Ethical Aestheticism in the Early Works of Henry James

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The Shadow of John Ruskin

By

Tomoko Eguchi

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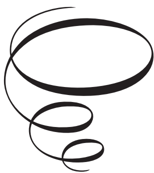

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction 1
Aestheticism, James and Ruskin

Chapter One 14
Puritan Spirit and Catholic Art in *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875)
and *Italian Hours* (1909)
1 Protestant Origin and Morality
2 Aesthetic Fascination with Catholic Architecture
3 Religious Imagination and Truth in Paintings

Chapter Two 45
Nature and Art in *Roderick Hudson* (1875)
1 Religious Virtue and Aesthetic Creed
2 Symbolic Nature and the Sublime
3 Imagination and Practicality

Chapter Three 80
Aestheticism in Question: 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873),
'Eugene Pickering' (1874) and 'Rose-Agathe' (1878)
1 Truthfulness in Question: Imitative Artists in 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873)
2 Conscience in Question: Manipulative Aesthetes in 'Eugene Pickering' (1874)
3 Taste in Question: Delusion in 'Rose-Agathe' (1878)

Chapter Four 100
Ethics and Aesthetics in *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881)
1 Romantic Spirit and the Love of Beauty
2 Ethical Aestheticism, Romantic Aestheticism and Choice of Husband
3 Searching for Light: Disillusion and Reconciliation

Chapter Five 133
Realism in 'Swinburne's Essays' (1875), 'Alphonse Daudet' (1883)
and 'The Art of Fiction' (1884)
1 Against the Shallow Pool of the Picturesque: 'Swinburne's Essays' (1875)
2 Admiration of the Transmuted Real: 'Alphonse Daudet' (1883)
3 Request for the Needle and the Thread: 'The Art of Fiction' (1884)

Chapter Six 163
Vulgarity and Practicality in *The Tragic Muse* (1890)
1 An Apostle of Beauty
2 A Priestess of Harmony
3 Art and Politics

Conclusion 193

List of Abbreviations 199

Bibliography 201

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INTRODUCTION

AESTHETICISM, JAMES AND RUSKIN

Little scholarship exists exploring the relationship between Henry James and John Ruskin.[1] However, many critics have tried to locate James's position with regard to his aesthetic standpoint. The term 'aestheticism' generally indicates the aesthetic standpoint that advocates the concept of 'art for art', as in the late 1800s. Yet, Ruskin's aestheticism insists on faithfulness to factuality, morality and Christianity, which largely originates in the ideas of the German Romantic philosophers, including Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). This book aims to re-locate James by revealing parallels between the aestheticism of Ruskin and that of James, and by clarifying the many implications of the term aestheticism available in the nineteenth century.

James and Ruskin had similar upbringings, which might have contributed to their aesthetic alliance. Although James was American, whereas Ruskin was English, both men had Scottish ancestry (James also had Irish roots) and grew up in strictly Protestant families. In both families

[1] Besides Viola Hopkins Winner, whose *Henry James and the Visual Arts* is mentioned in the Introduction, there are several critics who compare James with Ruskin: Alwyn Berland states that James's concerns for religious and moral issues in his aesthetic ideas are Ruskinian. However, Berland asserts that James disliked 'the occasional moral and intellectual flabbiness of Ruskin and Pater' ['Henry James and the Aesthetic Tradition', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23.3 (1962), pp. 407-19 (pp. 412-13)]. Tom Nichols and Tessa Hadley compare James and Ruskin, specifically in terms of their notions of the Italian painter, Jacopo Tintoretto ['James, Ruskin, and Tintoretto', in *Henry James Review*, 23:3 (2002), pp. 294-303], which will be discussed in Chapter One of this book. Tamara L. Follini points out the complexity of Ruskin's work, and discusses his influence on James's early period ['James, Ruskin, and The Stones of Venice' *Tracing Henry James*, ed. by Melanie H. Ross and Greg W. Zacharias (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2008), pp. 355-73]. Simone Francescato asserts that James's ideas of 'appreciation and consumption' and picturesque are derived from those of Ruskin [*Collecting and Appreciating: Henry James and the Transformation of Aesthetics in the Age of Consumption* (Bern: Lang, 2010)].

one parent was very religious: Ruskin's mother, Margaret firmly held to evangelical Christianity, and enthusiastically trained her son to be a clergyman; and Henry James Senior, James's father, turned to Swedenborgianism, the Romantic Christianity of Emanuel Swedenborg, the eighteenth-century Swedish mystic. As will be discussed further in Chapter One, regardless of Ruskin's distance from the established church and his struggles over his faith in his later years, and James's reserve in overt religious comments, it is noteworthy that both men had Christian figures at home. Despite their desire to define themselves through art, which often accompanied their certain fascination with Catholicism, both were profoundly shaped by the values of their Protestant upbringing and retained deeply held moral values in maturity. When they were children, their fathers took them to travel around many cities, which nourished their keen eyes of observation, and prompted their expansive travels across Europe as adults. Both loved Italy, and James used Ruskin's books, especially the volumes of *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53), as a guide while travelling the country.

When James started his literary career in the 1860s, Ruskin was famous in both Britain and America. With his vast ranges of interests, including geology, painting, architecture, music and education, Ruskin published prolifically and delivered numerous lectures, mainly on art, between the 1840s and 1880s. Although he was in some sense an amateur in all of these fields, he studied them in much depth, and simplified them and expressed his thought boldly. In his Appendix to the third volume of *The Stones of Venice* (1853), Ruskin declares, 'I believe the architects of the last three centuries to have been wrong; wrong without exception; wrong totally, and from the foundation', asserting that fine architecture was not 'absolutely good [nor] perfect' until the advent of Christianity had enabled 'the full development of the soul of man, and therefore the full development of the arts of man.'[2] Furthermore, in the preface to the third volume of *Modern Painters* (1856), Ruskin states:

> I have now given ten years of my life to the single purpose of enabling myself to judge rightly of art, and spent them in labour as earnest and continuous as men usually undertake to gain position, or accumulate fortune. It is true, that the public still call me an 'amateur'; nor have I ever

[2] John Ruskin, 'Venetian Index', in *The Stones of Venice* (1853); repr. in *Library Edition: The Works of John Ruskin*, 39 vols, ed. by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904), XI, 353-436 (p. 356). Unless noted otherwise, all works of Ruskin referred to in this book will be taken from this edition, and hereafter abbreviated as *Works*.

