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The undersigned, acting as a Committee of  
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They approve it as a thesis meeting the require-  
ments of the Graduate School of the University of  
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THE LITERARY HISTORY OF LORD HOUGHTON'S " LIFE OF KEATS",  
WITH ITS POSSIBLE INFLUENCE ON THE PRE-RAPHAELITE POETS.

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the  
GRADUATE SCHOOL  
of the  
UNIVERSITY of MINNESOTA

by

ALICE J. FLINN

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree  
of Master of Arts.

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### Introduction.

We shall endeavor to show in the following dissertation:

1. That about 1840-1 there was a growing interest in John Keats and his work, and that this interest culminated in 1848 in the "Life, Letters and Literary Remains of John Keats" by Richard Moncton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton.

2. That in the middle of the nineteenth century, that is, during the years just preceding and the years following the publication of Lord Houghton's "Life", the influence of Keats is shown in many poets to a remarkable degree.

3. That the influence which Lord Houghton's "Life" wielded in this renaissance of Keats was very great; that it was one of the main forces which turned men's thoughts toward the poet and which thus determined his future fame.

## Chapter I.

### Keat's Early Reputation and the First Account of His Life.

The name of John Keats appeared in print for the first time in 1816 in the "Examiner" of Leigh Hunt in connection with the sonnet beginning "O Solitude! if I must with thee dwell." Other sonnets to the number of seven (2) followed in the "Examiner" during the ensuing year. Keats, encouraged by Leigh Hunt, continued to write poetry at the cottage in Hampstead Heath, and in 1817 Mr. Ollier, out of appreciation and friendship, published the volume entitled "Poems." "This little book, the beloved first-born of so great a genius, scarcely touched the public attention." (3) In fact, it was only read by the circle of Keats' friends, and not even the first edition was sold out. It was, however, duly reviewed by his friend of the "Examiner" (4), who recognizes the poet's faults, but attributes them all to youth. He remarks that Keats is "more deficient in age than in good taste," and that his "beauties outnumber his faults a hundred-fold." He quotes freely and praises rather judiciously.

At some time in April or May, 1817, Keats began his "Endymion".(5) He was then with his brother Tom at Margate in Kent. He continued to write steadily and finished the poem on the twentieth of November, 1817. It was published by Messrs. Taylor and Hessey early in 1818, for in April of that year appeared the article

- (1) Recollections of C. C. Clarke, -Gentlemen's Mag. Vol. 12, p.177.
- (2) Introduction to Everyman's edition of Keats' Poems.
- (3) Houghton's "Life of Keats." Vol. 1, p. 24, (1848 edition)
- (4) June 1st, and Jly 6th and 13th. (Reprint in H. B. Forman's ed.
- (5) Houghton's "Life of Keats" - Vol. 1, p.43.

in the "Quarterly Review" which was supposed to have hastened Keats' death. I give the gist of this scathing review because it has been given such prominence by all his biographers. The reviewer first apologizes for not having read more than the first book of the poem. Admitting that the poet has rays of fancy, he asserts that "he ought to be ashamed to put his name to it." He calls Keats a "copyist" of Hunt," but "more unintelligible, almost as rugged, twice as diffuse, and ~~ten~~times more tiresome." He makes fun of the story of the poem, of the author's taste in versification, of his invention of new words, and of his "immeasurable game of bout-rimés." In conclusion, he promises to try it again, if anyone else is so fortunate as to find a meaning in it.

Such criticism no doubt hurt; but the invective of "Blackwood's (1) magazine is so ridiculously overdone as to be almost negligible. The thing is signed by "Z", a signature used in other articles about the "Cockney School." The writer describes Keats as attacked by "metromanie" and his poem as "calm, settled, imperturbable, drivelling idiocy." There is much else in the same vein, and the article ends finally with the words quoted so indignantly by Keats' friends and biographers. "It is a better and wiser thing to be a starved apothecary than a starved<sup>poet</sup>; so back to the shop, Mr. John, back to your plasters, pills and ointment-boxes, etc., But for Heaven's sake, young Sangrado, be a little more sparing of extenuatives and soporifics in your practice than you have been in your poetry."

Soon after the publication of the "Quarterly" and "Blackwood" reviews, two letters appeared in the "Morning Chronicle" (2)

(1) August, 1818.

(2) Saturday, October 3rd, and Thursday, October 8th, 1818.

in defense of Keats. An article of a similar nature by John Hamilton Reynolds appeared about the same time (1) in three other papers including Hunt's "Examiner". But the reading public, as a whole did not know that there was such a man as John Keats or such a poem as "Endymion."

Keats was evidently nothing daunted, and determined, furthermore, to show what he had in store, for in the spring or summer of 1820 appeared the volume containing his best work, "Lamia," "Isabella," the "Eve of St. Agnes," and the fragment of "Hyperion." The reviews were much kinder than they had been before, but Keats was already wasting under the fatal disease, and praise could not cure him. Hunt's praise was lavish, while the criticism of Jeffrey (2), one of the most influential critics of the day, was impartial, but kind. "Blackwood's" had nothing to say except in the extracts from Mr. Wastle's diary, (3) which admitted that there was "much merit in some stanzas of his last volume."

Finally, in the obituary notices of the "Gentleman's Magazine," where an admiral is given two columns and a society leader half of one, there appeared in March, 1821, this sentence: "At Rome, aged twenty-five, Mr. John Keats, the poet, (Feb. 23.)"

Keats, during his life, was known only by a small number, part of whom, his friends and fellow-poets, admired and loved him, while the other part viciously attacked him. This latter faction, represented by "Blackwood's" continued for some years in its scornful attitude. On the publication of "Adonais," it made fun of both Shelley and Keats, (4), remarking that the "canonizer was worthy

(1) October 6th, Tuesday, 1818.

(2) Edinburgh Review, August 1820.

(3) September 1820, p. 665.

(4) Blackwood's, vol 10, p. 696. December 1821.

of the saint," and that the elegy was a "wild waste of words beyond our comprehension." The next year, (1), in a series called the "Rhapsodies over a punch-bowl, by Paddy from Cork, with his coat buttoned behind," the anonymous author states that he thinks Keats "had something that might have ripened into fruit"---adding, however, a long and sarcastic line of "ifs." Still unable to let him rest in peace, "Timothy Tickler, Esq." later (2) indulged in the old ill-natured ridicule of "Johnny Keats" and of the "Edinburgh Review," his defender. And in an article on "Barry Cornwall," in 1824, (3) the same tone of ridicule of Keats was again manifest. But in 1826, (4), the editor of Blackwood's half apologized for the attacks on Keats, or at least he endeavored to make them appear lighter than they were. With the issue of Hunt's volume, "Byron and some of his contemporaries" (1828), the reviewer (5) goes so far as to say that they had seen and praised the genius of Keats, "though sunk in a mire of Cockneyism." And in 1830, (6) in a group of "Poetical Portraits by a Modern Pythagorean," appeared the following effusion:

"Fair thy young spirit's mould,---  
Thou. from whose heart the streams  
Of sweet Elysium roll'd  
Over Endymion's dreams."

Byron, too, has been accused of rather harsh treatment of Keats. The famous couplet from "Don Juan" and several letters from Ravenna in 1820, in which he speaks of "such a trash of Keats and the like" and begs his friend to send him no more, are quoted. (7)

- (1) Blackwood's Magazine, vol. 11, p. 346, March 1822  
(2) " " " 14, p. 225, August 1823.  
(3) " " " 16, p. 288, & p. 292, September 1824.  
(4) " " " 19, preface, p. 26, Jan. to June, 1826  
(5) " " " 23, p. 403.  
(6) " " " 27, April 1830. p633.  
(7) For full quotations and discussion see H. Buxton Forman's edition of Keats, vol. 4.

Byron certainly never had a good word to say for Keats or for his poetry during Keats' lifetime; but after the latter's death he more than once expressed his regret at the treatment the younger poet had received, and admitted that he himself had never been fair to him. He furthermore ordered that all he had said against Keats never be printed, a command which was wholly disregarded. But however kindly we look at these extenuating circumstances or at the added fact of Byron's resentment at Keats for his slurs against Pope, we must admit that the treatment that the younger poet received at the hands of the popular idol was ungenerous, to say the least.

Meanwhile, what was really known of Keats' life and personality? Nothing, except that he was an "apothecary." Not until 1828, in Leigh Hunt's "~~Byron~~ and Some of His Contemporaries" was there any account of Keats' short life. We shall look at this in some detail, for the purpose of comparison with later accounts. The article is eighteen pages in length, and gives a rather full account of Keats' life.(1) Hunt had probably gotten most of the facts from the poet himself, and the rest from Charles Brown or other close friends of Keats who were still in England. He opens thus: "Mr. Keats, when he died, had just completed his four-and-twentieth year. He was under the middle height; and his lower limbs were small in comparison with the upper, but neat and well-turned. His shoulders were very broad for his size; he had a face, in which energy and sensibility remarkably mixed up, an eager power checked and made patent by ill-health. Every feature was at once strongly cut, and delicately alive. If there was any faulty expression, it was in the mouth, <sup>which</sup> was not without something of a character of pugnacity. The face

(1) p. 213-31.

was rather long than otherwise; the upper lip projected a little over the under; the chin was bold, the cheeks sunken; the eyes mellow and glowing; large, dark and sensitive. At the recital of a noble action, or a beautiful thought, they would suffuse with tears, and his mouth trembled. In this, there was ill-health as well as imagination, for he did not like these betrayals of emotion; and he had great personal as well as moral courage. His hair, of a brown color, was fine, and hung in natural ringlets-----He would look at his hand, which was faded, and swollen in the veins, and say it was the hand of a man of fifty;" This description has often been quoted.

The writer then tells of Keats' humble origin, "at a livery-stable in Moorfields, of which his grandfather was the proprietor." Strangely enough, he gives the date of Keats' birth as October 29th, 1796, which is a year too late. He goes on as follows: "After receiving the rudiments of a classical education at Mr. Clarke's school at Enfield, he was bound apprentice to Mr. Hammond, a surgeon, in Church Street, Edmonton. Mr. Clarke, Jr. his schoolmaster's son, a reader of genuine discernment, had encouraged with great warmth the genius that he saw in the young poet; and it was to Mr. Clarke that I was indebted for my acquaintance with him. I shall never forget the impression made upon me by the exuberant specimens of genuine though young poetry that were laid before me, and the promise of which was seconded by the fine fervid countenance of the writer. We became intimate on the spot, and I found the young poet's heart as warm as his imagination. We read and walked together, and used to write verses of an evening upon a given subject. No imaginative pleasure was left unnoticed by us, or unenjoyed; from the recollection of the bards and patriots of old,

to the luxury of a summer rain at our window, or the clicking of the coal in winter-time."

Hunt then quotes the sonnet, "On First Looking Into Chapman's Homer," one of the early poems which he read to his friends; he adds a few comments on the merits of Chapman and of the sonnet. He proceeds: "The volume containing this sonnet was published in 1817, when the author was in his twenty-first year. The poem with which it begins, was suggested to him by a delightful summer-day, as he stood beside the gate that leads from the Battery on Hampstead Heath into a field by Caen Wood; and the last poem, the one "On Sleep and Poetry" was occasioned by his sleeping in one of the cottages in the Vale of Health, the first one that fronts the valley, beginning from the same quarter." A few lines from "Sleep and Poetry" are quoted, followed by remarks concerning the attacks on Keats. "But there were political opinions in the book; and these not according with the opinions of the then government authorities, the writer was found to be a very absurd person, and not to be borne,----Accordingly when Mr. Keats, in 1818, published his next volume, his poetic romance entitled "Endymion," the critical authority, then reigning at the west end, showed it no mercy."

Mr. Hunt gives his own criticism of Endymion, alleging as its faults "its unpruned luxuriance" and the "wilfulness of its rhymes." As to what he calls the "political effeminacy of the work," he says: "Mr. Keats was aware of this contradiction to the real energy of his nature, and prepared to get rid of it. What is more, he said as much in the Preface to "Endymion.'" This Hunt quotes, and proceeds to discuss the system of abuse which had come up at this period. He regrets that he did not take a more active part in the defense of Keats, but gives as his reason Keats' reserve, "on the

subject. "In everything but this reserve," he says, "Mr. Keats and I were friends of the old stamp, between whom there was no such thing as obligation, except the pleasure of it. He enjoyed the usual privilege of greatness with all whom he knew, rendering it delightful to be obliged by him, and an equal, but not a greater delight to oblige. It was a pleasure to his friends to have him in their houses, and he did not grudge it. When 'Endymion' was published he was living at Hampstead with his friend Mr. Charles Brown, who attended him most affectionately thru a severe illness, and with whom, to their great mutual enjoyment, he had taken a journey into Scotland. The lakes and mountains of the North delighted him exceedingly. He beheld them with an epic eye. Afterwards, he went into the South, and luxuriated in the Isle of Wight. On Mr. Brown's leaving England a second time, to visit the same quarter, Mr. Keats who was too ill to accompany him, came to reside with me, when his last and best volume of poems appeared, containing 'Lamia,' 'Isabella the 'Eve of St. Agnes', and the noble fragment of 'Hyperion.'" Hunt quotes snatches from the "Eve of St. Agnes" and "Hyperion" and gives the "Ode to a Nightingale" in toto.

