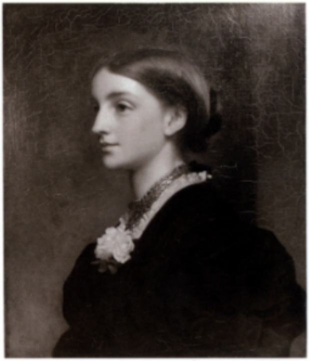
George Howard and Edward Burne-Jones

Christopher Ridgway



1 George Howard as a young man, c1860. Photograph. The Castle Howard Collection

2 *Portrait of Rosalind Howard* by Frederic, Lord Leighton (1830-96), 1866-67. Oil on canvas, 60 x 49 cm. The Castle Howard Collection

On 16 June 1863 two love affairs began in Oxford. At a gathering of family and friends young Rosalind Stanley, aged 18, met for the first time her future husband, George Howard, later to become 9th Earl of Carlisle (Pl 1). After lunch the party visited Christ Church Cathedral and her diary for the day recorded:

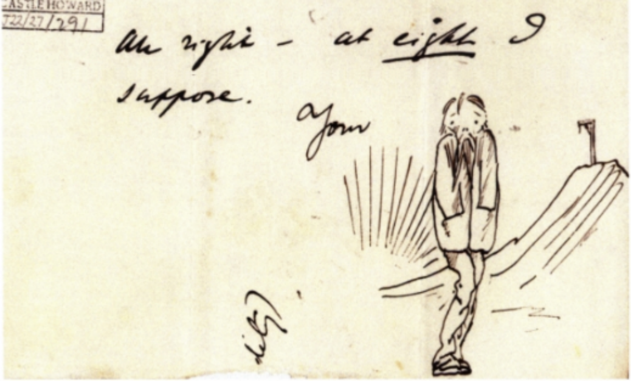
> Mr. Howard… came with us. I like [him] very much. He is clever & draws very well. He knows a good deal also about architecture, so he was a pleasant companion in the cathedral & at the time the study seemed to me so interesting that I determined to take up architecture…[1]

This first meeting soon blossomed into romance and a year later, in November 1864, the young couple were married. The early years of intense happiness and devotion gradually gave way to frictions, family divisions and increasingly separate lives. By the 1890s husband and wife seemed to spend more and more time apart from each other moving, often in the company of some of their ten children, between their three family homes: Castle Howard in North Yorkshire, Naworth Castle in Cumbria, and Palace Green in Kensington, London. It is unlikely that the couple ever ceased to care for each other, or to feel a degree of mutual affection within the bonds of their large family, but undoubtedly by the time of George Howard's death in 1911 the halcyon days of young romance and shared ideals had evaporated.[2]

However, on that day in June 1863 it seems likely that a second love affair also began. During their tour of Christ Church Cathedral it is more than probable that the attentive young pair would have strayed into the Latin Chapel where they would have seen a very recent example of stained glass: the St Frideswide window, designed by Burne-Jones and made by James Powell and Sons in 1859. Conceived and executed well before the foundation of the firm of Morris & Co, the St Frideswide window comprises 16 scenes in four main lights each crowded with numerous brightly coloured figures, above are two stars, three roundels and a crowning circle of a ship. This example of Victorian tracery is quite unlike any of the mainly 14th-century glass elsewhere in the cathedral.[3]

This encounter might be said to mark the prelude to a long and close friendship between the Howards and the Burne-Joneses. Unlike their own marriage, the feelings George and Rosalind shared for Edward and Georgie Burne-Jones seem to have remained constant, and the extensive correspondence that survives in the Archives at Castle Howard testifies to a friendship that was intimate, candid, genuinely affectionate and at times conducted with virtually daily contact. It was a relationship that also endured crises over ill health and marital difficulties, political disagreement, embarrassments over money, delays in completing commissions and periods of little or no communication.[4]

Plunging enthusiastically into the artistic milieu of their day, married life in London for the young Howard couple consisted of visiting exhibitions, galleries and auctions, endless social engagements, and sitting for their own portraits. Among their circle of artist friends were William Holman Hunt, George Frederick Watts (commissioned to paint George Howard's portrait), Val Prinsep; Frederic Leighton (commissioned to paint Rosalind) (Pl 2), John


CASTLE HOWARD
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All right – at eight I suppose.
Yours

3 Cartoon with gibbet in the distance, by Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98), from an undated letter to George Howard. Castle Howard Archives

Everett Millais and before long Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Maddox Brown, Edward Lear and Alphonse Legros. Literary friends and acquaintances included Robert Browning, Richard Doyle, Thomas Carlyle, James Froude, and later John Ruskin, Alfred Lord Tennyson, Matthew Arnold and George Eliot.[5]

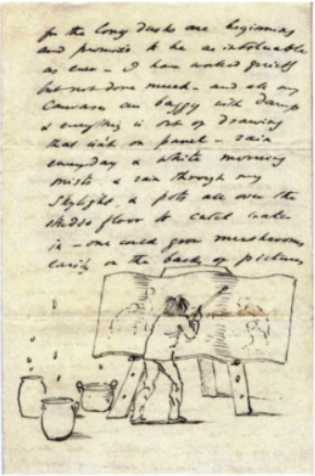
In the spring of 1865 Howard, who had never concealed his desire to become an artist, took lessons each morning at the Kensington School of Art.[6] Gradually his tuition increased until in 1866 he divided his time between life-classes at Heatherley's School of Art, drawing lessons with Watts, and oil-painting lessons with a Mr Wild and then Legros.[7]

Moving comfortably and with assurance in these circles, the Howards augmented their cultural education in November 1865 by embarking on the first of many regular visits to Italy. When not in London or on the Continent they went to stay with relatives in the country, either at Ampthill House, Bedfordshire (home of James Parke, Lord Wensleydale, George Howard's maternal grandfather); Alderley Park, Cheshire, seat of the Stanley family; or at the ancient Howard family seat, Naworth Castle.

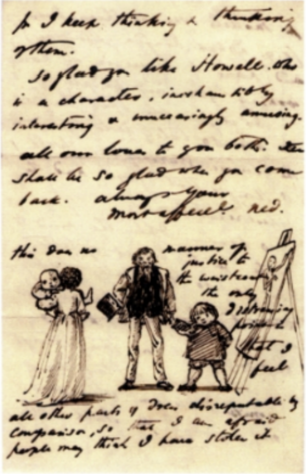
Amongst the busy whirl of social and cultural engagements, assiduously recorded by Rosalind in her diaries for the late 1860s, are two important entries in the Spring of 1865. Early in April she noted, 'George goes to Kensington and with Val Prinsep to see B. Jones's and Burton's studios'; and two days later she recorded, 'George and I drive to Kensington. See Burne-Jones's studio and his wife.' A month later she wrote: 'We called on Mr and Mrs Burne Jones – pleasant visit.'[8] So began a relationship between the two couples that was to last for more than 30 years, until the death of Burne-Jones in 1898, and even beyond, given that George Howard was involved in plans for a memorial to the artist.[9]

Both George Howard and Burne-Jones were of a sociable temperament, and their friendship was founded on common interests and shared artistic ideals. To begin with no doubt an element of the teacher and pupil was present in their relations, and as time went on there must also have been a degree of the patron and artist in their dealings, but Burne-Jones's correspondence reveals an extremely close and valued friendship before all else, and it can confidently be inferred that Howard's letters to him manifested a similar warmth and closeness. These letters from Burne-Jones contain a wealth of information on himself, his work, his contemporaries, including Legros, Rossetti, Ruskin, William Morris, Charles Fairfax Murray, Algernon Swinburne, James McNeill Whistler, and Philip Webb; as well as remarks on politics, books, money matters, exhibitions, the theatre, and of course many tedious notes arranging meetings or apologising for missing one another. While the tenor of much of his correspondence is weary and lugubrious, especially when he was unwell, depressed or in the grip of winter weather, there is a wry, comic tone too and some of these letters are illustrated with humorous cartoons of himself.

His health and his spirits were a frequent topic as well as, to be fair, his concern for the health of others. He spoke of being 'in such dumps', or 'vexed, dull [and] disappointed', and repeatedly voiced his 'dread' of fatigue; as he grew older he mused on how he had 'seen my merriest days', and how he was 'feeling my years heavily'.[10] He concluded one letter by enjoining Howard to 'make hay while you are young' and although there was only ten years difference between them in age this *carpe diem* was accompanied by a ironic memento mori – a cartoon of himself standing beside a skeleton.[11] At other moments when blackness descended he felt 'intensely melancholy and depressed'; his usual phrase was feeling 'seedy' – a term typical of the period for being generally unwell and one employed by Morris among others.[12] Burne-Jones was clearly prone to severe mood swings, and these 'seedy' periods were often caused by overwork and fatigue, anxiety, travel (especially by railway),



for the long darks are beginning
and promise to be as intolerable
as ever – I have worked [illegible]
but not done much – and all my
Canvases are baggy with damp
& everything is out of drawing
that isn't on panel – rain
everyday & white morning
mists & rain through my
skylight, & pots all over the
studio floor to catch leaks
in – one could grow mushrooms
easily on the backs of pictures



for I keep thinking & thinking
of them.
So glad you like Howell. he
is a character, inexhaustibly
interesting & unceasingly amusing.
all our love to you both: we
shall be so glad when you come
back. always your
most affect.d Ned.

this does no manner of
justice to
the waistcoat
the only
distinguishing
feature
that I
feel
all other parts of dress disreputable by
comparison, so that I am afraid
people may think I have stolen it

and ill-health – colds, flu, rheumatism, and the like; but they were also due to a gloomy temperament for, as he wrote in one letter, 'I think neither of you anticipate evil at all and I look for nothing else.' (Pl 3) Elsewhere he spoke of 'baddish nights and horrible bogies in them', and occasionally he gave vent to a *cri de coeur* such as 'Yesterday was black, and today is simply the end of the world'.[13]