> been able to persuade them that it was possible to work steadily and hard with any other motive than that of gaining bread, or to give up a fixed number of hours every day to the furtherance of an object unconnected with personal interests. I have, however, given up so much of life to this object; earnestly desiring to ascertain, and be able to teach, the truth respecting art; and also knowing that this truth was, by time and labour, definitely ascertainable. (*Works*, V, p. 4)

Thus, he is proud of his actions and the motive for his huge investment of time, effort and labour in various fields of art in the last decade. Regardless of the difference of the subjects, he consistently insisted on the importance of morality, reality and imagination, which he summarises with the term 'Truth' in his publications.[3]

Ruskin's works initially invited some negative reviews. For example, a reviewer in the *Athenæum* criticised the first volume of *The Stones of Venice* (1851), arguing that Ruskin's architectural doctrine and criticism were 'dogmatic and curt' and that 'his doctrine [was] directly counter to all the teachings and practices of [their] own time', and eventually rebuking the author as 'self-dubbed Gamaliel'.[4] William Henry Smith, the philosopher, also complained in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* that Ruskin was singular, dogmatic and intolerant, but conversely praised his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) as 'very entertaining' and acknowledged the author's keen observations and the 'zeal and vigour' expressed in *The Stones of Venice*.[5] Ruskin's works steadily gained popularity throughout the 1850s. Thomas Carlyle, the Scottish critic praised *The Stones of Venice* as an 'excellent Sermon in Stones', and many English Romantic and Victorian writers, including William Wordsworth, Alfred Tennyson, George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë admired Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, which was called by James Holland 'the finest piece of writing on Landscape art ever produced.'[6] Thus, Ruskin came to be

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[3] Chapter Three will focus on Ruskin's notion of 'Truth' in comparison with James's tales from the 1870s.
[4] Review of *The Stones of Venice*, by John Ruskin, vol. 1, *Athenæum*, 22 March 1851, pp. 330-31.
[5] William Henry Smith, 'Mr Ruskin's Works', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 70 (September 1851), pp. 326-48. Smith wrote the review anonymously. His name has been drawn from Walter E. Houghton and others ed., *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, 5 vols (London: Routledge, 1966), I, pp. 91; 1092-93.
[6] Quoted in Joan Abse, *John Ruskin: The Passionate Moralist* (London: Quartet, 1980), pp. 64; 107.

acclaimed as 'a Luther of the arts' in *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* in that he rebelled against the established theory of art in a similar way that Martin Luther, the German Protestant theologian, rebelled against the Catholic authority in the established church (quoted in Abse, p. 151). He became a powerful figure, advocating the landscape painter William Turner and supporting the Pre-Raphaelites. Therefore, Ruskin was 'a key contributor' and founder of the Aesthetic Movement, although Ruskin's aestheticism was different from the later, decadent aestheticism.[7]

Ruskin also became popular in America from his early publication in the 1840s, and it became fashionable to read him. James was an enthusiastic reader of Ruskin, if not always in agreement with the author.[8] Henry James had a particular interest in paintings from his childhood. In his youth, his brother William took drawing lessons at Newport from William Morris Hunt, the Pre-Raphaelite artist. Henry James accompanied his brother and informally learned drawing with Hunt. Viola Hopkins Winner states that James's 'engagement with the visual arts was intense and lifelong', and asserts that James's 'stress on the value of the artist's power to penetrate through surfaces to the inner reality was surely reinforced by Hunt's example.'[9] Here, Winner makes an important point about James's intensive relation to paintings and his high evaluation of 'inner reality'. Hunt's supporter Ruskin similarly states in *The Elements of Drawing* (1857) that 'the excellence of an artist, as such, depends wholly on refinement of perception' (*Works*, XV, p. 12). He claims:

> The perception of solid Form is entirely a matter of experience. [. . .] The whole technical power of painting depends on our recovery of what may be called the *innocence of the eye*; that is to say, of a sort of childish perception of these flat stains of colour, merely as such, without consciousness of what they signify, – as a blind man would see them if suddenly gifted with sight. (*Works*, XV, p. 27)

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[7] See Nicholas Shrimpton's 'Ruskin and the Aesthetes', in *Ruskin and the Dawn of the Modern*, ed. by Dinah Birch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 131-52. Shrimpton explicitly demonstrates Ruskin's ambivalent position to the term 'aestheticism' and his relation to aesthetes.

[8] As for the analysis of Ruskin's popularity in America, see Roger B. Stein, *John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). Stein demonstrates that for the majority of Americans, 'Ruskin's importance was in incorporating the unfamiliar, art, within the framework of the familiar, religion and nature' (p. 46).

[9] Viola Hopkins Winner, *Henry James and the Visual Arts* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. vii, 14.

By demonstrating the importance of 'the innocence of the eye', Ruskin insists that the painter should see the object as it is without prejudice. For example, he points out that most people fail to acknowledge that 'sun-lighted grass is yellow' (*Works*, XV, p. 28). While emphasising the importance of a keen perception, Ruskin also insisted on the need for imagination. In the first volume of *Modern Painters* (1843), Ruskin states that painting is 'a noble expressive language' and 'the vehicle of thought' ('Definition of Greatness', in *Works*, III, p. 87). In the same volume, however, while demonstrating the importance of rendering a noble thought in art, he prioritises facts over thought ('Of Ideas of Truth', in *Works*, III, p. 136). Ruskin proclaims that he is in favour of 'Naturalism' against German idealism ('German Philosophy', in *Works*, V, p. 424). Nevertheless, he defends Turner's 'Idealism', concerning his paintings, in which he acknowledges some alterations on factuality, insisting that Turner's paintings embody religious and moral truth ('Notes on the Turner', in *Works*, XIII, p. 115). In this sense, Ruskin has both idealist and naturalist sides, similar to James. It is highly plausible that Ruskin's concept of 'the innocence of the eye' and insistence on factuality and imagination passed on through Hunt to the James brothers. According to Sheldon Novick, James read *The Elements of Drawing* and *Modern Painters* while studying with Hunt and John La Farge in Newport.[10] It can be said that James made Ruskin's blend of idealism and realism more visible in his writings. Winner rightly states that 'James's visual responses and creative impulse' were integrally related and that 'an understanding of his mode of vision will certainly deepen an understanding of his theory and practice of fiction' (p. vii). Like Ruskin, James often compares fiction to a picture, and treats both as 'art' altogether. For example, in his 1907 Preface to *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), James states that this novel came from his impressions of his residence in London.[11] He claims, 'the affair of the painter is not the immediate, it is the reflected field of life, the realm not of application, but of *appreciation* – a truth that makes our measure of effect altogether different', and calls the distinguished writers William Shakespeare, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Honoré de Balzac, Walter Scott, William Makepeace Thackeray, Charles Dickens, George

[10] Sheldon Novick, *Henry James: The Young Master* (New York: Random House, 1996), p. 68.
[11] Between 1907 and 1909, James made a considerable revision to his major works, added prefaces to them, and published them as the New York Edition, which consisted of 24 volumes.