Then comes the paragraph in which he says concerning Byron's famous couplet, "A good rhyme about particle and article was not to be given up. I told him he was mistaken in attributing Mr. Keats' death to the critics, though they had perhaps hastened and certainly embittered it; and he promised to alter the passage: but a joke and a rhyme together!"

Hunt states that Keats "had felt that his disease was mortal for two or three years before he died," and that "a close attendance to the death-bed of a beloved brother----gave it a blow which he felt for<sup>a</sup> month." His troubles, he further says "were

secretly aggravated by a very tender circumstance," alluding, of course to Keats' love-affair. As an evidence of the depth of his feelings, he says that Keats one day told him "with unaccustomed tears in his eyes, that 'his heart was breaking,'". He finally tells of Keats' departure for Italy with the artist Severn, who attended him with such devotion until his death, the date for which Hunt gives as December 27th, 1820. This, of course, is incorrect, as Keats died February 23rd, 1821. Of his last days he says, "He suffered so much in his lingering that he used to watch the countenance of the physician for the favorable and fatal sentence, and express regret when he found it delayed. Yet no impatience escaped him. He was manly and gentle to the last, and grateful for all services. A little before he died, he said that he 'felt the daisies growing over him.'" But he made a still more touching remark respecting his epitaph. 'If any,' he said, 'were put over him, he wished it to consist of nothing but these words: Here lies one whose name was writ in water.'" Hunt speaks of the statement of the physicians as to the wasted condition of Keats' lungs at the time of his death, and gives the location of his grave, near the monument of Caius Cestus in Rome. He concludes thus: "So much for the mortal life of as true a man of genius as these latter times have seen; one of those who are too genuine and original to be properly appreciated at first, but whose time for applause will infallibly arrive with the many, and <sup>has</sup> already begun in all poetical quarters. I venture to prophesy, as I have done elsewhere, that Mr. Keats will be known hereafter in English literature, emphatically as the Young Poet."

A summary of this article by Hunt would include: (1)  
The description of Keats' personality, with the poetic nature fairly

shining out from his whole aspect. (2) His birth, October 29th, 1796, and his schooling at (a) Enfield, and (b) Edmonton; the interest of Charles Clark. (3) The meeting and friendship with Hunt; early poetry, and life at Hampstead. (4) "Endymion; discussion of the abuse of the critics and the effect on Keats; the criticism did not kill Keats, but probably hastened and embittered his death. (5) The Scottish tour and the 1821 volume. (6) Voyage to Italy with Severn and death, December 27th, 1820; the epitaph.

A review of Hunt's book in the "quarterly"\*<sup>1</sup>ridicules the author for even so much as including Keats as one of Byron's contemporaries, and proceeds to quote Byron himself on the subject of Keats. Prejudiced as the "Quarterly" had always been, its opinion cannot be accepted as the general one concerning Keats at this time, seven years after his death. But it seems doubtful that there was any wide-spread growing interest in Keats and his poetry up to this time.

\*Quarterly Review, vol. 37, March 1828, p. 416-18

Chapter II.

Accounts of Keats Until 1848, and the Growing Interest  
In His Work.

There was published in 1828 "A General Biographical Dictionary" by John Gorton. This contains an article on Keats identical with that in the second edition of the "Dictionary" in 1851. The latter is the edition to which I had access. (1) Many of the articles in Gorton's encyclopedia are taken from the "Biographia Brittanica" and other sources, and are in each case so designated. The article on Keats, however, is signed "Original Com." This evidently means "Original Comment" or "Commentary", and shows that the article was written by Gorton himself or for him. The comment shows at least superficial familiarity with Keats' poetry, and, on comparison, marked similarity with Leigh Hunt's account in "Byron and Some of His Contemporaries." The only difficulty here lies in the dates. Both works were published in 1828. Gorton, however, might easily have seen Hunt's volume, been struck with the necessity of including in his own work some of the material there set forth, and have hastily written the article himself. On it is barely possible that the article in the "Dictionary" was written by Hunt. In such a case the dates would not bother us.

It seems probable that, if Gorton had looked up the life of Keats himself, he would have found and given the date of his birth correctly. On the contrary, he gives it exactly as Hunt had done, October 29th, 1796. He proceeds to give such facts as Hunt had vouchsafed, but no more. He does, however, make one strange statement; this is to the effect that the publication of the three volumes of Keats' poetry excited remarkable attention.

This obviously not true in any general sense; but Gorton probably  
(1) Vol. II. "A General Biographical Dictionary." Published by H.G. Bohn, York St. Covent Garden, 1851.

was thinking of the attention paid to them in certain critical circles and of the discussion which ensued.

Gorton states that it was a mistake to attribute Keats' death to critics--the thing which Hunt asserts. Again, in regard to Byron and "Don Juan", he says that a "lively couplet with a good rhyme was hard for a wit to part with---" almost Hunt's exact words; further on, that "Hyperion" reminds one of gigantic times--- Hunt's comparison. But the most remarkable thing that we notice is that Gorton predicts that Keats will be considered by posterity as the "Young Poet." This is surely not mere coincidence. The name was coined by Hunt out of admiration for his friend; and, as he doubtless hoped it would be, was immediately taken up---at least by Gorton. The evidence, then, leaves no doubt as to the connection between the two articles, however that connection came about. Gorton must surely have followed Hunt.

In 1829, the year after the articles just discussed, Galignani published in Paris in one volume the "Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats," with memoirs of each of the authors prefixed to their works. Our interest in this volume lies in the preface concerning Keats, and in the question whether or not it added anything definite beyond Hunt's account to the knowledge of his life. To our disappointment, it did not. In speaking of the Reviews, it sets forth the fact that Gifford, the supposed author of the "Quarterly" attacks, had been a cobbler, and that "such cannot tolerate a brother, much less superior power or genius in that brother." But this is all---Like Gorton's adaptation, the article shows, even in turns of phrase, that Hunt was its source. Again the date of Keats' birth is wrong, but whereas with Hunt, the date of his death is also wrong, (1) here it is right, February 24, 1821  
(1) December 27, 1820.

The fact of his "moral and personal courage" is quoted almost verbatim, as is also the description of Keats' face and person. In giving, at this point Keats' remarks that his "hand was the hand of a man of fifty," Hunt's name is even mentioned as authority for the statement. Finally, in addition to minor details, the only other quotation from Keats himself is the little sentence spoken one day at Hampstead.---"My heart is breaking"---which is also the only other one given by Hunt. Again we see that practically all that was known of John Keats was known thru his friend Leigh Hunt. An American edition of this book was published in Philadelphia in 1835 (1) with a preface on Keats identical with that of the Galignani edition.

Our next article in point of time is only a short paragraph in "The History of English Language and Literature" by Robert Chambers. (2) Such facts as he gives are correct, and the only matter of interest that we may note is that, in exactly the words of both Hunt and of the author of the preface to the Galignani edition above mentioned, Chambers states that Keats died "immediately after the completion of his twenty-fourth year."

Next, in "Blackwood's", in 1840, (3) in an article on "Personification," the author mentions Keats in connection with his personification of the moon, quoting the lines almost at the beginning of Book III of "Endymion,"

"And by the feud  
'Twixt nothing and Creation," -----to  
"O Moon! far spooming Ocean bows to thee,  
And Tellus feels her forehead's cumbrous load."

The scarcity of these references to Keats from 1828 to 1840 is significant. Hunt's "Young Poet" was certainly far

- (1) Desilver, Thomas & Co. in one volume.
- (2) Hartford, 1837, p. 220.
- (3) Blackwood's Magazine, vol. 48, July 1840.

from being a popular favorite. But in 1841, William Smith, a London publisher, issued in his series called "Smith's Standard Library," the "Poetical Works of John Keats." The next year he published a folio edition, evidently a more elaborate production, as it sold for five shillings, while the first had sold for two. It would be interesting to know who was behind this venture. Of course, Mr. Smith himself may have in some way become interested in Keats' poetry, and have wished to give it to others, but it seems more probable that he was encouraged to do it by some friend of Keats, such as Hunt, or perhaps Mr. Milnes, who at that time was working on his "Life and Letters of Keats." At any rate, the book called forth some little attention and reviews of it appeared in several magazines. These were:

"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine," October, 1841, vol.8, p.650.

"The Southern Literary Messenger," January 1842, vol. 8, p.37-41, (Richmond, Virginia) "Keats."

"The Dublin University Magazine," June 1843. Vol. 21, p. 690.

Reviews of Poetical Works of John Keats, London, Wm. Smith.

"Keats and his Poetry."

"The Christian Remembrancer," September 1843. Vol. 6, p.251.

(Smith's edition of Keats poems) "The Genius of John Keats.

These we shall look at, in order to see the spirit in which this revival was received.

The one American magazine in which I was able to find a notice was the "Southern Literary Messenger." (1) The author, Mr. H. T. Tuckerman, brings up the old subject of the "article", but he stands up for Keats' "manliness". He takes up his connection with the Greek mythology, thinks that "perchance the brief space of his

(1) Vol. 18, January 1842, p. 37-41

poetry-making called forth its deepest harmony," and finally says of his work what Keats said: "A thing of beauty is a joy forever".

"Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" (1) feels that in Keats' poetry "the sense of beauty is the ultimate endeavor ", and admires beautiful examples of imagery which his poetry affords.

The "Christian Remembrancer" (2) entitling its article "The Genius of John Keats", says that a "stigma has been removed from the age, so long contented to do without a complete native collection of some of the truest and most original poems it has produced." The whole thing is in a spirit of admiration, especially of Keats' "rich, sweet melody" and of the "Eve of St. Agnes" and "Hyperion" The author says in conclusion that, although the mass will continue to dispense with him, he can never be forgotten by a genuine lover of poetry.

The review in the "Dublin University Magazine" (3) is longer, giving, in addition to the criticism of Keats' poetry, a short account of his life and a statement of the case of the Reviewers versus Keats' friends. The personal history is, as hitherto, from Hunt, as the dates and several direct quotations sufficiently attest. The decision concerning the controversy is based on the statements of Byron and Shelley, who should have been, but certainly were not, reliable sources. In criticism the author states that he has read, not, as the early reviewers, for the purpose of detecting faults, but for the purpose of seeing the beauties. He proceeds to quote many passages throughout the poetry, and like all of this group, pours forth his enthusiastic praise of "Hyperion".

- (1) Vol. 8, October, 1841, p. 650.
- (2) Vol. 6, September, 1843, p. 251.
- (3) Vol. 21, June 1843, p. 690;

These four articles, representatives of America, Scotland, England and Ireland, show that Keats, after twenty years of neglect, was beginning to come into his own. Articles concerning him became more numerous, and the awakened interest slowly grew. Robert Chambers, "Cyclopedia of English Literature," (1) in 1844, contained an essay of some length on the poet. The dates of his birth and death were again given incorrectly, but the author evidently had some source besides Hunt. For he tells of Keats' early translation of the "Aeneid," and also quotes Shelley's description of the beginning of his fatal disease. Furthermore, he quotes from the old article by Jeffrey in the "Edinburgh Review" and from a similar one in the "New Monthly Magazine" of 1822. None of these facts are included in Hunt's account. He considers Keats as "one of the greatest of the young self-taught poets." but his criticism consists mostly in quoting the poetry itself. In this same year (1844) Hunt, in his "Imagination and Fancy" added briefly to his earlier remarks, and gave selections from the best-known of Keats' poems. Nothing of especial importance appeared here, however.

The letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett during this period show what these poets thought of Keats. The very casualness of many of the references to him show how familiar both the correspondents were with his poetry. In one letter (2) Miss Barrett says that she has been reading Carlyle's letters and also one of Mrs. Carlyle's, in which she makes out "as ingenious a case against poor Keats as could well be drawn, but nobody who knew very deeply what poetry is, could, you now, draw any case against him.

(1) Edinburgh, 1844, Keats, vol. II. p. 402,7.

(2) Letters of Robert Browning, and Elizabeth Barrett, vol. I, p. 194.

A poet of the senses he may be and is, just as she says---but then, it is of the senses idealized; and no dream in a 'storeroom' would ever be like the "Eve of St. Agnes" unless dreamed by some 'animosus infans' like Keats himself. Still, it is all true---isn't it? What she observes of his want of thought as thought. He was a seer strictly speaking." Soon after this (1) Mr. Browning tells her that "Moxon has bought the manuscripts of Keats in the possession of Taylor and is going to bring out a complete edition, which is pleasant to hear." She merely replies (2) that she is "glad for Keats."

