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The RICHARD JEFFERIES SOCIETY (Registered Charity No. 1042838) was founded in 1950 to promote appreciation and study of the writings of Richard Jefferies (1848-1887). Its activities include the Annual General Meeting and Birthday Lecture, winter meetings, summer outings, special events, and the publication of a *Journal*, spring and autumn Newsletters and an Annual Report. Membership is open to all on payment of the current annual subscription (£7.00).

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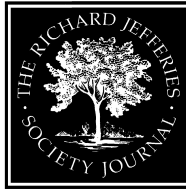
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The principal aim of The Richard Jefferies Society *Journal* is to present material by Jefferies that has not previously been published or reprinted, or that is difficult to obtain, together with articles about Jefferies (commissioned or submitted), items of research and discovery, synopses of talks and lectures, book reviews, Wiltshire material relating to Jefferies, and correspondence. MSS and correspondence for publication will be acknowledged but cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Authors of printed articles will receive a complimentary copy of the *Journal*.

The Editorial Sub-committee comprises: Phyllis Treitel – production; Andrew Rossabi – material; Arthur Stafford – design; Peter Robins – proof-reading; Norma Goodwin – sales; Jean Saunders – type-setting.

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RICHARD JEFFERIES' BIRTHPLACE at Coate is now a museum. It is open on certain Sundays in the summer, on the second Wednesday of the month throughout the year and otherwise by arrangement. For details about the Museum please apply to the Secretary.



Journal No.18 2009

C O N T E N T S

The Peripatetic Philosopher and the Boy Preacher - <i>Richard Jefferies</i>	3
Who read Richard Jefferies? The evidence of the North fund subscription list - <i>Kedrun Laurie</i>	6
The Healing Benefits of 'Meadow Thoughts' - <i>George Leslie Irons</i>	31
Bevis's American snap-shooter - <i>Mark Daniel</i>	33
Poem 'From some letters never sent' - <i>Neil Curry</i>	35
Book Review - <i>Moment of Earth</i>	37
Book Review - <i>Richard Jefferies: An Index</i>	39

The Peripatetic Philosopher and the Boy Preacher

*Reprinted, for the first time, from the North Wilts Herald, 5 October 1867
Jefferies' postscript to this report has been omitted here. A few printing
errors have been corrected.*

So much has been said in your columns, Mr Editor, about 'Master E Probert, the celebrated preacher', that I resolved to see, hear and judge for myself. Saturday evening found me a few minutes before six o'clock in the lobby of the Mechanics' Institute, New Swindon. The doors of the hall were not then open, and with some others I had to remain a few minutes. Admittance having been given persons began to drop in, but for a quarter of an hour the room was not more than a fourth filled; gradually the number increased, and towards the close of the evening the room may be described as three fourths filled, the majority of the audience consisting of women and children – the latter ranging from infants in arms to young people of a dozen years, thus forming an appropriate audience for Master E Probert. After waiting some time, during which period a voluntary was creditably played on a harmonium by Mr Edward Hill, the expectant audience were rewarded by a body of black-coated individuals marching up the room, and a lad ambling along with them in the manner so peculiar to schoolboys when walking with their elders. The youth then mounted the platform, on which had been placed a bible, and the conventional water bottle and glass, which are deemed indispensable on such occasions. Master E Probert is, I should imagine, not more than twelve years of age; he is a short, thick-set lad, which makes him look younger than he really is. He has a well-formed head, and a very intelligent look, and I am bound in candour to say that there is nothing 'bumptious' in his manner, which is that of a well-behaved boy. Having buried his face in his hands and 'meditated', Master Probert ran his fingers through his hair, and smoothed his forehead – a pulpit antic he has no doubt seen his elders perform, and took a survey of his audience. Having accomplished this, Master Probert poured out a glass of water, moistened his throat, and coughed 'ahem, ahem', another conventional antic, and then took his seat. The service commenced by Mr Robert Hill giving out a hymn, prefacing the act by a statement that the hymns for the service to be held had been selected from the Baptist, Congregational, and Wesleyan hymn-books, the Primitive Methodists having been unintentionally overlooked, a piece of impartiality which means, I suppose, giving 'all a turn' to suit the mixed character of the novelty-hunting audience. The hymns having ended, and a chapter read in the New Testament by Master Probert, that young gentleman said 'let us pray', and forthwith proceeded to pour out a string of ejaculatory and supplicatory phrases, interlarded with scripture quotations. I will not

attempt a description of his 'prayer'; to me it was inexpressibly painful to hear a schoolboy addressing the Common Father of us all in a familiar manner, and professing to lay before the Father the wants, cares and aspirations of grey-headed men and women. For the information of the ministers of religion in the district I may state that Master Probert 'prayed' for them, and 'all other fellow laborers in Christ'. But enough of this. Another hymn having been sung, Master Probert opened a Bible nearly as big as himself and gave out his text, which was the latter portion of the 21st verse of the 12th chapter of the gospel of St John: 'Sir, we would see Jesus'. The youthful preacher opened with a conventional exordium, in which he spoke of the origin, status and sentiments of the Greeks mentioned in the chapter from which the text was taken, quoting the opinion of Grotius and other authorities – all of which smacked strongly of a 'crib' from some biblical encyclopaedia. After further allusions to the reasons which prompted the desire of those persons to see Jesus, the 'reverend' youth passed on to apply his subject, remarking that he trusted while God was pleading in the spirit in an extraordinary manner and bringing hundreds and thousands of poor sinners to his feet, that many of those now present who had long been careless and unconcerned would plead for the pardon of their sins and the salvation of their souls. Those who desired to see Christ (said the boy preacher) were in some manner under a concern for their souls and felt their inability to save themselves. Having dwelt upon this point, and enlarged upon the greatness of Christ's sacrifice, the 'preacher' asked his hearers to follow Christ in their thoughts from his throne in heaven to his poor manger. He whose career was marked by bitter steps and who said of himself 'the foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head'. He was in heaven before this world was created, he was the ruler of the angels – yet he gave up all this to come to earth and die for sinful man. Having dwelt upon Christ's life on earth, the 'preacher' came to consider what he called the 'last sad scene of all'. Follow Christ (said he) and see him in the garden of Gethsemane; see him bowed down with sorrow, his soul borne down almost to death, and his anguish so intense that he was almost ready to pray that the cup might pass from him, and sweating great drops of blood in his agony, yet he endured all this for man's salvation. 'He went to Calvary for you and for me', said the preacher. See him, abandoned by man, betrayed and in the hands of cruel men. See him, his brow crowned with thorns, from which the blood is flowing; see his face bruised by blows, his body torn by scourges. Behold him extended on the accursed tree; listen to the strokes of the hammer that drives the nails into his feet – mark the blood which flows from these wounds; see the cross lifted up and thrown into the hole in the ground with violence to add to the torture of the victim. Six long hours of indescribable agony did he suffer. This very earth seemed shocked at such a slight, and darkness reigned. I have given the barest outline of the boy preacher's sensational description of the Great Sacrifice – an event which I should imagine all sincere believers think of with reverential awe. The preacher then passed on to notice at length the magnitude of the sacrifice made for a wretched and guilty race, drew a

comparison between a soul saved by Christ and a sinking vessel rescued by a friendly sail and passed on to notice Christ as a mediator and final judge, before whom his audience and himself must appear. What would be the condition of some of his hearers then? They might reject salvation now, they might despise mercy now, they might put off religion now, but unless they accepted divine grace it would be a dreadful day for them. The 'preacher' concluded by earnestly entreating his congregation to seek Jesus Christ.

This, Mr Editor, is an outline of what I heard on Saturday evening. The young gentleman preached again on Sunday, and I was confidentially informed by an elderly Welshman, as I descended the stairs, that Master Probert had a 'beautiful sermon on the Transfiguration for Sunday'. I hope his hearers appreciated its beauty. I can only say for myself that I left the Hall with mingled feelings of pity and shame – pity that this apparently intelligent lad should be made a kind of rare show, just as Mr Barnum exhibited Tom Thumb and other eccentricities of nature. I experienced a feeling of shame that the sacred cause of religion should be prostrated to a sensationalism of the worst kind; in fact prodigies are objectionable at any time, whether in music or drama, but to set a boy, who ought to be saying his prayers at his mother's knee to 'pray' and 'preach', to mouth scripture phraseology, and repeat the cant and realism of a section of the dissenting communities, is most reprehensible. No good cause can be served by such exhibitions. How many of the audience on Saturday last went to worship their Maker? I will not pass judgement on my fellows, but I make bold to say that an idle curiosity was the moving principle which brought together the majority of the audience. The sneering, sarcastic address which the Master of the Ceremonies delivered at the close of the proceedings – aimed, I think, at you and your paper – showed that *he* needed a little more Christianity. As I descended the staircase – would that the Council of the Institute had provided better means of egress – several persons were in hot dispute as to the merits of the unhappy boy who had been playing the parrot. 'He will soon beat Mr Spurgeon,' said an enthusiastic Welshman. 'Ah, send him to Christ, don't send him to Spurgeon or any one else,' cried a disputant. 'He has been to Christ' was the rejoinder. 'Send him to Christ, send him to Christ' was repeated. 'Ah! now I see, you are a Wesleyan come to find fault; go home, go home,' was the reply to this iteration. I had by this time reached the bottom of the steps, and I hastily beat a retreat, thoroughly disgusted with the whole affair. I am told there were many persons at Master Probert's – what shall I say – levee on Sunday, and no doubt the Cambrian Chapel managers 'pulled off' some money, to borrow a phrase from the turf. To the credit of the ministerial body of the district, it ought to be stated that not a single recognised minister of any denomination was present. The result of my visit is the opinion that the 'boy preacher' is an intelligent, promising lad, with a good memory, and that his 'sermons' were just so many recitations delivered as are similar efforts of memory in hundreds of schools daily throughout the country.

Who read Richard Jefferies? The evidence of the North fund subscription list

Kedrun Laurie

Who read Richard Jefferies? The list of subscribers to the fund for Jefferies' widow and children, launched by J W North in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1887, offers a partial answer.¹ It is not a complete guide, because Jefferies' readership was not uniquely that of the *PMG*, but it does make clear that during the last eight years of his life Jefferies was taken up by prosperous aesthetes, mainly left of centre in their politics, people who would have found him acceptable since May 1879, when Louisa, Lady Waterford's watercolour 'The Wise Woman's Briar' was shown at the fashionable Grosvenor Gallery. This illustrated, as the catalogue made clear, a scene from chapter X of Jefferies' *Wild Life in a Southern County* (1879), which had been serialized in the *PMG* the previous winter. Lady Waterford was related through her mother to Sir Coutts Lindsay, the owner of the Gallery, and, like her cousin, Eleanor Vere Boyle, who in 1893 illustrated *Wood Magic*, was a regular exhibitor there. A friend of Ruskin, Watts and Burne-Jones, she was part of the Grosvenor inner circle.² North's list confirms the close links between Jefferies, the Grosvenor Gallery and the *PMG*.

1. The Grosvenor Gallery

The Grosvenor Gallery opened in 1877 on New Bond Street to promote the work of those it felt the Royal Academy neglected, the Pre-Raphaelites, women artists and English naturalist painters. Its big names were Edward Burne-Jones, G F Watts, and J M Whistler, artists who gave the gallery its characteristic non-aggressive tone and feminine sensibility, although in fact most of the early Grosvenor exhibitions were dominated by what Kenneth McConkey calls 'reliable landscapes' by painters like North, Alfred Parsons and RW Macbeth.³

On 31 May 1879 Jefferies wrote with a touch of pride to his father about the watercolour in the Grosvenor and in June 1879, like the successful author he briefly was, for his first three nature books *The Gamekeeper at*

Notes : Place of publication London unless otherwise stated.

¹ JW North, 'Richard Jefferies Fund: List of Subscribers'. For date and publication details see footnotes 42 and 43. I am very grateful to Steve Milton for letting me have a copy of this list.

² She and Eleanor Vere Boyle were the only women invited by Dante Gabriel Rossetti to join the Pre-Raphaelite sketching society. Rossetti to William Bell Scott, 24 February 1854, Oswald Doughty and John Robert Wahl eds., *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) I, p 180.

³ 'Rustic Naturalism at the Grosvenor Gallery', in Susan Casteras and Colleen Denney, eds., *The Grosvenor Gallery: a palace of art in Victorian England* (YUP, 1996) p 134.

Home, The Amateur Poacher, and Wild Life in a Southern County all sold well for Smith Elder, he had his photograph taken by the London Stereoscopic Co, thus fixing his appearance for posterity, dreamy, sensitive, slightly suffering, to the time of his success amongst the aesthetes.⁴

It was possibly thanks to Joseph Comyns Carr (1849-1916), co-director of the Grosvenor Gallery from 1878 to 1887, that his elevation to the London art world took place, for Carr had admired Jefferies' work since 1878 when *GH* was serialised in the *PMG*.⁵ Carr's *Essays on Art* (1879), with advertisements for *WLSC* at the back, was also published by Smith Elder. This firm published Ruskin as well as Carr and Jefferies and was owned by George Smith, the founder of the *PMG*, where Carr was art critic.

