prompt Brown's hopeful letter to Frederic Shields of 17 July (92). By the 18th, when he first wrote to William, a new complication had arisen, owing to the necessity of making a move from Stobhall (93) :

I did not intend to write to-day—but the factor a Mr Curr. . . .—tells us that the time for our leaving will be probably within a week—as some of the Willoughby family may be here. Such being the case early arrangements are necessary. It seems a pity that he is not in a place where he could stay on—as nothing could be better than this for him. As regards making plans for him—it can only be done subject to his wish and approval—for he is not incapable of deciding—indeed he is quite alive to the necessity of a move—and was talking of it last evening. He said that he must—if possible—have the invalid carriage again. You might write to him—proposing any plan you and Mr Brown may have thought over. The most feasible seems to me, would be for him to go to you at Euston Sq for this operation—and then for him to go to Kelmscott. He asked G. yesterday if he would go there with him—so it is perhaps an easier plan to carry out than might be supposed at first sight. It has all the quiet & retirement so necessary—& once there he could remain without interruption. However, it is for you to propose this to him, & ask him if he prefers any thing else—Say nothing about the operation—but merely E.Sq. & Kelmscott.

As regards his state of mind, it is very different from what it was when I parted from [him] in London. He, of course has his secret delusions but he says less & less about them and it is easy to change the subject as he is not now excited about them. He is in bed the greater part of the day—sleeping. He keeps there chiefly for convenience—the hydrocele being so bulky. When he gets up he is disinclined to converse, & seems hipped so we say little or nothing. After dinner he takes a long walk, returns to supper—& after a glass of whisky gets chatty and speaks as well on every subject as he ever did in his life. This lasts till sleeping time—about 2 ocl. or later in the night. During this time he is equal to anything in the way of talk—& prefers fun if it is to be had—asking me & George to chaff each other. He is getting to like being read to & reads the newspaper himself sometimes—He looked over my little book very critically—just as in the olden time—He allows us to use the embrocation and takes medicine as required. Sometimes no one could say there was anything wrong about him and even in the early part of the day he seems more hipped than anything else. Nevertheless I always fear the substratum of disorder—for though that is now so passive, little things show it is there. He is very wilful but I take this to be nothing more than natural disposition. I should mention that he said the night before last—that if there were any pretty peasant girls about here he wd. paint them—

In determining what was to be done with and for Rossetti, William and Brown did not have a wide range of possibilities. Travel had not been deemed advisable; and Dr. Hake feared, as he wrote to Scott on the 19th (96), “that on going back to town he will get into the thick of the conspiracy”.¹ Kelmscott had obvious attractions—and distractions—even if Rossetti would consent to go there. “The question,” Jane Morris wrote to Scott on the 15th (88),

¹ DGR himself was opposed to returning to London as GGH noted to WMR (109). See also Letter 99.

seems to be now as to who Gabriel would endure about him—my opinion is that he would not care to have my husband. Could you find out who he would like? For every one seems willing to come. You have been talking as to the possibility of his using the house at Kelmscott for a time, but he has said to me so often he never could go there again, that I doubt if he could be persuaded to think of it now—perhaps when he is thoroughly tired of the mountains he may feel more kindly towards it, but surely the longer he can stay in that northern air the better it will be for him. . . .

Penkill had from the outset been an obvious site for retreat, and on the 19th William again broached the subject with Scott (95) :

You don't advert to that part of my last letter wh enquired as to the prospects of G's going to Penkill after Stobhall : perhaps as yet a definite reply could not well be returned. It is however a point of considerable importance to understand what can (or cannot) be done with Gabriel between his departure—now I suppose not very long postponable—from St., & the time (say early in Octr.) when I, if necessary, can look after him away from London—travelling or doing what else the Dr. may advise. In August & Sept. I am stuck here at Somerset House . . . & am not available for any such purpose, however expedient.

Scott, who had taken an excessively hostile attitude toward Mr. Marshall, felt William should leave all decisions to Dr. Hake (89)¹ :

If I were in your place I would leave old Hake to do what seems right to him, and not trouble Marshall. The medical man who could advise Nolly being sent down to be Gabriel's caretaker and companion, and who proposed to be guided by that eccentric boy's "report" can't have an opinion worth hearing. . . . I am glad you showed anything but acquiescence in the proposal.

For his part, Dr. Hake preferred that Rossetti remain in Scotland but from his letter to William of the 20th (97), he expected direction from London :

I am anxious to know by your next letter what is to become of us—if we were allowed to stay on quietly here we should drift into a cure. My fear is that the noise of London may be mis-interpreted and set up resentment. When he is disposed to silence I have reason to believe that he is thinking over his next plans and not really dwelling on his fancies further than as to how he can shape his course out of the way of their realization—His powers are unimpaired and I feel certain that he will require a field for them as time trolls on—The factor I think is a little nervous about having given leave for his being here—and wants to get clear

¹ Letter 89 : Writing to WBS on 27 July, WMR upbraided him (106) : " You seem to be 'in a state of mind' agst. John Marshall : yet I don't see how it can be denied that he is a medical adviser of great talent & judgment. As to Nolly, while I am far from thinking that he wd. have been the best *conceivable* person to choose, I do none the less think that the tender of his services was by no means to be despised at that time. . . ."

of the responsibility as soon as he can. You will probably see Mr. Graham and hear from him the state of things. Scott knows about our having to turn out—and of Rossetti's improvement so perhaps may get him invited to Penkill—but this is only a notion of my own—my wish found theorizing at a distance in his brain. . . .

The invitation to Penkill arrived on the 23rd, while George was at Almond Bank investigating accommodations recommended by Graham (100); Rossetti, politely but firmly, declined in a letter of the same day (101):

You ask me to reply at once, & I feel sure there is no chance of my saying Yes to Miss Boyd's & your kindness, though our movements are not settled as yet. The idea is that we may stay somewhere hereabouts or else go towards the coast, & today George Hake is out on the search. My state remains precisely as when you left me, except that sleep gets scantier & scantier. Of course I am quite unfit for writing, so will say goodbye with love to all. My reasons for declining need not be dwelt on, as you know how unfit I should be for your circle.

Before he knew of Gabriel's declining Scott's and Alice Boyd's offer, William wrote acknowledging their kindness in making it (102); on the 27th, he wrote keeping open the door for a possible future visit (106):

I am not *entirely* surprised at Gabriel's not availing himself of Miss Boyd's extreme kindness—considering how very painful it must be to him to present himself to her under (as he supposes) a cloud of obloquy & persecution, or else (as he may understand she wd. consider it) in a disordered & morbid state of mind. Also that other ailment to wh. you refer may be not without its influence in his decision: & I certainly think you are also right in suggesting that the presence at Penkill of *any one* other than yourself & Miss Boyd wd. be a further dissuasive to him. We are all hoping that his mind may have begun to clear to some considerable extent before he bends his steps homewards: & possibly, at some such later stage of his stay in Scotland, he may find it more compatible with his feelings to go to Penkill, & Miss Boyd may be not less willing than now to make an exertion of friendship & kindness by receiving him.

Meanwhile, George and Dr. Hake were “scouring over the country in search of a fitting resting place” (105). On the 26th, George and Rossetti left Stobhall for the George Hotel in Perth, where they were joined by Dr. Hake, who on the following day sent William a postcard informing him that “we have got all we require—good modern farm house—delightful walks—nice landlady—absolute retirement” (108) at Mrs. Stewart's, Trowan, Crieff, Perthshire.