The same year that the foregoing letters were being exchanged, George Gilfillan published a "Gallery of Literary Portraits" (3), including one of John Keats. The author devotes the first six pages of his essay to what he calls the "Morals of men of genius" and he manages to get in most of them from Homer down. He introduces Keats as "the hapless apothecary's boy" and proceeds to tell in a rather sensational way nothing in particular about him. "Endymion" arouses his pity; "Hyperion", "Isabella" and the "Eve of St. Agnes" his admiration. Thomas de Quincey in "Notes on Gilfillan's Gallery of Literary Portraits" in "Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" (4) took occasion to criticize Mr. Gilfillan for the long and rather pointless introduction to his article on Keats. But, to tell the truth, he is still more to blame himself, for out of seventeen pages, there are only six about Keats, and he says even less that is to the point than does Mr. Gilfillan. Yet in 1853 he published exactly the same article as an essay on Keats! (5)

(1) October 13th, 1845.

(2) October 15th, 1845.

(3) Wm. Tait, publisher, Edinburgh, 1845.

(4) April, 1846, vol. 13, p. 249.

(5) Essays on the Poets and other English Writers, 1853, 2nd ed. 1867

He is interesting, however, as one of the first, except Hunt and Gorton, to believe that the article in the "Quarterly" had in no way been responsible for Keats' death.

"Homes and Haunts of the Most Eminent British Poets," (1) (1847) by William Howitt also contains an essay on Keats. The author is a rather sentimentally admiring and flowery-tongued devotee of poetry whose effusions furnish a charming guide-book for an industrious tourist. A fair example of his style is this sentence: "His shadow-like body disappeared before the bitter frost-wind of base criticism." He does, however, add a few new facts concerning the "homes and haunts" of Keats. These were drawn, he confesses, "mostly from the narrative, but partly from the conversation of Leigh Hunt."

Another short article of 1847, in the "Democratic Review" (2) is still concerned chiefly over the attacks. The author considers the "atrocious and savage assault of the 'Quarterly' the greatest instance of gross and manifest injustice." He quotes Shelley's exaggerated account of Keats bending over the pages and drinking in the poison. He manages to include a few sentences admiring Keats' poetry, especially the "Eve of St. Agnes", but his last sad thought is that the poet "withered before his prime, like a bud, bit by an envious worm."

A longer and rather more pretentious account, including numerous quotations, appeared in the "Eclectic Magazine" in 1848. (3) This author makes a startling statement to the effect that the

1) Keats, page 292.

(2) Democratic Review, vol. 21, p. 427, Nov. 1847.

(3) Eclectic Magazine, vol. 14, July 1848, p. 409-15. Taken from "Hoggs Weekly Instructor."

Reviews dealt a deep, if not deadly, blow, and that Keats "Burst a blood-vessel and threatened his own life." The only thing of any significance said here is that the critic Jeffrey continued in his admiration of Keats, as shown by his later essays. The facts concerning Keats' life---dates, etc.,---however, are just as Hunt had given them.

So we have seen that through all the years from Keats' death until 1848, Leigh Hunt, either thru his account in "Byron and Some of His Contemporaries" or by means of personal contact, was the main, we may say the only, source of knowledge of Keats' life and character. Although Hunt had partially denied that criticism killed Keats, both "Adonais" and the "Don Juan" passage "alike tended to fix in the public mind an impression of Keats' character as a weakling to whom the breath of detraction was poison. "It was long before his friends did anything to set his memory right." (1) Mr. Colvin is authority for the statement that George Keats, Reynolds and Taylor all had wished to write his life, but for different reasons were prevented from doing so.

But Charles Brown, he says, was bent upon it from the first. He had collected extensive materials, had written a brief memoir, and was on the eve of publishing the results of his work, "when the accident of attending a meeting on the subject of the colonisation of New Zealand altered all Mr. Brown's plans, and determined him to transfer his fortunes and the closing years of his life to the antipodes." (2) Before his departure in 1833, however, he confided to Mr. Richard Monckton Milnes, afterward Lord Houghton, all his papers concerning Keats, to be used by Mr. Milnes for the purpose for which they had been collected.

Mr. Milnes was helped directly in his work, by Coventry Patmore, the poet, I quote from the memoir of Patmore by Basil

(1) Sidney Colvin, "John Keats," English Men of Letters Series, p. 206.

(2) R.M. Milnes, "Life, Letters and Literary Remains of John Keats (con)

Champneys. "Milnes' 'Life and Letters of Keats', published in 1848, had probably been some time in preparation, and it has long been known that Patmore rendered Milnes considerable help with it, though of what kind and to what extent can apparently never be ascertained. Patmore preserved but few letters from Monckton Milnes, and these throw no light on the subject, Some of Patmore's letters to Milnes are, however, extant. It is probable that these are but a portion of those received, and the only evidence they afford is that Patmore had, as I think correctly, assigned to his own father some articles on Keats in the 'London Magazine' which had previously been attributed to Hazlitt. The only other reference to the work is in a letter of January 19th, 1863, in which Patmore requests Monckton Milnes to omit a passage in one of Keats' letters to John Hamilton Reynolds, which he evidently thinks disparaging to his father---- It is also known that a letter of Keats in Coventry Patmore's handwriting was found among Lord Houghton's papers. (Colvin's "Keats," p.225\*) See also a letter of Patmore's to Mr. Sutton, vol.II, which shows that he was in possession of some of Keats' manuscript letters in 1847. This is all the evidence I have been able to obtain of Patmore's cooperation, although it is probable that further assistance was given verbally or in letters which have been destroyed."

"With the help of nearly all Keats' surviving friends and by the grace of his own genial and sympathetic temper, he set the memory of the poet in its true light in the beautiful and moving book with which every student is familiar." (1) And for it every lover

(con't from previous page).

Moxon, London, 1848, Preface, p.10.

(1) Sidney Colvin, "John Keats" p.209.

of Keats should be grateful. It brought about a revolution in his reputation and in his influence on the world of poetry. Written of one poet by another, it is both sympathetic and impartial.

The first edition of this book was issued by Moxon in 1848, in two volumes, under the name of "The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats." It contained in the "literary remains" some hitherto unpublished poems. But in the second edition, issued by the same publisher in 1867 in one volume, these poems were either included in Keats "collected Works" or else given their chronological place within the life itself. Furthermore, Lord Houghton carefully edited the second edition himself, correcting errors, including some new letters, excluding others, etc. I have endeavored, in the following chapter, to make a careful collation of these two editions. The differences are tabulated in the order in which they appear, the edition of 1848 being designated as A and that of 1867 as B.

Chapter III.

Collation of the Two Editions of Lord Houghton's "Life of Keats."

I. Dedication.

A dedicated to Lord Jeffrey "these late memorials and relics of a man whose early genius you did much to rescue from the alternative of obloquy or oblivion." Other praise and remarks --- "this compilation a labor of love" etc. follow.

B dedicated to Mrs. Bryan Procter, "a poet's wife, a poets' mother and herself of many poets the frequent theme and valued friend"

II. Preface.

Preface contained in A omitted in B.

Preface to A tells of getting his materials from Brown (v. supra) whom he met at Landor's villa in Italy in 1833, of Brown's departure for New Zealand and his gift of his collection to Milnes. Then acknowledges his debt to other friends of Keats, Cowden Clarke, Holmes and Felton Mathew, schoolfellows; Reynolds, especially for his letters; Haslam and Dilke, for letters and remembrances; Taylor and Hessey and also Ollier, the publishers; and finally, most valuable of all, the letters from gentleman who married the widow of George Keats. Closes after a quotation from Wordsworth on biography, with saying that he will tell what was told him and no more, but will omit nothing enlightening on the subject of Keats' character, etc.,

B, in place of preface has merely a note that a "considerable portion of the "Literary Remains are inserted in this edition of the "Life of Keats" in the places in which they naturally belong. The rest, including the dramatic pieces, will more fitly form a part of an edition of his collected works, to be printed uniform with this volume."

III. Differences in the main texts of the two editions--

(1) A states that George Keats was the oldest son, John the second. B. corrects this statement--John the eldest.

(2) Paragraph in A, page 11, beginning, "A few memorials remain of his other studies. Chaucer evidently gave him the greatest pleasure" and ending "This pleasant tale is like a little copse" etc. with a reference to the "Literary Remains", p. 290, vol II, where the whole sonnet is given, is omitted in B. p.9.

(3) Paragraph containing the 1814 sonnet to Byron considerably changed in phrasing in B. A, p. 13, B, p. 10.

(4) After "riveted the connexion", A, p. 20, B, p. 17, B gives the sonnet on the story of "Rimini, given in A in the "Literary Remains", p. 292, vol. II.

(5) Sonnets written 1816, etc. (A. p. 25, after "Ollie") given in A in "Literary Remains", vol II, pp. 287, 288, 289, 290. are inserted with three sentences of remark, on pp. 21, 22, and 23 of B.

(6) List of names, friends of Keats, in A, p. 25 is omitted in B. Only Haydon is mentioned in B.

(7) Names at head of sonnets, A, p. 27 are omitted in B, p. 24, and 25.

(8) After the paragraph ending "scorn or jeer", A, p. 29 and B, p. 26, the letter to Spencer from Oxford, September 1817, omitted in A, is inserted in B to show Keats' feelings about Wordsworth and how jealous he was for the integrity of his own genius.

(9) The sonnet of which one line is given in A, p. 34 with a reference to the "Literary Remains" vol. II. p. 291, is given complete in B, p. 32.

(10) P. 50, A and p. 45, B. A merely says that Keats visited his friend Bailey at Oxford. B tells of Bailey that after many changes in his clerical life, he became archdeacon of Colombo, Ceylon. The letter from Oxford here given begins in A, "Believe me, my dear----, it is a great happiness," etc., and speaks of the open sky, the air, the earth, and especially the sea, quoting poetry. Also given a paragraph full of fun---the things he would have done to Mrs. Dilkes' house and belongs. B, begins here: "Poor Bailey, scarcely ever," etc., and gives only the one paragraph following.

(11) B, p. 46, after the paragraph from the above letter, gives a paragraph by Bailey describing Keats' habits of composition while at Oxford. Milnes also adds that Keats visited Stratford on-~~the~~-Avon this same summer and inscribed his name on the walls. Following this, B omits a letter of Keats to Reynolds about women writers, especially Mrs. Phillips, with a poem of hers quoted. This in A, p. 54 to 59.

(12) A, p. 62, states that Bailey died soon after Keats. B omits this surprising statement.

(13) Letters in A, p. 63-72, and B. p. 49-59, differ. A has one to Bailey (November 22, 1817, Leatherhead), p. 63-68. This is also in B, p. 51-55. But A has one to Reynolds on the same date containing a few personal matters, talk about the place where Keats is staying and quotations from Shakespeare's Sonnets. It contains a sentence which has been quoted rather often: "A man should have the fine point of his soul taken off to become fit for this world." This letter is omitted in B, which contains instead one to Haydon, mostly about Dante, dated November 20, 1817. B Also has a long one to Bailey, different from the one in A. This

is quite personal, concerning his brother, his book (Endymion), with a little about Wordsworth, their mutual friends, Haydon and Reynolds and Bailey's new curacy and examinations.

(14) After "coarsened beauty of the world within him", A, p. 75 and B, p. 61, B contains the incident, omitted in A, of Keats meeting with Coleridge in a lane near Highgate (Coleridge, "Table Talk," vol. 2, p. 89.)

(15) The letter to Reynolds, (January 31st, 1818) given in A, pp. 81-2, is only mentioned in B, p. 67. The doggerel here in A is also omitted in B. But sonnet referred (A, p. 83) to the "Literary Remains" A, vol. II, p. 293, is given complete in B. p. 67.

(16) The articles by Keats on Kean in the "Champion", mentioned in A, p. 92 and in B. p. 74, are included in the appendix to B, Not given at all in A.

(17) The paragraph in A, p. 104, "Keats had lately vindicated", etc., and the letter following to his brothers, (A, p. 104-5) are omitted in B. But in B, p. 84, before the letters to Taylor next following, there are a few remarks by Milnes omitted in A.

(18) After the P. S. "You shall have a short preface in good time," A, p. 109, B, p. 87, there are inserted in B. some remarks on Keats' experimentation in meter and rhyme; also that Bailey said that one of Keats' favorite topics of conversation was the principle of melody in verse, and of open and close vowels.

(19) After the letter to Reynolds, (A, 113-16, and B, 90-4) there is inserted in B one letter from Haydon to Keats and one from Keats to Haydon, the latter containing two poems, both sort of doggerel. One is about Teignmouth, where he was, the other the one beginning, "Where be you going, you Devon maid?" Neither of

these is given in the "Literary Remains" in A, vol. II.