Very often it was the weather that distressed him physically and mentally: cold, wind, fog, rain and winter darkness were railed at as 'fiendish' and 'infernal', and at times even words deserted him in these tirades, as he filled his letters with exclamation marks or asterisks denoting expletives.[14] It is clear that temperamentally Burne-Jones would be a candidate today for something like 'Seasonal Affective Disorder', such was his loathing of winter gloom and darkness; and of course as an artist the short daylight hours in winter, often made even shorter by fog, would have been a continual source of frustration and despair. Perhaps the worst moment occurred when he reported rain coming in through his skylight and that he had been forced to place pots all over the studio floor to catch the drips: 'One could grow mushrooms easily on the backs of pictures,' he mused, and sketched his discomfort (Pl 4).[15]

Unsurprisingly therefore he often uttered heartfelt yearnings for Italy, not just its art treasures but its climate too. 'I am of Siena,' he wrote in one letter, and in another he cried, 'These autumn days I yearn to get to Italy.'[16] And yet sunshine and Italy could also prove damaging to his health: here was a man who managed to catch sunstroke in England, declaring, 'I think one might get to like it in time but at first it bewilders with the novelty of the pleasure.'[17] There is also a letter written from Bologna after he had caught fever at Ravenna during his fourth trip to Italy in 1873. It is rambling, repetitious, and written in a semi-delirious state, and towards the end, showing glimpses of recovery, he conceded, 'I've been lucky to escape at all.'[18]

There are too, moments of humour and light-heartedness in his letters. Reading Voltaire proved a great tonic and he reported that 'much laughing has fattened my cheeks'.[19] There are also two cartoons which depict him in the happy bosom of the family: one whilst at work, the other illustrating the stylish waistcoat he had received as a gift from Howard, although he concluded that he now looked so smart everyone would think he had stolen the garment (Pl 5).[20]

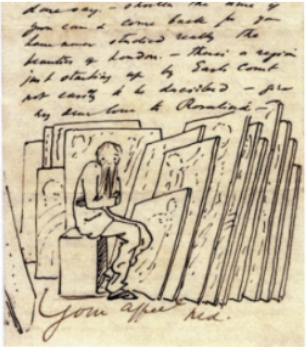
Worries about work are commonplace in the correspondence too: 'If only I could be free from anxiety about my pictures,' he lamented at one point.[21] Frequently his studio was in a state of chaos, as depicted in the famous sketch of himself at work published in the *Memorials*, which showed him surrounded by work that he once described to George Howard as 'confused and in such heaps'.[22] In a letter of September 1870 he presented a dismal image of the artist at work, 'I get to work every morning with a feeling of despair at so much unfinished and unfinishable work, and still the old fallacy that the next picture is going to be better supports me.'[23] Renowned for the difficulties he experienced in finishing pictures, Burne-Jones surrounded himself with more and more pieces in various states of completion. Many paintings were revised, begun again, or painted in second or third versions. The gestation period for some of his pictures was elephantine and sometimes this left him confused about his style and development. 'My studio grows dreadful to me', he wrote in 1875, and later that year he stated 'I… don't like my work a bit.'[24] Seeing his pictures hung at an exhibition he bemoaned that they looked 'simply dreadful, and so many and so unfinished that they make me giddy'; and in an

'useless' and inferior to his early pieces.[25]

When he fitted out a new studio at The Grange in Fulham, he spoke confidently of his plan 'to carry one picture only into it to work at and so get peace from the sight of others', but before long his good intentions lapsed and he was lamenting 'that muddle heap of work upstairs' – a cartoon revealing this customary state of confusion (Pl 6).[26] It was a state of affairs that was exacerbated by his tendency to produce larger and larger pictures until he had to rent a special studio for the enormous *Arthur in Avalon*. Even this was not easy to accomplish for the studios he inspected were 'all as dismal as tombs', and even Campden Hill Road, which he finally settled upon was described as 'not a very cheerful' place.[27] The profusion of pictures and materials in his studio left him feeling cramped, impinged upon by half-finished projects, unsure of his priorities and frequently guilty at his lack of achievement.

Thus the letters veer between wildly optimistic predictions as to his rate of progress and the targets he had set himself, and invariably gloomy admissions of failure, delay, weariness and lassitude.[28] His friendship with Morris provides a poignant contrast for there is no doubt that part of Burne-Jones's admiration for his friend lay in Morris's boundless energy and drive. It is hard to imagine a contrast much greater than between these two figures, the rotund, burly and vigorous Morris and the slender, frail-looking, weary Burne-Jones.[29] Time and again his letters to Howard referred to Morris as some kind of human dynamo: Morris was the 'Bard', and 'that gifted poet'.[30] He was variously described as 'in brilliant spirits', as 'rampagious', as 'very great these days', and 'in fine feather'.[31] He could appear fierce, growling, able to lay down the law, and not brooking contradiction.[32] He was cross and contrary when he had a cold, and was so unbearable on one occasion that Burne-Jones left the room in indignation.[33] On another Morris kept him up late, speaking 'oracularly about politics' until Burne-Jones turned feverish with a headache;[34] and one day Morris praised Rosalind Howard so loudly that 'he shook my canvas and made me draw waggly lines'.[35] But it is in his occasional comments on his friend's domestic unhappiness and anxieties over Jenny's health, that one glimpses that other more vulnerable side of Morris; and Burne-Jones's anxieties over his friend's declining health and final illness left him abject.[36]

These letters also reveal brief glimpses of individual works. He bemoaned the 'weary, weary old' *Laus Veneris*,[37] and *The Annunciation* which had 'come to present grief'.[38] The *Pygmalion* designs were part of 'working off an old debt'.[39] He became confused while working on the *Troy* panels,[40] and confessed to getting 'Medea and Nimue into a hopeless muddle so that I made myself ill about it'.[41] Elsewhere he talked of redesigning *The Mirror of Venus*;[42] of giving up 'the Roman Chariot' and becoming tired with 'the big *Demophon*';[43] of being commissioned for 'the big Car of Love';[44] and hard at work with 'the big oil *Chant d'Amour*';[45] and of taking in hand 'the staircase picture... though it doesn't interest me'.[46] Accustomed as we are to the splendour of his finished works, it is important to realise how much Burne-Jones was plagued by anxiety during the composition of these pictures.



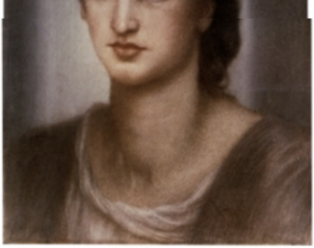
dare say. – shorten the time if
you can & come back for you
have never studied really the
beauties of London. – there's a region
just starting up by Earls Court
not easy to be described – give
my dear love to Rosalind –
Your affec Ned.

Burne-Jones also spoke warmly of George Howard's own work: a drawing Howard had made of Morris was judged 'very beautiful'; and at dinner one evening he took part 'in a chorus of praise of your watercolours'.[47] At one point he even asked to borrow a 'study of dog rose or wild rose I once saw in your sketch book'.[48] Occasionally he proffered technical advice, as when he suggested 'Foundation white' as a ground for oil sketching; and on another occasion he assured Howard that he had not ruined a drawing, promising to explain the remedy to him.[49] In fact, Howard's work was held in high esteem by many. Rosalind recorded in her diary how Legros, Watts, Edward Lear and even James Tissot all praised his pictures at various moments.[50]

There is no doubt that Burne-Jones set special store by his relationship with George Howard, and the Howards were among the few trusted and loyal supporters of his work, especially during the years after 1870 when he had come under violent attack for exhibiting his watercolour *Phyllis and Demophoön* at the Old Watercolour Society in London. It is no surprise then to read in one letter his declaration, 'Your friendship is a daily growing happiness for me – and a necessity now'.[51] In many letters he looked forward to the evenings he and Howard would share, when 'we'll talk and smoke and sneer and make withering remarks, and lash the follies of the age and relate epigrams and expand our minds with sarcasms'.[52] He confessed 'your loving friendship is one of the best things I have in life', and he recalled his visit to Naworth in the summer of 1874 with great affection[53] This close friendship was tested most severely during the crisis over his affair with Mary Zambaco in January 1869: after aborting his flight to Europe with Morris, and with Georgie moving temporarily to Oxford, Burne-Jones decided to hide

companion and I really love her which is a feeling not very easily got to with a friend one makes in grown up life [*sic*].'[59]

Interestingly, at the time of the crisis in February Rosalind had received her first invitation to dine at North End, and during dinner she found Burne-Jones 'agreeable and lively', enthusing over art, Greek sculpture and arguing, riskily one might think, about the character of really great artists.[60] However it was not until December that the air was finally cleared between Burne-Jones and Rosalind over the affair.



7 *Portrait of Rosalind Howard* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-82), 1870. Chalk on paper, 44 x 33.5 cm. The Castle Howard Collection

himself away in Kensington confiding solely, it would seem, in George Howard. An undated letter from surely this period reminded Howard to 'Confer with nobody about what I spoke of last night … [it] must be a profound secret – I mean by nobody – really nobody… I really need both silence & rest – I did not sleep at all in the night & tremble if a ring comes at the bell. I am strictly burying myself from friends…'[54]

The obverse of this relationship was of course the close intimacy between Rosalind and Georgie. In 1869 Burne-Jones wrote to Howard expressing how glad he was of the friendship between the two wives and how anxious he was not to be 'the cause of any cessation of it'.[55] Rosalind's diaries for this period show how both her and Howard were bound up in the marital difficulties in the Burne-Jones household and her concern for Georgie was deep and sincere. In January 1869 she wrote: 'I cannot get the tragedy at the Jones out of my head all day, it haunts me.'[56] A succession of private talks took place during the following weeks, between Howard and Burne-Jones, Rosalind and Georgie and, eventually, between Rosalind and Burne-Jones. In February Howard dined with Burne-Jones and the two men sat up talking about the affair; Howard returned home in the early hours upset and unable to sleep.[57] Rosalind and Georgie held several heart-to-heart talks, and although at first Rosalind had been in no doubt as to who to blame, referring to 'the awful & deliberate treachery of Mme Z', she was later alarmed to discover that the 'horrid tragedy is far worse than I thought because Ned J. is desperately in love with Mme Z.'.[58] Rosalind found Georgie's loyalty, fortitude and forgiveness admirable – if not beyond her own powers of comprehension, one suspects. In the summer, when Georgie came to stay at Naworth, Rosalind described her as 'a good brave woman with such a sad story. Her love is the deepest I ever met with'. Following Georgie's departure, Rosalind reflected on their own close friendship and remarked: 'She is a very dear