Meredith, George Eliot and Jane Austen 'fine painters'.[12] Making the most of his sensitivity to pictorial art, James eventually chose fiction as the form which suited him best to express his aesthetic ideas.

In 1869, James met Ruskin through Charles Eliot Norton, a prominent American editor who was a mentor of James as well as Ruskin's friend. In March, 1869, James listened to Ruskin's lecture on Greek myths at University College in London. Ruskin's lecture was subsequently published as a book, entitled 'The Queen of the Air', in which he states:

> All lovely art is rooted in virtue, so it bears fruit of virtue, and is didactic in its own nature. It is often didactic also in actually expressed thought, as Giotto's, Michael Angelo's, Dürer's, and hundreds more; but that is not its special function, – it is didactic chiefly by being beautiful; but beautiful with haunting thought, no less than with form, and full of myths that can be read only with the heart. (*Works*, XIX, p. 394)

Here, although Ruskin emphasises the virtue of art, he does not state that the aim of art is to moralise the audience. Instead, he insists that the beauty of art inspires morality involuntarily, and therefore virtue resides in it. James wrote to his sister Alice that he enjoyed Ruskin's lecture 'in spite of fatigue'.[13] Ruskin's lecture encouraged the young James to develop his literary principles to place a high regard for morality without being didactic. As Chapter Five will show, in his essay 'The Art of Fiction' (1884), James states, 'there is one point at which the moral sense and the artistic sense lie very near together', while disapproving of the 'conscious moral purpose' of a novel, on which his contemporary English novelist Walter Besant insisted.[14] Thus, Ruskin's ethical aestheticism, which values morality, reality and imagination as 'Truth', paralleled James's formulation of his own literary principles. Winner also claims that 'James was mainly indebted to Ruskin' in terms of 'his conception of the perceptive imagination' (p. 24). Yet, Winner states that 'James, unlike Ruskin, did not try to construct a theory of art, lacking not only the metaphysical tools but, more importantly, the intellectual temperament and desire to do so' (p. 21). On the contrary, this book will explore how James

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[12] Henry James, 'Preface' to *The Princess Casamassima*, 2 vols (1907; repr. London: Macmillan, 1921), I, pp. v-xv.

[13] To Alice James, 10 March, 1869, in *Henry James Letters*, 4 vols, ed. by Leon Edel (London: Macmillan, 1974-1984), I, p. 92. Hereafter abbreviated as *Letters*.

[14] Henry James, 'The Art of Fiction' (1884); repr. in *Literary Criticism*, 2 vols, ed. by Leon Edel (New York: Library of America, 1984), I, pp. 44-65 (pp. 63-64). Hereafter *AOF*.

developed his theory of art, and will demonstrate that Ruskin's ethical aestheticism was a significant resource for it.

This study also differs from the major criticism which tries to define James's aesthetic standpoint in one category. Many critics regard James as a realist novelist. For example, Michael Davitt Bell states that Henry James, William Dean Howells and Mark Twain are the three 'major figures of the first generation of American realists'.[15] Donald Pizer also categorises these three writers as the American realist group.[16] Several critics, including William W. Stowe, Peter Brooks and Hazel Hutchison compare James with the French realist Honoré de Balzac.[17] On the other hand, James is also considered an idealist by some critics. Stuart P. Sherman claims:

> To the religious consciousness all things are ultimately holy or unholy; to the moral consciousness all things are ultimately good or evil; to the scientific all things are ultimately true or not true; to Henry James all things are ultimately beautiful or ugly.[18]

Sherman states that James 'cares little for the "slice of life"', and that he is similar to Walter Pater in terms of 'his aversion from the world, his dedication to art, his celibacy, his personal decorum and dignity, his high aesthetic seriousness' (pp. 94-100). Although Sherman does not clarify what he means by 'idealism', which he uses in the title of his essay, he implies that it is an aesthetic style that discards reality and any religious or moral values (p. 92). As represented by Sherman's statement with regard to aestheticism, James is often compared to Pater, whose work is generally attributed to the concept of 'art for art'.[19] Oliver Brewis also points out

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[15] Michael Davitt Bell, *The Problem of American Realism: Studies in the Cultural History of a Literary Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 6.

[16] Donald Pizer ed., *The Cambridge Companion to American Realism and Naturalism: Howells to London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 4.

[17] See William W. Stowe, *Balzac, James, and the Realist Novel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), Peter Brooks, *Realist Vision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), Hazel Hutchison, 'The Other Lambert Strether: Henry James's *The Ambassadors*, Balzac's *Louis Lambert*, and J. H. Lambert', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 58:2 (2003), pp. 230-58 (pp. 233-38).

[18] Stuart P. Sherman, 'The Aesthetic Idealism of Henry James' (1917); repr. in *The Question of Henry James: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by F. W. Dupee (London: Wingate, [n.d]), pp. 86-106 (p. 92).

[19] For example, Jonathan Freedman states that James shares Pater's appreciation of the sensational power of Renaissance art, which is seen in Pater's *The Renaissance*

similarities between James's novels and the 'idealist aesthetics' of Kant. However, Brewis demonstrates that while James's early novels reveal his concern with Kant's 'disinterested delight', his late novels indicate his increasing engagement with 'interest', and therefore show James's departure from the 'idealist aesthetics of [his] philosophical precursors.'[20] Contrary to Sherman, Brewis regards Kant's 'pure disinterested delight', expressed in his *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790) as ethical. Thus, in addition to the differences of opinion about where to place James's aesthetic standpoint – within American realism, French realism or German idealism – criticism varies in interpreting the concept of idealism itself.