As editor of Macmillan's *English Illustrated Magazine* from 1883 to 1886, Carr commissioned Grosvenor artists specialising in softened depictions of English country life to illustrate Jefferies' articles there. Those by North (1842-1924) and Alfred Parsons (1847-1920) were highly sympathetic; Dewey Bates' and Peter MacNab's statuesque field labourers for 'Walks in the Wheatfields' less so, given that Jefferies' essay asserts: 'He who has got the sense of beauty in his eyes can find it in things as they really are, and needs no stagey time of artificial pastorals to furnish him with a sham nature.'⁶ Carr is seeing Jefferies in terms of a preconceived artistic stereotype. A similar restrictive categorization typified Jefferies' relations with Macmillan and their reader John Morley who had in October 1882 summed him up as 'all chaffinch and peewit'.⁷

It was at the instigation of Carr that in June 1883, Jefferies went to stay with his old friend North in Somerset.⁸ Carr seems to have calculated that the two men would get on and so produce a text with illustration in perfect harmony. North and Jefferies certainly found common ground, although discomfiture with Grosvenor typecasting may well have been part of it, for in his books of art criticism Carr also stereotyped North as quintessentially English, when he had actually opened his Grosvenor career in 1880 with two Algerian scenes.⁹

The Open Air (1885), Jefferies' most self-consciously painterly book, probably stems from his conversations with North. It contains a strain of anti Pre-Raphaelite feeling which clusters around the discussion of the hawthorn hedge in 'Outside London' which 'you could not pass without [...] wondering if any one [...], even those sure-handed Florentines Mr. Ruskin

⁴ RJ letter to James Luckett Jefferies, 31 May 1879, quoted in Hugoe Matthews and Phyllis Treitel, *The Forward Life of Richard Jefferies* (Oxford: Petton Books, 1994) pp117-8.

⁵ J Comyns Carr, *Some Eminent Victorians* (Duckworth, 1908) pp163-4.

⁶ 'Saint Guido', December 1884, illustrated Alfred Parsons; 'Summer in Somerset', October 1887, illustrated JW North. 'Walks in the Wheatfields', II, August 1887, p 708.

⁷ H Matthews & P Treitel, *The Forward Life of Richard Jefferies* (Petton Books, Oxford 1994) p154.

⁸ According to a notebook kept by North's friend and biographer, Herbert Alexander. See Steve Milton, 'John William North and Richard Jefferies', p 4. <http://www.southwilts.com/site/The-Idyllists/North-Jefferies.htm>

⁹ No 100, 'The Grass of the Field', described by Blackburn as "a minute study of North African vegetation", and no 94, 'Algerine Afternoon'. Henry Blackburn, ed., *Grosvenor Notes* (Chatto & Windus, 1880) p 32.

thinks so much of, could ever draw that intertangled mass of lines.¹⁰ Despite the large number of followers of Ruskin amongst the subscribers to North's fund, both North and Jefferies were in fact dubious about Ruskinian over-elaboration of detail. North 'would rather wait until he sees the thing he really wants in nature, – wait a year or two rather than alter his determination as to what he had in his mind'.¹¹ Direct observation remained important to them, but as the revelation of a 'sense of beauty in the eyes', a spiritual world more inward than outward. The Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic promulgated by Ruskin had urged artists to engage in the minute direct study of nature as a revelation of God's handiwork, but religious doubt required less mimetic forms of art. The sense of Ruskinian fact deliquescing into formless space or landscape, the Impressionist, even Symbolist note, is one which characterised Jefferies' and North's work in the eighties. It manifests itself through the subscribers to North's fund in the Whistler group (3.i) and probably too in the theosophists (3.ix).

North was also a great Liberal, remembered by his Somerset neighbours as a 'sturdy champion of the poor', active in the abolition of the game laws, the preservation of commons and open spaces and campaigns to provide decent social housing for agricultural labourers.¹² The example of his practical philanthropy in raising the Jefferies fund is reflected in the large number of social activists amongst the subscribers. This group is not exclusive of or necessarily in opposition to the former, but reflective of the strain of empirical naturalism both amongst Grosvenor exhibitors and in Jefferies own writing (3.ii).

North became, in his own description, perhaps Jefferies' 'nearest personal friend'.¹³ The fruit of their collaboration, 'Summer in Somerset', was published in the *EIM* in October 1887, during the raising of the fund which it will have helped to publicise.

2. The *Pall Mall Gazette*

The *PMG*, where North's appeal was published, was a London evening paper, whose foundation in 1865 had been welcomed by John Ruskin.¹⁴ Jefferies contributed to it under the first three editors, from 1877 until his death. Frederick Greenwood (1830-1909) had been the conservative editor from the *PMG*'s beginnings until 1880, when George Smith transferred ownership to his son-in-law Henry Yates Thompson, and it became a

¹⁰ Jefferies seems unaware of Rossetti, though Millais, Ruskin, and Burne-Jones are all mentioned by him.

¹¹ Hubert Herkomer, 'JW North ARA, RWS, Painter and Poet', *Magazine of Art*, July 1893, I, p 299.

¹² JW North, 'Rural Housing,' letter to the editor, *Daily News*, 26 December 1903. Compare with *inter alia* Jefferies' articles 'On Allotment Gardening' and 'Village Organisation' *New Quarterly Magazine*, April and October 1875. Herbert Alexander, 'John William North, A.R.A., R.W.S.,' *The Old Water-Colour Society's Club 5th Annual Volume* (1927-8) p36.

¹³ JW North to [Charles Churchill Osborne], 29 August 1887, MS 465 Books and Special Collections Division, Mc Gill University Libraries, Montreal.

¹⁴ John Ruskin, 'Of Kings' Treasuries', *Sesame and Lilies* [1865] (JM Dent, 1909) p 38. The paper's Ruskin sympathies were strengthened by the presence on the staff from 1883 of ET Cook, the Ruskin scholar and future editor of his *Collected Works*, who eventually took over from Stead as editor.

Liberal paper. Greenwood left to found the conservative *St James's Gazette*, and was replaced by John Morley (1838-1923), who during his rather formal editorship was allied with Joseph Chamberlain. When Morley entered the Commons in 1883, he was replaced by the anti-Chamberlain William Stead (1849-1912). Stead described the *PMG* as being 'the paper which was read by the political and literary classes', a description which naturally also characterises the North list.¹⁵

Morley began the process of popularizing the *PMG* in 1882 when he cut the price to a penny, but Stead was more radical.¹⁶ He introduced many of the characteristics we would today think of as tabloid: shorter paragraphs, illustrations, human interest stories and, above all, campaigns. Stead was engaged in the interesting democratic experiment of trying to commit middle- and upper-class readers to action on behalf of the disadvantaged by engaging their emotions. To do this he used a popular sensational style, the very style which Greenwood and Morley had cautioned Jefferies against. Jefferies had once defended *Greene Ferne Farm* to a publisher with 'If the plot be subtracted I think I may say that nine tenths of my novel is the results of experience.'¹⁷ Similarly, Stead justified his journalism by saying that the *PMG*'s stories, however lurid, were true.¹⁸

Stead's most notorious campaign, 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon', was against child prostitution. It began in 1885 when, to try and shame Parliament into raising the official age of consent, he bought a thirteen year old girl for £5. In revulsion at Stead's methods, the *PMG* was withdrawn from railway bookstalls and 'many a righteous family head banished both [Stead's] name and the paper from the house', although some churchmen, admiring his missionary zeal, came to his defence.¹⁹ Stead's campaign was successful though, and if his opponents subsequently had him charged with the unlawful kidnap of a minor, and sent to prison for three months, he took this as a personal triumph too. Fortified and encouraged, the *PMG* progressed to new campaigns such as votes for women and the establishment of a state pension. As the North fund was being raised it was condemning the police action at Bloody Sunday.²⁰

The *PMG* campaign which had the most direct impact on the fund, however, was the Langworthy case, leaders on which appeared regularly from 18 April to 24 May 1887. Stead supported Mildred Langworthy, whose millionaire husband had denied the legitimacy of their marriage, filed for bankruptcy and fled the country, leaving her penniless with a young

¹⁵ Quoted in Raymond L Schults, *Crusader in Babylon: WT Stead and the Pall Mall Gazette* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972) p 15.

¹⁶ In fact the *Standard* had become a penny paper in 1856. With respect to price Morley was simply reflecting a general tendency.

¹⁷ Richard Jefferies to George Bentley, 30 September [1878], University of Illinois, Indiana. Quoted in George Miller and Hugoe Matthews, *Richard Jefferies: a bibliographical study* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993) p 200.

¹⁸ Schults 1972, p 166.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p 146.

²⁰ On 'Bloody Sunday', 13 November 1887, 10,000 of the unemployed marched on Trafalgar Square to protest against Irish coercion and were met with a brutal police response.

child.²¹ Through the pages of the *PMG* Stead raised a fund (which reached £1,680) to help her with her legal expenses. On 14 July Mrs Langworthy was awarded £1,200 alimony and £500 per annum child maintenance and on 9 August a further £20,000 damages, with costs, for breach of promise. There had been little need to draw on the fund, and Mrs Langworthy expressed the hope that the sum raised be used as the basis of a permanent fund for ‘deceived and deserted women’, but the paper itself offered subscribers the option of transferring their money directly to the Jefferies fund.²² Those 52 individuals who did so, making up just under an eighth of the total, are indicated by North ‘Transferred from the Langworthy Fund’, and by me next to the donor’s name with (L).²³ Their original impulse was to help not Mrs Jefferies but a woman they believed wronged by a ‘conspiracy of wealth and power’, yet they found no difficulty in transferring that impulse to the Jefferies case.²⁴ Jefferies’ family are thus literally the beneficiaries both of feminine sensibility and the sensational.

3. The Richard Jefferies Fund

Jefferies died intestate and almost destitute on 14 August 1887. By the 15th North had written to the *PMG* informing them that ‘there are no relations able to assist’ and that ‘he will be glad to give any information’: the first step in his call for funds to provide for the widow and children. On the 16th the paper published his poignant account of the rediscovered trust and faith in God of Jefferies’ last days. One thing more. His wife said that their time had been for long spent in prayer together and reading St. Luke. Almost his last intelligible words were: “Yes, yes, that is so. Help, Lord, for Jesus’ sake. Darling, good-bye. God bless you and the children, and save you all from such great pain.”²⁵

It is not to undermine the absolute sincerity of North’s testimony to observe that it uses something of the heightened emotional style of the *PMG*, and that its orthodox Christian framing widens its appeal beyond the highbrow agnosticism of the Grosvenor aesthetes. Already North had an eye to future subscribers.

His account was reprinted or referred to in many of the daily papers. North’s neighbour Robert Arthur Kinglake, later instigator of the Salisbury Cathedral bust of Jefferies, read it in the *Morning Post* and on the 18th wrote to the editor from Taunton proposing the setting-up of a Somerset and Devon fund.²⁶ On 19 August the *North Wilts Herald* invited its readers to contribute to North’s fund either through themselves or via North at the Arts Club, Hanover Square. On 20 August, the day of the burial, Charles Churchill Osborne, editor of the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, set up a

²¹ Schults 1972, pp 212-8.

²² ‘A Letter from Mrs Langworthy’, *PMG*, 12 August 1887, p1. ‘The Langworthy Fund’, *ibid.*, 1 November 1887, p 13.

²³ 48 donations, some joint.

²⁴ One donor, L Tomalin, has, unless North is mistaken, given a guinea directly to North’s fund and another via the Langworthy Fund.

²⁵ JW North, ‘The Late Mr Richard Jefferies’, *PMG*, 16 August 1887, pp 2-3.

²⁶ For Kinglake see Kedrun Laurie, ‘Margaret Thomas, Sculptor of the Bust of Richard Jefferies in Salisbury Cathedral’, *RJS Journal*, 13, 2004, pp10-24.

Wiltshire fund at the Wilts and Dorset Bank, writing emotionally 'I entertain so high an opinion of the value of Mr. Jefferies' literary work that I will not trust myself to speak of it.'²⁷

Charles Churchill Osborne (1859-1944), secretary of the Wilts and Dorset Fund, was an American-born schoolmaster and journalist. He had taught the young Arthur Symons, author of *Studies in Two Literatures* (1897), which first placed Jefferies in an Anglo-French context, at a school in Bideford in the seventies. Osborne was editor of the *SWJ* from 1884 to 1888, in which year he was removed from his post to make way for the son of the proprietor. He seems to have been on the brink of taking up a post on the *St James's Gazette* under Greenwood when the latter resigned, causing him to turn instead to Baroness Burdett-Coutts, who was looking for a secretary, and with whom he stayed for the next ten years.²⁸ Even before leaving Salisbury, however, he had many literary friends in London, including Richard Garnett, to whom Jefferies sent a copy of *Red Deer* in 1884.