Learning of his displeasure at her rude remarks about Mary Zambaco, Rosalind confronted Burne-Jones at North End and a stormy interview followed:

> [Burne-Jones] cried and was impetuous and eloquent and then quite tender and affectionate in short everything by turns. What he wanted to tell me was that I ought to cut him if I showed rudeness to her… I said I would cut him if he liked and he then said no – not if it would endanger the friendship between Georgy and me. He made me feel much softer on the subject than I did before and chased away much of the bitterness there was in my heart…[61]

While Rosalind may have had reservations about Burne-Jones's behaviour as a husband her feelings about his work were unequivocal. Visiting the Old Watercolour Society exhibition in June 1866, she declared *Le Chant d'Amour* a 'beautiful picture'.[62] In January 1867, whilst visiting Morris and Co, she was shown some 'lovely painted glass windows designed by Burne-Jones'.[63] Two months later the Howards purchased their first work by him, a landscape; and a month later they saw his pictures of *Dorothy* and some of his finished *Cupid and Psyche* designs.[64] In May they saw his work on *St George and the Dragon*, and at the end of the year Rosalind noted that they had seen his 'new sketches for *Pygmalion*'.[65]

Early in 1868 George and Rosalind called on Morris, meeting Janey Morris for the first time, with whom Rosalind was unimpressed: she came away more enthusiastic about the 'lovely painted glass, especially a fine St Christopher designed by Jones'. From there they went on to the watercolour exhibition but Rosalind declared 'the only things to look at were Jones and [George] Boyce's sketches'.[66] In the same week Howard sold his first painting, entitled *Emilia*, which was on show at the Dudley Gallery Exhibition.[67] Burne-Jones was not the only artist they admired but it is clear that virtually everything he produced they liked. This was not always the case with other painters. They were impressed with Simeon Solomon's work, with most of Legros's pictures, and Leighton's work was considered 'fine' and 'beautiful'.[68] Watts's paintings were admired but Rosalind 'did not care' for his oil of *Jacob and Esau*, and they both reserved judgement over his sculpture deeming it 'fine but not original'.[69] Edward Poynter's work they found 'not very interesting', although his *Proserpine* was 'very pretty', but by the following year his Venetian sketches were considered 'lovely'.[70]

In April 1868, after a visit to Edwin Long, who had painted Rosalind and her sister Kate as young girls, Rosalind delivered a diatribe on contemporary English art: 'It is unfortunate that English artists waste so much work and fair ability by choosing wrong subjects, they seem to have no idea of what the real aim of art is, that is, beauty, instead they try to amuse the public.' In this mood she and Howard had also visited Millais's studio on the same day. Rosalind came away declaring his work 'very second rate and disappointing', and she concluded 'how very much more he might have done had he not allowed himself to be dogmatic'.[71] In May, visiting the Royal Academy, she enjoyed Legros and Leighton's work, as well as pieces by Frederick Walker, George Mason and Albert Moore, but felt contempt for 'all the celebrated

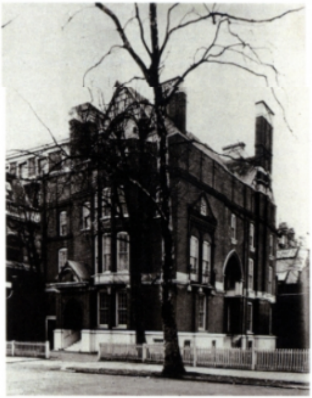
rubbish of the… [Henry] O'Neil and [William] Frith class'.[72] At the end of the year she visited the French exhibition and dismissed it all, with one exception, as 'great rubbish'.[73] More to her taste at the Watercolour Exhibition in December were two 'exquisite' pictures by Walker, a spirited sketch for *The Battle of the Boyne* by Sir John Gilbert, and Burne-Jones's chalk studies.[74] But in February 1869 she remained unimpressed by the 'so called "new school" or "young men" imitators of Jones – [Robert] Bateman, [Walter] Crane and [Edward] Clifford – so full of sentiment but deplorably exaggerated'; although a month later George purchased his first Walter Crane, *Hunting Moon*.[75] A few days later she was enchanted by Rossetti's 'beautiful portrait' of Janey Morris as Pandora. No doubt inspired by this work, a year later Rosalind sat to Rossetti for her own portrait in chalk (Pl 7).[76]

Visiting Burne-Jones's studio in April 1869, to see the five pieces he was sending to the Waterolour Exhibition, Rosalind felt that *Circe* was 'quite beautiful [with] amazing colour', and the two figures of *Spring* and *Autumn* 'delicious'.[77] In May at the Royal Academy they admired a christening scene by Legros, Watt's *Orpheus* and Leighton's *Electra*. Rosalind even conceded there were 'several good landscapes by Frenchmen', and also found time to admire a Millais portrait.[78] Later that month Burne-Jones gave Howard a watercolour head of a man; and three days afterwards Howard bought a chalk portrait of Janey Morris by Rossetti from Charles Howell.[79]

Although the Howards divided their time between London, the country and the Continent, by the end of the 1860s George and Rosalind were very much a part of the artistic milieu in London, their orbit defined largely by their friendship with Burne-Jones, the Holland Park set and the firm of Morris & Co They attended exhibitions, visited galleries and exhibitions, took drawing, singing or Italian lessons, went to concerts and the opera, sat for their portraits, and called on or dined with a host of artistic, literary and political figures. And Howard himself was able to hold his own as a fellow artist and, from time to time, as an exhibitor after selling his first painting at the Dudley Gallery exhibition in 1868.[80]

They lived for the most part with Howard's grandparents in Park Steet, but spent some of their time at the London home of Rosalind's family in Dover Street. As yet they did not have a house of their own and this to some extent explains why, for all their enthusiasm and first-hand acquaintance with artists, the Howards owned relatively few works of art by their contemporaries: two commissioned portraits by Watts and Leighton; a watercolour by Andrew McCallum; some casts by Brucciani; a handful of drawings; three sketches by Lear; two pieces by Burne-Jones; some Dürer engravings; a Legros sketch; a watercolour by Crane; a portrait by Rossetti; and a Greek vase.[81]

Notwithstanding their regular visits to salerooms, dealers, Morris & Co, and the curiosity shops in Holborn, the Howards appear to have been both cautious and restrained in their purchases. The birth of seven of their ten children before 1880 meant that their expenditure began to be stretched, and expeditions to Italy accounted for a proportion of their funds too. The era of their patronage, particularly of Burne-Jones and the firm of Morris & Co, can be linked to several specific events and phases in their lives: the building of their London home between 1866-69 and their occupation of it thereafter; the death of Howard's father in 1879, and his uncle in 1880, following which he and Rosalind began to assume more responsibility in the affairs at Naworth and Castle Howard; and finally the death of his eldest uncle, the 8th Earl of Carlisle, in 1889, whereupon Howard became 9th Earl, and succeeded to the estates in Yorkshire, Northumberland and Cumbria, totalling nearly 80,000 acres.



8 No. 1 Palace Green, Kensington, built by Philip Webb for George and Rosalind Howard, 1868-1869

The decision to build a London home followed a fruitless period of house-hunting in the summer of 1866.[82] The Howards commissioned Philip Webb as architect and selected a plot of land at Palace Gardens, Kensington for which they offered £3,000 early in 1867. Liquidating shares in order to fund the purchase in April, they settled on Webb's design for a large red-brick house.[83] Over the next twelve months they battled with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests who objected to Webb's designs, and after a series of acrimonious exchanges permission to build was finally granted in March 1868.[84] Construction began later that year and the house was completed and ready for occupation by Christmas 1869.[85]

A tall three-storey building, No. 1 Palace Green, as it became known, was designed to accommodate their growing family and also, until his death in 1879, George Howard's father (Pl 8). The library and dining room were situated on the ground floor; the drawing room, Rosalind's boudoir and a small conservatory on the first floor; the main bedrooms and nursery were on the second floor; and Howard's studio was on the third floor.[86] For the next 20 years the Howards were to decorate and furnish their London home in the most contemporary fashion: wallpapers, fabrics and furniture from Morris & Co filled the interiors. The drawing room contained African Marigold chintz, and the ceiling was painted 'in a simple manner in yellow and white' with a Morris willow pattern frieze, although this had to be replaced and redecorated between 1883-1884.[87] Pictures included Poynter's portrait of Georgie Burne-Jones (1869); Rossetti's 1870 chalk portrait of Rosalind; Legros's oil painting of *Psyche* (1868); two oil landscapes by Costa, and a panel with four devotional scenes by Barnaba da Modena, which Howard had inherited from his grandmother. These were hung according to Webb's instructions 'from simple nails driven in ſust underneath the frieze'.[88]

Beyond the drawing room was Rosalind's boudoir.[89] Both Morris and Burne-Jones dissuaded her from hanging Gold Sunflower paper in this room, arguing that the hue would be so bright that it would dazzle the paintings on the wall. Burne-Jones recommended something with a red hue with the woodwork a blue-cum-eggshell colour, and in the end a red Iris chintz was chosen.[90] Incredibly this small area came to be crammed with 15 pictures. These included four pictures by Burne-Jones: a watercolour landscape that was a study for *The Merciful Knight* (1863); a chalk head of a woman (1865); a chalk *Venus and her attendants* (1866), most probably the picture known today as *The toilet of Venus*; and a chalk drawing of a woman at a well which was a study for *St Dorothy*. There were three watercolours by Crane indicating that Rosalind had revised her opinion of his work; a chalk head of a man by Legros (1869); a copy of a Holbein portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and his wife, made by Howard himself in 1868; and four large John Jackson woodcuts after Tintoretto, Veronese and Bassano.[91]