(20) Before the letter to Reynolds, A, p. 120, and B. p. 103, there is inserted in B the first preface to "Endymion", which Milnes was unable to find at the time of the first edition. The original, he says, is in the possession of Messrs. Moxon. The title page of "Endymion" is also added in B.

(21) In B, the second Preface to "Endymion" is put before the letter to Reynolds dated April 10, 1818, (A, p. 123, B, p. 107) In A, it is after this letter. Then in B, before the letter to Reynolds, April 27, 1818, (A. p. 216, B. p. 110) there is inserted with a few remarks by Milnes on how it shows Keats submitting the glory of imagination to the power of conscience, the letter to his brothers in which he speaks of "The Excursion," "Hayden's Pictures" and "Hazlitt's depth of Taste," but puts ~~dis~~disinterestedness such as Bailey's above works of genius.

(22) Part of a letter to Reynolds (A, p. 167, B. p. 144) omitted in B.

(23) After "in that quarter" (A, p. 193, B. p. 164) there is added in B a note that the statement just made was on the authority of Brown. The younger Mr. Blackwood thought it improbable. But in July 1818, Bailey did meet, at Bishop Gleig's, in Scotland a leading contributor to Blackwood's and had some conversation on Keats. Bailey thought his confidence had been abused.

(24) After "feeling of their personal character", (A p. 204 and B. p. 173) there is added a note in B. to the effect that Milnes was unable to determine Keats precise familiarity with Latin. He mentions an "Auctores Mythographi Latini", 1742 quarto, found among his possessions.

(25) "Four seasons fill the measure of the year," etc., (A, p. 220, B. p. 186) referred in A to the "Literary Remains", A, vol. II, but is not given there, and in B to the "Poetical Works"

(26) In B, after "This is my birthday," (A p. 237, B. p 200) Milnes adds a note which says that the preceding letter shows how far this birthday is in advance of the time when Keats yearned for a "life of sensations rather than of thoughts," and yet he was just on the eve of the great sensation which occupied his being and life.

(27) Statement on p. 244, A, about the recasting of "Hyperion" in the shape of a "vision" is changed in B, p. 206, where he reparagraphs, and thinks the "Vision" a first draft. Also, before p. 245, and B. p. 211) there are inserted in B three sonnets, "To Sleep," "The day is gone and all its sweets are gone" and "I/cry your mercy--pity--love! ay love!" and "La Belle Dame sans Merci" These appear in A in the "Literary Remains, pp. 298, 304, 305 and 268.

(28) "Why did I laugh tonight" (A, p. 268) is referred in A to the "Literary Remains", A. vol. II, p. 301, but is given in toto in B. p, 229. Same is the case with "When lulled Artus, baffled, swooned and slept, "Literary Remains" p. 302,(A. p, 270, B. p. 231,) and with "O by dull rhymes our English must be chained," (A p. 273, B. p. 234) Literary Remains," p. 303.

(29) Quotation from Milton, A, p. 277. omitted in B.

This ends volume I. of A.

(30) Volume II. A paragraph about a comment of Sir James McIntosh is inserted in B just after a letter to Reynolds (A, p. 6, B. p. 250)

(31) In B is inserted, p. 388, after "destiny of Keats, A p. 100, a paragraph of additional information about Severa and the "Adonais".

IV. In A, comprising more than half of volume II, there are the "Literary Remains" containing besides the poems referred to it in the text, the tragedy of "Otho the Great", the fragment of "King Stephen", "The Cap and Bells" and some miscellaneous poems. B contains some of the shorter poems in the main text; but the rest were published in Keats' "Collected Works."

V. In B, but not in A, there is an appendix containing:

(1) Keats on "Kean and Shakespeare," (The "Champion", Sunday, December 21, 1817) and ("Champion" and "Sunday Review", Sunday, December 28th, 1817)

(2) Another version of Keats, "Hyperion" called "Hyperion, A Vision", with the passages in brackets which are found in the poem as ordinarily printed.

Chapter IV.

The Reception of the "Life, Letters and Lieterary Remains"

The "Life and Letters" was reviewed in all the leading magazines. The List is as follows, given chronologically:

"The Athenaeum" (London) August 12th, 19th, and 26th, 1848.  
pp. 789, 824 and 859, Review of Milnes, "Life of Keats."

"The Dublin Review", vol. 25. p. 164. September 1848.  
Review of Milnes, "Life of Keats."

"Living Age," vol. 19, p. 20. October 1848. Review of  
Milnes. "Life of Keats."

"Democratic Review", vol. 23, p. 375. October 1848, Review  
of Putnam's edition of the "Life of Keats."

"British Quarterly Review", vol. 8. November 1, 1848. p.328

"North British Review" vol. 10, November 1848, p. 69.

"Sharpe's London Magazine," vol. 8, November 1848 to Febru-  
ary 1849, p. 56.

"Eclectic Magazine," vol. 15, November 1848, p. 340-8.

"Gentleman's Magazine", vol. 30, new series, November 1848,  
p. 507-10.

"Chamber's Edinburgh Journal," vol. 10, Saturday, December  
9th, 1848. p. 376.

"Dublin University Magazine," vo. 33. January 1849, p. 28.

"Westminster Review, vol. 49-50. January 1849. p.186.

"Massachusetts Quarterly Review" vol. 2, September 1849.  
p. 414.

"Edinburgh Review, Vol. 90, October 1849, p. 424. In an  
article headed "Notice of Tennyson's 'Princess', 'The Postical Works  
of Shelley' edited by Mrs. Shelley and Milnes' 'Life of Keats,'"

"Democratic Review" vol. 26, May 1850, p. 415.

"Eclectic Review", vol. 88, p. 533.

"The Pioneer, " vol. 4, p. 93.

"Colburn's Magazine" vol. 84, p. 105.

"United States Magazine," vol. 23, New Series, pp. 375-7

"Prospective Review" vol. 4, p. 539.

"Southern Literary Messenger," vol. 18, p. 508.

"American Review" vol. 8, pp. 603, 20.

To go into the criticism of Keats' poetry in these reviews would profit us nothing. The authors are unanimous in their praise of Keats and in their belief that "whatever may be the degree of neglect that poetic genius such as that of Shelley and Keats may meet with in the dawn of its manifestation, we have proof in the fame to which each has now arrived that nothing can prevent its ultimate recognition." (1) Their interest for us, however, lies rather in their judgment of the "Life and Letters" themselves and of their presentation of Keats than in anything they may have to say directly about him.

The "Athenaeum" says, "This new document of Keats' life presents us with a man not only penetrated with subtle imaginings but sufficiently acquainted with and prepared for the stern experiences awaiting him in the outer world, and willing to suffer the trial for the sake of the artistic profit. We are glad to receive these posthumous additions to his work." "This review was apparently the first to appear in Mr. Milnes' book, and was continued through three numbers, August 12th, 19th, and 26th, 1848. In the second number, it corrected the error which Milnes had made in saying that George Keats was the eldest son and John the second. The review is practically completed in this issue, but in the number for August 26th, there is this additional note:

(1) Athenaeum, August 12, 1848, p. 789.

"Our correction of one of Mr. Milnes' errors in the 'Life of Keats' has received the following confirmation:

14 Mount Street,  
Berkeley Square,  
August 23, 1848.

"Having read in your last week's Athenaeum amongst other particulars of the life, writing, illness and death of the late John Keats, an anecdote relative to his friendly intimacy with my brother (the Rev. Benjamin Bailey) now Archdeacon of Colombo), I thought you would like to have your correction of the erroneous report of the death of the latter confirmed. I had a letter from him a short time ago. He was, at the date of it, though not in strong health, gradually and safely recovering from a recent attack of illness. I am, etc.,

Edward Bailey.

These errors in the "Life" were, as we have seen, corrected in the second edition of the book in 1867.

The "Dublin Review" (1) writer is one of the least enthusiastic of all the reviewers, although he thinks it is "strange to have remained so long without an authentic memoir of Keats." The strange thing to me is the point of view from which this critic looks at the "Life and Letters". He does not agree with Milnes' quotation from Wordsworth about biography, and thinks there should be no delicacy with Keats, because the "chief interest of the book is in finding out the religious views of Keats." He sees in Keats' works doubt and suspicion of his orthodoxy, in his associates, in the "mystic paganism of his poetic creed" and in his perpetual worship of Nature. He says, "There is no absolute avowal of a fixed system of unbelief, but the vagueness and uncertainty fill one with dismay," and he quotes vol. 2, pp.73-5 as an outpouring of wretchedness and gloom due to uncertainty.(2) At any rate, he thinks "nothing should be suppressed which tended to explain his religious

(1) Dublin Review, vol. 25, September 1848. p164.

(2) The "outpouring" in this letter is due to his grief at leaving Miss Browne forever, and perhaps to a little uncertainty in regard to her affection----surely to no religious incertainty.

belief, or to illustrate its practical influence on his destinies." He omits comments on the book as a literary production, but he accepts the Athenaeum's correction of Keats being the eldest son. He considers the minor poems "perhaps for general interest the most valuable of the new materials Milnes' volumes have preserved for those faithful hearts who still 'weep for Adonais.'"

Now hear the "Living Age." (1) Keats' reputation has exceeded his dying hopes and the ideas of his enemies, but, be his fame extensive or limited, his "Life and Letters" have more title to be given to the world than those of many persons who have lately figured in print. The subject could not have been placed in better hands. Milnes has no personal knowledge, and so no lively delineations, but so also no temptations to soften the truth. Milnes' genial good-nature and catholic sympathies enable him to appreciate the depth of feeling under the weaknesses and to do full and favorable justice to the character and writings of Keats, without blinding him to his faults. The rarest feature of his work is the large and comprehensive spirit which characterizes it. The poetical power of Milnes is shown better here than in his poems. He has a depth of thought, a vivacity of imagination, and a largeness of grasp which give to his prose some of the universal character of poetry, without impairing its nature as prose."

That the "Life and Letters" completely overturned the prevailing idea of Keats as a man is the statement of the "British Quarterly Review." (2) "Thinking of his early death, his weak lungs, the recurrence of 'swooning' and 'fainting' in his poems, and the accredited story of the 'Quarterly', we could not help picturing him as the sort to give way to tall fantastical conceits, and to want the very characteristic of greatness---manly sense and manly strength.

(1) Living Age, vol. 19, October 1848, p. 20.

(2) British Quarterly Review, vol. 8, p. 328, November 1st, 1848.

The publication of 'Keats' Life' has greatly altered this idea. It not only disposes of the notion of the 'Quarterly', but shows him by no means the fragile, puny creature he was believed to be by many. Keats is here energetic, irritable, proud, vehement," Speaking of the artist Severn's devotion to Keats farther on, it says: "There has been considerable diversity of opinion respecting this "Life of Keats" and many regret its publication, as tending to depose the poet from his former high position; but, for ourselves, had this book done no more than set before us such a picture of human friendship and heroic tenderness, it would have been welcomed as a precious gift." The "Life and Letters" degrading Keats from his former high position" is a surprising statement and upheld by no evidence whatsoever. In fact, the reverse was precisely the case.

In the discussion of Keats, the "North British Review" (1) dwells chiefly upon his faults, "because", the writer states, "They are less generally perceived than his excellencies." He enumerates especially the faults of the "Sensuous and self-conscious school of which Keats is the best representative." Towards the end he relents however, and says, "Were we to speak at full all we believe his writings merit, we should satisfy his blindest admirers." For Milnes there is nothing but praise. "Mr. Milnes' prose style is the completest in its happy way, we are acquainted with; he has executed his task with accomplished taste. He conducts the autobiography of a brother poet without overstepping the bounds of an 'editor.'" Such self-denial is rare."

"Sharpe's London Magazine" is in much the same vein concerning Milnes. (2) "Mr. Milnes is a biographer of the right sort. His ink and paper have been profitably employed. He had a difficult

(1) North British Review, vol. 10, N. 69, November 1848.

(2) Sharpe's London Magazine, vol. 8, p. 56, Nov. 1848 to Feb. 1849.

task and he achieved it nobly and modestly---Let us hope from it (the "Life") increased popularity of this exquisite and original poet." It also agrees with the "British Quarterly Review" as to the view presented of Keats himself. "There is silent but strong support in this book to the testimony that Keats was not killed by an article." The author then quotes Milnes' Preface, page 15, and adds, "He has done 'the thing he would do.'"

The "Eclectic Magazine (1) is lavish in its praises. "What a treasury of intellect have we not in the literary remains of such a man. Such a mine of wealth, such a mass of new, interesting and truly valuable matter has not for a long time been added to the existing list of the country as that now presented to us by Richard Monckton Milnes, and from which it would be but too pleasant to go on stealing sweet snatches, and culling fair flowers, till even so precious a work was itself exhausted. The presenting to public view the true picture of a man of genius without either wounding the feelings of mourning friends, or detracting from his existing reputation obliged his biographer to consider what course was most likely to raise the character of Keats in the estimation of those most capable of judging it.----Keats was either extravagantly praised or condemned. The interval of a quarter of a century has entitled a brother poet to come forth as a biographer to dispel illusions and prejudices."