The difficulty with defining James's aesthetic position is partly due to his ambiguous nationality: he was born in New York, educated in London, Paris, Geneva and Harvard, spent much of his time travelling and living in Europe, particularly in London, Paris, and some cities in Italy, and eventually became a British citizen in 1915, a year before he died in 1916. Therefore, as T. S. Eliot wittily states, 'Henry James is an author who is difficult for English readers, because he is an American; and who is difficult for Americans, because he is a European.'[21] Despite his American origin, James's works seem to have more affinities with European rather than American culture, as this study will show. The diversity of the criticism is also rooted in the wide implication of Kant's *Critiques*, which

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(1873) as well as in James's 1873 letters to his brother William and in his novel, *Roderick Hudson* (1875) [*Profession of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism, and Commodity Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990, pp. 133-34)]. Alwyn Berland also claims that 'the elaborately impressionistic description of the Raphael Madonna' in James's 1873 tale, 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873) echoes Pater's *The Renaissance* ['Henry James and the Aesthetic Tradition', p. 412]. The tale is discussed in full in Chapter Three. Although Richard A. Hocks discusses the differences between James and Pater, he points out the stylistic similarities between James and Pater, suggesting that these similarities have something to do with their 'epistemological disposition of mind' [*Henry James and Pragmatistic Thought: A Study in the Relationship between the Philosophy of William James and the Literary Art of Henry James* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974), p. 67].

[20] Oliver Brewis, 'Interest and Aesthetic Judgement in Henry James's Late Novels', *Henry James Review*, 33:2 (2012), pp. 95-109 (pp. 96-97).

[21] T. S. Eliot, 'A Prediction' (1924); repr. in *Henry James: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. by Leon Edel (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 55-56 (p. 55).

is generally regarded as the theoretical source of the Aesthetic Movement.[22] In his *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790), Kant states:

> Agreeable is that which everyone calls what gratifies him; beautiful, what merely pleases him; good, what is esteemed, approved, i.e., that on which he sets an objective value. [. . .] One can say that among all these three kinds of satisfaction only that of the taste for the beautiful is a disinterested and free satisfaction; for no interest, neither that of the senses nor that of reason, extorts approval.[23]

While distinguishing between 'the normal idea of the beautiful and its ideal', demonstrating that ideal beauty is a matter of morality (*Power*, p. 120), Kant thus endows the beautiful with an independent value, and thereby prompts the aesthetic idea which separates art from morality.

Kant's concept of ideal beauty anticipates Ruskin's idea of 'Vital Beauty'. In the second volume of *Modern Painters* (1846), Ruskin states that 'Vital Beauty, is the kindness and unselfish fullness of heart' ('Of Vital Beauty', in *Works*, IV, pp. 147-48). In the appendix to the third volume of *Modern Painters* (1856), entitled 'German Philosophy', Ruskin states:

> The reader must have noticed that I never speak of German art, or German philosophy, but in depreciation. This, however, is not because I cannot feel, or would not acknowledge, the value and power, within certain limits, of both; but because I also feel that the immediate tendency of the English mind is to rate them too highly; and, therefore, it becomes a necessary task, at present, to mark what evil and weakness there are in them, rather than what good. I also am brought continually into collision with certain extravagances of the German mind, by my own steady pursuit of Naturalism as opposed to Idealism. (*Works*, V, p. 424)

Thus, as noted earlier, although Ruskin values German philosophy to some extent, he also criticises it, saying that as a 'naturalistic English' man, he does not really agree with German idealism. Referring to Kant and another German philosopher, David Friedrich Strauss, he recommends that we read William Wordsworth, Thomas Carlyle and some others, rather than these 'German metaphysicians' (*Works*, V, p. 425). Despite his negative opinion of German philosophers, as this book will show, many of

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[22] 'Aestheticism', in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, ed. by Chris Baldick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 3.

[23] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, trans. by Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 95.

Ruskin's ideas parallel those of Kant, the German Romantic novelist and dramatist Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1774-1832) and the German idealist philosopher George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). This is probably due to the fact that Carlyle, Ruskin's mentor, was an expert in German language and literature. Graham Hough referred to Ruskin as 'an unconscious Hegelian' suggesting Ruskin may have absorbed German philosophy through his mentor as well as from his contemporaries, including Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who introduced German thought into Britain and developed British Romanticism with Wordsworth.[24]

On the other hand, Elizabeth Prettejohn claims that 'the German tradition of philosophical aesthetics' was transformed into the French theories and practices which are expressed in the phrase '*l'art pour l'art*'.[25] Prettejohn states that the phrase was introduced to Britain as a result of an essay on William Blake by Algernon Charles Swinburne, the English critic and novelist in 1868, asserting that the concept was later taken up by Pater (p. 6). In that essay, Swinburne is indeed opposed to the idea of art as 'the handmaid of Religion', insisting that if the artist works for the sake of improving moral and spiritual qualities, he will not only fail in creating valuable art but also in improving the public morality. Swinburne declares:

> Art for art's sake first of all, and afterwards we may suppose all the rest shall be added to her (or if not she need hardly be overmuch concerned); but from the man who falls to artistic work with a moral purpose, shall be taken away even that which he has – whatever of capacity for doing well in either way he may have at starting.[26]

Here, he makes it clear that art should be created and appreciated, independently from any interest, including religious or moral purpose. His statement anticipates Pater's Conclusion to *The Renaissance* (1873) in which Pater demonstrates that 'the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake' will give us a 'quickened sense of life', 'multiplied consciousness' and 'the highest quality' of the limited life for

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[24] Quoted in Wolfgang Iser, *Walter Pater: The Aesthetic Movement*, trans. by David Henry Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 62.
[25] Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 3.
[26] Algernon Charles Swinburne, *William Blake: A Critical Essay* (London: Hotten, 1868), pp. 90-91.

its ‘moments’ sake’.[27] Thus, though sharing the same aesthetic root in Kant’s aesthetics, Ruskin emphasised the moral element of the theory, whereas his junior alumni of Oxford University rebelliously emphasised the independent quality of art, which was developed into decadent aestheticism, represented by another Oxford alumnus, Oscar Wilde, towards the 1890s in Britain.