Elsewhere, in the front hall and on the staircase hung two paintings by Breughel, both inherited by Howard from his mother's family, as well as two Morland landscapes and three pictures by Legros, including his *Baptism* in oil (1869).[92] On the landing of the first floor was an organ with a case designed by Webb and decorated with a painting of *St Cecilia* by Burne- Jones. Webb had given the dimensions of the case to Burne-Jones in August 1871, and 18 months later the finished design was installed, although in her delight with it Rosalind failed to identify St Cecilia correctly.[93] At the top of the house was Howard's studio: decorated with Morris Pomegranate chintz and among the pictures were three studies by Legros and three by Leighton as well as a chalk study by Burne-Jones for his picture of *The Fates*.[94]

Decorated with wallpapers and fabrics from Morris & Co, and filled with contemporary and Old Master paintings, Palace Green must have appeared spectacular to family and visitors alike. But the most sensational decoration was in the dining room, which was dominated by the painted frieze illustrating the story of Cupid and Psyche. At what point the Howards decided upon a painted frieze for the room and this particular choice of subject remains unclear, but the room had been designed with space for a frieze from early on; and in September 1869, as the house was nearing completion (the attic storey had been built that summer), Webb wrote to Rosalind stating:

> I have arranged for the dining room panelling and find that it will give a very good space of the upper part as background for pictures.[95]

Eight weeks later Rosalind recorded in her diary: 'We went to Palace Green… [to] settle about the decoration. Burne-Jones says he will paint the frieze in the dining room. How delightful. I think the house will be quite lovely.'[96] However, the blank canvases for the frieze were not purchased until 1872, and during the interim Burne-Jones was presumably at work on the designs.

How did the Howards come to commission this story to form the frieze in the dining room? Burne-Jones's connection with the tale of Cupid and Psyche is easy to explain, dating as it does from 1865 when Morris asked him to provide designs for woodcut illustrations to his cycle of poems *The Earthly Paradise* (1868-1870).[97] Today, in the collections at Birmingham Art Gallery and the Ashmolean Museum, there survive 133 preliminary sketches for the story, of which 45 were transferred to woodblocks and from which proofs were made.[98] During the second half of the 1860s Burne-Jones worked at these preliminary designs but Morris's plan for a sumptuously illustrated large folio never came to fruition, and it did indeed remain 'the book that never was'.[99]

Visiting Burne-Jones's studio in 1866, Rosalind recorded how she and George had been shown some of the designs 'for Psyche's story'; and a year later they saw his completed watercolour *Cupid and Psyche*.[100] In 1868 Rosalind listed Morris's *Earthly Paradise* among the books George had read during the year; and in March of the same year she noted how he had begun 'a red chalk study of a woman stepping into water suggested by a passage in Morris's *Jason*'.[101] Clearly the Howards were familiar with Burne-Jones's designs for Morris as well as his various easel pictures on the subject of Psyche: two versions of *Cupid finding Psyche* (c1865 and 1865-67); *Zephyrus and Psyche* (c1865); *Cupid delivering Psyche* (1867); and *Pan and Psyche* (c1869).[102] They were also steeped in the poetry of Morris, and Howard himself seems to have been especially struck with the subject and figure of Cupid, for in the Spring of 1868 he had been shown around the British Museum and in particular 'all the Cupids'.[103] At this time Rosalind also recorded in her diary that George had done 'a good drawing for his Cupid', which shortly after was probably worked up for a drawing of *Venus and Cupid*. This composition and related ones were to occupy Howard for the following twelve months (Pl 9).[104]

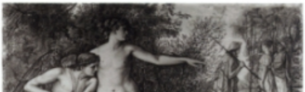
Howard must have been influenced by Burne-Jones's designs for Morris and by his other Cupid pictures; and he was so struck by the designs for Morris's *Cupid and Psyche* that he pasted a number of proofs of the woodblock impressions into one of his own sketch albums.[105] Howard also shared Burne-Jones's interest in the painters of the Italian Renaissance, and in particular for the illustrations to Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. It is known that Burne-Jones possessed a copy of this work although which edition is uncertain.[106] There is no copy of this rare work recorded in any of the Howard library catalogues, so one is surely justified in concluding that the edition from which Howard copied a number of drawings, also pasted into the same album as his Morris woodblock proofs, belonged to Burne-Jones.[107]

Burne-Jones's interest in the Italian painters of the quattrocento dated from his first visit to Italy in 1859, and was reinforced by subsequent visits in 1862, 1871 and 1873. Howard too, was taken by the works of the Italian Old Masters, and during his many expeditions to Italy he spent much of his time, as did Burne-Jones, studying paintings, sculpture and architecture, and making detailed sketches. His love of Italian painting is recorded meticulously by Rosalind in her entries for their first trip to Italy from November 1865 to June 1866, when he was keen to see examples of wall paintings, especially the frescoes of Pinturrichio, Perugino, Fra Filippo Lippi, Ghirlandiao and Faddi whilst in Rome, Spoletto, Siena and Florence.[108] In 1868 Howard borrowed from his uncle, Lord Taunton, a painting by Mantegna in order to make a copy of it. His motives for this are unclear, possibly they were just academic or perhaps his uncle had asked for a copy. We do not know what was the subject of the painting other than the unhelpful clue that it required gilding since the following year Howard 'made a mess' of this according to Rosalind.[109]

All this evidence would suggest that the idea of a painted frieze for the dining room at Palace Green formed in the minds of George and Rosalind Howard at quite an early stage. It was probably viewed as a natural way in which to combine their two great passions, Italian quattrocento painting and the work of their great friend Burne-Jones. The choice of subject was no doubt dictated by their enthusiasm for the designs they saw in Burne-Jones's studio, their

9 *Venus and Cupid* by George Howard (1843-1911), 1868-69. Red chalk with touches of pencil and white chalk on paper, 54.6 x 66.4 cm.
York City Art Gallery

10 Cartoon with Walter Crane and Burne-Jones at work at Palace Green, by Walter Crane (1845-1915), from a letter to George Howard, 26 August 1876.
Castle Howard Archives



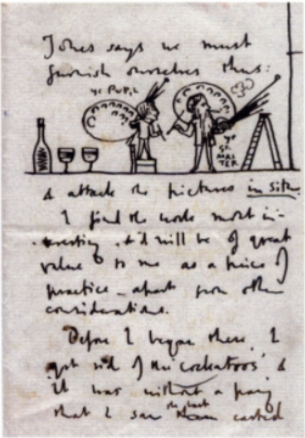
admiration for Morris's verse, and Howard's own interest in the figures of Cupid and Venus. Equally, their interest in Italian painting, especially painted frescoes, may well have dictated their desire for the frieze to appear as such. This is borne out by the fact that in places the paint on the Cupid and Psyche canvases is remarkably spare with an extremely muted palette that seems, in part, designed to mimic an antique effect. Thomas Rooke, Burne-Jones's studio assistant, recalled that 'the oil paint was probably thinned with spirit, perhaps turpentine, to get the desirable flattened surface of decorative painting'.[110] Indeed the paint is so thin in places that the canvas seems barely covered, and this also means that the areas of built-up gilded gesso, in particular for Psyche's lamp and casket, are strikingly bright and prominently visible.

The frieze took a total of twelve years to complete from the day Burne-Jones agreed to paint it in 1869. He began work in 1872, recording in his list of the year's work that he had drawn in the figures on canvas and spent some time painting them.[111] From this period there date his preliminary watercolour designs for the frieze that were subsequently framed and hung in Palace Green too.[112] To what extent the delays, revisions and dissatisfaction with his progress, as reported in his correspondence, tried the patience and goodwill of the Howards remains unknown. There is only one further mention of the project by Rosalind in her surviving diaries, and this was in 1879 when she noted rather neutrally, Burne-Jones 'works on Psyche's marriage in the dining room'.[113]

Burne-Jones's letters to the Howards are no clearer as to the rate of progress since most of them are undated and unspecific in their detail. He talked of working 'steadily – not fast but soundly', and on another occasion was able to report more rapid progress.[114] The 'Procession picture', by which he presumably meant the final panel depicting Psyche entering the portals of Olympus, was said to look 'pretty' at one point, and the figure of Charon, the boatman of the underworld interested him for he was mentioned several times.[115] There is no doubt that the work proceeded slowly, interrupted by illness, fatigue, other commissions and Burne-Jones's desire to revise the pictures.

The panels were begun in his studio and from time to time moved to Palace Green for installation in order to work on them in situ. This would have been necessary in order to view them in their correct narrative and pictorial sequence, to gauge their impact when viewed from below, and to examine how they sat in relation to the architecture and decor of the rest of the room, most especially the painted ceiling, the corners, decorated spandrels and wooden panelling below.

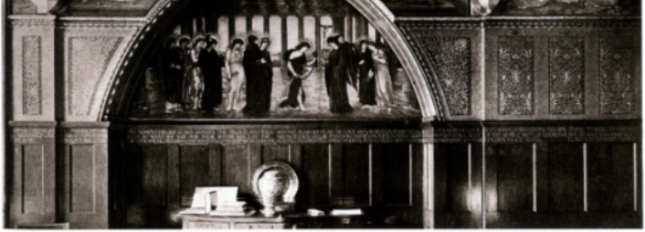
The commission was further complicated by the fact that two other people worked on the project, Thomas Rooke, and Walter Crane, who was asked to assist in the mid-1870s. Crane had known the Howards since the late 1860s: in 1871 he stayed at Naworth Castle, and later that year he also sent and included a delightful sketch of himself and Burne-Jones at work at Palace Green (Pl 10).[117] In his autobiography Crane corroborated the fact that a quattrocento appearance to the frieze was desired, for he recalled that it 'was to be painted in flat oil colour on canvas enriched with raised detail gilded somewhat after the manner of Pinturrichio'. He also claimed that the canvases were in various stages, 'some blank, some just commenced, some, in parts, considerably advanced'. All of these were sent to his studio at Beaumont Lodge in Shepherd's Bush, where Crane described how 'I allowed myself considerable freedom, especially in the subjects not already commenced or carried far, though I endeavoured to preserve the spirit and feeling of the original designs'. The


ye Pupil
ye St. Master

Jones says we must
furnish ourselves thus:

& attack the pictures in situ.
I find the work most in-
-teresting, & it will be of great
value to me as a piece of
practice – apart from other
considerations.