Osborne sent a copy of his publicity to North and offered his help. 'You seem to be about the only man willing to give time and trouble to this business ungrudgingly', North told him on 14 September, adding: 'I have set down in my mind £3,000 as the sum to be reached and I think it can be done.'²⁹

On 22 August North had admitted to Osborne that he was surprised (and obviously a little grieved) to find that a fund already existed, of £200, he believed, which had not been transmitted to Jefferies in his lifetime: '... it is in the hand of a kind hearted man but alas ignorant of the character of poor Jefferies'.³⁰ By 14 September he was in better possession of the facts: the amount was actually £100 and it had now been passed to him, in the strictest secrecy, by Mr W C Alexander, a partner in the Lombard Street banking firm. North had succeeded in obtaining the services of Alexander as treasurer, but was still anxiously asking Osborne to enquire about his commercial standing, as he hoped to persuade Alexander (in this he was unsuccessful) to be a trustee.

Osborne and others were concerned about an over-identification of North's fund with the 'contamination of the *PMG*' and he and North attempted to broaden the appeal.³¹ On 26 August Osborne wrote to *The Times* about his fund, and North also referred to it in a letter he wrote to the *Standard* on the 27th.³² On 14 September he tried to meet Osborne's concerns.

In the first place you are wrong in supposing that I have any connection whatever with the Pall Mall Gazette, except on account of this business. [...] The fact was that the editor of the Standard and St James's were both out of

²⁷ 'Death of a Wiltshire Author', *SWJ*, 20 August 1887.

²⁸ Arthur Symons to Churchill Osborne, 12 December 1888, Karl Beckson and John M. Munro, eds., *Arthur Symons: Selected Letters, 1880-1935* (Macmillan, 1989) pp 43-4.

²⁹ JW North to CC Osborne, MS 465, *op cit*.

³⁰ MS 465, *op cit*.

³¹ North to Osborne, 2nd Oct[ober] 1887, MS 465, *op cit*.

³² MS 465, *op cit*.

town, they were both personal friends of Jefferies and I had relied on them. I, having no acquaintance at all with any newspaper office previously. Time was all precious and the Pall Mall the only ready means. I must confess that in this matter the P.M.G. has behaved well. They have done a great deal and of course gratis. I have had two letters in the "Standard" with my initials wrongly given – I greatly regret that Mr. Mudford has not responded to your request, but I am not sure he could have given much time to the work.³³

Osborne's fund distinguished itself from North's in aiming at a public on the one hand specifically regional, 'particularly all Wiltshiremen, are appealed to for support', and on the other more aristocratic and conservative. It was headed by the Earl of Radnor, Lord Lieutenant of Wiltshire, and aided by Lord Arundell of Wardour [Castle, Tisbury, Wiltshire] and the Hon Percy Wyndham.

Wyndham (1835-1911), a Conservative MP from 1860-85, deserves closer attention, for his wife Madeline had helped with the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877. Her portrait by Watts hung at the first exhibition, to which the Wyndhams also lent their Whistler, 'Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Westminster Bridge'.³⁴ Their house Clouds, at East Knoyle, near Salisbury, was designed for them by Philip Webb, and decorated by William Morris. They moved into it in 1885, the year Morris read *After London*, and, as a Socialist, thrilled to its vision of the future overthrow of civilisation.³⁵ Indeed, the 'Forest' tapestry he and Webb designed for the hall, with its unusual combination of domestic and exotic animals, seems to echo Chapter II of the book.³⁶ The Wyndhams patronised many of the Grosvenor artists although they preferred the nostalgic English school, and their purchase of a Whistler was a rare foray into avant-garde art. From Clouds they presided over the 'Souls', a group of aristocrats who prided themselves on the high-minded worship of books and art.³⁷

On 17 November 1887 Osborne wrote to *The Times* asking for final contributions to his fund, as it was proposed to close the list on 1 December. North had written to him on 8 November that he imagined the PMG list would be closed about that time too.³⁸ He contributed fifteen pounds to the fund himself and, with Edward Dalziel (1817-1905) of the London firm of wood engravers, defrayed all the expenses connected with

³³ MS 465, *op cit*. Mudford may not have been as kindly disposed to Jefferies as the PMG in any event. See George Miller, 'W H M...?', *RJS Autumn Newsletter*, 2007-8, p 29.

³⁴ Richard Dormant and Margaret F Macdonald, *James McNeill Whistler* (Tate Gallery Publications, 1994) p 126.

³⁵ JR Ebbatson, 'Visions of Wild England: William Morris and Richard Jefferies', *Journal of the William Morris Society*, vol III, no 3, Spring 1977, pp12-29.

³⁶ Morris's design was rejected by the Wyndhams and sold in 1887 to Alexander Ionides. It is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Linda Parry, ed., *William Morris* (Philip Wilson Publishers in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1996) p 288.

³⁷ Max Egremont, *The Cousins: the friendship, opinions and activities of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and George Wyndham* (Collins, 1977). Caroline Dakers, *Clouds: the biography of a country house* (YUP, 1993). Wyndham turned down Osborne's request to be a trustee of his fund; North to Osborne, 25 September 1887, MS 465, *op. cit*.

³⁸ MS 465 *op. cit*. A note in the PMG on 1 November had reported that donations were still 'from time to time' being received and that they were unwilling to close the fund until £1000 had been reached.

administering it.³⁹ He then amalgamated the funds launched by CP Scott and the *Manchester Guardian* (£200), Osborne and the *Salisbury Journal* (£550), and himself and the *PMG* (£980), and after meeting Mrs Jefferies' immediate needs invested the balance of £1514. 10. 5 for the benefit of her and the children.⁴⁰ Although the total sum raised was only half what North had hoped (and from *PMG* readers not as much as was raised for Mrs Langworthy) it provided a good annuity of around £120 to the family.⁴¹

On 1 January 1889 North published the accounts and list of subscribers in the form of a four page circular entitled 'Richard Jefferies Fund'.⁴² He sent it out to all donors with, on a separate sheet, the account of Jefferies' last days originally published in the *PMG* on 16 August 1887.⁴³ This would also be reprinted in Besant's *Eulogy of Richard Jefferies*, a work with which North was becoming more and more closely associated. He explained that the reason he had delayed circulating the list was because he had been waiting to enclose advertisements for: 'two works in which (through the generosity of Mr. Walter Besant and the kindness of Messrs. Longmans) Mrs. Jefferies has a considerable pecuniary interest.' These were presumably *Field and Hedgerow* (1889), a compilation of Jefferies' last essays that Besant had arranged for Mrs. Jefferies to have published by Longmans, and the *Eulogy* itself, all the royalties from which he donated to her. As there would be three reprints, this was a considerable gift.⁴⁴ Walter Besant, C. J. Longman and Alfred Buckley were North's trustees.

North's list appears to consist only of those who had given either directly through him or through the *PMG* and does not identify separately those who had given to the other two funds; neither Wyndham nor Lords Radnor and Arundell are there, for example. Indeed he refers in his accounts to a bill for printing separately the account of the fund raised by the *SWJ*.⁴⁵ There are 352 donations, of which five are corporate.⁴⁶ Although it is not possible to give a precise statistical breakdown, as so many of the donors are either anonymous, give initials only, or cannot otherwise be identified, the majority do seem to be the socially-concerned, cultured élite of London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle. Despite the presence of some conservatives and some Socialists it is a list which is predominantly Gladstonian Liberal in character. It is dominated by people who admired

³⁹ In *A Round of Days* (1866) and *Wayside Posies* (1867) North had done some of his best work for Dalziel in the sixties.

⁴⁰ *PMG*, 25 August 1888, p 4.

⁴¹ Quoted in Alexander 1927-8, p 50.

⁴² There are no publication details (but see footnote 43), just North's address on the printed letter which forms part of the circular, Beggearnhuish House, Washford, Taunton, and the date, January 1st 1889.

⁴³ 'Specimen of Printing on O.W. Paper. Richard Jefferies Died Sunday, August 14th, 1887, Aged 38 years.' (Printed by Charles Whittingham and Co at the Chiswick Press, London.) Steve Milton collection.

⁴⁴ Miller and Matthews 1993, pp 532-3.

⁴⁵ I do not know what happened to RA Kinglake's Somerset and Devon fund, but his sister-in-law, Mrs Hamilton Kinglake, of Wilton House, Taunton, gave a pound to the North fund.

⁴⁶ Some donations are given jointly by more than one individual. 363 individuals are represented. Unless otherwise stated my biographical information comes from the *Oxford DNB* and *Who Was Who*.

Ruskin and Morris for their social commitment and their nature-based aesthetics. This they tend to demonstrate by the decoration of their houses with the Morris furnishings that ironically only the rich could afford.

About an eighth of the identifiable names on the North list are women, most giving in their own right rather than as a part of a couple.⁴⁷ Geographically the list is as cosmopolitan as Jefferies himself longed to be; there is a donor from California, one from Paris and one from the Transvaal, but there are also 'Swindonians' who gave two shillings, 'one who is country born and bred, Yorkshire' who gave ten shillings and 'Summerzet' who gave a pound.

Irish Home Rule was one of the most urgent political questions of the time and many of North's subscribers are defined by their position on it. Jefferies' explicit references to Ireland are scant, but Home Rule was predominantly a land issue, focusing on the poor conditions of the agricultural tenantry, and on this subject he had written extensively.

Home Rule was largely responsible for the split of the Liberal party and its election defeat in 1886. In 1880 Charles Stewart Parnell had become both President of the Land League and chairman of the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons. His policy was to play off Liberals against Tories in an attempt to extract maximum concessions for Ireland. Gladstone, supported by his Irish Secretary, John Morley, formerly an ally of Joseph Chamberlain, was converted to Home Rule, a policy which forced Chamberlain's resignation from the cabinet, and his Liberal Unionists into alliance with the Tories.⁴⁸ The Home Rule Bill, largely drafted by Morley, was introduced on 8 April 1886, but defeated by opposition from within the Liberal Party, and the Tories were returned in the General Election in July. They would be in power for most of the next twenty years. Chamberlain was left isolated nationally, and at the time of Jefferies' death the Parnell-Liberal alliance was once again intact.

i. The Whistler Group

Jefferies had referred sympathetically to Whistler in 'A Wet Night in London', published in the *PMG* in 1884.⁴⁹ Admiring the old beams of London Bridge Station, he called for 'Whistler or Macbeth, or some one to etch them'. In reflection of his apparent preference for Whistlerian artistic values, many of Whistler's circle appear on the list.

Heading the list is the giver of the largest donation, one hundred pounds; 'A London Banker (per J W North)'. This was the secretive William Cleverly Alexander (1840-1916), mentioned earlier, who insisted on 'no transaction in this matter with the Pall Mall Gazette or any other paper'.⁵⁰ Alexander turns out to be a key figure in Grosvenor Gallery circles, so that it is a little surprising that North had not known who he was.⁵¹ He was from a Kent

⁴⁷ Christopher Newall, *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions: change and continuity in the Victorian Art World* [1995] (Cambridge, CUP, 2004) p 23-4.

⁴⁸ The *Manchester Guardian* supported Gladstone.

⁴⁹ 31 December. Collected in *OA*.

⁵⁰ North to Osborne 14 Sept[ember] 1887, MS 465, *op cit*.

⁵¹ In fairness to North, he did not exhibit at the Grosvenor himself in 1879 or 1881.

Quaker family (his father was for nearly forty years treasurer of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) who founded their Lombard Street Bank at the sign of the Golden Artichoke in 1810.⁵² WC Alexander himself was a great patron of the arts, one of the first in England to appreciate Whistler, who advised on the decoration of his London home.⁵³ Alexander bought Whistler's 'Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea' in 1872, and lent it to the Grosvenor in 1879, the same year that Lady Waterford's 'Wise Woman's Briar' featured there. Whistler's exquisite portrait of his daughter, 'Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander' (1872-4) was shown at the Grosvenor in 1881, and is now in the National Gallery.⁵⁴

Cornelius Cox, who gave two guineas, was a stockbroker and collector whose daughter Amy (b 1865) was married to Whistler's printing assistant and biographer, TR Way (1861-1913). Henry Seymour Trower (1843-1912), Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Navy League, was a connoisseur of music and Japanese art whose name appears in Whistler's address book in the mid-seventies.⁵⁵ He gave two pounds. Pickford Waller (1849-1930), knew Whistler and was a major collector of his work. He gave a pound.

An unexpected name is that of Mrs Walter Sickert, perhaps she and her husband, the English Impressionist painter (and never a Grosvenor exhibitor, although he exhibited at the Society of British Artists in 1885-6 as a pupil of Whistler) recognised Jefferies' own experiments in this direction.⁵⁶ Ellen Sickert, daughter of the Manchester Radical politician, Richard Cobden, had married Sickert in 1885; they were divorced in 1899.⁵⁷

Geo H Lewis, is likely to be George Henry Lewis (1833-1911) the solicitor, senior member of Lewis & Lewis, Holborn, who was for many years legal advisor to the *Daily Telegraph*. This flamboyant and clever lawyer was legal adviser to Whistler and to Wilde. Knighted in 1892, he gave ten pounds to North's fund.⁵⁸

ii. The English Naturalists

'J.W.C.', who gave ten pounds, is no doubt Joseph William Comyns Carr of the Grosvenor. Carr was not an aristocrat but, like North, a draper's son, a Radical who had once been offered a seat as an Irish Home Ruler by Parnell. His protégés, *EIM* and Grosvenor artists Alfred Parsons, who gave five pounds, and RW Macbeth ARA (1848-1910), who gave ten, are also on the list.