This book will analyse James’s travel essays, short stories, critical essays and novels between 1870 and 1890 – a period that has attracted less critical attention in this subject area than his later period – and demonstrate that James’s early work largely echoes Ruskin’s ethical aestheticism. Tracing James’s development, it will also explore German Romantic thought and the idealism of Kant, Goethe and Hegel. Apart from James’s 1865 review of Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1795-96), which he greatly admired, there is little evidence to show James’s direct reading of these German philosophers. Yet, as in the case of Ruskin, their ideas seem to be passed on to him through his connections with British and American Romantic writers, including his father Henry James Senior, who was a philosopher himself, and knew Hegelian philosophy (and possibly from Ruskin). While examining the German connections with James, this research will also be alert to James’s relations with Pater and French realism, to which James increasingly became close in the mid-1880s. Rather than placing James in one category, it will demonstrate how James interfused Romanticism and realism in establishing his own form of aestheticism.

The discussion will proceed in the following order: Chapter One will examine James’s travel essays, *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875) and *Italian Hours* (1909). His travel essays show how James was conscious of Ruskin as his cicerone in terms of not only Italian travelling but also his appreciation of Gothic architecture and religious paintings. Like Ruskin, James had a strict Protestant background and Puritanical moral sense; both writers sometimes found that this moral sense troubled their aesthetic fascination with Catholic art. Despite his increasingly rebellious attitude towards his cicerone, James’s travel essays reflect many of Ruskin’s ideas – an emphasis on moral, imaginative and idealistic elements as well as factual, realistic aspects in art. Chapter Two will develop these topics by

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[27] Quoted in Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, ed. by Donald L. Hill (1893; repr. London: University of California Pess, 1980), p. 190. Among the four editions published in 1873, 1877, 1888 and 1893, this book will use the 1893 edition which includes the original Conclusion.

analysing James's first major novel, *Roderick Hudson* (1875). In a form of fiction, James uses the protagonist as his mouthpiece, and demonstrates the importance of balancing idealism, morality and practicality through the melodramatic plot. This chapter will also demonstrate how James shared some ideas with the Romantics mainly by exhibiting the parallels between *Roderick Hudson* and Goethe's *Faust*. While highlighting the pantheistic elements in the novel, it will also explore the notion of the sublime which Kant and Ruskin similarly define with regard to nature, divinity and morality. Chapter Three will discuss three of James's tales, 'The Madonna of the Future' (1873), 'Eugene Pickering' (1874) and 'Rose-Agathe' (1878).[28] Through the analysis of these tales, which negatively portray an idealistic painter, manipulative aesthetes and an obsessed art collector, this chapter will question the general meaning of the term 'aestheticism', which is represented in the term 'art for art'. Disputing the critical tendency to contrast aestheticism with ethics, it will examine some similarities and differences between the aesthetic ideas of Pater, Hegel, Ruskin and those of James in terms of elements of reality and deception in art, revealing that unlike Pater, James values conscience as an important part of reality for the artist. In doing so, it will focus on Ruskin's notion of 'Truth', which denies imitative art and sensual taste, foreshadowing James's ethical aestheticism. The discussion of the ethical element of aestheticism will be developed in Chapter Four, which analyses James's masterpiece, *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881). Questioning the major critical view of this novel as a didactic tragedy, the chapter will analyse how the heroine alters her faith in individualism, which echoes Kant's transcendental aesthetic and Ralph Waldo Emerson's Romantic thought, into acting among relations. It will show that although the matured heroine still holds her Ruskinian idealism and her Paterian Romantic aestheticism, she comes to embody Hegel's concept of independence through labour for others. It will thus place *The Portrait of a Lady* as a collision between the ideas of Ruskin and Pater, blended with ideas from German Romanticism. Chapter Five will deal with three of James's essays, 'Swinburne's Essays' (1875), 'Alphonse Daudet' (1883) and 'The Art of Fiction' (1884), discussing his shift of focus from the picturesque to realism with reference to French realists, including Balzac and Daudet. While showing James's strict codes of philosophical, religious and moral issues, the chapter will reveal how his close association with these French realists expanded his moral and aesthetic codes, and made him admit entertaining and illusory elements in fiction. Chapter Six will demonstrate how James exemplified

[28] As James preferred to call short stories 'tales', this book follows his preferred term.

his theory of art in his novel, *The Tragic Muse* (1890), which James himself regarded as representing the last fiction in his early period.[29] It will focus on the notion of vulgarity, a concept which James, like Ruskin, disrupts. Analysing James's artistic and political characters in the light of a Ruskinian sense of vulgarity, the last chapter will reveal that James increasingly placed more importance on practicality, and finally integrated realism and Romanticism, as well as compromising his artistic ideal with his desire for success in the context of the emerging popularity of a more decadent form of aestheticism.

Thus, this book explores a mix of well-known fictional texts alongside James's essays and tales, which are less frequently analysed, but which offer important insights into James's attitude to his artistic method. Examining Ruskin's influences on James's early works between 1870 and 1890, it will show how James grew out of the shadow of Ruskin and created his own aesthetic creed by 1890. As a methodology, it uses close textual reading and biographical analyses in conjunction with historical and cultural backgrounds. Shedding light on James's period of apprenticeship, this study therefore articulates the Victorian concept of 'aestheticism' as used by James and Ruskin.

[29] Henry James to Charles Scribner's Sons, 30 July, 1905; *Letters*, IV, p. 367.

CHAPTER ONE

PURITAN SPIRIT AND CATHOLIC ART IN *TRANSATLANTIC SKETCHES* (1875) AND *ITALIAN HOURS* (1909)

Introduction

Henry James frequently travelled across Europe between the late 1860s and the mid-1890s, visiting Switzerland, France, Britain and Italy before he settled in London in 1878 and finally in Rye in 1897. He collected his experiences and thoughts about these travels in *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875), which contains his essays on England, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, written between 1872 and 1874. Later, he published another collection, *Italian Hours* (1909), which reprinted selected Italian travel essays from *Transatlantic Sketches* with some revisions, alongside his later travel essays on Italy. Although he was often attracted to the sophisticated Paris and the comfortable London, he loved Italy as 'the most beautiful country in the world'.[1] In the Romantic and Victorian periods Italy attracted many literary figures from all over the world, including Goethe, Shelley, Byron, Elizabeth and Robert Browning, Ruskin, Howells and Hawthorne.[2]