Before I began there, I
got rid of the 'cockatoos' &
it was without a pang
that I saw the last them carted



11 No. 1 Palace Green, Kensington. Detail of the *Cupid and Psyche* frieze in the Dining Room, 1899. Photograph. The Castle Howard Collection

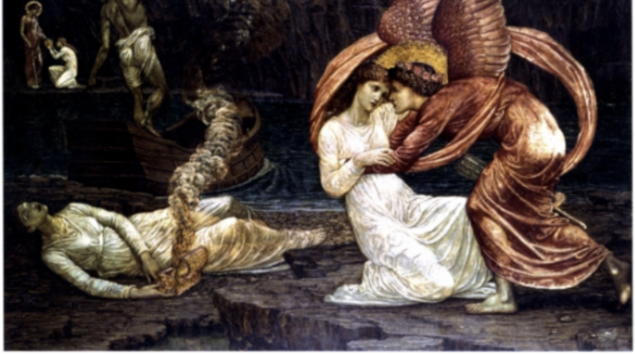
the assistance of Rooke, appears not to have speeded up the work and may in fact have hindered completion. For in the one lengthy report on the progress of the frieze that Burne-Jones sent to Howard, prompted evidently in response to unhappiness on Howard's part with the work, he begins with a catalogue of errors:

> My dearest George
> Have I seen what Rooke is doing?!!!!
> O my word!
> I should think I have, I'm painting all the figures myself - have redesigned bits of background all over - and the result is good I think - at least it matches Mr Morris's ceiling now! They are much lighter now the pictures… I hope Crane won't be hurt - I have had to alter much - I think they were painted in too dry a material for some of the colour wipes off with a dry duster, and I think you will think it a very, very good improvement…[119]

Although an inspection of the panels today clearly reveals the presence of more than one hand, there is no doubt that Burne-Jones wished to retain overall control of the design and finish of the panels, an arrangement that Howard would have concurred with, if not insisted upon. Crane seems to have recognised this state of affairs and been content with his position as 'Pupil' in relation to the 'great Master': his letters to Howard report the good progress he has made in painting certain sections of the frieze, but he also accepted with good grace how Burne-Jones altered details, devised new scenes and continually reworked the panels.[120] Howard was generous towards him too, especially when an embarrassing muddle arose over payment for his work, with Crane believing he was due £400 and Howard thinking it was £300. In January 1879 Howard replied 'I had rather pay £100 more than I expected, than give you a moment's annoyance', and indeed Crane did receive £400 for his work, and shortly afterwards a further £100 for a drawing of Naworth Castle that Howard desired to purchase.[121] How much Burne-Jones received for the *Cupid and Psyche* frieze is unclear, between 1879 and 1880 he received £540 from Howard in unspecified payments, but this cannot represent entire payment.[122]

The frieze was finally completed in 1881, and during the interim family and guests had presumably stared at the blank section of wall between the panelling and the ceiling, or possibly at half-finished panels if they had been left in situ. But when finished the dining room must have presented a grand spectacle of colour and design. Aside from the frieze itself the coffered ceiling was painted in soft colours with a Morris design, the spandrels were decorated with foliage, the corbels below the frieze were covered with a diaper pattern in red, and the dado panels in gold and silver. The woodwork was painted blue-green although originally it was entirely white, and below each panel Morris had inscribed in gold Roman lettering quotations from his poem (Pls 11, 12).[123] Incredibly there appears to have been room for further paintings, Leighton's portrait of Rosalind, Legros's portraits of Burne-Jones and of Howard's father and even two portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds.[124]

Part of the reason for the delay in completing the *Cupid and Psyche* frieze at Palace Green lay with Burne-Jones's commitments to other patrons, his obligations to the firm of Morris & Co, and of course his tendency to be working on and revising dozens of pictures at once. But it should be remembered that his commissions elsewhere included more work for the Howards too. Once again, it is not always easy to date precisely the inception, progress and completion of these commissions from Burne-Jones's undated letters to the Howards. But by 1881 the Howards had also acquired two more of Burne-Jones's paintings to hang in Palace Green. His watercolour *Annunciation* purchased in 1879 at the Grosvenor Exhibition for £1240, and hung in Palace Green soon afterwards;[125] and his *Dies Domini* in 1881 which had cost £450.[126] The inventories and accounts for this period also list a further three Burne-Jones pictures: *Fatima*, a *Study for the Mirror of Venus*, and *Hesperus*.[127] Other pictures not recorded, but which remain in the collection at Castle



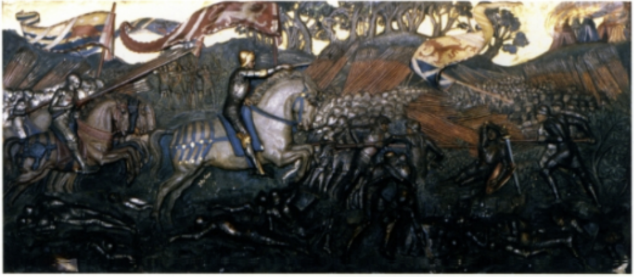
12 Panel with three episodes from the *Cupid and Psyche* story from the Palace Green frieze by Edward Burne-Jones: *Psyche receiving the casket back from Proserpine; Psyche brought back to the Upper Regions by Charon; Cupid warned by the Phoenix of Psyche's danger*. Oil on canvas, 119 x 183 cm. City of Birmingham Art Gallery

Howard today, included a watercolour *Study for The Dream* and *Three girls singing and playing instruments* (Pl 13).

But so delighted were the Howards with the completed frieze at Palace Green, and so confident were they in Burne-Jones's ability to complete commissions, albeit protractedly, they decided to commission a second frieze from him. In Rosalind's accounts for 1881 there is the entry, 'on account to E.B. Jones £500 for *Arthur in Avalon* fresco for [the] library at Naworth'.[128] What this shows is that by this date, as they assumed greater control over the Howard estates during the final illness of the 8th Earl of Carlisle, George and Rosalind were anxious to furnish their other homes using their favourite artists, designers and decorators. During the 1880s a flood of Morris and Co wallpapers, textiles, stained glass and furnishings were commissioned for both Castle Howard and Naworth Castle, but it is fascinating to see that in 1881 Burne-Jones's great late masterpiece, *Arthur in Avalon*, was conceived of as a fresco, probably in the form of a specially-prepared canvas to fit a pre-determined space. The library at Naworth is a tall room with large windows on the north side. Assuming that the Arthur composition was always intended to be an expansive one, the area it was planned for must have been high above the panelled bookcases, although the high galleries at either end of the room would have meant that it could have been viewed from eye level if so desired.[129]

The Howards were evidently smitten with the Arthurian subject, as indeed was Burne-Jones, who eventually asked Howard to surrender his claim on the picture, so enamoured had he become with it himself. But the Howards did not entirely give up on the idea of some kind of work with an Arthurian theme. Spenser's great epic poem *The Faerie Queene* had long been a favourite of Rosalind's: in 1872 she attended a lecture on Spenser in London; at Naworth in 1883 she began reading passages from the poem to her young sons and quickly reported that they were enjoying it.[130] In 1887 Morris wrote to George Howard discussing proposals for glazing the Library window at Naworth 'with figures from Spenser', which Burne-Jones was willing to design; and Burne-Jones himself spoke confidently of the project declaring in a letter to Howard, 'As to Spenser I have designed a hundred figures for him… I'll do it when Morris gives me the spaces.'[131] Walter Crane was also familiar with the practice of illustrating Spenser's works, for in the 1870s he had twice mentioned to Howard his work on one of his poems, as well as an allegorical composition inspired by Spenser.[132] The apogee of Crane's work came in 1897 with the publication of his magnificently illustrated edition of *The Faerie Queene*, a copy of which was given to Rosalind a year later for her birthday.[133]

As is well known, *Arthur in Avalon* remained unfinished at Burne-Jones's death and, in lieu of the £500 down-payment, Howard received from Georgie Burne-Jones a picture of *St George*; at some point he also acquired an associated picture, a watercolour *Study for a shield* for *Arthur in Avalon*.[134] What form the St George picture took remains unknown but the Howards had been familiar with Burne-Jones's cycle of seven pictures on the subject of St George and the Dragon, commissioned by Miles Birket Foster in 1865. And Howard himself had obviously been drawn to the subject since he made a drawing of the celebrated Donatello relief of *St George and the Dragon* whilst in Italy.[135] The subject has a strong Spenserian pedigree also, marking as it does the climax to Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, so their acceptance of the St George picture does not necessarily mean that they were disappointed with second best. But it is sad that the large Spenserian project with Burne-Jones, whether as fresco,



14 *Flodden Field bas-relief* by Edward Burne-Jones (1833-98) and Joseph Edgar Boehm (1834-90), 1882-1888. Painted plaster, 86.5 x 193 cm. Naworth Castle

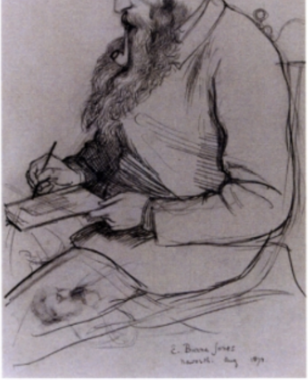
15 George Howard, 9th Earl of Carlisle, painting in the gardens at Castle Howard, *c*1900. Photograph. The Castle Howard Collection

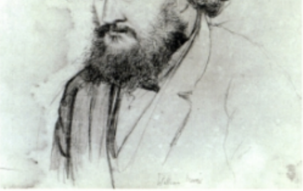
Revd William George Howard who became the 8th Earl. Incapacitated and hospitalized for much of his later life the family estates were therefore administered by trustees and another younger brother, Admiral Edward Howard (later created Baron Lanerton in 1874) who, with his wife, occupied Castle Howard as de facto owner. Between 1865 and 1880 the couple undertook a number of improvements to the house and gardens, and the most significant of these projects was the refurbishment of the chapel in the west wing of the house.