Another tribute to the biographer is found in the "Gentleman's Magazine." (2) "Mr. Milnes has executed his task in a manner honorable to himself, and, we have no doubt, satisfactory to those most interested in the character and fame of the poet." But of the "Literary Remains" the writer says: "There is not much to

(1) Eclectic Magazine, vol. 15, p. 340-8, November, 1848.

(2) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 30, new series, p. 507-10. Nov. 1848.

praise in the posthumous piece published by Milnes. The 'Eve of St. Agnes' promised better things."

In the "Westminster Review" (1) all is again praise. "Mr Milnes has conferred no slight enjoyment or obligation; his book excites deep emotion. A man is brought before us whose every thought and trial, strength and weakness we draw to our own bosoms and enshrine them in our inmost hearts. The public should be grateful for this matter in whatsoever form, but more so in the form in which it is. The most earnest worshipper of Keats' genius could not have wished it in other hands, or more fairly or honestly done. When the poet sings his own song, Milnes lets him sing it alone and himself listens. To Keats we listen, of him we think and feel; and surely he is subject enough-----These volumes and Keats' genius will be tested by what they are. We thank Mr. Milnes for the pleasure he has given us, first in the life of Keats, and second for the fair, generous and intelligent spirit he has manifested throughout it. He feels no morbid curiosity, while he does not spare any passage that would elucidate the elementary powers of the poet. The book will not wound the most loving of Keats' personal friends and yet will give a stranger a true, full and particular account of what manner of man Keats was."

"Chambers' Edinburgh Journal"(2) in its review, makes the statement that there have been "numerous editions" of Keats' works "imperfect as they may be." Four editions in twenty years, one of them American, may have been considered "numerous" in the late forties, but to the twentieth century mind it seems like a stretch of imagination so to designate them. On several points, this re-

(1) Westminster Review, vol. 49-50, p. 186. January 1849.

(2) Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, vol. 10, p. 376, Sat. Dec. 9, 1848

viewer disagrees with those whom we have considered up to this point. First, he has "no faith in what Keats might have done; the world had received what he had to bestow." Second, he thinks that the early abuse of Keats was not due to political causes as Milnes states, but to the inability of the critics to understand his poetry. His opinion of Milnes is not so high as is elsewhere accorded him. "Mr. Milnes has discharged his duty as editor with great ability, but too timidly. If Keats was not what he represents, there is no need for the book; if he is, biographical facts are too valuable to be concealed for the purpose of sparing private sensibilities."

The Dublin University Magazine (1) is an enthusiastic admirer. "The volume before us has long been a desideratum, but we do not regret that it was not published sooner. The poetry of Keats, published some twenty years before, has been silently winning its way, making many proselytes to its poetical doctrines, and pointing back to all that was best in the Elizabethan era. These volumes appear just in time to gratify a laudable interest awakened by merit already felt and valued. Keats is fortunate in having been assigned to one so alive to his merits and defects as Mr. Milnes. Mr. Milnes unites a fine simplicity to a picturesqueness of expression very captivating and the poet involuntarily peeps out in many a passage. Good criticism by no means silent where censure is called for---gives these volumes additional value, and to every lover of poetry--to every one who loves to contemplate the highest order of human genius soaring aloft, or fretted like a caged eagle; weak as a breaking wave, or, in its hour of strength:

"Not charioted by Bacchus and his pards,  
But on the viewless wings of poesy;"

(1) Dublin University Magazine, vol. 33 p. 28, January 1849.

we would recommend these attractive and instructive remains, and can assure the reader from our own experience that he will close the book to recur to it often again and that from the perusal he will derive much pleasure, much knowledge, and will feel the better for it."

America was almost a year behind England in its recognition of the "Life and Letters." The first review in this country appeared in September 1849, in the "Massachusetts Quarterly Review." (1) Even here, most of the talk is of Keats himself, his sense of beauty and Grecian spirit. Our idea of the impression made by Milnes' volumes, is vague indeed. "Keats, with a few exceptions, is the least-known poet among us. He has his admirers among the lovers of genuine poetry, but the great verse-devouring public can't appreciate him, Tennyson, Milnes, and Browning.-----One of Milnes' charming volumes (of the "Life") has strayed among us, but its modest presence was forgotten amid the blare that announced the "New Timon." (2)

The notice in the "Edinburgh Review" appeared in an article (3) including both Shelley and Tennyson under the heading "Notice of Tennyson's 'Princess,' 'Poetical Works of Shelley' edited by Mrs. Shelley, and Milnes' 'Life of Keats'." The author discusses Shelley and Keats together as representatives of the "ideal" school of poetry. His remarks on Keats contain nothing new or noteworthy, and he gives us no opinion at all of the volumes under consideration.

A preliminary notice of Putnam's (the American) edition of Milnes' "Life of Keats" had appeared in the "Democratic Review" of October, 1848. (4)

- (1) Massachusetts Quarterly Review, vol. 2, p. 414. September 1849.
- (2) A satire by Bulwer Lytton, published in 1847.
- (3) Edinburgh Review, vol. 90, p. 424, October 1849.
- (4) Democratic Review, vol. 23, p. 375, October 1848.

The edition was evidently not published, however, till well along in 1849, for we do not find the review itself until May, 1850. (1)

The volume of poems published at the same time attracts most of the reviewers' attention, for he dismisses the "Life and Letters" in two rather uncomplimentary paragraphs. "The work of the editor in the first of these volumes in just what we would have expected to have seen come from the hand of the merest scribbler in the world, and what, indeed, we little looked for from one who had been so highly praised by a brother poet and keen critic, who hailed him with an enthusiastic welcome to the shore of song. In truth, were it not for his previous reputation, one would be led to suppose him one of that increasing throng who have their names on every occasion, put, in gold, on the back of some volume of well-earned celebrity, seemingly with the hope that they may become associated with the name of the author, and float adown the stream of time with him who is destined to sail far out into the great ocean of futurity.

"The letters we shall dismiss briefly, by saying that they are interesting only inasmuch as they show the poet's opinion of himself; and so far as this opinion, frequently expressed, tends to dispel the illusion, so general, that with a rather unmanly sensitiveness, he withered at the full breath of a hostile reviewer."

The foregoing quotations are, then, the respective opinions of the magazine reviewers, mainly English, concerning Mr. Milnes' "Life, Letters and Literary Remains" of John Keats." But before generalizing about the impression which it made, let us look at the judgment passed upon it by a few of the "literary lights"

(1) Democratic Review, vol. 26, p. 415, May 1850.

of 1848 and later. Although our material is somewhat meager, there is at least one man in America and one in England who expressed their delight with this memoir of John Keats.

The representative in America is John Russel Lowell and I quote entire the letter which interests us: (1)

Elmwood, Sunday, Sept. 3, 1848.

To C. F. Briggs,

My Dear Friend:-- For your other gift of "Keats' Life" I have other thanks to offer. It is a book that I have long desired to see. Indeed, I once meditated the raising of such a monument to him myself (it was in 1840), and, I think, had even gone so far as to write a letter to his brother George which I never sent. Keats was a rare and great genius. He had, I think, the finest and richest fancy that has been seen since Shakespeare. And his imagination gave promise of an equal development. Ought we to sorrow for his early death, or to be glad that we have in his works an eternal dawn of poesy, as in Shakespeare we have early morning and full day? Forever and forever shall we be able to bathe our temples in the cool dew which hangs upon his verse.

I love above all other reading the early letters of men of genius. In that struggling, hoping, confident time the world, has not slipped in with its odious consciousness, its vulgar claim of confidant-ship, between them and their inspiration. In reading these letters I can recall my former self, full of an aspiration which had not learned how hard the hills of life are to climb, but thought rather to alight down upon them from its winged vantage ground. Whose fulfillment has ever come nigh the glorious greatness of his yet never-balked youth? As we grow older, art becomes to us a definite faculty, instead of a boundless sense of power. Then we felt the wings burst from our shoulders; they were a gift and a triumph, and a bare flutter from twig to twig seemed aquiline to us; but now our vans, though broader and stronger grown, are matters of every day. We may reach our Promised Land; but it is far behind us in the Wilderness, in the early time of struggle that we have left our Sinais and our personal talk with God in the bush. I think it fortunate to have dear friends far away. For not only does absence have something of the sanctifying privilege of death, but we dare speak in the little closet of a letter what we should not have the face to at the corner of the street, and the more of our confidence we give to another, the more are we ourselves enlarged. It is good also, on another account to pour ourselves out, for it gives room for other thoughts to be poured in. The mind and the heart must have this outlet or they would stagnate."

In England, among the large number of prominent mid-Victorian literary figures, Edward Fitzgerald was the only one who

(1) Letters of James R. Lowell, ed. by C. Eliot Norton. Harpers New York, 1895. Vol. I. p. 188-89

conveniently put into his letters any opinion concerning the "Life and Letters". I quote first from the "Life of Edward Fitzgerald" by Thomas Wright. (1) "Among Fitzgerald's correspondents was his old Cambridge contemporary, Lord Houghton, (Monckton Milnes) called, from his literary tastes and love of the society of men of letters 'The Victorian Maecenas' and from his serenity and smiling self-sufficiency 'The Cool of the Evening'---names which clung to him like burrs----Though Fitzgerald's dislike of company kept him from Lord Houghton's famous breakfast-table, where, to use an old Assyrian expression, 'the gods gathered like flies', he corresponded from time to time with Lord Houghton, and on April 8th, 1872, wrote to say that he had been reading his lordship's second edition of the 'Life, Letters and Remains' of John Keats. 'I wonder, he observes, 'Messrs. Browning, Morris, Rossetti, etc., can read Keats' hastiest doggerel and not be ashamed at being trumpeted as great poets by the Athenaeum and elsewhere.' Fitzgerald considered Tennyson inferior to Keats, but superior to Browning."

Later (1878), Fitzgerald wrote thus to Fanny Kemble: (2)

Woodbridge, November 13, 1879

'Clarke Sanders' has been familiar to me these fifty years almost; since Tennyson used to repeat it and 'Helen of Kirkconnel', at some Cambridge gathering. At that time he looked something like the Hyperion shorn of his Beams in Keats' Poem--with a pipe in his mouth. Afterwards he got a touch, I used to say, of Haydon's Lazarus. Talking of Keats: do not forget to read Lord Houghton's Life and Letters of him in which you will find what you may not have guessed from his poetry, (though almost unfathomably deep in that also) the strong, masculine sense and humor, etc. of the man; more akin to Shakespeare, I am tempted to think, in a perfect circle of Poetic Faculties than any poet since:"

There are several other references to Keats or to Lord Houghton in Fitzgerald's letters, but most of them are about Keats

(1) Vol. II, p. 170-1

(2) Letters of Ed. Fitzgerald to Fanny Kemble, edited by Wm. a Wright 1895. p. 158.

"Letters to Fanny Brawne" (1) or a copy of the first draught of "Hyperion" which he had received from Lord Houghton himself. (2) A letter to Lowell is interesting in its comments on Lord Houghton and the early draught of "Hyperion."

May, 1878.

"I am sending you a copy of the first draught of an opening of Hyperion. I have got it from that Finsbury Circus Houghton (3) who gave me the first copy, which I keep; so you shall have this, if you please; I know no one more worthy of it; and indeed I told Lord Houghton I wanted it for you; so you see he bears you no malice. He is in truth a very good-natured fellow--

Well, to leave that, he writes me that he had the original MS: it was stolen from him. Fortunately a friend of his (Edmund Tushington) had taken an MS copy, and from that was printed what I send you. The corrections are from Tushington: I do not understand why Lord Houghton does not publish it. He says he has written to Bendizzy (4) Her name is 'Fanny'. Ben might do much worse."

We must quote one other letter, to Charles Keene, in 1880.

"Do not forget as you will, to tell Mr. Millais one day of the pretty subject I told you of: little Keats standing sentry before his sick mother's door with a drawn sword; in his shirt it might be, with some Rembrandtish Light and Shade. The story is to be found at the beginning of Lord Houghton's Life."

Other mentions of Keats, although interesting as showing the likings of the writers, are not concerned with the "Life and Letters." (5)

The general judgment, then, on Lord Houghton's "Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats" may be divided into three parts. First, it corrected the current impression that

(1) Edited by H. Buxton Forman, 1878, 1887.

(2) These references are: vol. II. pp. 178, 233, 235, 236, 238, 240, 242, 245, 249, 271, 293.

(3) Reference to remark of Lowell about the "Finsbury Circus gentility" Houghton had given to Keats.

(4) A nickname of Benjamin Disraeli.

(5) Some of these references are: Life & Letters of G. Eliot, ed. by her son, vol. I. p65. Henry Crabb Robinson's Diary and Correspondence, vol. I, p. 453-4. vol. II. p. 243., and De Quincy and His Friends, by Hogg. (Notes on his conversation by Richard Woodhouse p. 90.