Ruskin initially travelled in Italy with a local cicerone, and with his experiences he subsequently made a significant contribution to Murray's guidebooks, a popular series of foreign handbooks circulated in the nineteenth century. The guidebooks covered a range of information, from local accommodation, cafes, shops, post offices, recommendable teachers (which sounds rather peculiar from today's perspective), tailors, theatres, artists' studios, church festivals and topography. Some editions contained a disposable map of the city which featured a plan of the main church as

[1] Henry James, *Italian Hours* (1909; repr. London: Penguin, 1995), p. 318. Hereafter abbreviated as *IH*.
[2] Carl Maves, *Sensuous Pessimism: Italy in the Work of Henry James* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), p. 5.

well. While providing practical information for tourists, Murray's guidebooks did not offer a deep analysis of the site or the object.[3] James often refers to 'Murray' in his travel essays, *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875) and *Italian Hours* (1909), and in his early fiction, including 'Travelling Companions' (1870) and *Roderick Hudson* (1875) in which American protagonists diligently consult Murray's guidebooks during their Italian and Swiss expeditions.[4] Viola Hopkins Winner states, 'Ruskin served as James's cicerone to north Italy through Murray's guidebook – passages from Ruskin appeared from the second edition in 1846 on and finally became absorbed in the text – and to Venice through *The Stones of Venice*' (p. 19). As Winner points out, James apparently carried Murray's guidebooks and Ruskin's works during his travels, and frequently consulted them. Although James occasionally expressed his originality and independence from Murray, he did not particularly contradict the guidebooks. On the other hand, he referred to Ruskin with much admiration as well as harsh criticism in his travel essays and letters. A few weeks after he listened to Ruskin's lecture in March, 1869, James was invited for dinner with Charles Eliot Norton to Ruskin's house, Denmark Hill in Southwark. James wrote of this episode to his mother Mary:

> This too was extremely pleasant. Ruskin, himself, is a very simple matter. In face, in manner, in talk, in mind, he is weakness pure and simple. I use the word, not invidiously, but scientifically. He has the beauties of his defects; but to see him only confirms the impression given by his writing, that he has been scared back by the grim face of reality into the world of unreason and illusion, and that he wanders there without a compass and a guide – or any light save the fitful flashes of his beautiful genius.[5]

From this letter, one can see that James approved of the 'beautiful genius' of the '*grand homme*' with a slightly mocking tone, but implicitly criticised his tendency to immerse himself in his imaginative world without trying to face the bitter reality. Ruskin's aesthetic ideas were

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[3] For example, in *A Handbook of Rome and its Environs: With a Large Plan of Rome, a Map of the Environs, etc.,* 9th edn (London: Albemarble Street, 1869), John Murray recommends, 'The most remarkable are (at the first altar on the [right]) the *Resurrection*, by Palma Giovane, erroneously attributed to Tintoretto' (pp. 136-97). Yet, he reserves further comments regarding the religious issues of the painting.

[4] For a discussion of *Roderick Hudson*, see Chapter Two. In this novel, the heroine Mary Garland frequently examines Murray's guidebook while exploring Italy and Switzerland.

[5] To Mary James, 20 March, 1869; *Letters*, I, p. 103.

indeed idealistic in that he sought religious imagination. However, he never ignored the value of facts. Ruskin asserted the importance of 'Truth', which he regarded as a combination of religious imagination and facts that were subtly different from reality. As an enthusiastic reader of Ruskin, James would have known the complexity of Ruskin's aestheticism, but wished to distance himself from him. Despite his accusation of Ruskin's escape from reality, James's aesthetic ideas about reality and imagination significantly parallel those of Ruskin, and his early writings from Italy acknowledge his sense of profiting from Ruskin's works. In *Italian Hours*, James states, 'it is Mr. Ruskin who beyond any one helps us to enjoy' Venice (*IH*, p. 8). In September, 1869, James wrote to his brother William from Venice:

> Ruskin truly says that it is well to devote yourself here solely to three men – Paolo Veronese, Tintoretto and Jacopo Bellini [. . .]. This is true of the three, but especially of Tintoretto – whom I finally see there is nothing for me to do but to admit (and have done with it) to be the biggest genius (as far as I yet know) who ever wielded a brush. [. . .] I strongly urge you to look up in vol. 3d of Ruskin's *Stones* (last appendix) a number of magnificent descriptive pages touching his principal pictures. The whole appendix by the way, with all its exasperating points is invaluable to the visitor here and I have profited much by it.[6]

Here, James concurs with Ruskin by admiring Tintoretto, the sixteenth-century Italian painter, and recommends that his brother read Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* as a guide. In the referred appendix of the third volume of *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin provides an analysis mainly of religious paintings by Tintoretto, and praises his 'new and strange treatment of the subject' ('Venetian Index', in *Works*, XI, p. 366). Similarly, in *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875), James admires the originality of Tintoretto's paintings. However, unlike Ruskin, James avoids biblical interpretations of the subject, and he criticises Ruskin's narrow theological appreciation of art in *Italian Hours* (1909).

James's Italian travel essays were produced during the formative period in the 1870s in which he was developing his literary skills and evolving his aesthetic ideas about his craft. Therefore, by examining the role of Ruskin in shaping James's ideas about art with regard to its relationship with reality in these early essays, one can begin to trace the impact of Ruskin's works on James's fiction and criticism – especially in his attitudes to moral and religious issues. This chapter will focus on

[6] To William James, 25 September 1869; *Letters*, I, pp. 137-40.

religious questions through comparative analysis between Ruskin's writings and James's travel essays. Besides their views of paintings, it will examine their notions of architecture, particularly the Gothic, which both Ruskin and James admired. Despite their Protestant origins, both of them were attracted to Catholicism, mainly from an aesthetic point of view. Yet, they both insisted to varying degrees on Puritan morality as an important element of art. This chapter will examine their Protestant upbringings in relation to their morality, and then analyse their aesthetic fascination with Catholic architecture, and will lastly compare their ideas of religious imagination and truth. It will show how James was conscious of Ruskin, who repeatedly appears in his travel writings, and will reveal how the younger writer was both dependent on and rebellious against the cicerone.