The last three letters of July are from the Hakes, father and

son, to William, mainly about practical matters—expenses, the possibility of having the hydrocele tapped by the local surgeon, the new accommodation. It was considered a propitious sign that Rossetti could spend the night comfortably in a hotel—“coming . . . in the day time . . . through the midst of people and noise” (109)—without undue upset. The principal barrier to recuperation Dr. Hake regarded as insomnia, one of the prime causes of Rossetti’s delusions. Because the chloral was beginning to lose its effect, Dr. Hake at this time added morphia to the daily chloral and alcohol intake to induce sleep. It must have seemed to William, who had seen his brother wasted by drink and the use of the other drug, a desperate remedy.

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Though William’s letters do not survive, his reaction to Hake’s announcement about the morphia must have been severe, for Hake’s first letter of August (112) commences :

I am sorry that a minor panic should have arisen owing to our accounts of your brother. Contrary to the laws of physical offices moral matters appear magnified with distance—Anyhow we are all right again.

The next day, after another distraught letter from William, he is at pains to allay any lingering anxieties (114) :

I . . . am sorry to see that you are unnecessarily alarmed. I cannot recall how my letters can have awakened any such unfavourable anticipations as you express. As I tell you all the facts of importance it will be better for you to draw no inferences but leave me to do it if desirable. If you saw your brother you would be very much surprised to witness his ameliorated condition since you parted with him in town. A stranger looking at him now would say he was a valetudinarian, or perhaps a malade imaginaire—but might pass a week with him without discovering that he was subject to any delusion—and would wonder why with such manifest powers he shrank from his work and from social intercourse. We notice improvement every week—his interest in general topics is opening. He initiates subjects of conversation, and will listen to almost anything indeed anything save his own works. . . .

I have avoided buoying you up—hoping that by telling you favourable circumstances as they occur you would float yourself—I see that you are very careful not to hope much so I must give you a lift. It is not two months (calendar) since this illness began—if it had been six months I should have said he was going on favourably—and not slowly for a case like this which often shows no such amendment in that longer period and yet does well—

On the 3rd, Dr. Hake wrote William concerning Marshall's proposed visit to operate on the hydrocele, assuring him that (116)

Rossetti quite agrees to the tapping but would not perhaps acquiesce in the injecting unless Marshall should persuade him to have the whole thing completed. The only drawback is that by lying-up he might not sleep so well as he does after exercise. But I will by degrees feel my way through R's own views. No such result as would effect the virile power need be apprehended.

In the same letter, he also cautioned William about publicizing Rossetti's condition and raised again the prospect of travel :

If I may make the suggestion I would not, for many reasons, let any one know too much as to how Rossetti is. If at any time he is not quite so well I would not let it circulate because while the bad news, if any, spreads, he is probably all right again. You will see what I mean by Mrs. Morris' letter which I will enclose.¹ I have no doubt many make enquiries whose friendship has a purpose, and to let them know too much would be damaging. As a general bulletin you might now say—

“ His mind is all right but he is very nervous,” (and that) “ he is *not allowed* to work at present. General health good.” There is a proper policy in this course. Above all you should establish that *bulletin* in Cheyne Walk. I cannot but infer that Allen is a blab and that he spread the report at Stobhall that his master was insane—for the factor told me it was so reported in the neighbourhood, and I am sure we got hustled out, prematurely, in consequence. Here there is no such notion prevalent nor is there the slightest ground for it. The stage of excitement has passed away entirely—far from showing his conspiracy notions to strangers, he only alludes to them among ourselves in a quiet confidential tone, and that very rarely to me perhaps once a week—and in a shorter sentence than I have filled in saying so. As you have talked to me about creditors, I may mention they cannot disturb R here—a bit more than at Dieppe ! as the laws of the two lands have a separate administration—and if after this change you get him to Italy you will be able to tell them they must have patience till he recovers and is allowed to work—Meantime do not tell any one when he is going to return or of his projected movements. I know you are a bad hand at working a policy—still do talk this over with Brown—and limit the number of your confidants to the lowest possible figure. When R. is well he will set all right himself—meantime if he is worried by the sacrifice of his property it may seriously retard his recovery, and make him desperate.

I should say, travelling expenses excepted, you might very well limit the out-going for his personal purposes to 250£—or at the rate of that—per ann. I

¹ A similar letter to that attributed here to JM was received by GGH from WM sometime between 14 July and 12 August (85) : “ I should be very glad to hear any news you can tell me of our friend. We have heard almost nothing for some time at all events in detail, and are very anxious. I feel ashamed of troubling you but know well how completely you must sympathise with me at this juncture, and so hope you will excuse me— ”

talked to him about Italy last night and he said he should like to go very much & for many reasons, but he could not go about sight seeing—and he was such a bad traveller—I suppose you have formed no plans for the winter—so I mention this—Turin strikes me as the best place for my purpose—it is near—comparatively—less hot and glaring than the south—perhaps we could manage to make our views meet by having apartments outside the town—The sight of the Italian peasants might incite R. to work—and the total change renovate his feelings & thoughts. This is of course only a suggestion for your mental cerebration—to be added to the many you must have passing through your minds.

Dr. Hake's reports continue optimistic, but he is aware that his view is being received with some skepticism in London. Informing William (on the 8th) of Rossetti's renewed interest in reading, he acknowledges (119) that "It is difficult for you to realize the important change that has taken place. Where the question used to be what are the hopeful signs, it now is what are the unhelpful. Indeed matters are reversed." He continues :

In writing to you so freely I hope you have quite understood that I do not for a moment consider any thing I say deserving of more weight than you accept it at in your own judgment—for I cannot possibly understand or know the counter-circumstances—However as regards the bulletin question, I am the best informed, and I consider it only justice to Rossetti and true to the facts to say that he is mentally himself again though not physically—and that as regards outsiders and menials to say he has quite recovered. Any day he may take to work again and that without surprising us any more than his every day increasing interest in reading has done.

Of course, the signs were not all favourable. George Hake gave it as his opinion in a letter to Scott of 1 August (113) that Rossetti's declining the invitation to Penkill was based on "an instinctive feeling that it would be an exertion to him to mix in any society and therefore dreaded it. He also I think feared the relaxing effect of the air." Practical matters he was also not at this point ready to assume. "I do not think that Rossetti would care to receive letters at present," Dr. Hake wrote William (119), "for fear of business;" for similar reasons, Dr. Hake felt Rossetti should not be bothered by details concerning Howell's attempts to sell his drawings and pictures.¹ Then there were

¹ In Letter 124, TGH wrote to WMR: "I enclose to you a note to Dunn—written by desire—Rossetti when I mentioned about Dunn being engaged on Chalk drawings got alarmed, and seemed to think that these were going to be finished by Dunn for the owners. He said that would never do to send them out as his own—I took the opportunity of speaking about Howell's offer—and

the little "dodges for cajoling our patient" (120), such as advancing the clocks by half an hour, watering his chloral, and keeping from Rossetti the receipt of letters, especially from the one disturbing source.¹ Even Rossetti's dependency on George carried clear overtones. "In such a contingency," writes Dr. Hake about the projected travel in Italy, "George would have to be with us—He suits Rossetti so exactly that *ceteris paribus* he is a sine qua non" (119). That appearances might be deceptive, especially to one who had seen Rossetti when he was worse, is implicit in George's admonition (on 5 August) to Scott, who was then proposing a brief visit to Trowan (117):

If you come you must come for several days—One day is out of the question! Besides I really think you could judge better of R's state in a few days than in one. It is quite possible that during the *first* day he might dwell upon the hopelessness of health returning to him or tell you of the conspiracy. If you were to go away with this one day's experience of him it would not enable you to see what real improvement he has made.