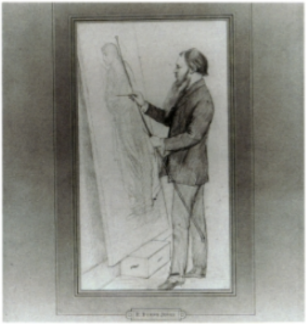
During a visit to Castle Howard in the autumn of 1869 Rosalind noted in her diary one Sunday: 'I went to the chapel in the morning, they propose blocking up the lower part of the windows in the chapel to make it look more like a church.' Her reservations about these proposals were not merely on aesthetic grounds for she added, 'It will be a great pity as the view of the lake is a great reprieve during… [the] tiresome sermon and is also very edifying during the service.'[142] The structural work involved in these alterations was enormous. Outdoors the two attic-storey pavilions were removed from either end of the west wing and, inside, the floor was lowered by 2½ feet. The walls were redecorated with frescoes depicting the Annunciation and figures from the Old Testament – Moses, David, Isaiah, Micah, Malachi and Zechariah – painted by Charles Eamer Kempe and WH Hughes. The pillars and ceiling, copied from Holbein's designs for the Royal Chapel in St James's Palace, were kept but redecorated by the plasterer Francis Rawlings. The refurbishment of the chapel, carried out between 1870-1875, cost a total of £9,500.[143] Four of the five windows were fitted with stained glass designed by Burne-Jones and executed by Morris & Co Costing just under £800, they depicted the *Annunciation*, *Nativity*, *Adoration of the Magi*, and *Flight into Egypt*, with the upper panels depicting the four Evangelists. A fifth window was to be filled with the *Resurrection* but this was never completed and instead it was filled with simple decorative motifs. The window frames, designed by Philip Webb, were hinged so that they could open inwards.[144]

It is unlikely that the choice of painted decoration, furnishings and stained glass, as well as the craftsmen employed by Edward Howard was solely his own decision; it is highly probable that he and his wife were influenced by the advice and recommendations of others, most notably their young nephew and his wife who, by 1870, were loud advocates of the work of Burne-Jones and the designs and furnishings of Morris & Co. There is no record of any involvement of Morris & Co at Castle Howard prior to 1872, and although Edward Howard was to purchase some Morris wallpapers for Castle Howard between 1872-1878, he does not seem at face value a likely patron of either the firm or its associated artists.[145] Nevertheless, some of the most important names were involved in this early work at Castle Howard – Philip Webb, Morris & Co, Burne-Jones and Charles Eamer Kempe. It is extremely unlikely that Edward Howard was not influenced to some degree by the opinions of George and Rosalind. Of course, within 10-15 years Castle Howard would be filled with over two dozen examples of Morris wallpaper, as well as textiles and furniture.[146] And in 1878, three windows designed by Burne-Jones were installed in the chapel of the Castle Howard School in the nearby village of Welburn. These depicted a *Virgin Mary*, *St Elizabeth* and a *Salvator Mundi*.[147]

Curiously no pictures by Burne-Jones nor by any of his contemporaries seem to have hung at Castle Howard during these years. This was doubtless because the house already







16 *Portrait sketch of Edward Burne-Jones* by George Howard, 1874. Pencil on paper, 37.5 x 23.5 cm. The Castle Howard Collection

17 *Portrait sketch of William Morris* by George Howard, 1874. Pencil on paper, 20 x 20 cm. The Castle Howard Collection

18 *Portrait sketch of Edward Burne-Jones* by George Howard, nd. Pencil on paper, 35.6 x 20 cm. The Castle Howard Collection

boasted a vast and important collection of Dutch and Italian Old Masters, a fine collection of miniatures, and a major assembly of 18th- and 19th-century British portraits. Beyond updating the decoration and furnishings, the Howards showed no desire to re-invent Castle Howard in an entirely contemporary fashion, for quite frankly the burden of its past was too strong. The only instance of removing, or defacing, the past occurred when Rosalind chose to cover the Pellegrini murals in the high saloon, dating from when the house was first built at the beginning of the 18th century, with panels of red Morris Bird and Anemone paper. In fact it is not at all certain that Burne-Jones, Morris or any of their circle ever visited Castle Howard. Instead the Howards's painter and writer friends usually stayed at Naworth, which was the family's preferred country residence. In the summer of 1874 both Burne-Jones and Morris stayed at Naworth and it was during this visit that Howard made a number of intimate sketches of his two artist friends (Pls 16, 17).

The Howards's support for Burne-Jones, emotional, moral and financial, was undoubtedly important for the artist, as well as of profound consequence in the shaping of their own tastes. His paintings, together with the designs and furnishings from Morris & Co, formed a central part of the decorative schemes in Palace Green, and to a lesser extent at Naworth Castle and Castle Howard. Unlike so many of Burne-Jones's clients or patrons, Howard was not a self-made man of new wealth, he came from an old established aristocratic family and was himself imbued with a cultured and artistic sensibility. Leaving the running of the family estates to the ever more formidable Rosalind, Howard combined a political career with involvement in public affairs, in particular working on behalf of galleries and museums. But at heart he never ceased to be a painter, relishing any opportunity to sit at an easel (Pls 15, 18). Pupil, friend, confidant and patron, these terms accurately describe the long and close relationship between George Howard and Burne-Jones. But more than anything they shared a love of painting, which Burne-Jones recognised only too well when in a letter to Howard he celebrated their brotherhood as artists and their dedication to painting: 'My dear no other occupation is to be thought of by immortal souls but that of painting.'[148]

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1 Castle Howard Archives, Rosalind Howard Diaries (hereafter RHD), J23/102/10: 16 June 1863. Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent references are from the Castle Howard Archives.

2 The main biography of George and Rosalind Howard, 9th Earl and Countess of Carlisle, is Virginia Surtees, *The Artist and the Autocrat*, London, 1988. For family memoirs and reminiscences see

George sketched and painted virtually every day. For Howard's experience with engraving and etching see 16-18 May 1867, 24 October 1868, 3, 16 January 1869. For the art schools of London see, Stella Margetson, 'Pugnacity and Progress', *Country Life*, clxxvii (14 November 1985), pp 1547-50; for Heatherley's School of Art see Christopher Neve, 'London Art School in Search of a Home', and

See also the cartoon by Max Beerbohm in *Rossetti and His Circle*, London, 1922, pl 6, 'Topsy and Ned Jones, Settled on the Settle at Red Lion Square'.

30 EBJ to GH: J22/27/256, nd; J22/27/22, nd.

31 EBJ to GH: J22/27/17, nd.; J22/27/50 [2 February 1876]; J22/27/86, nd. See also EBJ to RH: J22/27/185 [?1892], where he states, 'Morris knows neither

1975; rpt Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1997, ch 9.

55 EBJ to GH: J22/27/319, nd.

56 RHD, J23/102/15: 26 January 1869.

57 RHD, J23/102/15: 15 February 1869.

58 RHD, J23/102/15: 26 January, 11 February 1869.

59 RHD, J23/102/15: 12 July 1869.

60 RHD, J23/102/15: 10 February 1869.

61 RHD, J23/102/15: 8 December

Dorothy Henley, *Rosalind Howard*, London, 1958; Charles Roberts, *The Radical Countess*, Carlisle, 1962.

3 For the St Frideswide window see A Charles Sewter, *The Stained Glass of William Morris and His Circle, A Catalogue*, 2 vols, London and New Haven, 1974-75, II, p 2, and figs 19-22.

4 There are more than 400 letters from Edward and Georgie Burne-Jones to George and Rosalind Howard in the Archives at Castle Howard, J22/27/1-430. Although many are, frustratingly, undated, a number can be dated through internal evidence. One can follow the development of a strong friendship between the two couples, and it is clear that these friendships divided four ways. George Howard and Edward Burne-Jones with by far the greatest amount of correspondence (hereafter EBJ to GH); Rosalind Howard and Georgie Burne-Jones with nearly as many letters (hereafter GBJ to RH); George Howard and Georgie Burne-Jones with a few dozen letters (hereafter GBJ to GH); and Rosalind and Edward Burne-Jones with a handful of letters (hereafter EBJ to RH).

5 In the spring of 1865 Leighton agreed to paint Rosalind's portrait, and at the same time Howard began sitting for his portrait by Watts. RHD, J23/102/11: 22, 23 March 1865. Rosalind sat for Leighton for the last time on 16 June 1867, when the portrait was finished, and cost 100 guineas, Palace Green Inventory H2/1/54, p 4; Castle Howard Picture Inventory H2/1/28, p 77.

6 RHD, J23/102/10: 29 September 1863. See also her later, more gloomy reflections on Howard's artistic career J23/102/15: 3 May 1869.

7 RHD, J23/102/11-15: 1865-69. Rosalind's diaries record how Howard was learning to draw, paint in oil and in watercolour with various tutors, as well as learning engraving techniques. On 8 March 1865 he began lessons at the Kensington School of Art; a year later, on 11 June 1866, he started at Heatherley's School, and at the same time he was also taught 'the rudiments of oil painting' by an American artist, Mr Wild, 8, 11 June 1866. Howard also received advice from Leighton 'to study in the R.A. or go to Paris', 14 June 1866. A day later he began 'a study of the Discobolus to be sent to the R.A'. In July he began [illegible]

in oil painting with Legros. Whether in London, the country or abroad, Rosalind records how

'A Question of Survival', *Country Life*, clxiv (17 and 31 August 1978), pp 448-50, 570-71.

8 RHD, J23/102/11: 8 April, 10 April, 5 May 1865.

9 There are some 60 documents in the Castle Howard Archives relating to the Burne-Jones Memorial, J22/38/1-62.

10 EBJ to GH: J22/27/22, nd; J22/27/25, nd; J22/27/91, nd; J22/27/254, nd; J22/27/363 [?13/15 January 1885]. See also EBJ to RH: J22/27/186, 1892, where he laments 'the energy is gone and what fire there was is smouldering'.