1. Protestant Origin and Morality

In the Victorian period, despite the dramatic changes in both material and spiritual issues following the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Europe and the United States, most people would have described themselves as Christians.[7] Yet, religious life gradually became more fragmented. There occurred some reactions against the shallowness of the established Church: evangelicalism, which stressed the individual's faith rather than adherence and obedience to the church, revived, while with similar principles John Wesley started Methodism, which reached its prime in 1840.[8] On the other hand, between 1833 and 1845, the Oxford Movement, or High Church, acted in defence of the Anglican Church against the liberalism in theology, while Protestants' anxieties were prompted by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, which enhanced the authority and popularity of Roman Catholicism in England.[9] This section will examine the religious upbringing of Ruskin and James, who lived through these circumstances, and will analyse how their religious backgrounds affected their moral and aesthetic creeds.

Ruskin's mother, Margaret, was the daughter of a tavern-keeper in Croydon. She was converted to 'the strict codes of Evangelicalism' when

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[7] In the United States, large tracts of land were still occupied by Native Americans, who had their own religious systems. Many European cities also had large Jewish communities.

[8] Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 9-163.

[9] Lindberg Carter, *Brief History of Christianity* (Hoboken: Blackwell, 2009) <http://site.ebrary.com> [accessed 29 August 2011], p. 158.

she was around twenty (Abse, p. 14). She left Croydon for Edinburgh to become a companion to her aunt Catherine, and subsequently married John James Ruskin, her cousin and Catherine's son. The couple moved to London, and in 1819 Margaret gave birth to John Ruskin at the age of thirty-eight, which was regarded as very late in those days. She believed that her childbirth was a miracle, and out of thankfulness to God, she determined to dedicate her only son to evangelical precepts, to raise him to be 'a boy and man of serious, spiritual purpose' (Abse, p. 21). Margaret set her son to study the Bible before he was five, and they read aloud a couple of chapters a day except when they travelled, and repeated the text from cover to cover without allowing his incorrect pronunciation or false intonation in order to train him to be a clergyman (Abse, pp. 23-24). Joan Abse points out that although Ruskin did not become a clergyman, the training 'produced a moralist and a master of English prose' instead. Ruskin's close association with the Bible from an early age indeed seems to have nourished his strong sense of morality.

However, Ruskin later struggled with his religious doubt. Nicholas Shrimpton classifies Ruskin's religious period in relation to his contemporary aesthetes, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Algernon Charles Swinburne.[10] Shrimpton states: 'The Ruskin of the 1840s, with his commitment to Evangelical Christianity, was clearly hostile to Aestheticism. But in the 1850s, and more particularly after the "unconversion" in Turin in the summer of 1858, Ruskin becomes more open to its claims' (p. 143).[11] In the second volume of *Modern Painters* (1846), Ruskin relates God to light as 'the universal qualities of beauty' and 'wisdom and truth' ('Of Purity', in *Works*, IV, pp. 128-30). As Shrimpton claims, Ruskin's statement here exhibits his firm Christian faith. In 1858, Ruskin wrote to the Brownings:

> All churches seem to me mere forms of idolatry. A Roman Catholic idolizes his saint and his relic – an English High Churchman idolizes his propriety and his family pew – a Scotch Presbyterian idolizes his own

[10] On account of Swinburne, see Chapter Five of this book.
[11] During his 1858 travel in Turin, Ruskin found the sermon given in the local German Protestant chapel insufferable. He was instead, attracted to 'celebration of the vivid "animal" life of this world' in Paul Veronese's paintings in Turin Gallery. His letters to his parents and his friend Mrs Hewitt in this period also hint at his infatuation with some local women (Abse, pp. 159-60).

> obstinacy and his own opinions – a German divine idolizes his dreams, and an English one his own pronunciation.[12]

Ruskin's dismissal of any established churches in this passage can be taken as a proof of his evangelical faith rather than as a loss, despite Shrimpton's claim.[13] In the third volume of *Modern Painters* (1856), Ruskin insists on the importance of the book of Job and the Sermon on the Mount in the Bible. He demonstrates that these two passages from the Old and the New Testament contain the simplest and most necessary teaching of 'right conduct', which is 'summed up under the three heads of *justice*, *mercy*, and *truth*' ('The Moral', in *Works*, V, pp. 378-79). Abse states that Ruskin desperately sought justice and righteousness because he ceased to have a prospect of future redemption, or 'divine retribution' after he lost his evangelical faith in his later years (p. 173). Yet, Ruskin's statements here reveal his Protestant belief, commending the Bible and connecting morality with Christianity as the most important thing. Conversely, however, in the same third volume of *Modern Painters*, Ruskin declares:

> I believed that God was in heaven, and could hear me and see me; but this gave me neither pleasure nor pain, and I seldom thought of it at all. I never thought of nature as God's work, but as a separate fact or existence. ('The Moral', in *Works*, V, p. 366)

By using the past tense, he implies that he presently does not believe that God is in heaven to hear and see him. Furthermore, he declares that even while he believed in the existence of God, he did not consider nature to be God's creation. His statement here is different from the one in the third volume of *The Stones of Venice* (1853) in which he demonstrates that God's wrath as well as kindness are 'everywhere and always visible' in his creation, including

> the unfolding of the flower, and the falling of the dew, and the sleep of the green fields in the sunshine [. . .], the blasted trunk, the barren rock, the moaning of the bleak winds, the roar of the black, perilous, merciless whirlpools of the mountain streams, [and] the solemn solitudes of moors and seas. ('Third, or Renaissance', in *Works*, XI, pp. 164-65)

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[12] To Elizabeth and Robert Browning, 29th March, 1858; *The Letters of John Ruskin 1827-1869*, in *Works*, XXXVI, p. 280.

[13] Pericles Lewis states that 'the emphasis of the Evangelical revival on intense personal devotion may itself have encouraged the sorts of crises experienced by Ruskin, Stephen, and George Eliot', in *Religious Experience and the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 33.