Still, there was distinct progress. Submitting his accounts to William on 11 August, George concluded his letter (123)²:

I will finish this sheet by telling you how hopeful and encouraging everything seems to me now—At Stobhall with Scott how different the aspect of affairs were! He was there at his worst. Since my father has been here he has made *strides* and altogether, instead of anxious and painful days & nights I now spend pleasant ones—and if occasionally there is an outbreak it is purely *temper* and not *delusion*.

And Dr. Hake on the same day sent his own personal assessment (124):

You may consider yourself now as comparatively free from anxiety. Your brother is I may say quite well as regards the old or rather recent mental state—As well as you or I—That he has something on his mind, I do not, however,

curiously enough what I wrote to you might have been a *verbatim* report of what he said on the matter. He was very much pleased at what I had answered on it in my letter to you—He added: 'I am not attending to these things now; when I go back I can get better bargains—Mr Graham knows of people who want to have something of mine, and would get me £200 a-piece for those drawings.'

¹ In addition to JM's letters, which apparently were not returned, there were letters from Alexa Wilding and Fanny Cornforth to DGR which were. In his letter to WMR announcing Fanny's departure for the country (122), HTD anticipated that Fanny would be annoyed that her letters had been returned.

² Letter 123: For the whole period from 29 June to 10 August the expenses ran to £34 ls. 11d., exclusive of those personal costs for which GGH felt the party should be responsible during their stay at Stobhall.

doubt, as any of us may have—and though this is now *borne lightly*, I cannot but think it was the antecedent of the upset. My opinion is that he fully contemplates returning to work at Cheyne W. in Oct. & that in the meantime he is determined to have all the repose he can get.

That Dr. Hake's oblique reference is to Jane Morris is certain, but a few days earlier Rossetti's guardians had been confronted by a new "mystery." Writing to Scott on the 10th, George promises to write a long letter on the Sunday (120) :

in it I will tell you all the latest news about DGR and also of JM and Alexa whoever she is! We send the letters back to Brown unopened; but asked to be let into the secret! We may perhaps hear to day.

Fearing an *attachment* of which they had not been apprised, the Hakes returned unopened (to Brown) several letters from Rossetti's model, Alexa Wilding, whom he kept for exclusive sittings by a weekly retainer of thirty shillings (see Letters 122 and 132). Having quite enough to cope with in the person of Jane Morris, both the Hakes were quick to put on this correspondence the bleakest possible interpretation. By the 14th, their fears had been alleviated, and George wrote Scott that "we conjured up a mystery about nothing" (130).

In Letter 133, Dr. Hake informed William that Rossetti "wishes now to open all his own letters so I think that it would be a gain for you to write direct to him when you have any business question to ask." He had in fact renewed his correspondence a few days before with a letter to Jane Morris, the first that is recorded since the commencement of his illness. Though not many of her letters survive, she had been avid in soliciting news from all those who were entrusted with caring for Rossetti. On 13 August, George wrote Scott (126) :

We have had several letters from Mrs. M asking for particulars concerning Rossetti and even hinting that she might be in Scotland at the end of this month; but in her last letter she says this will not be the case. I need hardly tell you that my father has strongly urged the abandonment of such, as he dreads anything which would be of the nature of an experiment and tend to interfere with the good progress at present made. Of course we have not mentioned to R that we have heard from Mrs. M. from time to time.

Yesterday R. wrote a long letter to her which seemed to upset him and render him preoccupied—In consequence his night was not so good though he slept fairly and this morning he was very "down in the mouth" and indulged in

despairing sentences, alluding too once or twice to the conspiracy! a thing he has not done for a fortnight—

In consequence our bulletin today is not quite so good, owing to this disturbing cause as we believe—

Concerning Rossetti's letter to Jane Morris, Dr. Hake was pressed as to the proper course that he should take. Writing to William on the 13th, he notified him of this change in events (127)¹:

Your brother wrote a long letter yesterday to Mrs Morris. I have turned over every possible means of dealing with it—and concluded that it must be sent—but I have written a letter to Mrs Morris (copy enclosed) on this important matter, that any mischief may be avoided—We went on just as usual yesterday—but George says he was thinking about the letter during his walk—and on waking this morning he spoke unpleasantly about the conspiracy for the first time this fortnight. Since then he has had more rest without referring to the subject again—

Hake's letter to Mrs. Morris is a model of discretion and tact (128):

You will receive a letter with this from Rossetti and as this is the first instance of his resuming correspondence with his nearest friends I feel naturally very anxious concerning it and about any answer you may feel it necessary to make especially as this morning on awaking he referred to his old delusion for the first time after a long silence on the subject, and a great apparent improvement in many other respects.

As a medical man, and viewing you and Mr. Morris as among Rossetti's dearest friends, an anxiety arises in my mind to learn whether his letter exhibits any sign of delusion. If so it must be inferred that there are still remains of his disorder; if happily it does not, a more favourable view may be entertained—for there is a certain wilfulness about our dear friend in his present state which may even make him say certain things for the sake of consistency partly, and in part to attain some indulgence as to whisky &c, when it is advisable to oppose him—

May I further take the liberty of asking you to be very guarded in your reply to him—telling him only amusing and cheering facts, not noticing in the slightest degree his delusion if he has manifested any to you—

I am sure you will appreciate my motive in thus writing and I should take it as a kindness if you would send your answer to me under cover to Mr. Rossetti that he may receive early intelligence at this rather important juncture.

That Rossetti's letter to Jane "showed no sign whatever of his late distressing illness," as she duly reported to William (135),² perhaps marks the real transition in his convalescence, for from

¹ This letter is not among DGR's letters to JM in the British Museum.

² JM wrote a similar letter to TGH, which, he reported to WMR on 19 August (138), he burned "together with all yours and all other letters on the subject of this illness".

mid-August Rossetti comes more and more to direct his own affairs. Contrary to Dr. Hake's fears, he willingly gave permission to William Henry Davenport Adams to include extracts from his poems in his *Student's Treasury of English Song*, "containing choice selections from the principal poets of the present century" (1873), and even allowed Agatha Karsten to publish a German translation of "The Blessed Damozel." He looked forward to visits from Graham, Scott, and Dr. Marshall, none of whom eventually came; continued his interest in reading; and began to write regularly to William, Christina, Dunn, and Jane Morris.¹ This new involvement was seen as a desirable therapeutic measure by Dr. Hake, as George writes to William on the 18th (137):

Papa desires me to say than on matters of business you had certainly better write direct to your brother shortly and to the point as it will bring him out into discussing his affairs which is necessary and desirable—He may not quite like it, but it is the best course to pursue now, as he is too much inclined to take things easily.