11 EBJ to GH: J22/27/33, nd.

12 EBJ to GH: J22/27/279 [September 1867]; for references to feeling seedy see J22/27/16, 38, 41, 75, 78, 159, 164, 203, 225, 247, 252, 253, 355, nd. Burne-Jones also writes of Rossetti having 'worked himself seedy', J22/27/224 [30 September 1870]. Morris's health is dealt with extensively by Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris*, London, 1994, and for references to feeling seedy see p 659.

13 EBJ to GH: J22/27/47, nd; J22/27/226, nd; J22/27/17, nd. For Burne-Jones's disastrous and traumatic railway journeys see J22/27/84, nd; J22/27/130 [August 1879]; also EBJ to RH: J22/27/128, nd.

14 EBJ to GH: J22/27/94, nd; J22/27/106, nd; J22/27/25, nd.

15 EBJ to GH: J22/27/39, nd.

16 EBJ to GH: J22/27/17, nd.; J22/27/295, nd; See also J22/27/28, nd; J22/27/293, nd.

17 EBJ to GH: J22/27/159, nd.

18 EBJ to GH: J22/27/430, nd.

19 EBJ to GH: J22/27/80, nd.

20 EBJ to GH: J22/27/318, nd; J22/27/302 [25 December ?18–].

21 EBJ to GH: J22/27/8 [5 February ?18–].

22 Georgiana Burne-Jones, *The Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones*, 2 vols, London, 1904; rpt 1993, II, p 136, hereafter *Memorials*; EBJ to GH: J22/27/83, nd.

23 EBJ to GH: J22/27/224 [30 September 1870].

24 EBJ to GH: J22/27/9 [?February 1875]; J22/27/16 [7 May 1875].

25 EBJ to GH: J22/27/276 [?10 August 1874]; J22/27/349, nd.

26 EBJ to GH: J22/27/84, nd; J22/27/256, nd; J22/27/287, nd.

27 EBJ to GH: J22/27/246, nd

28 For comments on issues including politics see J22/27/67, 99, 101, nd; on money J22/27/119, 154, 246, 317, 425, 428, nd; and on his reading J22/27/80, nd; J22/27/203, 1 September 1866, when he [illegible]

work or at play. On one occasion he joked to Howard about Morris's 'round' figure, J22/27/48 [1875].

fatigue nor faintheartedness'.

32 EBJ to GH: J22/27/82, nd; J22/27/252, nd; J22/27/112, nd.

33 EBJ to GH: J22/27/104, nd; J22/27/367 [3 September 1887].

34 EBJ to GH: J22/27/102, nd.

35 EBJ to GH: J22/27/254, nd.

36 EBJ to GH: J22/27/66, nd, where he speaks of Morris's 'desolate state'. See also J22/27/333, nd, 'Top was here, much better but a bad time he has had'; J22/27/355, nd, 'Morris is harassed much these days with Jenny's health'; J22/27/397 [20 August 1896], 'I must go this evening to see Morris… I am simply wretched about him'; J22/27/398 [20 August 1896], 'I am the worst of company, being now alarmed about Morris'; J22/27/410, nd, 'Morris at Folkestone… lamentably weak and ill'; J22/27/399 [6 October 1896], 'Morris died this morning… I don't think there was much pain ever – but the weakness was pitiful and for the last day or two I do not think he knew us. A loving band of friends nursed him and sat up with him at night always'.

37 EBJ to GH: J22/27/86, nd. For further comments on *Laus Veneris* see J22/27/8 [5 February ?18–]; J22/27/24, nd; J22/27/39, nd; J22/27/47, nd.

38 EBJ to GH: J22/27/86, nd. For further remarks on *The Annunciation* see J22/27/140 [2 December 1879]; J22/27/339, nd; see also EBJ to RH: J22/27/87, nd; J22/27/131, nd. For plans to make an engraved version of the picture see, J22/27/245, nd; J22/27/337, nd; and probably J22/27/428, nd. See also Edward Marsh, *Victorian and Edwardian Paintings in the Lady Lever Gallery*, London, 1994, pp 12-15.

39 EBJ to GH: J22/27/124 [November 1878].

40 EBJ to GH: J22/27/256, nd.

41 EBJ to GH: J22/27/256, nd; see also J22/27/8, nd; J22/27/86, nd; J22/27/299, nd.

42 EBJ to GH: J22/27/299, nd; see also J22/27/8 [8 February ?18–]; J22/27/24, nd; J22/27/39, nd; J22/27/47, nd; J22/27/86, nd.

43 EBJ to GH: J22/27/426 [February 1882].

44 EBJ to GH: J22/27/47, nd.

45 EBJ to GH: J22/27/241, nd.

46 EBJ to GH: J22/27/252, nd.

47 EBJ to GH: J22/27/66, nd; J22/27/67, nd.

48 EBJ to GH: J22/27/348, nd.

49 EBJ to GH: J22/27/387 [?23 October 1891]; J22/27/124 [November 1878].

50 RHD, J23/102/13: 30 March, 6 June 1867; J23/102/14: 10 February 1868; J23/102/15: 24 March 1869; [illegible]

account of the affair and the crisis moment see Penelope Fitzgerald, *Edward Burne-Jones*, London

1869.

62 RHD, J23/102/12: 7 June 1866.

63 RHD, J23/102/13: 26 January 1867.

64 RHD, J23/102/13: 23 March, 13 April 1867.

65 RHD, J23/102/13: 12 May, 17 November 1867.

66 RHD, J23/102/14: ?15 January 1868. The glass presumably was the design for the window in All Saints, Wigan, see Sewter, op cit, II, pp 202-203.

67 RHD, J23/102/13: 7 November 1867; J23/102/14: ?16 January, 5 March 1868.

68 RHD, J23/102/14: 26-27 January, 9 March 1868.

69 RHD, J23/102/14: 28 March, 12 December 1868.

70 RHD, J23/102/14: 18 March 1868, J23/102/15: 4 February 1869.

71 RHD, J23/102/14: 4 April 1868.

72 RHD, J23/102/14: 21 May 1868.

73 RHD, J23/102/14: 3 November 1868.

74 RHD, J23/102/14: 2 December 1868.

75 RHD, J23/102/15: 4 February, 16 March 1869.

76 RHD, J23/102/15: 12 February, 17 March 1869. For the Rossetti portrait, dated 25 June 1870, and a second portrait, see Virginia Surtees, *The Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882). A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1971, I, nos. 280-81. See also Palace Green Inventory, H2/6/16, p 80, nos. 4-5.

77 RHD, J23/102/15: 6, 11, 30 April 1869.

78 RHD, J23/102/15: ?4/5 May 1869.

79 RHD, J23/102/15: 16, 19 May 1869.

80 See above, n 67.

81 RHD, J23/102/11: 10 April, 11 May 1865; J23/102/12: 6, 24 July, 11 October 1866; J23/102/13: 12, 23, 27, March, 26 June 1867; J23/102/15: 16 March, 16, 19, May, 23 December 1869.

82 RHD, J23/102/12: 8 June 1866, 'We looked for houses in the afternoon'; by 27 October Rosalind was noting, 'think about building a house'.

83 Rosalind's diaries for 1866-1869, J23/102/12-14, chronicle the story of Palace Green. On 3 November 1866 George and Rosalind visited Morris & Co in Queen St, probably with the intention of meeting Philip Webb. By 27 November they had chosen a site for a new house in Palace Gardens, Kensington, and two days later they met with Webb to inspect the plot of land. In January 1867 they discussed the sum they would offer for the land, £3,000, and finally resolved to purchase it on 27 February. On 4 April they sold some stock to [illegible]

and Palace Green is in Caroline Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle, Artists and Victorian Society*, New

Haven and London, 1999, ch 7.

84 RHD, J23/102/13: 11, 28, November 1867; J23/102/14: 16, 17, 24, January, 28 February, 19, 21, 22, 25, 28, 31 March 1868.

85 RHD, J23/102/14: February-April, November-December 1869.

86 The best description of No. 1 Palace Green remains the article in *The Studio*, XV (1899), pp 3-13. But the rooms and their contents are also recorded in several household inventories: paintings and drawings, H2/1/53-54; porcelain, H2/5/3-4; furniture and ornaments H2/6/15-17. See also the probate inventories of George and Rosalind Howard, H2/11/6-7.

87 PW to GH: J22/64/39, 6 September 1869; Rosalind Howard Accounts (hereafter RHA): J23/105, 1880, pp 53-54. For the later alterations see RHA, J23/105: 1883, p 57; 1884, pp 57-58; 1886, p. 73.

88 H2/6/16, p. 80; also *The Studio*, XV,

exhibited a painting of *Cupid and Psyche* at the Royal Academy, Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality and Art*, Manchester, 1996, p 120, fig. 31. I am grateful to Dennis T. Lanigan for this reference.

105 GH Album 1, p 25.

106 Fitzgerald, op cit, pp 107-108.

107 GH Album 2, p 39. There is also in the library at Castle Howard a copy of Elizabeth Strutt's publication, *The Story of Psyche with a classical enquiry into the significance and the origin of the fable* [London, 1852], with illustrations by the sculptor John Gibson.

108 RHD, J23/102/12: 21 February-7 April. The travels of George and Rosalind Howard are indexed in Surtees, op cit, p 186.

109 RHD, J23/102/14: 7, 14, 17 April, 28 May 1868; J23/102/15: 30 January, 10 February 1869.

J22/55/39, 4 November 1881. The whereabouts of this picture is unknown but the composition was taken from a stained glass window design for St Michael and St Mary Magdalene, East Hampstead, 1874, see Dakers, op cit, p 102, fig. 47.

127 RHA, J23/105: 1872, p 62, *Fatima* 'bought from Holloway', 22 February for £50; H2/1/54, p 2, *Study for the Mirror of Venus*, 'for the picture in oil subsequently painted'; H2/1/54, p 24, *Hesperus*, subsequently given to Dorothy Howard. For an account of this painting see Andrew Wilton and Robert Upstone, ed, *The Age of Rossetti, Burne-Jones and Watts: Symbolism in Britain 1860-1910*, exh cat, London, 1997, pp 129-30. Other Burne-Jones pictures recorded at Palace Green included a drawing in red chalk of 'Venus and her attendants', and a drawing in red chalk of 'a woman at a well,

Rosalind Howard, featuring St George slaying the dragon of drink, WC to GH: J22/38/37, 9 February 1883. Copies of the card are in the collection at Castle Howard.