In her study on the revival of paganism and mythography in the nineteenth century, Margot K. Louis discusses the 'Christian-inflected pantheism, or Romanticized Christianity' which regards that 'all things derive their existence from the Divine Essence' rather than being the creation of God.[14] Louis demonstrates that Wordsworth held such views, and that Ruskin concurred with the Romantic poet by attacking the 'mere short-sightedness of Puritanism' in defence of classical deities and Greek myth (quoted in Louis, para. 21 of 59). M. H. Abrams also states that Wordsworth was indifferent to 'the question of orthodoxy' until encouraged by Coleridge, and claims that 'the Romantic aesthetic was of art for man's sake, and for life's sake.'[15]

Despite Louis's identification of Ruskin's Romantic view of nature with Wordsworthian pantheism, Ruskin's Christian faith seems to have been stronger and more orthodox than that of Wordsworth. Unlike Abrams's notions of the Romantic aesthetics, Ruskin's aesthetic creed was more that of art for God's sake as well as for man. In the fifth volume of *Modern Painters* (1860), Ruskin states, 'we have to consider the relations of art to God and man: its work in the help of human beings, and service of their Creator' ('The Laws of Help', in *Works*, VII, p. 203). Thus, he insists on the relation between art and man as well as God, shifting his earlier focus only on the relation between art and God. Yet, by using the capital, 'Creator', he acknowledges that God created the world. In his 1888 epilogue to the fifth volume of *Modern Painters*, Ruskin admits 'the divisions of religious tenet and school to which [he] attached mistaken importance in [his] youth', but defends his earlier position by insisting that it does not 'in the least affect the vital teaching and purpose of this book: the claim, namely, of the Personal relation of God to man as the source of all human, as distinguished from brutal, virtue and art' (*Works*, VII, p. 462). Furthermore, he states:

> In writing beneath the cloudless peace of the snows of Chamouni, what must be the really final words of the book which their beauty inspired and their strength guided, I am able, with yet happier and calmer heart than ever heretofore, to enforce its simplest assurance of Faith, that the knowledge of what is beautiful leads on, and is the first step, to the

[14] Margot K Louis, 'Gods and Mysteries: The Revival of Paganism and the Remaking of Mythography through the Nineteenth Century', *Victorian Studies*, 47 (2005), pp. 329-63, in *Literature Online* <http://lion.chadwyck.co.uk> [accessed 15 March 2010] (para. 17 of 59).

[15] M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: Norton Library, 1973), pp. 90; 429.

> knowledge of the things, which are lovely and of good report; and that the laws, the life, and the joy of beauty in the material world of God, are as eternal and sacred parts of His creation as, in the world of spirits, virtue; and in the world of angels, praise. (*Works*, VII, p. 464)

What Ruskin implies in this passage is that the understanding of beauty will help us to understand the eternal truth in that everything, including the joy derived from beauty, is a revelation of God, who created all material and spiritual things in the world. Thus, in 1888, twelve years before he died, Ruskin declared his Christian faith, having gone through religious struggles and various other problems, including his unhappy marriage to Effie, their subsequent divorce, and his unrequited love for Rose La Touche, a devoted Irish Catholic who died of an uncertain illness at the age of twenty-seven in 1875.[16] Despite some shifts and moderations in his life time, Ruskin's Christian faith seems to be the basis of his moral and aesthetic creeds.

Compared to Ruskin, it is even more difficult to analyse Henry James's religious position because he did not overtly discuss religious issues. Yet, as Hazel Hutchison points out, there is a significant religious tone in his writings, which more or less parallels that of his father, the theologian Henry James Senior, as well as his brother, the psychologist William James.[17] Although this book does not focus on the relationship between Henry James and his relatives, the powerful presence of the theological ideas of Henry James Senior should not be ignored when examining how the novelist formed his moral and aesthetic ideas in relation to his aestheticism.[18]

Henry James's grandfather, William James, was an Irish Presbyterian who emphasised 'discipline, obedience, and hard work'.[19] William James

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[16] Ruskin first met Rose as her personal tutor when he was thirty-nine and she was ten. Although there are some hints that their affection was mutual, she refused his persistent proposal mainly because of their differences in religious faith. As for her illness, Abse speculates that it was anorexia nervosa, which was caused by her sexual guilt and rejection of adult femininity (p. 262).

[17] Hazel M. Hutchison, *Seeing and Believing: Henry James and the Spiritual World* (New York: Macmillan, 2006), pp. xiii-xvi.

[18] For a fuller discussion of Henry James's relationship to his father, see also Andrew Taylor, *Henry James and the Father's Question* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[19] Fred Kaplan, *Henry James: The Imagination of Genius: A Biography* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 7-8.

immigrated to America and 'became the premier business citizen of Albany'. Henry James Senior, Henry James's father, attended Princeton Theological Seminary in his twenties until 1837. Yet at the Seminary, Henry James Senior developed a rebellious feeling against 'Presbyterian narrowness of manner and stingy Calvinistic morals.' He married Mary, who had Irish and Scottish ancestry, and grew up in a 'moderately pious, upper-middle-class Presbyterian family.' In 1844, when Henry James Junior was still an infant, his father had a traumatic experience while staying at a cottage in Windsor in England. In the room of the holiday cottage, Henry James Senior saw a certain demonic figure, and also during this stay found his own image in the mirror rather vicious. The experience terrified him, and it was the discovery of the works of Emanuel Swedenborg, the eighteenth-century Swedish thinker to whom he was to turn for the rest of his life, that helped him to recover from the shock (Kaplan, pp. 7-13).

Like John Wesley, with whom he had a warm correspondence, Swedenborg was in favour of personal faith against the corruption of the established church. [20] Swedenborg challenged the general Christian principles of the Bible as literal, unquestionable truth, and instead sought practical solutions for human needs by re-interpreting the Bible scientifically. He connected natural and spiritual worlds symbolically, and demonstrated that truth could be attained by the learning of facts, the process of reasoning and direct perception. He connected these human intellectual faculties with moral qualities, which he classified into acts derived from a sense of duty, obedience and 'feelings of love, kindness, or generosity' (Trobridge, p. 67). [21] In his *Heaven and Hell* (1758), Swedenborg insisted on the importance of charity as well as piety for the attainment of heaven which, he claimed, was within ourselves (quoted in Trobridge, p. 61). Thus, with an emphasis on human salvation rather than the original sin and damnation that John Calvin stressed, many people, including Henry James Senior found relief in Swedenborg's works. Although Swedenborg did not make many converts during his lifetime, his teaching spread widely around the world, especially in England and

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[20] George Trobridge, *Emanuel Swedenborg: His Life, Teachings, and Influence* (London: Warne, [1918(?)]), pp. 124-25.

[21] Swedenborg's discussion on morality parallels Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788). Trobridge states that Swedenborg and Kant knew each other, and that the German expressed his uncomfortable feelings about similarities between his own works and some of Swedenborg's (Trobridge, p. 102).