Keats was a fragile being who was killed by the first malignant reviewer, and presented him as a man, proud, energetic and essentially manly. Second, this memoir was a volume much needed to satisfy the desire for authentic knowledge concerning a man in whose poetry there had been a steadily and widely-growing interest, and much valuable material was here presented. Third, and last, the biography could not have been in better hands; Mr. Milnes was sympathetic yet impartial, and had cast his material in the most pleasing form.

Chapter V.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and its Followers.

The work of John Keats undoubtedly affected, to a greater or less degree, those poets and painters who are designated as belonging to the Pre-Raphaelite School. In order to determine the scope of this influence and how much the interest in Keats was aroused or strengthened by Lord Houghton's "Life and Letters," it is necessary to give a brief account of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and its ideals and aims.

In the history of art in the nineteenth century probably no movement created so great a sensation as that which is known as Pre-Raphaelitism. The impression seems to be very general that Dante Gabriel Rossetti was the founder of the Brotherhood which bore this name, and, further, that its origin and inspiration was John Ruskin's "Modern Painters." This latter statement is strongly denied by John Millais. (1) Mr. J. G. Millais says: "Holman Hunt and Millais were Pre-Raphaelites before Ruskin ever wrote a line on the subject. At the Academy one of Mr. Ruskin's admirers lent Hunt a copy of "Modern Painters", and Hunt read it with enthusiasm, as partially embodying his own preconceived idea of art. Millais, however, when asked to read the work resolutely refused to do so. Millais knew nothing of Ruskin's writings until 1851, when a letter of his appeared in the times." (2) Besides what my father has told me over and over again, I have it from Mr. Holman Hunt, his life-long friend, that he was never for a moment influenced by Ruskin's teachings." (3) I think therefore there is no reason to doubt that Holman Hunt, if anyone did, knew and spoke the truth concerning Pre-Raphaelitism.

(1) Life & Letters of J. E. Millais by J. G. Millais. p. 61.

(2) Ibid, p. 62.

(3) Ibid, p. 61.

On this supposition, I believe that, <sup>as</sup> Hunt and Millais, ~~as~~ ~~they record~~, the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood grew out of the early friendship of Millais and Holman Hunt. I follow in the main the account in Millais' Life, which agrees in all particulars with Holman Hunt's and is founded on his statements, and is much more condensed. Mr. Hunt first saw Millais in 1838, when, at the age of nine, the latter received the students' gold medal for a series of drawings from the antique. "Later on Mr. Holman Hunt, who, though he had worked very hard, had failed to get into the Royal Academy, was drawing one day in the East Room by himself. 'Suddenly,' said he, 'the doors opened, and a curly-headed lad came in, and began skipping about the room; by and by he danced around until he was behind me, looked at my drawing for a minute and then skipped off again. About a week later I found the same boy drawing from a cast in another room, and returned the compliment by staring at his drawing. Millais, who of course it was, turned round suddenly and said, "Oh I say, you're the chap that was working in No. 12 the other day. You ought to be in the Academy."<sup>s</sup>

"After this the two boys fell into a discussion on the conventionality and pedantry of art as displayed in the paint<sup>er</sup>s of the day, and it was evident that in both their minds had sprung up a sense of dissatisfaction and the idea of rejecting what they considered to be false and stunted." Thus began a life-long friendship.

A year later Hunt<sup>t</sup> was admitted to the Academy. Three years later the two young artists painted together in Millais' studio, their first pictures for the Royal Academy; Hunt his Madeleine and Porphyro and Millais his "Cymon & Iphigenia." They were so anxious to finish the pictures in time they worked almost all night for many nights before sending-in time, cheering each other

along, and drinking coffee to keep themselves awake.

"It was from these evening séances, and the confidence engendered by the free interchange of thought, that sprang the determination of these youths to leave the beaten track of art and strike out a new line for themselves. Raphael, the idol of the art world, they dared to think, was not free from imperfections. They must go back to earlier times for examples of sound and satisfactory work, and rejecting the teaching of the day that blindly followed in his footsteps, must take nature as their only guide. They would go to her and her alone for inspiration; and hoping that others would be tempted to join in their crusade against conventionality, they selected as their distinctive title the term "Pre-Raphaelites." Meanwhile, Dante Rossetti, wearying of the work at the Royal Academy begged Hunt to take him into his studio. Hunt refused, so Rossetti went to Madox Brown, of whose routine he also soon tired. Finally moved by his appeal, Hunt received Rossetti as his pupil and encouraged the rather queer and at this time utterly despondent young artist.(1)

Hunt told Rossetti of his compact with Millais. Rossetti enthusiastically took up the idea, was the one who added to "Pre-Raphaelite" the word "Brotherhood," and the one who proposed most of the names of those who subsequently became its members. These were William Rossetti, Thomas Woolnes, a sculptor, F. G. Stephens, and James Collinson. "Outside of the enrolled body,(the P.R.B.) were several artists of real calibre and enthusiasm, who were working diligently with our views guiding them," says Mr. Holman Hunt.(2) "W. H. Deverall, Charles Collins and Arthur Hughes may be named. It was a question whether any of them should be elected." Regular

(1) August 1848, Hunt, P.R.B. vol II, p. 45<sup>1</sup>

(2) Contemporary Review, May 1880.

meetings of the P. R. B. began in the fall of 1848 (1) and lasted till about the end of 1850. This was the period of its enthusiasm and life. In 1851 Collinson withdrew in accordance with his Romanist views and Walter Deverell was nominated in his place. The validity of his election was questioned. There was a flurry of discussion, an important meeting, a set of new and stringent rules,---and the organization practically collapsed, although most of its members kept up their friendship.

But in 1849, when the Brotherhood was eager to defend its position, the project of a magazine was proposed and carried out. This was called "The Germ" for the first two numbers, and then its name was changed to "Art and Poetry", under which title it lived for only two months more. Mr. William Rossetti was the editor and Mr. G. F. Tupper the printer. The contributions of prose poetry and illustrations were made by the members of the Brotherhood by their friends and by a few others who had heard of the movement and were interested in it. Of this latter number were Coventry Patmore, John Orchard and Calder Campbell. This interesting "respiratory organ of the Brethren" we shall look at further.

The code of the Pre-Raphaelites as laid down by William Rossetti seems not at all radical and certainly not calculated to draw down upon its followers storms of hostile criticism. This was the code:

1. To have genuine ideas to express.
2. Study nature attentively, so as to know how to express them.

(1) H. Hunt, Pre-Raphaelites and the P.R.B. p. 45, vol. II.

3. To sympathise with what is direct and serious and heart-felt in previous art, to the exclusion of what is conventional and self-parading and learned by rote.

4. Most indispensable of all, to produce thoroughly good pictures and statues.

The references to Keats among the members of the P.R.B. are numerous. First Rossetti, in the "Family Letters of D. G. Rossetti" volume I, Mr. W. M. Rossetti says of his brother: "He had a fit of Keats not long after Shelley, in 1845-6. Dante Gabriel considered himself one of the earliest strenuous admirers of Keats. "Dante Gabriel, in a letter to William in this same book, (1) refers to his not having yet got through the first volume of the "Life of Keats and continues: "He seems to have been a glorious fellow and says in one place (to my delight) that having looked over a folio of the first and second schools of Italian painting, he has come to the conclusion that the early men surpassed Raphael." Soon after this (2) during the plans for "The Germ" he says: "I cannot see any call for the sonnets on Keats appearing in No. 1 of the P. R. B. Journal" A note adds that three of these were by William and one by Christina Rossetti. In the same letter he observes that the first two lines of the "Eve of St. Mark" are like the beginning of William's poem, then called an "Exchange of News." There are several references to a cast of Keats' face which Rossetti procured for several friends, (Browning and C. E. Norton among them) from Thomas Munro, the sculptor.

An interesting item is given by William Rossetti in his "Life of Keats" (3) In discussing Keats' tragedy, "Otho the Great" he says: "In a copy of Keats which belonged to Dante Gabriel Rossetti (Vol. II. p. 39, August 20th, 1848. (2) p. 70, October 8, 1849. (3) p. 190.

I find the following note of his which may bear extracting. "It gives, after all, perhaps the strongest proff of robustness that Keats has left; and as a tragedy is scarcely more deficient than 'Endymion' as a poem. Both, viewed, as whole, are quite below Keats' masterpieces." William Rossetti adds in a note: "I presume the 'three master-pieces' are the 'Eve of St. Agnes', 'Hyperion' and 'Lamia;' this leaves out of count the short "Belle Dame sans Merci" and the unfinished "Eve of St. Mark", but certainly not because Dante Rossetti rated those lower than the three others." At another point, he gives the superstition of the Eve of St. Mark as told by Dante Gabriel and the probable course of Keats' story as surmised by the same author.

Mr. Hall Caine, in his "Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, devotes a number of pages, (1) to his friend's admiration for Keats. He begins: "Before Coleridge as to warmth of admiration, and before him, also as to date of influence, Keats was Rossetti's favorite among modern English poets. Our friend never tired of talking about Keats and never wearied of the society of anyone who could generate a new thought concerning him." The letters to himself from Rossetti, however, are his most interesting data. The following are a few of the references. "He was always getting choicer and simpler, and my favorite piece in his works is 'La Belle Dame'---I suppose about his last." (2) In this same letter he gives an adaptation of Keats' epitaph, which he says he "made in my very earliest days of boyish rhyming, when I was rather proud to be as spockney as Keats could be". Here it is:

(1) Pp.166-83  
(2) 1879.

admitted that this was so, and was ungrudging<sup>s</sup> in his tribute to Lord Houghton's services toward a better appreciation of Keats; but he contended that he had himself been one of the first writers of the generation succeeding the poet's own to admire and uphold him, and that this was at a time when it made a demand of some courage to class him among the immortals, when an original edition of any of his books could be bought for six pence on a book-stall, and when only Lord Houghton, Cowden Clarke, Hood, Benjamin Haydon, and perhaps a few others, were still living of those who recognized his great gifts."

Mr. Joseph Knight, in his "Life of Rossetti," covering the year 1849 says: (1) "Mr. Holman Hunt attributes the shape taken by the ideas of revolt then surging in his own mind, that of Rossetti to the sight at the house of Millais of a book of engravings of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa. The "Life of Keats" by Lord Houghton, to the perusal of which by himself and Rossetti during a visit together to Rochester and Blackheath, Mr. Hunt refers, (2) must also be credited with an influence in the same direction. According to Mr. Hunt, this appears to have been earlier in date than the inspection at Millais' of the book of frescoes." It was about this time, whether before or after the reading of the "Life" it is impossible to say, that Rossetti suggested to that "Cyclographic Club" which preceded the P. R. B. a plan for a series of drawings from Keats' "Isabella". He himself never did one, although he did make, in 1848, an illustration of "La Belle Dame sans Merci" in sepia. Some years later, (1856) Ruskin speaks of a favorite water-color in his possession of a "man with boots and lady with

(1) pp. 24-5

(2) Pre-Raphaelitism and the P. R. B. by Holman Hunt, p. 114.

golden hair." This William Rossetti says was also "La Belle Dame"

Although this is Dante Rossetti's only direct tribute to his appreciation of Keats, we can see the spirit of Keats' art, -- the delight in color, in suggestive detail and in the blending of the Greek and the romantic temper.---in much of Rossetti's art, especially such pictures as "Pandora" or "Venus Astarte." And the mediaeval atmosphere of Keats' "Isabella" or the "Eve of St. Mark" is reflected in Rossetti's ballad, the "Bride's Prelude," or in "World's Worth." (1) But the direct influence of Keats is Rossetti's poetry is less apparent than we should suppose it would be, when we consider his early and deep admiration for the young poet. Take, for instance, the "Blessed Damsel", written at the age of eighteen, and at this very period of admiration. It shows, to my mind, no trace of Keats, in subject matter, meter or spirit. (2)

But there are others beside Rossetti in the P. R. B. <sup>W</sup>who show the influence of Keats. Among these, William Holman Hunt is by no means the least important. His connection with Keats is certainly not negligible, including, as it does, that touching presentment of thwarted love, "Isabella or the Pot of Basil." His love for Keats' poetry was also a youthful passion, for he (evidently a devotee for some time before this) says in 1846: (3) "I had been talking to Millais of Keats and one day took occasion to show him my design for the "Eve of St. Agnes", representing the escape of Porphyro and Madeline from the castle; he confirmed me in the intention of painting this subject." Also: (4) "My first attempt to communicate to Millais my enthusiasm for Keats was for

(1) Compare also "The Burden of Ninveh" and the "Ode to a Grecian Urn"

(2) This poem was undoubtedly written under the influence of Poe-- Rossetti confessed that its inspiration was "Ubalume" in which he said Poe had said the last word of grief upon earth.