⁵² Muriel F Lloyd Prichard, 'The Alexander Family's Discount Company', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 49 (1960), pp 157-164.

⁵³ Dormant and Macdonald 1994, pp 162-3.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp 146-7, 18.

⁵⁵ http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/biog/Trow_S.htm

⁵⁶ For Sickert-like passages in Jefferies see particularly 'Red Roofs of London' and 'A Wet Night in London', *OA*, 1885. The first London Impressionists exhibition opened at the Goupil Gallery in December 1889.

⁵⁷ Marjorie Lilly, *Sickert: the painter and his circle* (Elek, 1971) 106-8.

⁵⁸ Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* [1987] (Penguin, 1988) p 414.

Macbeth, whom Jefferies had rather naïvely bracketed with Whistler, tried to address the reality of rural life in his work, but not successfully enough to evade the wicked cartoons of Harry Furniss in an 1887 exhibition at the Gainsborough Gallery, as related by Oscar Wilde: 'Mr. Macbeth, the variety of whose work is so well known, exhibits a group of peasant women at their customary occupation of 'Pot Boiling in the Fens'.⁵⁹ Jefferies would have known Macbeth's work through North, who was his friend, but probably also have seen his 'Sedgecutting in Wicken Fen, Cambridgeshire' at the 1878 Academy, and five other works at the 1879 Grosvenor. Robert Macbeth's painter father, Norman Macbeth FSA, is also on the list, though giving a pound to the fund must have been one of his very last acts, as he died in February 1888.

Andrew Lang (1844-1912), literary adviser to the House of Longman, who had urged Jefferies' 'not very large public' of 'people with hearts and poetic instincts' to give to the fund in his column in *Longman's Magazine*, gave five guineas.⁶⁰ His prose translations of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* had been published by Macmillan in 1879 and 1883 respectively. Lang's friends and fellow-poets Edmund Gosse (1849-1928) and Austin Dobson (1840-1921) each gave a guinea. Edmund Gosse is now remembered for his autobiography *Father and Son* (1907); the father being zoologist Philip Henry Gosse; but his reputation at the time of the subscription was founded on criticism and poetry. Dobson was principal clerk to the marine department of the Board of Trade and Gosse worked in the commercial department as a translator.

iii. The arts

Of followers of Ruskin the most important is Sir Thomas Acland (1809-1898), North's neighbour in Somerset, and one of the original trustees of Ruskin's Guild of St George, founded in 1871. Subscribers to the Guild would set aside a portion of their income to buy land for the working man to farm in the old-fashioned manual way, and benefit from its produce. Acland was a friend of Gladstone, and keenly interested in agricultural and educational reform.⁶¹ We know that Jefferies visited his properties Cloutsham Farm and Holnicote at Selworthy from *Red Deer* and 'Summer in Somerset' respectively. Acland was Liberal MP for North Devon and then for North Somerset for over twenty years, but lost his seat in 1886 after having voted for Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. He subscribed five guineas.

Detmar Jellings Blow (1867-1939) (L), the Arts and Crafts architect, was still in articles at the time of the subscription, but in 1888, on a study tour of the Continent, met Ruskin, who took him to Italy the following year. Blow has been described as 'the last of Ruskin's protégés'; it was under

⁵⁹ 'The Rout of the R[oyal] A[cademy]', *Court and Society Review*, 27 April 1887, repr. in Richard Ellmann, ed., *The Artist as Critic: critical writings of Oscar Wilde* (WH Allen, 1970) p 71. Macbeth supplied drawings with titles like 'Potato Gang in the Fens' and 'Twitch Burning in the Fens' to an article called 'The Great Fen' by Samuel H Miller, *ELM*, 1884-5, vol 2, pp 804-817, which contains descriptions suggestive of *After London*.

⁶⁰ October 1887, pp 685-6.

⁶¹ Anne Acland, *A Devon Family: the story of the Aclands* (Phillimore, 1981).

Ruskin's influence that he became a Socialist, and devoted to ideals of good craftsmanship.⁶² On his return he set about learning the trade of a practical builder and completed his articles with Philip Webb. From 1892 he was a regular guest at Clouds.⁶³ He is something of a Felix St Bees figure, perhaps, through whom Jefferies had satirized Ruskinian acolytes in *Greene Ferne Farm*. Blow gave a guinea to the fund.

From a more conventional artistic milieu comes the architectural decorator John Dibblee Crace (1838-1919), successor to the renowned family decorating firm founded in 1768. He had designed interiors for Longleat and Knightshayes Court in Devon from 1874-1882. At the time of the subscription, he was engaged on the redecoration, largely in Moorish style, of the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, whose original interiors had been created by the Crace firm at the beginning of the century. JD Crace was a founder member of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and will have known Walter Besant through this. He gave a pound.⁶⁴

If 'C. Horsley' refers to John Callcott Horsley (1817-1903), the Treasurer of the Royal Academy, much mocked by *Punch* and by Whistler for his opposition to the modern representation of the nude in art, then Jefferies' contributions to the subject in 'Nature in the Louvre' had been noticed approvingly by someone at the centre of the mid-eighties debate about nudity and purity in art.⁶⁵

Miss Duff Gordon, who gave ten shillings, must be Caroline Lucie (Lina) (1874-1964) a fourteen-year-old convent schoolgirl at the time of the fund. In 1890 she fled to Italy after the death of her mother to become the ward of her dashing aunt Janet Ross, herself a friend of Alexander Kinglake, author of *Eothen* and brother of Robert Arthur.⁶⁶ Lina Waterfield, as Miss Duff Gordon became after her marriage to the artist Aubrey Waterfield, helped found the British Institute in Florence and in 1899-1900 had her portrait painted by G F Watts, one of the Grosvenor's most important and emblematic artists and a life-long friend of Lady Waterford.⁶⁷

iv. The Rossetti group

Rossetti could never be persuaded to exhibit at the Grosvenor, but his reputation was only enhanced by his reclusiveness. His early death in 1882 contributed to the febrile atmosphere into which Jefferies' own death would fall, the feeling that society was failing the 'pure' non-establishment artist. His posthumous refashioning as a semi-mystical prophet of nature also prefigures that of Jefferies.⁶⁸ Thus many of North's donors are to be found

⁶² Brent Elliott, *Victorian Gardens* (BT Batsford Ltd, 1986) p 233. Clive Aslet, *The Last Country Houses* (YUP, 1982) pp 244-50.

⁶³ Dakers 1993, p 87.

⁶⁴ Megan Aldrich, ed., *The Craces: Royal Decorators 1768-1899* (Brighton: John Murray, Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, 1990). Obituary, 'Mr. J. D. Crace', *The Times*, 22 November 1919.

⁶⁵ See Alison Smith, ed., *Exposed: the Victorian Nude* (Tate Publishing, 2001) p 122.

⁶⁶ Kinglake's travel book *Eothen*, a favourite of free-thinkers, was first published in 1844.

⁶⁷ Barbara Bryant, *GF Watts Portraits* (National Portrait Gallery, 2004) pp 68, 170.

⁶⁸ One of the subscribers to North's list describes him or herself as 'A Disciple- E. R.' This terminology probably stems from Auguste Comte's *Catechism of Positive Religion* (1858), which

equally on the list of subscribers to the Rossetti memorial on Cheyne Walk, which was unveiled in July 1887.⁶⁹ These are Barbara Bodichon, J Comyns Carr, Edmund Gosse, Justin McCarthy, Henry Hall Caine, Philip H. Rathbone (Mrs Rathbone appeared on the North list, see 3.x), [C P Scott] and William Sharp.⁷⁰

In the Celtic movement of the nineties William Sharp (1855-1905) became better-known as Fiona Macleod, but in the eighties he was a key Jefferies admirer, and also knew Osborne. Sharp's poetry was highly mystical, and he was amongst the first to view Jefferies as one whose spiritual understanding of nature transcended his observation of the material world, the view of him which really took hold in the nineties. In 1884 he published a book of nature poems, ranging in scope from New Brunswick to the Antarctic, dedicated to his friend Walter Pater and with two quotes from Jefferies opposite the contents page.⁷¹ Jefferies, thanking Sharp for his copy, homed in on the Australian pieces, 'I thought I had read all about Australia yet I had no idea there was any pictorial beauty in that country'.⁷² Sharp, where Carr, Greenwood and Morley had failed, sensed a fellow-cosmopolitan in Jefferies, in Walt Whitman's sense of one capable of imaginative empathy with other nations, for even in his early reporting days this had been latent in Jefferies. His intensely sympathetic receptiveness to locality enabled him to an imaginative relation with universal nature and, hence, geographically-speaking, to a much wider world than England. As he had written in 1873: 'The special knowledge of the district acquired by the reporter – its topography, &c. – will give him an insight into the sort of power required in a correspondent abroad'.⁷³ Sharp sent Jefferies a copy of Whitman's *Specimen Days in America*, probably on its appearance in Scott's 'Camelot Classics' in 1887.⁷⁴ Sharp was advisor to this series, which included White's *Natural History of Selborne* with its preface by Jefferies.

In the years when he was seeking to establish himself in London, Sharp had been drawn into the group of young men gathered round the dying Rossetti, partly out of fervent admiration, and partly because his generous patronage advanced their own literary careers. In Sharp's case this career was given a kick-start by the publication in 1882 of his biography of Rossetti, commissioned by Macmillan. Popular playwright Henry Hall Caine (1853-1931), both friend and rival to Sharp, was another of these young

appeared in new English editions in 1883 and 1891. Positivism substituted Humanity for God and predicted the rise of an intelligentsia of 'Priests of Humanity' who would free the world from social injustice.

⁶⁹ The list of subscribers to the Rossetti Memorial is reproduced in Rosalie Mander, ed., *Henry Treffry Dunn. Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his Circle or Cheyne Walk Life* (Westerham: Dalrymple Press, 1984) p 70.

⁷⁰ Scott's name admittedly appears only implicitly on the North list, the actual entry being for the *Manchester Guardian*.

⁷¹ *Earth's Voices, Transcripts from Nature, Sospitra, and other Poems* (Elliot Stock, 1884).

⁷² Jefferies to William Sharp, 26 August, 1884, Trustees of the National Library of Scotland, MS 15941.

⁷³ 'Reporting; Editing & Authorship: Practical Hints for Beginners in Literature. III Authorship' [1873] *RJS Journal*, 1994, p 3.

⁷⁴ Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days in America* [1882] (Walter Scott, 1887). Sharp visited the dying Whitman in January 1892.

men. He succeeded to the extent of becoming Rossetti's companion for the last two years of his life, then rushing out in 1882, at much the same time as Sharp's book, his own biography, *Recollections of Rossetti*. He was brought up in Liverpool, where he was an active member of the Ruskin Society. Both men gave a pound.

One of the most notable presences on the North list is the artist's brother, WM Rossetti himself, who gave one pound ten shillings. Rossetti (1829-1919) one of the original members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, was a civil servant and art critic. In 1886 he was the first to edit Whitman's verse for English readers, kept up a regular correspondence with the poet and raised a subscription fund for him after his stroke in 1885. After his brother's death he became a devoted and scrupulous memorialist both of his brother and of the P.R.B. Politically he was left-wing, an internationalist and an agnostic, pro-Irish home rule and women's suffrage.⁷⁵ He was also a Home Rule friend of Richard Garnett.

v. Literature

John Vine Milne (1845-1932) (L), who gave ten shillings, was the schoolmaster father of AA Milne. His grandson, Christopher Milne, writing of his own love of *Bevis* in *Enchanted Places* said:

...this was a book that my father put into my hands [...] saying it was a present from my grandfather; that it was my grandfather who specially wanted me to read it and who hoped I was now old enough to get from it the pleasure it had given him. [...] The book was published in 1882, the year my father was born. So my grandfather must have read it when he was already a father and then urged it on his sons.⁷⁶

In view of the fact that Mrs Humphry (Mary Augusta) Ward's second novel, *Robert Elsmere* (1888), had at this time just been accepted by George Smith for publication by Smith Elder, it is tempting to think that the 'M.A.W.' who gave two and sixpence is she. Her brother, WT Arnold, was on the editorial staff of the *Manchester Guardian*.

H Rider Haggard (1856-1925) the author of *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *She* (1887), is one of the larger contributors with his £7. 10. 0. The conservative Haggard was also concerned with farming reform. He was a friend of Besant, Gosse and Lang, and a profound admirer of Jefferies, for he also served on the Kinglake Committee for the Salisbury bust.⁷⁷ As a member of the Executive Council of the cross-party Imperial Federation League, founded in 1884 and endorsed by the PMG, James Stanley Little (1856-1940) was, like Haggard, an imperialist, and in 1888 the first Executive Secretary of the Society of Authors, which had been founded by Besant in 1883, the Hon Sec of the Shelley Society (whose chairman was W M Rossetti) from 1886 to 1887 and a correspondent of Whistler and of Wilde. He gave ten and sixpence.