As might be expected, there were the inevitable setbacks, and Rossetti required constant assurances of his capacity to function normally (see Letter 143). But in general the progress was remarkable. Writing to Scott on the 23rd, Dr. Hake explains the transformation in fairly explicit terms (145):²

Rossetti is quite well—he says nothing about the old idea and my belief is that he sees through it himself. I do not see why it should return for the morbid influences that led to it have lost their basis—and that would have to be laid down again in solid masonry—a work of time—before the ghost could again find standing room—You remember he could not stand being read to—he said that it was

¹ TGH wrote to WBS on 26 August (149): "A line to day to report progress—which is as rapid as that of a revolution—every day some startling improvement. He (R.) had written to Dunn for his picture last week—yesterday he looked over all his paints, brushes &c, and wrote him a long letter desiring him to supply deficiencies—&c—He has now got into regular correspondence with his brother, sister Christina, & Mrs. Morris. To all outward appearance he is well—and who can be more than that? His mind is turned inside out as to the external world. Everything interests him in the old way, the scenery—newspapers, books, conversation. I suggested Dunn coming in my place so he asked D. whom he was writing to—if he could come if wanted."

² Letter 145: The "Bruno-Hüfferian conjunction" refers to the engagement and forthcoming marriage (on 3 September) of Franz Hüffer and Cathy Madox Brown; Nolly's novel is *The Dwale Bluth*, posthumously published in 1876.

impossible for him to fix his attention—now he can read and listen with any of us. Besides he looks himself—acts his own part—and moreover is tired of his mode of life—saying if he had the right materials he would paint ;—talks of sending for his chalk drawings, &c. There can be no doubt that he will return to his work and do it as well as ever when he leaves Scotland. It is no doubt difficult for you to realize his recovery after seeing him as you did at Stobhall. He has taken this place through Sept—then he can do as he likes. . . . I think it would be good for Rossetti to have an exchange of prisoners by substituting Dunn for me—I am sure he gets tired of the same faces and Dunn could bring the right materials. The Bruno-Hüfferian conjunction—have you heard ?—comes off on the third per registrar—the altar being out of date—W Rossetti writes me that Nolly is about another novel which is extraordinarily clever—Hüffer has taken a house at Merton.

I have no more news—but I may tell you once more to throw off all your old notions about Rossetti—for I do not believe there is a symptom of the old state of things left. . . .

Much of the correspondence of the later half of the month, especially that from Dunn and George Hake to William concerns accounts and expenditures, which both were concerned to keep at a minimum. The most favourable sign of Rossetti's improvement was his desire to resume his painting, and when on the 24th he wrote Dunn, "without any suggestion, for his picture and apparatus," Dr. Hake began to feel confident that he could entrust Rossetti to the care of others. "You might," he wrote to William (148) :

if practicable on Dunn's part, suggest to him that he should offer to come down—His coming would be greatly to your brother's advantage and R seemed to feel it yesterday when George suggested it—but he remarked on the expense, which, however, could be no object if he works. I do not want to desert the ship, and nothing would induce me to do it as long as my presence was useful—but I feel that a change for your brother, now, would be the best thing that could happen. . . . However, I would not on any account urge an abrupt transition but only wish to see if this plan will work to your brother's satisfaction. My idea is that he will very readily see his own advantage in it.

Since Trowan had been taken for the month of September, there remained only the problem of deciding the course from that point. However, if Rossetti's recovery continued to advance at the rate it had over the past fortnight, even that crisis might be forestalled. George was confident in his letter of the 26th to William that the regenerative signs would be permanent (150) :

Your brother is going to work in the most business like manner making his preparations for painting. He has written three letters to Dunn, looked over his paints and materials here and evidently means business. Yesterday we had a

most agreeable day. He was talking all dinner time and for a considerable time after—He then wrote three letters—one to Dunn one to Mrs. Morris and one to your sister Christina. He was very pleased to hear from the latter and noted among other things the firmness of her handwriting. I fully expect to see him *quite well* by the end of September. I must tell you candidly that I thought my father was too hopeful two or three weeks ago; but I now see that he was quite right in his view of the case—I in fact was not a fit judge being weighed down by the recollection of how he was at Stobhall—I do not believe he holds to his delusions in his own mind though probably if we asked him point-blank he would say that he was still persecuted—but everything shows that this impression is daily fading and when his mind is occupied in painting it will go altogether. I think if Dunn could manage it a visit of two or three weeks on his part would be very advantageous to your brother. It would be a change to him as well as an immense help in his work. For if he came to anything which he was accustomed to refer to Dunn he might throw up his work rather than be bothered—if Dunn were not here—

For William, such news was a long-overdue respite; his return letter to George (on the 28th) is the first in which he allows himself to indulge in the hope for anything resembling a full recovery (153):

How greatly you rejoice us. . . . by “fully expecting to see Gabriel quite well by the end of Sepr.”; . . . I need perhaps hardly assure you that I have much the same confidence in your judgment (founded as it is on such minute knowledge of everything from the first) as in your kindness: & in the latter quality my confidence is, & cannot but be, unmeasured. Thanks (in large proportion) to your father & self, the improvement up till now has been more rapid & decided than I had ventured to expect; & if your present anticipation is realized, & supposing also that by hook or by crook poor G. manages to continue getting some tolerable amount of natural sleep, the attack from wh. he has suffered will certainly have been vanquished earlier than I thought for.

In the last letter of importance in the month, to William on the 29th, Dr. Hake puts into a broad context the issues which must concern all the principals, including Rossetti, when, in the next month, the residency in Scotland was to be finally terminated (154):

I have received yours of the 26th. in which you speak of your and M.B.’s opinion and that of Marshall respecting your brother’s return to Cheyne Walk. I may say a few words on the subject—I spoke to him the other day about Miss Wilding and the awkwardness of his not having her as a model on his return to town. He said—I shall not go to London—and I am inclined to *guess* that he may have an idea of making his next move to Kelmscott—but this is only surmise. As far as my opinion goes I think the subject of his giving up Cheyne Walk should be approached with great delicacy—He is a little explosive now and then—quite in a natural way—most likely in his old manner, though that I am unable to say—

On the whole I think the subject of his giving up Cheyne Walk should be mooted by personal interview between him yourself & Brown—I am inclined to think that if done by letter the effect would be very discouraging to him—He is trying, evidently to me, to forget the period of excitement and I am afraid of his being reminded of it, which he must be if told that he ought to be kept out of the scene in which it occurred. When you see him you could put the matter before him as one of general policy and economy. It must however not be forgotten that Cheyne Walk is the scene of his success and that he might brood over his fall if that were removed from him; while if he strengthens, and his present happy improvement gets a healthy confirmation,—nothing external can upset him—nothing of an inanimate and physical character. Still if the expenses of his old establishment should exceed his means the moral effect might on the other hand be serious as engendering depression—This I place before you merely as material for your consideration and not with a view of placing an obstacle in the way of your decision which I doubt not is based on full and just considerations.

September 1872

Such a high percentage of the letters dating from September have been published that they can be here surveyed much more cursorily than those from previous months. Of the 48 extant, over half are from Rossetti, and only one of these is unpublished. The remainder are not so much documentary accounts of his progress as logistical memoranda preparatory to his departure from Scotland. The decision to remain at Trowan throughout September was intended to test the permanency of the cure, and the surviving letters provide ample indication of Rossetti's increasing ability to manage his own affairs.