137 GHA, J23/112: pp 140, 143, 146 (1880); RHA, J23/105: 1882, p. 34; 1884, p. 41; 1885, p 57. For Boehm's various commissions for the Howards, including the Flodden relief see Mark Stocker, *Royalist and Realist, The Life and Work of Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm*, New York and London, 1988, pp 186-87, 195-98, 292-99. See also *Memorials*, II, p 120; Ben Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, New Haven and London, 1982, pp 273-75.

138 EBJ to GH: J22/27/121, 154, 155, 245, 249, 305, 324, 338, 340, 355, 356, 358, 361, 362, 363, 367, 390, 391, 421, 425, 427, 428, mostly undated.

139 WM to GH: J22/55/38, 3 November 1881; RHA, J23/105:

p 13. For Webb's instructions, PW to G and RH: J22/64/36, 3 June 1869.

89 For an image of the boudoir see Bill Waters, 'Painter and Patron, The Palace Green Murals', *Apollo*, cii, no. 102 (November 1975), pp 338-41. Fig. 2 illustrates the drawing room with Rosalind visible in the boudoir, lying on her day bed.

90 William Morris to Rosalind Howard (hereafter WM to RH): J22/55/29-30, 13, 15 December 1879; J22/55/41-42, 24, 28 November 1881. See also EBJ to RH: J22/27/122, 133, 134, 142, nd.

91 H2/6/16, p. 82. For the portrait of Surrey, considered by Rosalind to resemble George, see RHD, J23/102/14: 14 April 1868; J23/102/15, 16-17 January 1869.

92 H2/6/16, p 78.

93 PW to RH, J22/64/49: ?14/16 August 1871; RHD, J23/102/16: 28 October 1872. The picture is reproduced in Dakers, op cit, p 99, fig. 46.

94 RHA, J23/105: 1883, p 53; H2/6/1, p 98.

95 PW to GH: J22/64/39, 6 September 1869.

96 RHD, J23/102/15: 16 November 1869; RHA, J23/105: 1879, p 31; 1880, p 53; 1882, p 81.

97 Fitzgerald, op cit, pp 107-109.

98 Stephen Wildman and John Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist Dreamer*, exh cat, New York, 1998, pp 119-27.

99 JR Dunlap, *The Book That Never Was*, New York, 1971, chronicles the course of Morris's project for a grand illustrated publication.

100 RHD, J23/102/12: 26 May 1866; J23/102/13: 13 April 1867.

101 RHD, J23/102/13: 5 June, 10, 15 July 1867; J23/102/14: preliminary leaves, 28 March 1868. Howard [illegible] had been published that year.

102 Wildman and Christian, op cit, pp 120-22, 238-49.

103 RHD, J23/102/14: 19 March 1868.

104 RHD, J23/102/14: 19, 21, 23 March, 28 May 1868; J23/102/15: 6 February, 1 May 1869. See also Julian Hartnoll, ed, *Victorian Art Sacred and Secular*, exh cat, London, 1979, nos. 9-12; Sotheby's, Belgravia, *Fine Victorian Paintings, Drawings and Watercolours*, 11 December 1979 (lot 22), for a figure of Cupid by Howard; Christie's, London, *Fine Victorian Pictures, Drawings and Watercolours*, 6 November 1995 (lot 58), a female figure for Howard's picture of Venus and Cupid. In 1867 Legros also

110 City of Birmingham Art Gallery files, letter of 2 April 1922 from Rooke to Sir Whitworth Wallis, Director of the Gallery, on the occasion of the presentation of the frieze to the Gallery by the Howard daughters. I am grateful to Brendan Flynn for directing me to these files.

111 *Memorials*, II, p 30.

112 Wildman and Christian, op cit, p 119.

113 RHD, J23/102/21: 4 May 1879; but see also RHA, J23/105: 1888, p 82.

114 EBJ to GH: J22/27/3299, nd; J22/27/89, nd.

115 EBJ to GH: J2227/354, nd; J22/27/235, 236, 337, 338, 372b, 423, nd.

116 Walter Crane to George Howard (hereafter WC to GH): J22/38/1, 15 July 1871; J22/38/6-8, 11 April, 31 May, 24 June 1872. See also Isobel Spencer, *Walter Crane*, New York, 1975, pp 69, 192, n11. Better known as a book illustrator, Crane was also to dedicate the first of his 'Toy Books', *The Baby's Opera*, to Rosalind Howard in 1876. See WC to GH: J22/38/11, 6 October 1874; J22/38/14, 27 February 1876. Burne-Jones also spoke warmly of Crane's paintings and books, EBJ to GH: J22/27/86, nd.

117 WC to GH: J22/38/15, 26 August 1876.

118 Walter Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*, London, 1907, pp 167-70.

119 EBJ to GH: J22/27/324, nd.

120 WC to GH: J22/38/18, 17 July 1877; J22/38/22, 2 May 1878; J22//38/24, 13 November 1878; also EBJ to GH: J22/27/355, nd.

121GH to WC: J22/38/26, 28 January 1879; WC to GH: J22/38/25-27, 27, 28, January; J22/38/29, 1 May 1879. [illegible] 101 (1878), 104, 105 (1879).

122 GHA, J23/112: pp 110, 114 (1879), 137 (1880).

123 RHA, J23/105: 1880, p 51; *The Studio*, XV, pp 3-13; WM to RH: J22/55/29, 13 December 1879. The dining room was partially recreated in 1998-99 at the Burne-Jones exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and at the City of Birmingham Art Gallery.

124 H2/6/16, p 74.

125 RHA, J23/105: 1879, p 59; RHD, J23/102/21: 28 April 1879; EBJ to GH: J22/27/140 [2 December 1879]; J22/27/339, nd. See also n37 above.

126 GHA, J23/112: p 154 (1881); RHA, J23/105, 1881, p 65; WM to RH:

study for his picture of St Dorothy', H2/1/54, p 6; *St Dorothea*, and a 'woodland landscape, a watercolour study for the *Merciful Knight*', H2/1/54, p 24. Also hanging in the drawing room was, apparently, *Theophilus and the Angel*, *The Studio*, XV, p 13.

128 RHA, J23/105: 1881, p 66.

129 The space on the north wall of the library at Naworth measures 9ft x 34ft (274 x 1036 cm); the canvas dimensions of *Arthur in Avalon* are 91/4 x 21 ft (282 x 640 cm). See also EBJ to GH: J22/27/304, nd, 'I am so glad you both like *Avalon*'; also J22/27/363 [1884], J22/27/363 [?13/15 January 1885], J22/27/425 [January 1885], especially for the problems he had in pricing the picture. I am grateful to the Hon Philip Howard for his assistance in this matter.

130 RHD, J23/102/16: 19 November 1872; J23/102/19: 9, 14 May 1883.

131 WM to GH: J22/55/56, 20 September 1887; EBJ to GH: J22/27/367 [3 September 1887].

132 WC to GH: J22/38/12, 2 November 1874, J22/38/13, 28 February 1876.

133 RH to GH: J22/4, 18 February 1898, 'I was as pleased as a child could be with my gift… suddenly to possess six large volumes of beautiful illustrations of one of my most loved poets was quite an event.' See also Greg Smith and Sarah Hyde, ed., *Walter Crane, 1845-1915, Artist, Designer, Socialist*, exh cat, London, 1989, pp 84-85; Edward Hodnett, *Five Centuries of English Book Illustration*, Aldershot, 1988, pp 201-203.

134 RHA, J23/105: 1881, p 66; a later note in Rosalind's hand, against [illegible] for "Avalon" but that picture was never painted. At E. Burne Jones' death his wife gave to Ld Carlisle in repyt. Of this advance of £500 Burne Jones picture of St George [sic]'. This picture of St George is no longer in the collection at Castle Howard, but a watercolour shield study for *Arthur in Avalon* remains in the collection.

135 See n65 above. Howard's drawing, dated *c*1866, of the Donatello relief of St George and the Dragon (which is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence), is in the collection at Tullie House, Carlisle. I am grateful to Melanie Gardner for showing me this drawing.

136 Walter Crane designed a 'Temperance Pledge Card for

1882, p 90. The carpet was sold in 1947 and its last known whereabouts was the Ambassador Hotel, Bournemouth, see Linda Parry, ed, *William Morris*, exh cat, London, 1996, p 281.

140 Sewter, op cit, II, pp 29-31, Pl XIII; WM to GH: J22/55/25, 10 November 1878; J22/55-54, 22 June, 7, 10 September 1885; J22/55/56, 20 September 1887; J22/55/58, 9 June 1888; J22/55/61, 6 October 1888. See also Arthur Penn, *Brampton Church and its Windows*, Brampton, 1993.

141 Sewter, op cit, II, p 109; WM to GH: J22/55/61, 6 October 1888. See also John RH Moorman, *Lanercost Priory*, guidebook, Gilsland, Cumbria, 1990, pp 17-18.

142 RHD, J23/102/15: 24 October 1869.

143 G6/1-4, 'Chapel Alterations 1874-1876, and other work at Castle Howard, under the directions of Lord Lanerton'.

144 G6/3; Sewter, op cit, II, p 47.

145 G6/2, invoices for Morris & Co wallpapers dated 20 October 1872, 13 December 1873.

146 Rosalind's account books record regular purchases of wallpapers, textiles and furnishings from Morris & Co for the interiors at Naworth Castle, Castle Howard and Palace Green, J23/105, 1871-1897. Morris textiles included Hammersmith rugs and, in 1889, a screen comprising three embroidered panels from the original set of eight that depicted figures based loosely on Chaucer's poem *The Legend of Good Women*, and which used to hang at Morris's Red House, Bexleyheath, Kent. RHA, J23/105, 1889, p 68. See Parry, op cit (1996), [illegible] pp 13, 137.

147 Sewter, op cit, II, pp 195-196.

148 EBJ to GH: J22/27/321, nd.