⁷⁵ Angela Thirlwell, *The Other Rossettis* (YUP, 2003).

⁷⁶ Christopher Milne, *The Enchanted Places* (Eyre Methuen, 1974) p 149.

⁷⁷ Lang and Haggard co-authored a novel, *The World's Desire*, in 1890.

Walter Besant (1836-1901), who gave five guineas to North's fund, stands in stately contrast to the aesthetes of North's list, yet he found just as much to attract him in Jefferies' writing as they did. Indeed *The Monks of Thelema*, the novel he wrote with James Rice in 1878, with its satire on Ruskin-reading, Grosvenor-visiting do-gooders, bears some similarity to *Greene Ferne Farm* in its refusal to romanticise rural poverty. Besant's popular novels *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882) and *The Children of Gibeon* (1886) concentrated on the social problems of the East End. The latter was serialised in *Longman's Magazine* from January to December 1886. Jefferies read it and pronounced it 'capital', and Andrew Lang used it to launch an appeal in the magazine for funds for a people's recreation centre.⁷⁸ The People's Palace, in some ways a sort of Grosvenor Gallery for the working-classes, opened on the Mile End Road in May 1887. Besant chaired its library committee, ran the literary club and edited the journal.⁷⁹

He would go on to be deeply involved in fundraising for the formal commemoration of Jefferies by the Salisbury Cathedral bust, and seems more at home in the less emotional context of that campaign, but although at odds in some ways with the overwhelmingly aesthetic character of North's list, his presence there is solid and central. He is perhaps the purest representative of its practical social activist strain.

Mrs Hester Head (née Beck), who gave two guineas, was the Quaker wife of a Lloyd's insurance broker and the mother of Sir Henry Head, the neurologist. The family home in Stamford Hill was decorated with William Morris furnishings. Hester Head was noted for her love of literature, and was related to Edward Verrall Lucas, author of the introduction to the 1904 Duckworth edition of *Bevis*.⁸⁰ Anna Verrall (1854-1947), who gave a pound through North, would seem to be the daughter of John Hodgson, a Bedfordshire clergyman. She was related through her husband to EV Lucas and also to Arthur Woolgar Verrall, the Cambridge classics don.⁸¹ Before her marriage she worked as a governess and then educated her daughter at home until she was ten or eleven. This daughter would become the psychoanalyst and translator of Freud, Joan Rivière.⁸²

The Hon Mrs Vansittart (d 1909), who gave five pounds, must be Rachel, the daughter of Lord Boston and the widow of Augustus Arthur Vansittart, another Cambridge classics don who is now principally remembered for having in 1872 made the first translation of 'Jabberwocky' into Latin: 'Mors Iabrochii'.

Mrs Charles Skirrow, who gave two guineas, was the wife of the Master in Chancery, and a friend of Robert Browning, Alexander Kinglake and George Smith.

⁷⁸ 'Walks in the Wheatfields' I, *EIM*, July 1887, [IV] 46, p 670.

⁷⁹ In 1884 he had also given a paper 'How can a Love and Appreciation of Art be best developed among the Masses of People?', published in *W Tuckwell, Art and Handiwork for the People* 1885).

⁸⁰ Lucas was a friend and neighbour of Edward Garnett. Garnett, employed by Duckworth from 1901-1915, was responsible for the new editions of *Amaryllis at the Fair* and *Bevis* in 1904.

⁸¹ TJ Verrall, who gave two guineas but whom I have not otherwise been able to identify, may also be part of the family.

⁸² Athol Hughes, ed., *The Inner World and Joan Rivière: collected papers, 1920-1958* (Karnac, 1991) p 3.

vi. Newspapers and publishing

The *Manchester Guardian* gave ten pounds, as did Henry Yates Thompson (1838-1928), proprietor of the *PMG*. William Stebbing (1831-1926), leader writer of *The Times*, gave two pounds and Richard Holt Hutton (1826-1897), editor of the *Spectator*, and one of the most highly-respected critics of the day, ten. Messrs W and R Chambers, publishers of *Chambers's Journal*, one of the first cheap instructive weeklies aimed at the common man, where Jefferies had placed a number of papers from 1884 to 1887, gave five pounds. G A Ferguson, the editor of *Tourist and Traveller*, gave ten shillings. The *Bradford Observer* raised £2. 6. 6 and the *Stockkeeper* £3.18.6. 'WST and WHK' gave ten shillings as 'a small token of gratitude for articles in [the] *Standard*'.

Smith, Elder and Co gave fifty pounds. Sampson Low and Co, publishers of *Bevis* and *Amaryllis at the Fair*, gave five guineas, as did Chatto & Windus. James Ripley Osgood (1836-1892), publisher of the 1881 Boston edition of *Leaves of Grass* and, since 1886, London representative of Harper and Brothers, publishers of *Harper's Magazine*, gave five pounds.

vii. The Suffragist group

I have already remarked upon the large number of women on North's list and therefore among Jefferies' readership. A sizable group was specifically concerned with Votes for Women. The author and social purity feminist Laura Ormiston Chant (1848-1923), who gave five shillings, was a member of the executive committee of the Women's Liberal Foundation and a founder member of the National Society for the Promotion of Women's Suffrage. She was a member of the National Vigilance Association, formed in the wake of Stead's 'Maiden Tribute' campaign to ensure the enforcement of the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act, and the editor of their journal, the *Vigilance Record*. She pressed for the abolition of brothels and actively vetted music halls for 'temptations to vice'.⁸³ Rose Mary Crawshay (1828-1907) of Cyfarthfa Castle, Merthyr Tydfil, was a social reformer and early member of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage. She gave five guineas. There are more prominent suffragists on the list, notably the radical Manchester barrister Dr Richard Pankhurst (1835/6-1898) (L), Emmeline Pankhurst's husband, and Mrs Alice Scatcherd (1842-1906), who were in 1889, the year North published his list, busy founding the Women's Franchise League. In 1883 Pankhurst had broken with the Manchester Liberal Association and, stood unsuccessfully, as an independent radical Liberal in favour of universal suffrage, Irish Home Rule and universal secular education. In 1886 he moved to London and in reflection of his increasingly Socialist position, became involved with the Fabians. Dr Pankhurst gave a guinea, Mrs Scatcherd ten shillings.⁸⁴

⁸³ Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: feminism, sex and morality*, [1995] (Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2001) pp105-8.

⁸⁴ For Scatcherd see Elizabeth Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain and Ireland: a regional survey* (Routledge, 2006).

Frederick Pennington (1819-1914), radical Liberal MP for Stockport until 1885, was, with his wife Margaret, also deeply involved in Women's Suffrage.⁸⁵ He gave one of the largest donations; twenty pounds. At the time she gave a guinea to North's fund, Charlotte Despard (1844-1939), was a writer of romantic novels. *Chaste as Ice*, *Pure as Snow* and *Wandering Fires* were published by Samuel Tinsley in 1874 and 5 respectively. After the death of her husband in 1890 she threw herself into philanthropic work in the East End, the Independent Labour Party and the WSPU.

The Mrs Wilkinson who gave ten pounds is, given the size of her donation and the nature of the other people on the list, probably Louisa (c1826-1889), the daughter of George Walker of Philadelphia. In 1854 she had become the second wife of Matthew Eason Wilkinson (1813-1878), one of Manchester's leading doctors and a former President of the BMA. He was a supporter of medical training for women and a very wealthy man. One of their daughters, Fanny, became the country's first professional woman landscape gardener. The other, Louisa, was an artist and bookbinder. Both were part of the suffragist circle of Millicent Garrett Fawcett.⁸⁶

Mrs Henry Kingsley (1842-1922), who gave two guineas, was the widow of the novelist Henry Kingsley, younger brother of the better-known Charles. She was a regular speaker on Women's Suffrage.⁸⁷

Outstanding in this group of activists is the artist and social reformer Barbara Bodichon (1827-1891) (L), one of the founders of Girton College, Cambridge. Her portrait by Emily Osborn was shown at the Grosvenor in 1884. She had entertained North at her house in Algiers in 1874, and told William Allingham, who published Jefferies' articles in *Fraser's Magazine* in the seventies, how struck she had been 'with the truth of his picture or photograph of women in the farming classes'.⁸⁸ She gave two pounds.

viii. Agnostics and clerics

Author Grant Allen (1848-1899), best known as the author of proto-feminist *The Woman who Did* (1895), the controversial story of a Girton graduate who cohabits with her lover and bears him a child out of wedlock, was at the time of the fund more nature writer than novelist, and had just published 'Surrey Mill-Wheels' in *EIM*.⁸⁹ He wrote to North with his donation: 'I had no idea he was in such straits; if more of us had known, surely brother authors at least would have come forward to help him.'⁹⁰ Allen was a Socialist, an agnostic and a Darwinian, like his friend, the folklorist and anthropologist Edward Clodd (1840-1930), who in 1888 published a best-selling account of evolution, *The Story of Creation*. Allen

⁸⁵ Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement; a reference guide* (Routledge, 2001) p 532.

⁸⁶ Crawford, *Enterprising Women: the Garretts and their circle* (Francis Boutle Publishers, 2002) pp 218ff.

⁸⁷ Crawford 2006, p 204.

⁸⁸ Pam Hirsch, *Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon 1827-1891: feminist, artist and rebel* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1998) p 275. Bodichon is probably referring to 'Field-Faring Women', *Fraser's Magazine*, September 1875.

⁸⁹ December 1886, pp 175-183.

⁹⁰ 'The Late Mr Richard Jefferies', *North Wilts Herald*, 26 August 1887.

gave an enthusiastic five pounds (wishing ‘sincerely he could make it £50’), Clodd a guinea.

But there are also a number of clergymen on North’s list, from ‘A Yorkshire clergyman’ to the Dean of Wells, from the Rev Philip Hedgeland (1825-1911), Prebendary of Exeter, a supporter of women’s suffrage, to the Rev J E Jackson of Leigh Delamere, editor of the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, who had published Jefferies’ ‘Swindon, its History and Antiquities’ in 1874.⁹¹ These clerics may have been persuaded to ignore *The Story of My Heart* by the overtly Christian framing of North’s appeal.

ix. Theosophists

The romantic novelist and medium, Mabel Collins (1851-1927), author of the theosophical classic *Light on the Path* (1885) was, at the time of the raising of the subscription, co-editing the theosophical magazine *Lucifer*, with her friend, Madame Blavatsky. Her father, the poet and journalist Mortimer Collins, had, like Jefferies, died ‘in harness, anxious to his last breath for those dependent on him’, she wrote to North, enclosing a donation of five pounds.⁹² Collins collaborated with Charlotte Despard (see 3.vii), a fellow theosophist, on *Outlawed* (1908), a novel based on Despard’s experiences in Holloway Prison, where she had twice been imprisoned for suffragette activities. Mrs Campbell Praed (1851-1935), who gave a guinea, was a prolific Australian popular novelist and feminist who was part of Margaret Thomas’ circle.⁹³ Four of her novels were written in collaboration with another contributor to the fund, Justin McCarthy (3.xii). Like Collins, she was involved in the Theosophical Society in the eighties. It was also in the eighties that Arthur Conan Doyle first came across theosophy, and it may well be his wife Louisa (1856/7-1906), whom he married in 1885, who, as Louisa Doyle (L), gave a pound to the fund.

x. Northern manufacturers and professionals

A large group of donors come from the Northern and Midlands industrial cities. William Hollins, who gave five guineas, is probably the head of the Nottinghamshire textile firm founded in 1784, and ‘Asquith, Halifax’, who gave ten and sixpence, probably William Asquith, who founded in 1865 a successful machine tool foundry in Halifax.⁹⁴

Manchester was not only through Cobden the home of Radical politics but also at the heart of the Women’s Suffrage Movement (3.vii).⁹⁵ W Abercrombie, who gave a guinea, is almost undoubtedly William

⁹¹ Hedgeland gave a donation to the Bristol Society for Women’s Suffrage in 1875. Crawford 2006, p 154. For Jefferies’ correspondence with Jackson in 1869 and 1872 see Matthews and Treitel 1994, pp 37 and 53.

⁹² *NWH*, 26 August 1887, *op cit*.

⁹³ Both contributed to Lala Fisher, ed., *By Creek and Gully* (T Fisher Unwin, 1899).

⁹⁴ ‘William Hollins & Company Limited’, *The Times*, 14 March 1908. Hollins lived at Berry Hill near Mansfield.

⁹⁵ To take advantage of potential customers in its Liberal artistic circles, Morris & Co had opened a shop there in 1883. Fiona McCarthy, *William Morris: a Life for our Time* (Faber and Faber, 1994) p 452.