Responding to William's letter of the 28th, George Hake writes on 2 September (159):

You are pleased at my telling you that your brother will be well by the end of September. It would indeed be no exaggeration to say that he was well now. This much I will say that I feel sure were anyone—even you, his brother—to come down and stay with us a week without knowing the state he has been in you or they would have no inkling of it and indeed would see nothing different from the Rossetti of old.

On the 7th, Dr. Hake was replaced at Trowan by Rossetti's studio-assistant, Henry Treffry Dunn. The substitution was designed in part to give Rossetti some variety, but it was also central to Hake's scheme to rehabilitate Rossetti by encouraging him to become reinvolved with his painting. Certainly Rossetti was not at this time completely well, but Dr. Hake's psychology,

that total restoration could only be realized by Rossetti once again assuming his normal role, was perfectly sound. Rossetti was himself conscious of the fragility of his state, and his letter to Scott of 6 September conveys a confidence that, if willing, is still extremely shaky (165)¹ :

I have been meaning to answer your kind letter congratulating me on my flourishing condition. You have witnessed it, so I need not dwell thereon. In the dearth of the possibilities of existence, I have actually been driven on Brown's forlorn hope—that replica of Beatrice, & really after all to some rather better result than I expected. It may possibly be made to do, with the other stimulus of getting rid of a heavy debt ; though it will be at best something like a coloured front of the thing.

It seems you are working away well. We read aloud here in the evenings, & I don't know how many weeks longer I am likely to remain, nor what I shall do next. Dr Hake is leaving in a day or so & Dunn is coming down. I dare say you have read the Dr.'s little volume. The 2 finest are I think the Blind Boy & Cripple, both of which are quite masterly. There are much better walks here than at Stobhall or Urrard, & I do some 6 miles or so generally every day, though excessive wet has shortened our walks a little for some days past. My lameness does not diminish—

If Rossetti was inclined on occasion to be pessimistic about his future—"The interruption to my pursuits," he wrote to his mother on 12 September (177), "has indeed been a heavy evil ; and it still remains to be seen whether I can resume them to full purpose."—he was nevertheless planning for it during his last month in Scotland and making a conscious effort on his own behalf. "I always speak," he told William in an aside in his letter projecting his plans to go to Kelmscott, while retaining his house in Cheyne Walk (17 September), "barring casualties to health or life which it is no use trying to calculate" (186). During this month, not only did he resume his painting—finishing Graham's *Beatrice* and a separate predella, doing a portrait of Dr. Hake (which Dunn considered "the best he has ever drawn" [171]), and making preparations for his picture

¹ Letter 165 : Beatrice is the replica of the *Beata Beatrix* which DGR did for William Graham ; the "Dr.'s little volume" is TGH's *Parables and Tales* (1872), with illustrations by Arthur Hughes and a cover design (on a few copies) by DGR. DGR's letter is not quite so tentative as WBS suggests in his paraphrase to Dr. Hake on 9 September (172) : "DGR wrote me the other day. He writes in a different way now I admit, and says he is surprised at his own work on the picture of Beatrice, but he does not admit that he is now better, on the contrary he says he does not know what to do next, nor where he is to go."

Desdemona, on which he intended to work at Kelmscott—he was also actively engaged in other enterprises, such as helping Dr. Hake find a publisher for his novel, *Her Winning Ways*.¹ His reading continued—of the *Arabian Nights*, Merivale's *History of the Romans*, and Flaubert's *Salammbô*; and he began in all respects to look to his own resources, in matters of health, finance, and work. He submitted to the tapping of the hydrocele by a local surgeon in Crieff (around the 15th), and he began seriously to restrict his intake of stimulants and narcotics (178). In fact, in every way he gave evidence of a reconstituted personality; as George Hake expressed it to William on 16 September (184):

I can only say now that he is more cheerful and stronger each day—Never silent and “intro-spective” as he used to be and sleeps well at least he has only complained once in [the] last nine days. He goes off at 1 and calls me at 10 or eleven next day!!

On the issue of selling the house in Cheyne Walk, however, he was in disagreement with Brown and William. On 6 September, Brown wrote to Rossetti on the subject, and also to Dr. Hake (168):

Of course we have all heard with delight the news of how Rossetti is well again & has been painting & indeed doing such profitable work; the very work indeed he was so urged to take up by myself—This is all that can be desired—but before you finally relinquish your charge, there is one point which you might much help to settle with him & that is as to the disposal of the house at Cheyne Walk. John Marshall put it to me & William Rossetti in a very strong light that Gabriel ought not to return there & that probably should he do so the worst symptoms would return—You may hear from Dunn how the people there have been in the habit of stopping & staring up at the house—It has also been the headquarters of rapine & waste of the most ruinous kind—You would be conferring (as William & I think & as he deposes me to say) one more & most lasting benefit on D.G.R. if before you finally leave him you could obtain from him the authorization for his brother to dispose of the house & discharge the servants—I shall mention the matter only in the letter I am going to write to D.G. but leave it to you in your discretion to talk the matter over with him.

Brown's letter to Rossetti does not survive, but Rossetti's replies to Brown and William, unequivocally refusing to consider disposing of the house, make clear that he was once again becoming

¹ In this matter he was unsuccessful; Hake's novel was never completed in serial form and never appeared separately. Both Ellis and Smith, Elder rejected it for publication.

his own man (see Letters 170 and 186), as does his direction to William in the same letter (186) to pay into his own account the monies that Brown and William had deposited in a joint account.

As early as the 8th or 9th of September, Rossetti had made up his mind to go to Kelmscott on leaving Scotland. Dr. Hake had reservations, but he wrote to William on the 12th (179), that, "though acquainted with all the circumstances I think it will have a good influence in setting his mind at rest." He admitted, however, that "there may be . . . another view of this matter." Rossetti himself put the best construction on his going there, in the letter to William already cited (186):

Wherever I can be at peace there I shall assuredly work ; but all, I now find by experience, depends primarily on my not being deprived of the prospect of the society of the one necessary person.

On 24 September, Rossetti and George Hake left Trowan for Euston Station, leaving Dunn behind to pack up and see to the removal of their belongings. After a brief visit with the family in London, they arrived at Kelmscott on the 25th. From there Rossetti wrote warm, affectionate letters to Dr. Hake, Brown, and William. In each the message is essentially the same: ". . . here all is happiness again, and I feel completely myself" (202). With his letter to William of the 27th, the narrative of the summer of 1872 comes naturally to a close (206)¹:

All this past cursed state of things began on my birthday. May the spell be removed now that yours is past ! . . .

Aftermath

After a silence of nearly five months, William Rossetti entered in his diary for Sunday, 3 November, "I resume this diary under much less gloomy circumstances than when I left it off, altho' all causes of distress & anxiety are by no means removed. . . ." By this date, William had visited Rossetti at Kelmscott, where he found his brother "in very good trim, although occasionally something showed in his mind some trace of lurking suspicion or prejudice" (*FLM*, i, 321-22). Scott who visited in December found Gabriel "really as sane and as

¹ Letter 206 : DGR's birthday was 12 May, WMR's 25 September.

strong as ever he was in his life.”¹ The point of resolution between these disparate observations is a fine one. The fact seems to be that at the end of September Rossetti had returned to a state that could roughly be described as “normal”; but that relative term can and did hide a number of qualifications, for Rossetti’s “normal” state previous to the breakdown of 1872 was not particularly healthy. That the “spell” had not been totally removed lies just beneath the surface of many of Rossetti’s letters written over the next few months. Writing to Dr. Hake, for example, on the day following his benedictory letter to William, Rossetti reverts to the conspiracy in explaining why his name should not be associated with the cover-design for Hake’s *Parables and Tales* (DW 1242):

My view shall be yours absolutely about my name being advertised to the cover. I would not like however to omit saying exactly what I feel. There is a dead set being made at me (I do not say this by any means solely on account of the Buchanan attack,) and I must warn you that any connection with my name is sure to arouse a swarm of malignity against your book.