(3) Pre-Raphaelites and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. p. 79

(4) P. 80, Ibid.

the moment a ludicrous failure. Going to his studio, I took the volume of 'Isabella' from my pocket and asking him to sit down and listen, read some favorite stanzas. Either from the solemnity of the verses, or perhaps my droning delivery, after a half a dozen verses he burst out with 'It's like a parson!'

"Although nettled, I laughed--'I'll lend you the volumes and you'll find the poems will bear a wonderful deal of spoiling. The poem of the 'Eve of St. Agnes' is earlier than the 'Pot of Basil,' and not at such a high level, but it is brimful of beauties that will soon enchant you; the subject which I begun to paint you will see at the end.'"

Millais soon became ardent in his admiration also, and the plan of the illustrations of 'Isabella' charmed them. Hunt furthermore relates (1) that it was their common enthusiasm for Keats that brought him and Rossetti into intimate relations. We have already seen that as early as 1846 he had started his "Eve of St Agnes" which was hung in the Academy exhibition of 1847. It was on this picture that Hunt worked at night in Millais' studio in order to finish it in time to send. He describes the difficulties under which he painted for lack of time and money. He says: (2) "Coming home at nine, I worked on my canvas with the light of a lamp. The architecture I had to paint with but little help of solid models, but the bough of mistletoe was hung up so that I might get the approximate night effect upon it;" He tells of his other models, of the work with Millais, and of Rossetti's admiration of the finished picture, which was fortunately bought at once

(1) Ibid, p. 107.

(2) Ibid, p. 98-9

by Mr. Bridger, who had been a visitor during the progress of the painting.

This picture of the "Eve of St. Agnes" depicts Madeline and Porphyro in the act of flight, the picture given in the next to the last stanza of Keats' poem, which I here quote:

"They glide, like phantoms, into the wide hall!  
Like phantoms to the iron porch they glide,  
Where lay the Porter, in uneasy sprawl,  
With a huge empty flagon by his side;  
The wakeful bloodhound rose, and shook his hide,  
But his sagacious eye an inmate owns:  
By one and one, the bolts full easy slide:--  
The chains lie silent on the footworn stones;  
The key turns, and the door upon its hinges groans."

Hunt's painting is faithful in every detail. It shows a hall, a porch of stone, with a triple-arched window in the background which looks in upon the revelry described in the fifth stanza of the poem. In the alcove which this window forms, there sits in the corner a page, asleep in a square stone seat. From the ceiling at the left there hangs the bough of mistletoe which Hunt mentions. In the foreground, on the floor, lies the Porter, "in uneasy sprawl, with a huge empty flagon by his side." One hand is thrown across his forehead, the other over the flagon. Two bloodhounds are close to him at the left, one lying down, the other standing looking at the lovers with "his sagacious eye." The whole right-hand background consists of an arched doorway, with a curtain, on the upper part of which the moonlight falls. Madeline and Porphyro are just in front of this curtain, Porphyro at the right and nearest the heavy door at the extreme left, which he is opening with his left hand. The other hand is on his sword. Madeline, the moonlight on her face, is turned to go, but looks still, with frightened eyes, at the sleeping Porter. With one hand she silences the clanking of Porphyro's sword, while with the other, she clutches his clothes as if in fear,

The picture, like the stanza of the poem, is eminently expressive of the fear and the stealth of the flight. And if Hunt had no "solid models" for his architecture, neither, probably, did Keats. In both cases, the result is wholly mediaeval and highly satisfactory. This youthful work of Hunt, done at a time just before the formation of the Pre-Raphaelite<sup>†</sup> Brotherhood, when he was enthusiastically working out his ideas against conventional art, is typical of how much the protests of the Brotherhood had in common with the unconventionalities of Keats in poetry.

"Isabella, or the Pot of Basil", Hunt's only other work from Keats was done at a much later date, and when his art had reached a maturer stage. It was painted in Florence in the days of sadness which followed the death of his wife. He says: (1) "In September of the next year (1867) I returned to England with my motherless child. My picture was bought by Mr. Gambart and exhibited by itself, and an engraving was made of it by Blanchard." This sounds, compared to the "Eve of St. Agnes" episode, sad and indifferent. The painting, though sad enough, is anything but an indifferent performance. It is included in "Masterpieces in color: Holman Hunt" by Mary E. Coleridge; from this reproduction I take my description. The picture is done from the lines in Keats' "Isabella" which say:

"And the new morn she saw not; but in peace  
Hung over her sweet Basil evermore,  
And moistened it with tears unto the core."

The room which forms the background for Isabella, has floors of green and white marble, laid in a design and the walls are lovely green, with the edge of a piece of tapestry hung upon them at the left of the picture. The view thru the doorway in the rear shows Isabella's bed-room, with greenish walls and shadowy brown furniture

(1) Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, p. 255, vol. II.

Over this doorway is a frieze which is also in shadow. Partly obscuring this frieze, a lamp hangs from the ceiling and shines dimly in the light of the "new morn" which Isabella "saw not." On the right hand side of the room, which is rounding, hang beautiful rose-colored draperies which form a background for the pedestal on which the pot of basil rests. This pedestal is of reddish-brown wood and rests on a low, square base. The whole is painted in motifs of ivory, green and black, and over it is an altar cloth elaborately embroidered with passion-flowers. The pot itself is yellowish with a green design and handles under which are death's heads. The leaves of the green basil are thick and tall, reaching to the top of the picture, ~~are thick and tall, reaching to the top of the picture.~~ Isabella, barefooted and in a thin white robe, around which she has caught a dark-green coverlet, stands facing us, with one foot on the base of the pedestal, and one arm around the beloved object. Her head rests on the jar, her black hair streams over it, and her sad, dark eyes, gaze straight at us. The whole thing is unusually striking in its beautiful coloring and in its effect of unutterable grief and self-abandonment. The same weird feeling comes over us in reading the poem and in gazing at the picture, in both of which we see---no less in the poem--the pale girl worshipping at this strange and terrible shrine, where the basil is the more beautiful because watered always by her tears. But although the picture is interesting inasmuch as it shows that Holman Hunt retained his love for Keats, it cannot be called a Pre-Raphaelite picture. Like Rossetti's illustration, for example, of his own "Blessed Damozel", it is a work of imagination rather than of "nature" as the early P. R. B. code has prescribed. These artists, though no longer P. R. B's at heart, were still such to the critics and

the world, and their later work undoubtedly had as much, if not more, influence on their followers, than their early and strictly Pre-Raphaelite work.

Always closely associated with Holman Hunt is Sir John Everett Millais, a popular favorite as an artist and in 1896 elected president of the Royal Academy. Of all the P. R. B's Millais' was the greatest success. We have seen how his enthusiasm for Keats was early aroused by Holman Hunt. He, like Hunt, painted only two subjects from Keats, one from "Isabella" and one from the "Eve of St. Agnes." But while Hunt's early work was from the latter and his later work from the former, Millais took for one of his subjects in 1848 a scene from "Isabella" and in 1864 painted his lovely "Eve of St. Agnes." The scene from Isabella was "Millais' first big work in which he threw down the gauntlet to the critics marking his picture with the hated P. R. B. Signature. With its remarkable mediaeval spirit, this is probably the most truly Pre-Raphaelite of all his work.

"Millais planned this work as late as November 1848, and carried it on, as Mr. Holman Hunt says, 'at a pace beyond all calculation,' producing in the end, 'the most wonderful picture in the world for a lad of twenty.'" (1) The subject was suggested by the following stanza from "Isabella."

"Fair Isabel, poor simple Isabel!  
Lorenzo, a younger palmer in love's eye.  
They could not in the self-same mansion dwell  
Without some stir of heart, some malady.  
They could not sit at meals but feel how well  
It soothed each to be the other by;  
They could not, sure, beneath the same roof sleep,  
But to each other dream and nightly weep."

(1) Life and Letters of Millais, vol. I. p. 70.

All the figures were painted from the artist's own friends and relations. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849. A few critics were complimentary, but the general public looked upon it as a prime joke, only surpassing in absurdity Mr. Hunt's "Rienzi," exhibited at the same time.

The painting includes thirteen persons, twelve of whom are seated around a long table, eating and drinking. Some of the clothes Millais himself tells, (1) were worked out in accordance with a book of mediaeval costumes which Rossetti lent him. The two figures nearest the spectator are, on the left of the table one of the brothers of Isabella, and on the right Isabella herself. Back of them, respectively are the second brother and the lover Lorenzo. This second brother poises in one hand a glass of wine, and with the other hand up to his face gazes with half shut eyes at the lovers, as if contemplating the deed which will rid them of Lorenzo. The nearer brother, with a look of brutality on his face, is reaching out his leg to kick viciously the greyhound whose head rests in Isabella's lap. In contrast to these two, do we feel the mild and gracious beauty of the lovers. We sense the conflict to be directly between malicious cruelty and innocent love. Even did we not know Keats' poem, we should have a premonition that all would not go well with the love of this slender maiden and this man with the adoring eyes. We can almost see in the painting the tragedy which Keats so vividly relates.

More charming than "Lorenzo and Isabella" in its sweet simplicity and considered by some critics to be his greatest work, is Millais' "Eve of St. Agnes". This picture, like the youthful

(1) Life and Letters of Millais, vol. I. p. 55.

subject from the same poem, by Holman Hunt, is bathed in moonlight. The artist's method of procedure and the difficulties he encountered merit telling. (1) "In the autumn of 1862 some lines in Keats' beautiful poem, "The Eve of St. Agnes", caught the fancy of the artist, inviting him to illustrate them on canvas; and this he determined to do at once.

"Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,  
And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast.  
Of all its wreathed pearls her hair she frees;  
Unclasps her warmed jewels one by one;  
Loosens her fragrant bodice; by degrees  
Her rich attire creeps rustling to her knees:  
Half hidden, like a mermaid in seaweed,  
Pensive awhile she dreams awake, and sees  
In fancy fair St. Agnes in her bed,  
But dares not look behind, or all the charm is fled."

But where was a suitable background to be found? This problem was finally solved by the use of a wonderful old room in the historic mansion of Knole Park. Here in December, in weird and comfortless surroundings and with his wife as a model, Millais painted for three successive nights in the moonlight. His wife afterwards spoke of it as the severest task she ever undertook. The finishing touches were done at Cromwell place with the aid of a professional model. Millais lit up his canvas with a bull's-eye lantern when painting this subject in London. He found that the light from even a full moon was not strong enough to throw through a stained glass window, perceptible color on any object, as Keats had supposed and described in his poem. The picture was marvellously quickly executed. After three days and a half at Knole and two days more at home, the work was complete and highly finished." But the hardships were worth the result. We see the maiden as, the moon-

(1) Life and Letters, vol. I. pp.372-4.

light pouring over her, and her richly-embroidered attire around her knees, "pensive awhile she dreams awake." The magnificence of her surroundings with the high walls and the silken draperies of the bed immersed in shadow only emphasize the charm, the innocence and simplicity of the virgin Madeline, afraid to look behind her lest the charm should be broken. Millais has caught the very spirit of Keats' poem,---the spiritual loveliness, almost holiness of Madeline and the pledge of answering purity in Porphyro's love. The picture belongs as clearly to the epoch of the P. R. B. enthusiasm for Keats as if it had actually been painted fifteen years earlier, and, like Hunt's "Isabella", is interesting not only in itself and in its connection with Keats and the P. R. B., but also as a hold-over of the artist's youthful ardor.

These five pictures, one by Rossetti, two by Hunt, and two by Millais are all that can claim to come directly from the brotherhood. But there were those who were carried along by the ideals of the organization itself and those who later followed its leaders who also found inspiration in the work of Keats. Among these was Arthur Hughes, who did a subject from the "Eve of St. Agnes", and Mr. J. M. Strudevick, whose design is from "Isabella" and deals with the theft of the pot of basil, and the oncoming madness of Isabella. What attracted all of these artists to Keats was undoubtedly those qualities I have before mentioned---the vivid color and the suggestive detail of those later poems of Keats which were their special objects of admiration. ¶ In the realm of poetry we may easily wander far from the Pre-Raphaelites themselves in tracing the influence of Keats among them. So I propose to devote myself to the brethren themselves, to the contributors to the "Germ", to that group called the "Aestheticists", comprising Rossetti, Morris, Swinburne, and

Burne-Jones, who are so closely connected with the Pre-Raphaelite movement and to one or two other poets of importance, writing at about the same time. (1850, etc.)

Mr. Sidney Colvin says: (1) "The 'Eve of St. Mark' anticipates in a remarkable degree the feeling and method of the modern pre-Raphaelite schools." Now Rossetti is the only member of the brotherhood itself to whom we can give the title of poet. Others wrote verses, (which we shall look at in our examination of the Germ) but they were primarily artists, as the society was only for artists, and while I do see in the mediaeval spirit of Keats' fragment, in its method of simple statement in description of detail, a slight foreshadowing of the same characteristics in Rossetti, the parallel goes no further. Keats' element was the Greek ideal of pure beauty; the truth of beauty was his creed. Rossetti's genius was sympathetic rather to the supernatural and superstitiously religious side of mediaeval romance.