Abercrombie (1838-1908), the wealthy stockbroker father of Lascelles Abercrombie, the poet and friend of Edward Thomas. At the time of the subscription he was living in the Manor House, Ashton-upon-Mersey, its artistic interior full of William Morris furnishings. He was a devoted admirer of Ruskin and a member of the Manchester Literary Club.⁹⁶ Perhaps he read Richard Jefferies to his children, for three of his sons, Pat, Lascelles and Ralph, were fascinated by natural history, founding their own museum of natural objects and their own Natural History Society.⁹⁷ Mrs RC Christie, who gave a pound, is probably the wife of Richard Copley Christie (1830-1901), the Manchester barrister and book collector who was deeply involved with the development of Owens College, the future University of Manchester.

Joseph Chamberlain's municipal reforms in Birmingham had inspired the Nonconformist middle-class to become involved in local politics. Alan Crawford describes the taste of this élite. 'They read Ruskin with enthusiasm [...] they covered their walls with Pre-Raphaelite painting; and they furnished their houses in the spirit of the Arts and Crafts Movement.'⁹⁸ They evidently read Jefferies too. John Feeney (1839-1905) philanthropist, and proprietor of the *Birmingham Daily Post*, gave two guineas to the fund. The *Post* campaigned to improve social conditions in Birmingham, supporting Chamberlain as Mayor and again when he entered national politics. Feeney was also a major benefactor to the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, which opened in 1885. Hon. Martineau, who gave a guinea, must be one of the children of Sir Thomas Martineau, most probably Ernest (1861-1951), a solicitor, who would be Lord Mayor of Birmingham 1912-14. His father Sir Thomas was also a prominent Birmingham Liberal, Mayor from 1884-6 and related by marriage to Chamberlain. Frank Wright (1853-1922), who also gave a guinea, had served on Birmingham Town Council under Chamberlain but parted from him over Home Rule to follow the Gladstone line. He was for many years Treasurer of the National Liberal Federation. S Timmins, who gave a guinea, is probably Samuel Timmins FSA (d 1903), a Nonconformist button manufacturer, local historian and contributor to the *Post*. Timmins was one of the founder members of Ruskin's Guild of St George.

From Newcastle, where John Morley was Liberal MP from 1883-1895, came John Pattinson (1828-1912) (L), who gave a guinea. He is probably the analytical chemist, who was an original Fellow of the Institute of Chemistry, 'a Vice-President of the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, a justice of the peace, and greatly interested in social and

⁹⁶ Jeff Cooper, 'William Abercrombie: a biographical note', unpublished, May 2004.

⁹⁷ Letter to author from Jeff Cooper, 13 October 2008.

⁹⁸ Alan Crawford, ed., *By Hammer and Hand. The Arts and Crafts Movement in Birmingham* (Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1984) pp 34-5. In 1905 Helen Beale, daughter of lawyer James Beale (from this same Birmingham Nonconformist background) was given a 1904 Chatto & Windus Fine-Paper edition of *The Life of the Fields*. It is still to be seen in the billiard room, amongst the William Morris furnishings at Standen, West Sussex, which was designed for the family 1891-4 by Philip Webb. My thanks to David Moore, House Manager, National Trust, Standen.

philanthropic matters.⁹⁹ One may presume an interest in Morris from the fact that his daughter Katherine (d 1901) married in 1893 HC Marillier, a PMG contributor, who bought Morris's former home, Kelmscott House, Hammersmith, in 1897, and became managing director of Morris & Co in 1905. Also from Newcastle was Alfred Palmer (1853-1935), probably the Tyneside shipbuilder and JP who was a prominent Liberal. He gave two guineas.¹⁰⁰

Mrs Rathbone (L), who gave five shillings, could be Emily (1832-1918), the second wife of William Rathbone, the Liverpool merchant and philanthropist, and thus a member of one of Liverpool's greatest Liberal families. In her own right she was actively involved in establishing District Nursing in Liverpool. Alternatively it may be her sister-in-law, Jane (1833-1905), who was married to the Liverpool collector and Ruskinite Philip Rathbone, from 1886 the Chairman of the Walker Art Gallery.¹⁰¹

xi. Liberals and aristocrats, protectionists and huntsmen

WH Wills MP (1830-1911), the Bristol tobacco manufacturer and philanthropist, was a prominent Liberal Home Ruler. He gave five guineas. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice (1846-1935) was a Liberal politician and diplomat but also a historian with strong family ties to Wiltshire, MP for Calne until 1884 and a patron of the Wiltshire hammerman poet Alfred Williams. He gave five pounds.

John Duke, first Baron Coleridge (1820-1894) was a judge and a Gladstonian Liberal, MP for Exeter in 1865 and 1868, and Lord Chief Justice of England in the 1880 Gladstone Government. His family seat was Heath's Court, in Ottery St Mary, and it was there that William Butterfield designed him a splendid library that would probably have contained some of Jefferies' books. Lord Coleridge gave five pounds.¹⁰²

The Rt Hon John William Mellor, QC, (1835-1911) of Culmhead, Pitminster, Somerset, gave a guinea. Mellor was the Judge Advocate-General, a Privy Councillor and one of the two Liberal MPs for Grantham. The other, until the constituency was reduced to one member in 1885, had been Charles Savile Roundell (1827-1906) (L), who gave a pound. Roundell was in 1866 secretary to the Jamaica Committee, set up to gather evidence for the prosecution of Governor Eyre of Jamaica for his brutality in suppressing the Morant Bay rebellion, and author the same year of *England and Her Subject Races, with Special Reference to Jamaica*. He was active in the promotion of secondary education for girls and on the founding council of the Girls' Public Day School Company. He lived in a large vernacular revival country house near Chichester, Oeborne House, built for him between 1873 and 1875 by Anthony Salvin, an architect

⁹⁹ JT Dunn, 'John Pattinson, J.P., F.I.C.', *The Analyst* (May 1912) vol XXXVII, no 434, p 166.

¹⁰⁰ 'Sir Alfred Palmer', obituary, *The Times*, 10 August 1935.

¹⁰¹ John Willett, *Art in a City* (Methuen for the Bluecoat Society of Arts, 1967) p 48.

¹⁰² Coleridge's donation is also referred to in NWH 26 August 1887, where his accompanying letter to North is quoted.

mainly patronized by aristocrats such as Percy Wyndham's brother Henry.¹⁰³

C[harles] Louis Buxton Esq (1846-1906), of Bolwick Hall, Marsham, JP for Norfolk and a leading Liberal, was one of the great East Anglian Quaker clan of Buxtons and Gurneys. His grandfather was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton of the Anti-Slavery Society and his uncle Charles had been Chairman of the Jamaica Committee to which Roundell was secretary. Buxton was in his own right an active defender of the rights of farm labourers. He gave a guinea.

George Godolphin Osborne may be either the ninth Duke of Leeds (1828-1895) of Hornby Castle, Yorkshire, or the son (1862-1927) who shared his name. At the time of the subscription the latter, properly styled the Marquess of Carmarthen, had just become the Conservative MP for Brixton. He gave a guinea, as did Susan, Lady Milbank, the ninth Duke's sister (1830-1903).¹⁰⁴ These Tory grandees, keen huntsmen, stand out against the predominantly Liberal composition of the rest of the list, and the only clue I can find to their presence there is that the ninth Duke's uncle, the Revd Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne (1808-1889), was noted for the 'lay sermons' he wrote for *The Times* on social conditions, his particular cause being the condition of the agricultural labourer. The *Oxford DNB* describes him as both a 'militant and controversial philanthropist' and a Tory paternalist.

Edwin Lester Arnold (1857-1935), who gave a guinea, was the author of *Bird Life in England*, published by Chatto & Windus in 1887 in a similar cover to *Nature near London*. Indeed the cover has exactly the same images of heron and crows, evidently from stock. Arnold's is a book for the sportsman and shot and in his one silent reference to Jefferies he appears to mock him for not realising his books would also be read by landowners: 'the author of the "Amateur Poacher" opens our eyes to many an artful device and ingenious wile.'¹⁰⁵ W L Distant, probably William Lucas Distant (1845-1922), who gave a guinea, was a noted anthropologist and entomologist, and may be bracketed with Arnold, for he was less of a peaceful observer of wildlife in the Jefferies manner, than a collector of natural history specimens and an angler.

'The Dowager Lady Litford' is one of many small errors of transcription on North's list, for no such title exists. This must be the Dowager Lady Lilford (1806-1891), born the Hon. Mary Fox. She was the widow of the 3rd Baron Lilford (d 1861), who had been a Lord-in-Waiting in the Whig administration of Lord Melbourne. Her son Thomas (1833-1896) was an eminent ornithologist who helped found the British Ornithologists' Union

¹⁰³ Alterations to Petworth House, Sussex 1869-72.

¹⁰⁴ Despite North's spelling her name Millbank I am sure of my identification. *Burke's Peerage*; 'Obituary, The Duke Of Leeds', *The Times*, 24 December 1895; private information.

¹⁰⁵ Edwin Lester Arnold, *Bird Life in England* (Chatto & Windus, 1887) p 245. Henry Salt wrote in *Richard Jefferies: a Study* (1894) that *The Gamekeeper at Home* and *The Amateur Poacher* were reported to be favourite volumes in English country houses 'perhaps because "the Great House" is throughout treated so respectfully'.

and was author of *Coloured Figures of the Birds of the British Islands* (1885-97).¹⁰⁶

H [W S] Worsley Benison, who gave a guinea, was a Fellow of the Linnean Society who contributed in 1887 to the *Naturalists' Monthly: a Journal for Nature-Lovers and Nature Thinkers*, published by Walter Scott, and the following year published *Nature's Fairy-land: rambles by woodland meadow stream and shore* with Elliot Stock.

George and Theresa Musgrave gave two guineas each. George Musgrave, FZS, FRGS (d 1912), was secretary of the Selborne Society until 1888, continuing as a vice-president thereafter. His wife Theresa was membership secretary for some time and also a vice-president.¹⁰⁷ The Society, which was supported by the PMG, was founded in January 1886 in memory of Gilbert White, to work for the protection of 'birds, plants, and places, and to promote the study of Natural History'.¹⁰⁸ It consisted of an amalgamation of the Selborne League, founded by the Musgraves in November 1885, and the Plumage League, a bird protection group, founded in December 1885 by Eleanor Vere Boyle ('EVB'). It was as much inspired by Jefferies as by White, a homage stated quite explicitly in Jefferies' lifetime in the *Selborne Society Letters* for May 1887, a month before the publication of Jefferies' preface to White's *Selborne*, published in June 1887, which provided the more concrete connection. The *Letters* declared that the Society's aims were to promote the observation of nature in the manner of 'the elder naturalists', such as Gilbert White, but to discourage, now that classification was largely complete, the collection of specimens, for the unnecessary destruction it caused. A passage on bees from Jefferies' 'Some April Insects': 'The pleasure is to see them alive and busy with their works, and not to keep them in a cabinet', was then quoted at length as 'exactly embody[ing] the views of the Society in this respect'.¹⁰⁹ On Jefferies' death the Society set up its own fund for his widow to which 'EVB.' was the first contributor.¹¹⁰ North does not mention amalgamating the Selborne Society's fund with his own and the presumption must be that the Musgraves gave twice over, to their own fund and to his.

xii. The Irish group

Mrs H T Parnell (L), who gave a pound to the fund, was actually Charles Stewart Parnell's sister-in-law, although her husband, so Michael Davitt told Wilfrid Blunt in 1887, was a typical Irish absentee landlord.¹¹¹ Lord de Vesci (1844-1903), an Irish peer, who gave five pounds, was Lord Lieutenant of Queens County from 1883-1903. When Morley was drawing up the Home Rule Bill in 1886, Gladstone asked the Viscount for

¹⁰⁶ The BOU's journal, the *Ibis*, was published by Taylor and Francis.

¹⁰⁷ Dudley Wilmot Buxton, 'The Late Mr George Musgrave: an appreciation', *Selborne Society Letters*, October 1912, 181.

¹⁰⁸ 'Birds, Butchers, and Beauties', *PMG*, 6 January 1886, reprinted in *SSL*, April 1887, pp 35-8.

¹⁰⁹ 'Some April Insects', *PMG*, 27 April 1887; *SSL* (May 1887) no 5.

¹¹⁰ *SSL*, September 1887.

¹¹¹ Penelope Jane Luby married Henry Tudor Parnell (1850-1915), the youngest child of John Henry Parnell and Delia Tudor Stewart, in 1882. RF Foster, *Charles Stewart Parnell: the man and his family* (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1976) pp 222-4.

information about the true feelings of the Irish people on the matter. De Vesce's reply, published in *The Times*, stated that he was associated with the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, formed to 'uphold and maintain the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland'. His view was that a settlement of the land question (in a way, he hoped, that would preserve the social order) should calm calls for self-government.¹¹² There is a Grosvenor Gallery connection here, in that G F Watts had painted the portrait of Lord de Vesce's sister Frances, Marchioness of Bath, in c1861-5, becoming a close friend of hers. He knew Lady de Vesce too.¹¹³

George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) must surely be 'A Literary Worker, wishing it were twenty times more – G.B.S.' who gave five shillings, as this was the byline under which he was then contributing articles to the *PMG*. Shaw was at the time involved in the Fabians, and stands, with the 'Socialist Medical Student' who gave two and sixpence, in a minority of Socialists on the list.