After a short time at Kelmscott, Rossetti once more relapsed into those extremes of irregular living that had characterized his life before his collapse. Such a life, William observed, could only lead to an inevitable breakdown (*FLM*, i, 322):

What could be expected for a man of forty-five, recovering from a fearful state of nervous prostration and enfeebled health, who, dining at 10, went to bed at 3 or 5, and dosed himself with chloral and alcohol before hoping for a wink of sleep? From these unnatural conditions a natural consequence had to ensue, and, after a longer interval than might have been counted upon, it did ensue.

Mrs. Angeli, in the Preface to her book on Rossetti’s friends and enemies, states that “it is altogether erroneous to regard Rossetti as a moral and mental wreck—a haunted, drug-sodden wretch—in the years following Buchanan’s attack” (p. xix). Put in these hyperbolic terms, it is difficult to disagree with her assessment; but it must be admitted at the same time that the last decade, however sporadically productive in painting and poetry, was a period of recurring physical and mental crisis and constant decline. After the summer of 1872, Rossetti’s life is vitiated by a general falling away. Probably the two happiest and most

¹ Unpublished letter in PP, dated 14 December 1872.

creative years were those spent at Kelmscott, between 1872 and 1874. The Chelsea years (from mid-summer 1874 until the end of his life) were marked by intensified seclusion, a disaffection from many old and dear friends and even family, and an even greater commitment to those addictive habits which were as much an effect as a cause of Rossetti's deterioration. In what William calls these "chloralized years" (*FLM*, i, 334), the fanciful delusions of persecution persisted, his total health declined, and he experienced at least two major breakdowns—in 1877 and 1879. When Hall Caine came on the scene in 1881, Rossetti was a broken man, who took little consolation even in those palpable literary and artistic achievements which in the later years were but interstices between vast areas of waste and despair.¹

The story of Rossetti's last decade is much better documented than that of the summer of 1872. Of the four persons most closely affiliated with him in those years, who befriended him and tended to his needs and desires—George Hake, H. T. Dunn, Theodore Watts-Dunton, and Hall Caine—only the first has left behind no recollection of his intimate association with the infirm genius. In some ways, what Mrs. Angeli says of Hall Caine—that "he never knew Rossetti except as a sick and dying man" (*HRA*, p. 248)—is also true of George Hake. Rossetti's constant companion from June 1872 until their separation in January 1877, Hake is also one of the few intimates of Rossetti's declining years who did not capitalize on his fortuitous attachment. In the month of Rossetti's death (on 28 April 1882), Dr. Hake wrote to his son :

... I wish you would give your attention and memory to it and write down in a special notebook all of importance that occurs to you as having transpired during your intercourse with DGR.²

So far as can be determined, George never addressed himself to these notebook recollections. Had he done so, from his vantage as secretary-companion-caretaker, many questions about the years 1872-7 would certainly have been resolved³ ; and he him-

¹ See *FLM*, i, 375.

² Unpublished letter, Hake Papers, B. M., Add. MSS. 49,466, Packet 8.

³ What GGH might have recorded is evident from his letter to his father of 9 August 1876, written while he and DGR were at Broadlands, the country seat

self would occupy something more than the anonymous shadows of Rossetti's life.¹ William Rossetti is slightly disparaging of George Hake in his *Memoir* (pp. 333-4), perhaps because he is rebutting Scott's claim in the *Autobiographical Notes* that George, "patient and long-suffering," had been "driven away after several years' sacrifice" (ii, 180); but there is no doubt that he was a devoted and loyal friend to Rossetti, one who gave his services generously and unselfishly without any thought of aggrandizement or reflected glory. Because George Hake figures so prominently in Rossetti's last decade, it is perhaps fitting to end this narrative with his exit. On 13 January 1877, George wrote to his father²:

I regret to say that owing to Rossetti's unprovoked attacks I have at last in self-respect been obliged to leave him. I was in fact "shouted" out of the house. That woman Fanny has been planning the whole thing for the last month or two & has gained such an ascendancy over D.G.R. that he is really not accountable for his action. That man Gringer too turns out to be a spy of Fanny's, every action & word having been retailed to her & thence to D.G.R. I won't bore you with the details—the main fact is this that D.G.R. being impatient of my quiet behaviour told me that he would not have such a torpid boy in the house & lashing himself the more because I would not lose my temper stood over me & told me to go—I warned him that I should not come back but he only got more violent.

This of course upset me very much. I had hoped to part friends; but the fact is that he was so irritated at finding that I was determined to go on 1st March that he sought a row. I very much feared at first that his family might feel aggrieved; however the letter of William which I enclose is everything one could wish.

of the Cowper-Temples: "DGR does not profit by the change & I have resolved on my return to town with him to call William & Brown together and to insist upon his reducing the chloral under our guidance absolutely or else I shall leave him for I cannot stay with him and see him killing himself by degrees. This is a most enjoyable place with quiet walks and everything delightful and yet DGR finds it as infested with the vermin-gang as London. This very fact is convincing that either chloral intensifies his set convictions or else that those convictions are set too hard to be broken." (Unpublished letter, Hake Papers, B. M., Add. MSS. 49,467, Packet 16.)

¹ There is virtually nothing known about GGH. He was born in 1846, matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford in 1868, emigrated to South Africa in the 1890's, and died there in 1903. He is not listed in the *DNB*, Boase, or any of the standard biographical references.

² Both GGH's letter and the enclosed letter from WMR are unpublished letters in the Hake Papers, B. M., Add. MSS. 49,467, Packet 16. Gringer is unidentified.

[Enclosure] :

Dunn called on me this afternoon about another matter, & from him I learned with the deepest regret that you & Gabriel have parted. Regret but not surprise. To me who know the affectionate & unwearied zeal—the brotherly devotion—with wh. you tended G. in the most trying period of his illness, & long afterwards, this result is truly afflicting ; & doubly so when I reflect on all that G. & the rest of us owe to your father. I know that the mutual relations between yourself & G. have for some while past been far less satisfactory than of old ; & (without prejudging anything that he might have to say from his own point of view) I am sure you have had to bear, & have good humouredly borne, a deal of unpleasant & capricious demeanor on his part. For all this please accept the apologies of myself, & I might say of all the rest of our family.

William's letter of 12 January is considerably more tolerant and sympathetic than his reconstruction of the episode eighteen years later. But, then, in 1877, when both he and Ford Madox Brown were temporarily estranged from the living Rossetti, William knew full well his brother's propensities for alienating those who loved him. No one close to Rossetti in his final years could sustain illusions about the man ; only posthumously, separated from the harsh realities of the last decade, could the mythopoeic idealization that so distorted the truth about Rossetti flourish.