The contributors of the poetry to that "forlorn little periodical" (2) both in the P. R. B and out of it comprised besides the three Rossettis, Thomas Woolner, Ford Madox Brown, Coventry Patmore, J. L. Tupper, James Collinson, William Bell Scott, Calder Campbell, Walter H. Deverell and John Orchard. (3) A motley list! A few vaguely remembered names, but for the most part only names. Of most there is no record. We know that Coventry Patmore was interested in Keats from the account (given in a preceding chapter) of the assistance rendered to Lord Houghton. William Bell Scott

(1) Life of Keats, English Men of Letters Series, p. 163.

(2) Edmund Gosse, Critical Kit-Kats. pp. 144-46.

(3) For an account of the contributions, see William Rossetti's introduction to the facsimile reproduction of "The Germ."

says in his "Autobiography": "By 1832 I had become thoroughly initiated in the poetry of Shelley, Keats and Leigh Hunt and found all and each more congenial to me than that of Wordsworth, Scott, and Southey. This is all we can gather in way of stray references. As to the poetry itself, and any connection it may have with the poetry of John Keats, --the connection simply doesn't exist. Even to compare Keats' beauty of form with much of this imperfect verse seems sacrilege. Seriously speaking, however, after having gone thru very carefully all the minor verses contributed to the "Germ", --perhaps expecting too much in the way of striking likeness---I have found nothing; no echo of Keats, no shadow of his intense imagination or ideal of beauty.

Followers of Keats Not Connected With the Pre-Raphaelite  
Brotherhood.

I have mentioned above the group called the "Aestheticists" Rossetti, Swinburne, Burne-Jones and Morris. Of Rossetti's poetry I have spoken - Sir Edward Burne Jones surely expresses his feeling concerning Keats in the following passage, (1) in which he is speaking of the success of a poet or artist: "What poet would not rather be Keats, and read by a few hundred, than be Tupper read by a million, or even so good and true a writer in verse as Longfellow: I remember Rossetti's saying that it had taken centuries to prepare for the brain whose shaping imagination wrought the "Ode to a Grecian Urn." A Thousand ingenious Longfellows, ten thousand imperturbable Tupperes, come with every age, but there is only one Keats."

It is to the work of William Morris, however, in some tales

(1) Papers critical and reminiscent --(Sir Ed. Burne-Jones) by Wm. Sharp and Mrs. Sharp.

of the "Earthy Paradise that I wish to call attention. These all here parallels with Keats' "Eve of St. Mark," which are so striking that they cannot be overlooked. Note especially the touches of the twilight, the peaceful streets, and the bells of the church. I give from the "Eve of St. Mark" those passages which I find echoed so clearly in Morris:

"Upon a Sabbath-day it fell;  
Twice holy was the Sabbath-bell  
That call'd the folk to evening prayer  
The city streets were clean and fair  
From wholesome drench of April rains  
And, on the western window panes  
The chilly sunset faintly told  
Of immatur'd green valleys cold, " etc.

"Twice holy was the Sabbath bell:  
The silent streets were crowded well  
With staid and pious companies  
Warm from their fire-side oratories;  
And moving, with demurest air,  
To even song, and vesper prayer,  
Each arched porch, and entry low,  
Was fill'd with patient folk and slow  
With whispers hush, and shuffling feet."

"Far as the Bishop's garden wall;  
Where sycamores and elm-trees tall,  
Full-learned, the forest had outstript,  
By no sharp north-wind ever nipt,  
So shelter'd by the mighty pile."

"All was gloom and silent all  
Save now and then the still foot-fall  
Of one returning homewards late  
Past the echoing minster-gate.  
The clamorous daws that all the day  
Above tree-tops and towers play,  
Pair by pair had gone to rest,  
Each in its ancient belfry-nest.'  
Where asleep they fall betimes  
To music and the drowsy chimes.  
All was silent, all was gloom  
Abroad and in the homely room:"

The quotations from the "Earthy paradise' are in the same meter as the above. The first is from the tale called "The Man Born to be King."

"He saw before him like a wall  
Uncounted tree-trunks dim and tall.  
The odorous spruce-woods met around  
Those wayfarers, and when he turned  
Once more, far off the sunlight burned  
In star-like spots, while from o'erhead  
Dim twilight thru the boughs was shed."

And from the same tale:

"Whence looking back he saw below  
The town spread out, church square and street  
And baily, crawling up the feet  
Of the long yew-besprinkled hill.  
And in the fragrant air and still,  
Seeming to gain new life from it,  
The doves from roof to roof did flit.  
The early fires sent up their smoke  
That seem'd to him to tell of folk  
New wakened, unto great delight."

From "The Ring Given to Venus:"---

"The gray tower with the sunset glowed,  
The daws wheeled black against the sky  
About the belfry windows high  
Or here or there one sunk adown  
The dizzy shaft of panelled stone;---  
And e'en as Lawrence laid his hand  
Upon the latch and there did stand  
Lingering a space, most startling clear  
The sweet chime filled the evening air.  
He entered, 'mid the great bell's dome  
And found Palampus all alone.  
'Mid books laid open;"

Notice also that there is much in common between the wanderings of the lad in the tale, "East of the Sun and West of the Moon" and those of Endymion. Many other parallels similar to those above quoted would doubtless be found if we searched the many other tales of the "Earthly Paradise."

Mathew Arnold is another poet who shows, especially in his early work the influence of Keats. In the "Church of Brou" an early poem probably 1849, there is an interesting parallel with Keats' "Eve of St. Agnes" This occurs in the description in both of the colored window. Keats' picture is done in the moonlight.

"A casement high and triple-arched there was,  
All garlanded with carven imageries,  
Of fruits and flowers and bunches of nut grass,  
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,  
Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,  
As are the tiger-moth's deep-damask'd wings;  
Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,  
And threw warm gules on Madeleines fair breast,  
As down she knelt for Heaven's grace and boon;  
Rose-bloom fell on her hands, together prest,  
And on her silver cross soft amethyst,  
And on her hair, a glory like a saint  
She seemed a splendid angel, newly dressed,  
Save wings, for heaven:"

Arnold's is done with the light of the setting sun, although moon-light also enters into the description:

"So sleep, forever sleep, O marble Pair!  
Or, if ye wake, let it be then, when fair  
On the carved western front a flood of light  
Streams from the setting sun and colors bright  
Prophets, transfigured saints and martyrs brave,  
In the vast western window of the nave;  
And on the pavement round the tomb there glints  
A chequer-work of glowing sapphire tints,  
And amethyst and ruby---they, unclose  
Your eyelids on the stone where ye repose,  
And from your broider'd pillows lift your heads,  
And rise upon your cold white marble beds;  
And, looking down on the warm rosey tints,  
Which chequer at your feet the illumined flints,  
Say: What is this? we are in bliss---forgiven---  
Behold the pavement of the courts of Heaven!

"Or let it be on autumn nights when rain  
Doth rustlingly above your heads complain  
On the smooth leaden roof and on the walls  
Shedding her pensive light at intervals  
The moon though the clere-story window shines,  
And the wind washes thru the mountain pines."

Compare also the description of Madeline above quoted and the following one of Iseult in Arnold's "Tristram and Iseult."

"What Lady is this whose silk attire,  
Gleams so rich in the light of the fire?  
The ringlets on her shoulders lying  
In the flitting luster vying  
With the clasp of burnish 'd gold  
Which her heavy robe doth hold.  
Her looks are mild, her fingers slight  
As the drivesnow are white."

This recalls also the "thoughtful Madeline", with "maiden eyes divine  
"and rich attire."

Dr. Henry Van Dyke also sees (1) Keats in Arnold in "The  
Scholar-Gipsy and in "Thyrsis" In the following lines from the  
"Scholar Gypsy" there is something of the longing for rest which  
Keats expresses:

"But fly on paths, our feverish contact fly!  
For strong the infection of our metal strife,  
Which, though it gives no bliss, yet spoils for rest;  
And we should win thee from thy own fair life,  
Like us distracted, and like us unblest.  
Soon, soon thy cheer would die,  
Thy hoës grow timorous, and unfix'd thy powers,  
and thy clear aims be cross and shifting made;  
And then thy glad perennial youth would fade,  
Fade and grow old at last, and die like ours."

The influence shown here is very general and rather vague. As for  
"Thyrsis" an elegiac poem in memory of Arthur Hugh Clough, I see  
not even as much of a trace of Keats as in the "Scholar-Gypsy."

Robert Browning, as we have seen heretofore, knew well,  
and certainly loved, the poetry of Keats. His poem called "Popu-  
larity"(2) is an appreciation of Keats; It begins:

"Stand still, true poet that you are!  
I know you; let me try and draw you  
Some night you'll fail us; where afar  
You rise, remember one man saw you,  
Knew you, and named a star."

But the direct influence of Keats in Browning's poetry is hard to  
see. ¶ Published with Lowell's early poems in 1843 was the follow-  
ing sonnet to the spirit of Keats:

"Great soul, thou sittest with me in my room,  
Uplifting me with thy vast quiet eyes,  
On whose full orbs, with kindly luster lies

- (1) Century, vol 28, p. 910, October 1895.  
(2) Cambridge edition of Browning, p. 195.

The twilight warmth of ruddy ember-gloom;  
Thy clear, strong tones will oft bring sudden bloom  
Of hope secure to him who lonely cries,  
Wrestling with the young poet's agonies,  
Neglect and scorn, which seem a certain doom:  
Yes! the few words which, like great thunder-drops  
Thy large heart down to earth shook doubtfully,  
Thrilled by the inward lightning of its might,  
Serene and pure, light gushing, joy of light,  
Shall track the eternal chords of destiny,  
After the moon-led pulse of Ocean stops!

This was the tribute of a young poet to another young poet whom he recognized as immortal before the world had begun to notice him.

Also among Lowell's earlier poems is one entitled "An Ode", which seems to me to speak with the voice of Keats, especially in the following stanza:

"Oh, prophesy no more, but be the Poet.  
This longing was but granted unto thee  
That, when all beauty thou could'st feel and know it,  
That beauty in its highest thou should'st be  
O thou who moanest tost with sea-like longings,  
Who dimly hearest voices call on thee,  
Whose soul is overfilled with mighty throngings  
Of love, and fever, and glorious agony,  
Thou of the toil-strung hands and iron sinews  
And soul by Mother Earth with freedom fed,  
In whom the hew-spirit yet continues,  
The old free nature is not chained or dead;  
Arouse! let thy soul break in Music-thunder  
Let loose the ocean that is in thee pent,  
Put forth thy hope, thy fever, thy love, thy wonder,  
And tell the age what all its signs have meant.

In 1876 "Among my Books" (second series) there appeared an essay on "Keats" It is here that Lowell rather makes fun of the "Finsbury Circus gentility" which Houghton had given to Keats. The essay consists mainly of the story of Keats' life briefly retold. But there is some comment on his poetry---and Lowell is an enthusiastic admirer, although he recognizes Keats' faults. One of his tributes is this: "Keats had an instinct for fine words, which are in themselves pictures and ideas, and had more of the power of poetic expression than any modern English poet."

In the volume called "Heartsease and Rue", not published until 1888, there is, under the division, Sentiment, a poem called "Endymion, a Mystical Comment on Titian's 'Sacred and Profane Love.'" This is too long to be quoted, but should be read in full for comparison with Keats' tale, "Endymion". In Lowell's poem the writer is speaking in the person of the shepherd-king, but the love and desire for the personified moon is the same--Even the meter is the same, and Lowell's poem, it seems to me, might be included in Keats' as one of Endymion's" addresses to his adored, with no noticeable discord. So we see that Lowell felt the spell of Keats.all thru his life, and not only in his youth.

#### Summary.

What, then, are our conclusions, from the material we have here set forth?

1. We have shown that, beginning about 1840 or 1841, with the publication anew of Keats' poetry, there was a growing interest in the poet and in his work. Scorned, neglected, and unknown for twenty years, he began in a small measure, at least, to come into his own. Lord Houghton's "Life and Letters," in 1848, although it had been in preparation for fifteen years, was the culmination of this interest. Enthusiasm for Keats was still further stimulated, and the contagion spread rapidly.

2. We have shown that at this very time, with the "Life" still fresh from the press in their hands, the Pre-Raphaelite Brothers found in Keats a deep--perhaps their deepest source of admiration and inspiration. The effects of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, in both art and poetry were far-reaching. And other poets too, many already lovers of Keats, came under the influence of this revival.

3. It is impossible to say exactly what percentage of the whole was due to the "Life and Letters" of Lord Houghton. But the part it played was large---probably greater than we can ever with certainty ascertain. It is not, I think, too much to say that from the summer of 1848 dates the whole view of John Keats as one of the great names in our English poetry.

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