'Esperanza', who extravagantly contributed £50, is probably Oscar Wilde's mother, Lady Wilde (1821-1896), a fervent Irish nationalist and supporter of women's rights, who wrote under the nom de plume 'Speranza'. She was contributing to the *PMG* at this time and living in London, where Shaw used to attend her weekly salons.¹¹⁴ Best grouped with Shaw, perhaps, is Mrs Synge, who gave one guinea, and who may be the mother of Irish playwright JM Synge. Synge himself was only sixteen at the time of the fund, but a keen member of the Dublin Naturalists' Field Club. Mrs Synge (née Kathleen Traill, 1838-1908) was the devout Protestant widow of a barrister, bringing up her children in a Dublin suburb. Like her son, she was sensitive to nature, but, unlike him, saw it as evidence of God's handiwork.¹¹⁵

Liberal journalist and Irish Nationalist MP Justin McCarthy (1830-1912), was in the seventies a member of what he called the Fitzroy Street Bohemia, a discussion group of artists and authors, male and female, with Ford Madox Brown at its head and WM Rossetti among its members.¹¹⁶ He gave a pound.

Fellow-Irishman Dr Richard Quain FRS, the Harley Street doctor, gave five guineas to the fund. He became vice-president of the Royal College of Physicians in 1889 and physician-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1890. In 1895-6 he had his portrait painted by Millais.¹¹⁷ Another eminent doctor represented is Dr Henry Smith, FRCS, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery at King's College, who gave three guineas.

¹¹² 'Mr Gladstone and Lord De Vesce', *The Times*, 17 February 1886.

¹¹³ Bryant 2004, p 122. Wilfrid Blunt visited Watts in 1899 and records in his diaries that the artist 'spoke more than once of Lady de Vesce.' Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, *My Diaries: being a personal narrative of events 1888-1914* (Martin Secker, 1932) pp 315-6.

¹¹⁴ Ellmann 1988, pp 273, 277. Terence De Vere White, *The Parents of Oscar Wilde: Sir William and Lady Wilde* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1967).

¹¹⁵ WJ McCormack, *Fool of the Family: a life of J M Synge* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2000) pp34-41.

¹¹⁶ Justin McCarthy, *Reminiscences*, 2 vols (Chatto & Windus, 1899) I, pp 313ff.

¹¹⁷ His cousin, another Dr Richard Quain FRS, died 15 September 1887 and therefore seems a less likely candidate.

Although he was not Irish, I place poet Wilfrid Scawen Blunt here for his Irish sympathies. Blunt (1840-1922) described his complex politics as anti-imperialist abroad, Nationalist in Ireland and Tory at home.¹¹⁸ Blunt was a cousin of Percy Wyndham, and often at Clouds. In 1885, with the support of Justin McCarthy and Charles Stewart Parnell, he stood in Camberwell North as a Tory Democrat for Irish Home Rule, but was defeated. He responded by visiting Ireland and returning dispatches full of sympathy for the tenantry to the *PMG*. In the 1886 election he stood in Kidderminster as a Liberal Home Ruler and was again defeated.¹¹⁹ In 1888 the Conservative Government committed him to two months in prison for participating in banned activities in support of Home Rule.¹²⁰ Jane Morris, like her husband William, an admirer of *After London*, sent Blunt, her intimate friend, a copy in 1890.¹²¹ Blunt gave five pounds to the fund.

xiii. The less affluent

The Education Act requiring elementary education for all children between 5 and 13 only having been in force for seventeen years at the time of the North fund, the group of less affluent people reading Jefferies remained relatively small. It includes the 'Poor but Sincere Admirer' who gave a shilling, 'Little "Mavis"' who gave 2s 9d and "Rus in Urbe" (Enfield) who contributed 10s 6d, and who, although he would have been only seventeen at the time, I like to think was Alfred Hyatt.

Hyatt (1870-1911) was the son of a fishmonger, who began work as 'clerk to a music publisher' and then, until he could fulfil his ambition of becoming a poet, supported himself by journalism.¹²² A lonely semi-invalid, he was the first love of Florence Dugdale, an Enfield schoolteacher eight years his junior. In 1914 she would become Thomas Hardy's second wife. From 1899, however, she was collaborating with Hyatt on the nature columns for children he contributed to the *Enfield Observer*, columns full of 'queenly lilies, furry bunnies and dainty dolls'.¹²³ Hyatt also communicated to Miss Dugdale his great admiration for Jefferies. In 1905 he even brought out a *Pocket Richard Jefferies* for Chatto & Windus which Edward Thomas reviewed, rather disparagingly, for the *Daily Chronicle*.¹²⁴

4. Conclusion

North's friend Herbert Alexander said of the fund that this 'splendid act of devotion [...] for Richard Jefferies [...] was the one personal thing in his life that brought him pure content.'¹²⁵ In later years, however, North is known

¹¹⁸ Quoted in Egremont 1977, p 98.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp 93-4.

¹²⁰ Blunt 1932, pp 25-6.

¹²¹ Jan Marsh, *Jane and May Morris: a biographical story 1839-1938* (Pandora, 1986) pp 176, 178.

¹²² 1891 and 1901 censuses. I acknowledge here the help of Enfield Local History Library, whose own view is that 10s 6d may have been too large a sum for 'a young man of seventeen in his first job' to afford.

¹²³ Robert Gittings and Jo Manton, *The Second Mrs Hardy* (Heinemann, 1979) p 26.

¹²⁴ 15 September 1905.

¹²⁵ Alexander, 1927-8. The response to RA Kinglake's 1890 appeal for the memorial bust in Salisbury Cathedral was also considered disappointing.

to have regarded Lloyd George, whose economic reforms marked the beginnings of the welfare state, as ‘the greatest humanitarian reformer of the age’.¹²⁶ This is merely a hint, but it does suggest that North raised his fund in some uneasiness at having to depend on the vagaries of philanthropy. He had been obliged to call on those whose view of social injustice was sometimes more picturesque than pragmatic, tending to keep Jefferies where he was rather than allowing him to develop and change, and whose generosity simply came too late to help in his lifetime. It suggests that North hoped a state benefit system would one day transcend sentimental regret for the plight of the ‘pure’ artist and, in theory at least, prevent such tragedies occurring again.

The hard winter of 1887, the time of the raising of the subscription, was one of great social agitation, which broke out violently on ‘Bloody Sunday’. Yet the subscribers to North’s fund include, in a division which is reflected in Jefferies’ writing, as many aesthetes and mystical idealists as social activists. Whilst it is only proper to conclude that the subscribers were an eminent group, whose admiration for Jefferies reflected his high contemporary standing, one can seem to search in vain for a common link between his two types of admirer and their opposing solutions to the ills of society. In 1899, however, the American philosopher William James offered an answer which was the result of profound meditation on the complexities of contemporary thought.

Placing Jefferies in the company of Wordsworth, Whitman and Tolstoy, James argued that moments of ‘excited significance’ such as those described in *The Story of My Heart* gave life its only value beyond the purely commercial. They represented no absolute truth, demonstrated indeed that there was no such thing, but by their very intensity commanded respect and tolerance for the individual point of view. From this he extrapolated to the political: it was the right of no one nation ‘to inflict its own inner ideals and institutions *vi et armis*’ upon another.¹²⁷

James’ ingenious formulation enables us to perceive that there could be a common impulse uniting Irish Home Rulers and theosophists, and certainly to note that twelve years after his death it was the mystical writing rather than the factual journalism of Richard Jefferies which was being credited with having a worldwide internationalist and pacifist influence.

¹²⁶ ‘Obituary. Mr. J. W. North. A Great Landscape Painter’, *The Times*, 23 December 1924.

¹²⁷ *Talks to Teachers on Psychology: and to Students on Some of Life’s Ideals* (Longmans Green & Company, 1899) p 247. William’s brother Henry James’ 1886 ‘Naturalist’ novel *The Princess Casamassima* also illuminates the social movements of the eighties and the tension between the love of beauty and the demands of political activism.

The Healing Benefits of 'Meadow Thoughts'

George Leslie Irons

The old house stood by the silent road, secluded by many a long, long mile, and yet again secluded within the great walls of the garden.¹

One of my most enduring memories of my father is seeing him sitting in his armchair reading aloud, quietly to himself. I asked him why he was doing this and he said he was trying to find something suitable for a young man to read, who was finding it difficult to speak correctly. Despite my tender age (I was six years old) I liked the sound of what he was reading and asked my father what it was called: 'Meadow Thoughts', he said, by a man called Richard Jefferies.

My father was a teacher of voice production and singing, and in 1941, whilst he was unwell and confined to bed a young woman called at our house asking to see my father. My mother explained that it was not possible and asked why she wished to see him. The young woman explained that she had come on behalf of her brother who was afflicted by a crippling stammer, which was preventing him from applying for a post in his chosen profession, in which verbal communication was essential.²

My mother explained that my father was seriously ill and would not be able to resume his practice for some time; also that it was unlikely that he would be able to help her brother as his work was designed only to assist singers. The young woman told my mother that she was convinced my father could help her brother, as a friend (she then named a well-known actor) had studied singing with my father and that the breathing exercises³ he had been given for voice production had completely cured a nervously induced constriction and tension in his throat, which had hitherto regularly occurred when he was speaking on the stage. She begged my mother to grant her, and her brother, an interview with my father just as soon as he was well enough. She phoned each week to enquire after his health. Several months later my father was able to meet the brother and sister. He was shocked at the severity of the man's stammer and at his obvious distress as he struggled, vainly, to force out a few words. However, my father was reluctant to say he could help the young man as the problem was outside his experience; but in response to the sister's earnest pleas he said he would try to help as far as he was able.

So, the young man began a series of regular visits to my father who, early in the proceedings, was surprised to discover that he did not stutter or, indeed, hesitate at all when reading aloud. He, therefore, set out to find suitable pieces of prose which would, he hoped, act as a channel through which the breath control and relaxation exercises could be introduced into the man's everyday speaking. Thus it was that he found 'Meadow Thoughts', which proved to be perfect for the purpose; the sheer beauty and

fluency of the language; the choice of words containing pleasant sounding long vowels and diphthong sounds, upon which the consonant sounds seem to float rather than punctuate the language, made it an ideal piece on which to introduce the rhythm of speech, which is the key to fluent speaking. I cannot remember how long my father and his pupil worked together, but I remember, one day, hearing my father telling my mother that although the stammer had not completely disappeared it had receded to a great extent, which enabled him to communicate with ease, which up to that time, he had never experienced.

I vividly remember the day my mother and I were summoned to my father's studio to congratulate an ecstatically happy young man who had just secured a post in his chosen profession.

From that time my father was able to help numerous people with their conversational (and public) speaking and diction, and all would have been introduced to a copy of the first paragraph of 'Meadow Thoughts'.

From a purely aesthetic perspective there is great pleasure to be derived from reading aloud (the benefits of which were strongly recommended by President Lincoln). Reading *and listening* to the sound patterns, rhythms and cadences of a well-written piece of lyrical prose brings a new dimension to a well-loved piece of writing. Perhaps you have already discovered this, and have a secret hideaway (maybe it's even '*secluded by many a long, long mile*') where you can sit and read *and listen* to Richard Jefferies' beautiful words.

Notes

1. From 'Meadow Thoughts' by Richard Jefferies, Selected English Essays – chosen and arranged by W Peacock. OUP 1903.
2. Alas, I cannot remember the young man's name or the profession to which he aspired.
3. The intercostal, diaphragmatic method of breath control.

About the author

George Leslie Irons' family has a long theatrical condition. In the 1830s they were lessees of both Drury Lane and Covent Garden theatres. His father was a well-known teacher of voice production and singing in London.

Leslie has been variously actor, teacher of speech and drama, schoolmaster and entertainer. For the past 30 years he has concentrated on his acting career and writing. He has made many appearances in television dramas and in theatres with his one-man shows. In a recent full-length play, he appeared as Charles Lamb in *Lamb's Tale*, which has been issued as a DVD by The Charles Lamb Society.

Bevis's American snap-shooter

Mark Daniel

An American, Dr. Carver, who gave astonishing shooting performances in London in 1879, was undoubtedly the model for the snap-shooter Bevis's Governor took him to see, as described in *Bevis* chapter 51.

secured at 8.30 p.m. Every West-end omnibus will convey visitors to the doors of the hall.

CANTERBURY THEATRE of VARIETIES.
Under Royal Patronage.—Best entertainment in the world. Variety Artistes, at 8. Pat's Paradise (last weeks), at 9. Miss Nelly Power, supported by Milles. Aguzzi, Ada, Broughton, Powell, and corps de ballet. Prices 6d. to £2 2s.