APPENDIX

A. *Sources of Published and Unpublished Letters*

Unpublished :	Angeli Papers (UBC)	57
	Penkill Papers (UBC)	72
	Durham University (D)	7
	Hake Papers (British Museum) (H)	15
		151
Published :	GP	5
	RGG	2
	FMB	2
	FLCGR	3
	DW	31
	HRA	5
	PRT	6
	Lang	1
		55

B. *Calendar of Extant Letters*

Letters addressed either to WBS or AB are in the Penkill Papers ; those addressed to other recipients are in the Angeli Papers unless another manuscript source is indicated. Abbreviations are standard ones used in the notes. Asterisked items in the Notes column refer to letters excerpted in the published source cited.

The full correspondence exchanged between the principals relating to DGR in the summer of 1872 might consist of somewhere between 400 and 500 letters. That the 206 extant letters comprise only a portion of the total is indicated by those letters which are mentioned in the extant correspondence but which have not been located. These number well in excess of one hundred. Among the missing letters are twelve from DGR, eight each from the Hakes in addition to their letters to one another, twenty-one from WBS, twenty-two from WMR, five each from AB and FMB, and an indeterminate number from Jane Morris ; single letters and smaller groups are absent from Fanny Cornforth, HTD, F. S. Ellis, William Graham, CAH, Mr. Haggart, Joseph Knight, Mrs. Maenza, Mr. Marshall, CGR, Mrs. Rossetti, and Alexa Wilding. Some of the unlocated letters may still survive in public and private collections, but the great majority were almost certainly the victims of Dr. Hake's conflagrant activities in late August.

No.	Date	Correspondent- Recipient June	Source	Notes
1	6 Thurs	FMB-WBS		
2	8 Sat	WBS-AB		
3	10 Mon	WBS-AB		
4	[10]	CGR-WMR	<i>FLCGR</i> , pp. 35-6	MS. in AP, WMR's date
5	10	AB-WBS		
6	11 Tue	AB-WBS		
7	11	WBS-WMR	D	
8	12 Wed	WBS-AB		
9	[12]	FMB-LMB		dated July by WMR
10	13 Thurs	WBS-AB		
11	14 Fri	WBS-AB		
12	14	MFR-TGH	H	
13	[14]	FMB-WMR		
14	[14]	TGH-WMR		
15	14	AB-WBS		month supplied
16	15 Sat	WBS-AB		
17	15	AB-WBS		month supplied
18	[16] Sun	HTD-WMR		
19	17 Mon	WBS-AB		
20	[17]	AB-WBS		dated 16th by WBS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Correspondent- Recipient</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
21	17	FMB-WMR		
22	[18] Tue	WBS-AB		dated Tuesday evening
23	18	WMR-WBS		
24	[19] Wed	TGH-WMR		dated July
25	20 Thurs	WBS-AB		
26	20	AB-WBS		month supplied
27	21 Fri	DGR-FLR	DW 1212	
28	22 Sat	AB-WBS		dated Saturday
29	[22]	WBS-AB		
30	22	FMB-WBS		telegram WBS-FMB added to Letter 30
31	[24] Mon	WBS-AB		dated Monday ; July by WMR
32	[24]	WMR-FMB		dated July ? by WMR
33	27 Thurs	GGH-WMR		month supplied
34	[27]	FMB-EMB		PC, date from postmark
35	27	DGR-WMR	DW 1213	
36	27	DGR-WMR	DW 1214	
37	28 Fri	FMB-WMR		
38	[29] Sat	WBS-AB		dated 28th
<i>July</i>				
39	[1] Mon	DGR-WMR	DW 1215	WMR's date
40	-1	FMB-TGH	H	
41	[1]	WBS-WMR	D	*HRA, p. 234 ; WMR's date
42	1	WBS-AB		
43	2 Tues	W. Graham-WBS		
44	[2]	GGH-FMB		dated about June 30th by WMR ; *HRA, p. 235, *RGG, p. 153
45	2	AB-WBS		
46	3 Wed	WBS-AB		
47	[3]	GGH-FMB		dated 10 ? July by WMR ; *HRA, p. 235
48	3	AB-WBS		
49	4 Thurs	WBS-AB		
50	4	L. Scott-WBS		month supplied
51	4	AB-WBS		
52	4	DGR-FMB	DW 1216	

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Correspondent- Recipient</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
53	4	DGR-WMR	DW 1217	
54	[5] Fri	GGH-WMR		WMR's date ; sent with WBS' letter
55	5	WBS-AB		
56	5	WMR-WBS		
57	5	AB-WBS		
58	[5]	ACS-WMR	Lang 421	
59	6 Sat	GGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 235
60	6	HTD-WBS		
61	6	WBS-AB		
62	6	WMR-WBS		
63	[6]	FMB-WBS		dated Saturday ; WBS' date
64	6	WBS-FMB	D	
65	6	AB-WBS		
66	[6]	DGR-FMB	HRA, p. 222	fragment, not in AP or DW
67	8 Mon	WBS-AB		
68	8	FMB-WBS		
69	8	CAH-WMR	<i>PRT</i> , p. 61	
70	9 Tue	CAH-WMR	<i>PRT</i> , p. 62	
71	9	WBS-AB		month supplied
72	9	WBS-WMR	D	
73	9	JM-WBS		
74	10 Wed	C. Maenza-WBS		
75	10	FMB-WBS		
76	10	CAH-WMR	<i>PRT</i> , p. 62	
77	[11] Thurs	JM-FMB	Troxell (Princeton)	fragment, *RGG, p. 152 *RGG, p. 153
78	11 Thurs	GGH-WMR		
79	11	WMR-WBS		
80	[12] Fri	HTD-WMR		WMR's date
81	12	Mr. Marshall- WBS		
82	12	FMB-TGH	H	
83	13 Sat	GGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 235
84	[13]	GGH-WBS		dated Saturday
85	[14 July-12 12 August]	WM-GGH	H	written from Kelmscott
86	15 Mon	GGH-WBS		
87	15	GGH-WMR		
88	[15]	JM-WBS		WBS' date
89	[17] Wed	WBS-WMR	HRA, p. 234	fragment, not in AP

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Correspondent- Recipient</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
90	17	GGH-WBS		
91	17	GGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 235
92	17	FMB-FJS	FMB, p. 272-3 ; Mills, pp. 155-6	MS. in AP ; Mills is the more complete text
93	18 Thurs	TGH-WMR		
94	[18]	WMR-GGH	H	date from letter 95
95	19 Fri	WMR-WBS		
96	19	TGH-WBS		
97	20 Sat	TGH-WMR		
98	22 Mon	GGH-WBS		
99	22	HTD-WMR	GP, pp. 116-17	
100	23 Tue	TGH-WBS		
101	[23]	DGR-WBS		WBS' date
102	24 Wed	WMR-WBS		
103	24	TGH-WMR		
104	[25] Thurs	WBS-WMR	HRA, p. 26	fragment, not in AP
105	[26] Fri	GGH-WBS		WBS' date
106	27 Sat	WMR-WBS		
107	[27]	GGH-WBS		dated 28th by WBS
108	[27]	TGH-WMR		PC, date from postmark
109	[27]	GGH-WMR		WMR's date ; *HRA, p. 236
110	28 Sun	TGH-WMR		*RGG, p. 154
111	31 Wed	TGH-WMR		*W. E. Frede- man's " Pre- Raphaelite Novelist Manqué : Oliver Madox Brown," p. 41
<i>August</i>				
112	1 Thurs	TGH-WMR		
113	1	GGH-WBS		
114	2 Fri	TGH-WMR		
115	2	GGH-WBS		
116	3-5 Sat- Mon	TGH-WMR		written over three days
117	5 Mon	GGH-WBS		
118	6 Tue	TGH-WMR		
119	8 Thurs	TGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 236
120	10 Sat	GGH-WBS		

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Correspondent- Recipient</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
121	10	TGH-WMR		
122	10	HTD-WMR	GP, pp. 117-18	with account
123	11-12 Sun- Mon	GGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 236, with account
124	11-12	TGH-WMR		
125	12 Mon	JM-WBS		
126	13 Tue	GGH-WBS		
127	13	TGH-WMR		
128	13	TGH-JM		copy sent to WMR with Letter 125 ; *RGG, p. 155
129	13	WMR-GGH	H	month supplied
130	14 Wed	GGH-WBS		
131	14	TGH-WMR		
132	14	HTD-WMR	GP, p. 119	
133	15 Thurs	TGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 225
134	15	HTD-WMR	GP, pp. 119-20	
135	15	JM-WMR	RGG, p. 155	fragment, not in AP
136	16 Fri	TGH-WBS		
137	18-19 Sun- Mon	GGH-WMR		P.S. added Mon- day ; unsigned
138	19 Mon	TGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 238
139	21 Wed	GGH-WMR		
140	21	HTD-WMR		*GP, p. 120 ; with account
141	21	WBS-GGH	H	
142	[22] Thurs	DGR-WMR	DW 1218	WMR's date
143	[22]	TGH-WMR	HRA, p. 237	MS. in AP
144	23 Fri	TGH-WMR		
145	23	TGH-WBS		
146	23	WMR-GGH	H	
147	23	WBS-FMB	D	
148	[24] Sat	TGH-WMR		day and month supplied
149	26 Mon	TGH-WBS		
150	26	GGH-WMR		*HRA, p. 236
151	26	HTD-WMR		dated 1867 by WMR and corrected ; with account
152	28 Wed	CAH-WMR	<i>PRT</i> , pp. 63-64	
153	28-29 Wed- Thurs	WMR-GGH	H	written over two days

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Correspondent- Recipient</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
154	29 Thurs	TGH-WMR		
155	29	HTD-WMR		
156	30 Fri	WBS-TGH	H	
157	[31] Sat	GGH-WMR		PC, dated July by WMR ; cor- rected by post- mark ; *HRA, p. 237
158	31	CGR-WMR	<i>FLCGR</i> , pp. 36-37	MS. in AP
<i>September</i>				
159	2 Mon	GGH-WMR		
160	4 Wed	GGH-WMR		
161	4	TGH-WMR		enclosed with Letter 157
162	4	TGH-WBS		
163	[5] Thurs	DGR-WMR	DW 1219	WMR's date
164	[5]	CGR-WMR	<i>FLCGR</i> , pp. 37-38	MS. in AP ; WMR's date
165	[6] Fri	DGR-WBS		dated Friday, WBS' date
166	[6]	DGR-WMR	DW 1221	WMR's date
167	6	DGR-FSE	DW 1222	
168	6	FMB-TGH	H	
169	6	FMB-FJS	<i>FMB</i> , pp. 273-4	
170	[c.8]	DGR-FMB	DW 1220	
171	[9] Mon	GGH-WMR		dated Monday
172	9	WBS-TGH	H	
173	9	GGH-WBS		
174	10 Tue	HTD-WMR	GP, pp. 121-2	
175	11 Wed	DGR-Fanny Cornforth	DW 1223	
176	11	CAH-WMR	<i>PRT</i> , pp. 64-65	
177	12 Thurs	DGR-FLR	DW 1224	
178	12	DGR-TGH	DW 1225	
179	12	TGH-WMR		
180	13 Fri	WBS-WMR	D	
181	[13]	DGR-TGH	DW 1226	DW's dates
182	13	DGR-WMR	DW 1227	
183	14 Sat	TGH-GGH	H	
184	16-17 Mon- Tue	GGH-WMR		written over two days ; with account
185	[17] Tue	DGR-TGH	DW 1228	DW's dates
186	17	DGR-WMR	DW 1229	
187	18 Wed	WMR-GGH	H	

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Correspondent- Recipient</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Notes</i>
188	18-19 Wed- Thurs	WMR-GGH	H	
189	20 Fri	DGR-TGH	DW 1230	
190	[20]	HTD-WMR		dated August by WMR and corrected
191	20	DGR-WMR	DW 1231	
192	[21] Sat	DGR-TGH	DW 1230[A]	DW's date
193	21	FMB-WMR		
194	[22] Sun	DGR-FMB	DW 1232	WMR's date
195	[23] Mon	WBS-WMR	D	WMR's date
196	[23]	DGR-TGH	DW 1233	DW's date
197	24 Tue	DGR-TWD	DW 1234	sent with 1235
198	24	DGR-TWD	DW 1235	sent with 1234
199	25 Wed	DGR-TGH	DW 1236	
200	25	DGR-TWD	DW 1237	
201	[25]	DGR-FMB	DW 1238	WMR's date
202	[25]	DGR-WMR	DW 1239	WMR's date ; DW text in- complete ; MS. in AP
203	26	CAH-WMR	<i>PRT</i> , pp. 65-66	perhaps to HTD
204	[26]	DGR-WMR	DW 1240	WMR's date
205	[27]	DGR-FMB	HRA, p. 215	fragment ; not in AP or DW
206	[27]	DGR-WMR	DW 1241	WMR's date ; fragment

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The publication of this paper has been greatly assisted by research grants made available to me over several years by various agencies : The Canada Council, which provided my travel expenses in the summer of 1963 when I discovered the Penkill Papers ; the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation which awarded me a Fellowship in 1965, during which period I secured the complementary side of the correspondence in the Angeli Papers ; and the Dean's Committee on Research of the University of British Columbia, which enabled me to engage both research and secretarial assistance. The preparation of the manuscript was facilitated by an Intellectual Prospecting Grant from U.B.C.

An initial edition of the letters was prepared as a term project by the students in my graduate seminar in Bibliography and Methods in 1966-7. Their preliminary transcripts, chronologies, and notes have proved extremely useful. In particular, I should like to thank two of my research assistants—Mr. Allan Life and Mr. E. Warwick Slinn—for the work they have done on my behalf. For generously reading the manuscript in various stages, I am grateful to my colleague Professor J. A. Lavin; my thanks are also owing to Professor John D. Rosenberg and Simon Nowell-Smith who read and criticized the first part of the manuscript. Miss Thora van Male has been especially helpful in checking last minute details during the preparation of the final draft.

For permission to print unpublished letters in the Penkill and Angeli Papers, I am indebted to the University of British Columbia and to Mrs. Imogen Dennis (for letters by the several Rossettis) and to Miss Evelyn M. Courtney-Boyd (for letters by Alice Boyd and William Bell Scott). Durham University has been most kind in allowing me to include letters from Scott to William Rossetti in their collection. The letters from the Hakes are published with the generous permission of Mrs. Elizabeth Hake and her son, the Rev. Andrew Hake, and the British Museum. Letters from Jane and William Morris are published through the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries. All printed sources have been duly cited.

Finally, I should like to thank my wife, Dr. Jane Fredeman, for help with collations and transcripts, and for proofing a great portion of the manuscript.