D. CARVER, the great American Marksman,
Champion Rifle Shot of the World, every evening, at 10.30. "Nothing more wonderful of the kind has ever been done with a rifle."—Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News.

D. CARVER, Extraordinary Rifle Shooting while
riding full speed on Winnemucca, double shots at flying objects and coins, the wonderful jump shot, the hip shot, throwing the lasso, &c.—The CANTERBURY.

OXFORD.—EGYPTONIA, New Serio-Comic Enter-
tainment, in which Miss Vernon (first appearance in England), Mr. A. Balfour (as a resuscitated mummy), and the whole of the Oxford Company will appear. Admission, 2s., 1s., and 6d. Every evening, at 7.30; Saturdays, 2.30 and 7.30.

EVANS'S, Covent-garden. OPEN at 8, overture at
8.30. Glee, choruses, madrigals, and part-songs by Evans's celebrated Choir. Conductor Mr. Evans.

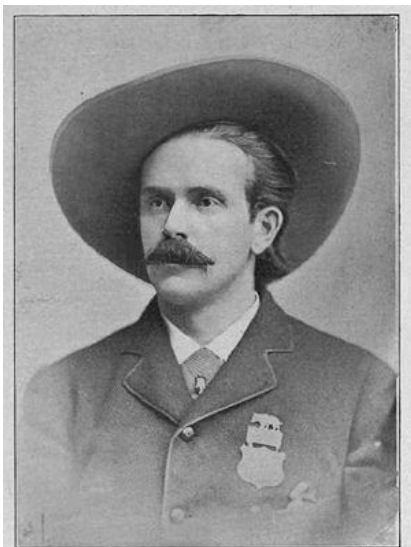
An advertisement in the *Times* of 23rd October 1879 (reproduced above), spotted by chance during research for another project, seems to identify him clearly as the man who so impressed Jefferies with his unconventional gun-handling and amazing skill – hundreds of small glass balls, coins and other objects, thrown into the air and smashed with single bullets. Jefferies was probably working on *Bevis* not long afterwards.



'Doc' William Frank Carver (1840–1927) was born in Winslow, Illinois. As a young man he is reported to have lived with the Sioux and Pawnee. Carver was trained as a dentist, hence the nickname 'Doc'. At the age of 35 Doc Carver migrated to California and became a famous buffalo hunter and a companion of Buffalo Bill Cody and Wild Bill Hickock.

In 1877, Carver went on tour giving exhibitions of his shooting prowess. In 1883, Carver's reputation as one of the worlds best marksmen was assured when he defeated the current World Champion and United States Champion trap shootist in a series of 25 matches 19 times.

Doc Carver went on two European tours, performing before the Prince of Wales. In his 1882 tour he won \$80,000. From those winnings, in 1883, Carver invested \$27,000 in a new Wild West show known as the *Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition* sponsored by Buffalo Bill.



DR. W. F. CARVER.



DR. W. F. CARVER, CHAMPION RIFLE SHOT OF THE WORLD,
As he appeared before H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at Sandringham, April 1884, 1889,
On which occasion he broke one hundred glass balls consecutively with rifle.

From: *Some Letters Never Sent* To: Richard Jefferies, Coate farm

Neil Curry

I was in Eagle Lake, one of those
Quiet little towns in Upper New York State —
One Main Street and a white clapboard church —
Rummaging about in its Used Book Store,
When I came across a copy of your *Bevis*.
So alien there; so very English,
It cried out to be liberated
And brought back home.

Starting to read it
Somewhere over the Atlantic, somewhere
Off Greenland, I found myself remembering
The exact shelf in the School Library
I'd first found it on — near those leather-bound books
Which you only had to touch and they'd leave
Your fingers stained bright orange and smelling
Of cat-piss.

I would have been eleven.
Bevis. A story of the boyhood I wished
I was having; the best friend; the fields
And woods they played in; sunshine; adventures;
And your 'governor' teaching you to swim
In the river.

Recently though, I've read
That we had more in common than I knew:
You, solitary, moody; your family
Short of money; the usual bickering
And nastiness; your mother despising,
And teaching you to despise, your father.

By twelve though, I have to confess
I'd swapped allegiance to Arthur Ransome,
To *Swallows and Amazons* and to
My all-time favourite, *Great Northern?*

The great northern diver. Years had gone by
With precious little chance of me seeing one,
Yet only hours after buying *Bevis*
I had heard... 'What is that?' 'It's the loons,'
Said Ben, 'out there on the lake.' I listened
To that haunted wail, as if they were
Giving voice to something that had long been
Unsettling their own ghosts. And it went on.

Book Review

Moment of Earth. Poems and Essays in Honour of Jeremy Hooker.

Edited by Christopher Meredith. Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2007; £25. ISBN 978-1-891271-16-8.

That this collection of poetry and essays is in honour of Jeremy Hooker makes it pertinent and readily distinguishable from other collections on similar subject matter. While recognising the sensitivity and precision of Hooker's own vision and literary accomplishments, this collection makes an exploratory and enlightening contribution to understanding the often complex notion of synthesis between mankind and the natural environment. The direction of the book is not restricted to literature that only considers the landscape, but addresses ways in which authors and poets seek to better understand the relationship between landscape and their writing, through the contemplation of nature, art, religion, and philosophy.

Divided into five sections, the majority of the collection is comprised of essays – two of which refer to Hooker's own poetry – while the poetic contributions, some of which are dedicated to Hooker, are placed at the beginning of each chapter. This arrangement offers space to consolidate the material presented in the critical papers, and to reflect upon one's own understanding and experience of nature and the landscape. One of the overriding themes of the collection is how best to define the present moment in context of nature's varying conditions, circumstances and moods, and what this moment, in all its diversity, can offer to both author and reader.

For me, the subjects and choice of work under consideration represent a contemporary blend of traditional and new. The first section, 'Earth and Words', includes an essay on Hooker's ecological imagination by Richard Kerridge, examining the subtleties and motifs in Hooker's poetry which best express Hooker's fascination with movement and connections between the human mind and the natural environment. Other contributions to this chapter include work by Anne Cluysenaar on Hooker's notion of 'ground' in the collection *The Cut of the Light* – as both a material reality and a cultural space within which a more imaginative understanding of permanence and impermanence might be achieved.

The relevance of Jeremy Hooker's presidency of the Richard Jefferies Society comes to light through the carefully selected themes of the book which are especially relevant to those of us interested in the work of Richard Jefferies. Among these themes are the ideas of comparison between inner, psychological states and external climatic conditions; the meaning of travelling and writing to poetry; literature and religion; and literature in relation to art and philosophy. Jefferies' *The Story of My Heart* is specifically discussed in comparison to Thomas Hardy's work in Roger Ebbatson's paper, 'Prophetic Landscapes', where Ebbatson places both

authors' perceptions of landscape in the context of the work of German philosopher Martin Heidegger. Other authors discussed within the book include Roland Mathias, and eighteenth-century travel writer Watkin Tench, while there is an interesting discussion about the Welsh writer Dorothy Edwards, titled 'A Personal Isolated Odd Universe', written by Tony Brown.

What I like best about this collection is the range of its content, and approaches to literature. For example, there are essays about eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors and poets, as well as contemporary writers. The final chapter – 'Literature and Religion' – examines some of the consistencies which have remained in the expression of the relationship between literature and the landscape over time. For example, Stevie Davies' paper 'Emily Bronte's Fragment of Eternity' discusses Bronte's 'metaphysical ambition', while the following paper by M. Wynn Thomas goes on to discuss R.S. Thomas' poetry as exemplary of the continuing twentieth-century struggle to place God, science and man in the same conceptual framework.

To be critical of this collection is difficult. Having academic interests in these areas I enjoyed each chapter for its contrast to the one before, and I found the collection's presentation of traditional ideas in new forms – such as the synthesis between man and nature – to be impressive. For those enthusiasts who are seeking an easy read I would say 'think again', as most of the essays are not as easy to dip into as the poetry. Having said that, the collection has potential to be used as both an academic and non-academic resource, and the literature and art chapter – where Welsh painters, including David Jones, Ceri Richards, and Merlyn Evans are discussed – even has a collection of colour plates to peruse. I would define this book as a valuable resource for new and established scholars alike, and it has the added benefit of an intriguing and original cover design by Lee Grandjean. To me the cover defines the intention behind the collection – to provide readers with something unique, original, and memorable.

Rebecca Welshman

Book Review

Richard Jefferies: An Index of Themes, Thoughts and Observations

by Hugoe Matthews & Phyllis Treitel. Petton Books, 2008; £15. ISBN 978-0-9522813-2-0.

The main frustration for readers and students of Richard Jefferies over the past 130 years has been the absence of any kind of index, either to individual books, or to his works as a whole. There is one exception: Grace Toplis, in her compilation *Jefferies Land* did provide an index; but what is frequently encountered are the individual efforts of readers in “previously loved” books (as one bookseller charmingly describes his second-hand stock), where one can find on the endpapers, owner-compiled indices of varying lengths and idiosyncrasy.

It is today technically possible to produce a “word-search” index to any book by using a computer, but this, although it may be useful for mechanical searches for names of species, places, or objects, is essentially a non-intelligent process, and does not analyse the context of a word in a text; a facility particularly important for an author such as Jefferies.

There exist over 10,000 printed pages of Jefferies’ works, so the task of reading through these to produce an “intelligent” index is a formidable one. The two authors of *An Index* have worked together before, in producing *The Forward Life of Richard Jefferies*, and have here, symbiotically, produced a seamless book, which will be of immense value and endless fascination to readers and researchers in future. The subtitle is important; for although, as an example, some individual species are listed, they are only included where the author has a significant observation to make on the subject. Beech trees, for example, are referred to many times in Jefferies’ writings, but only seven references are listed in the *Index*; these being occasions where their individual significance is commented on, as opposed to merely being included in a list of tree species found in a wood.

An Index is divided into three parts. Part III is an updated revision of a document already in print; a chronological list of all Jefferies’ published works. The original list has been updated, and can now be considered definitive. Each of the 457 pieces of work has been given an opus number, which is then used as a reference in the main body of the *Index*. Perhaps these might now be known as “Matthews Numbers” or M Numbers for short. Part I is a simple list of the Headings included. In Part II, the main Index, items are listed under each Heading in an order that follows the reference numbers and dates given in Part III. This means that, at a glance, one can follow any developments in thoughts or observations on a particular theme or topic over time.

I particularly like the way that in Parts I and II the Headings are clarified, so that “Earth (Planet)” and “Earth (Soil)” are clearly distinguished; and “Bennet” is qualified as “(Uncle)” to save one wasting time hoping to find a reference to Herb-Bennet.

This volume will not only prove an invaluable reference book, but will also serve as a source of inspiration and stimulus for readers, researchers and editors. For example; only one single topic anthology of Jefferies' writing has been published, and that is *The Rook Book*. This *Index* could well inspire the production of other anthologies on other topics. It is also to be hoped that casual readers of Richard Jefferies, who are perhaps familiar with only one or two of his genres of writing, will be tempted to read more widely if they are struck by the enormous range of subjects and interests within his compass. I remember being amazed many years ago when I first came across a reference to Feng-Shui in *Wildlife in a Southern County*. It was, at the time a currently fashionable fad, which I believed to be a relatively recent import from China. From the *Index*, we find that there are actually three references to the idea – proving that Richard Jefferies was well aware of the concept 125 years ago.

Because this is an *Index*, and not a comprehensive concordance, one sometimes has to think before assuming that a topic or concept is not included. "Love" for example will be found under "Human Nature", whereas "Marriage" has a separate entry. "Christianity" and "Catholic" will be found under "Religion" or "Church and Clergy", which are helpfully cross-referenced. All these placings, however, are entirely logical, and easily located with the help of Part I.

Apart from the listings in Part III, one of the problems in indexing the main books of Richard Jefferies, is that so many editions have been produced of each title. What the authors have sensibly done, therefore, is to take "Reference Editions" of the main titles, which are clearly specified in the Introduction. These should all be relatively easily and cheaply available; although clearly not all the texts quoted are included in these volumes.

In medieval times, people who commissioned illuminated manuscripts, demonstrated their wealth by leaving wide margins to the pages. This was because the cost of parchment was many times greater than the cost of the illumination, and so it was clear to the reader that the owner was conspicuously wealthy. *An Index* resembles one of these manuscripts, not merely because of the illumination provided by the contents, but also in the size of the margins. The reason for the margins, however, is to allow owners and users of the book to add their own additional references to the contents. Although this book is a magnificent achievement, it must not be considered a complete finished work, and the great advantage of living in an electronic age, is that *An Index* can be added to in future without great difficulty. I am sure that the authors will feel rewarded if their production stimulates a new interest in aspects of Richard Jefferies' work – and it certainly deserves that outcome.

This volume has to be added to the library of every Jefferies admirer, to sit alongside Miller and Matthews *Bibliographical Study*, and *The Forward Life*, already referred to. It also pays tribute, firstly to the dedicated care and thoroughness of the authors, but, even more importantly to the width and variety of subjects about which Richard Jefferies thought and wrote.

John Price

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