indicating that she was borne of Adam’s rib. In the preface to the New Gallery exhibition
catalogue in 1891-2, Watts described the significance of Eve before the Fall:

‘Eve in the majesty of unconsciousness, typifies what might be hoped for
humanity...for every living soul has in the way of nature beheld true being.’\footnote{The New Gallery Winter Exhibition 1891-2: Exhibition of the works of G.F. Watts, Preface.}

At the end of the nineteenth century, certainly by 1900, ‘the stubborn grasp of external
realities’ familiar in Victorian and European art – people, cities, landscapes, still-lifes --
continued to loosen,’ and the ‘depths of the psyche’ could be explored.\footnote{Ibid., p. 52.}
This ‘challenge to material facts,’ in terms of content, occurred along with challenges to the conventions
of form as well; both of these changes can be observed in the work of Watts, particularly
\textit{She shall be called woman}.\footnote{Verso, Fogg Art Museum version, inscription on backing board, black ink on paper, handwritten: “The
Triumph of Creation”/by G.F. Watts RA/Little Holland House/“The morning stars sang together and all the
sons of God shouted for joy”//The final act concluded, the powers of creation, symbolized by the spirits of air rise
Heavenwards in a triumphant swirl, from the scene of their completed/work:/At the Divine touch,
Adam moves but the stupor of deep sleep is...upon him. ‘George Frederick Watts, The Creation of Eve’
[Online]
ury=&credit=&cult=&acnum=&pic=&aid=43833&curpage=1&src=singleartist [20th May, 2006] This
version was not exhibited until Watts’ memorial exhibition at the RA (Winter Exhibition: Works by the late
George Frederick Watts, RA, O.M., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 10/01/1905-12/31/1905). The
version at the Watts Gallery, Compton, was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, 1881-2.}
However, Watts also painted the \textit{Creation of Eve}, c.1865-
c.1899 [Fig. 100], employing somewhat traditional iconography, originally called \textit{The
Triumph of Creation}.\footnote{Watts, M. “G.F. Watts: Catalogue of his works compiled by his widow”, p.45. A black and white
photocopy of this illustrated, handwritten catalogue by Mary Watts is at the Witt Library, London.}
Mary Watts described the ‘angelic figures’ in the \textit{Creation of Eve} as ‘symbolic of the powers of creation.’\footnote{Watts quoted Job 38:7, when the Lord asserts his power; describing the act of Creation in awesome
terms, and his subsequent dominion over it. For the full text of the inscription see: ‘George Frederick

The morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy.’ The
final act concluded, the powers of creation, symbolized by the spirits of air rise
Heavenwards in a triumphant swirl, from the scene of their completed work.\footnote{Watts quoted Job 38:7, when the Lord asserts his power; describing the act of Creation in awesome
terms, and his subsequent dominion over it. For the full text of the inscription see: ‘George Frederick
Burne-Jones' *The Days of Creation: the Sixth Day*, 1877, shows Adam and Eve together, after they have both been created, and their diminutive figures stand side by side in the sphere that represents the day of their creation, surrounded by angels. The Tate Gallery version of the subject by Watts, *She shall be called woman*, c.1875-92, [Fig. 1] is distinguished from any other conception of the Creation of Eve by its primal imagery of Eve bridging Heaven and earth; a column of light. *She shall be called woman* conjures a blend of the Birth of Venus, in the sensual creation of woman, and the Assumption of the Virgin, in the mystical relationship between a sanctified woman and celestial light above. It is invested with ‘feminine qualities’ and ‘incarnation of spirit.’

Prinsep’s *The First Awakening of Eve*, exhibited at the RA in 1889, is a sensuous nude, represented alone in the Edenic surroundings, with neither her Creator nor Adam. In contrast to the psychospiritual symbolism of Watts’ Eve, Prinsep’s *The First Awakening of Eve*, positioned as self-consciously as the *Birth of Venus* by Cabanel, 1863, [Fig. 106], appears to refer solely to the sensuousness of her body, contrasted with the luxuriant texture of the green Edenic environs. Versions of Eve by Watts evoke a Birth of Venus subject such as the version by Botticelli, c.1485, [Fig. 107], in the treatment of the Creation or Birth of Eve. Watts and Burne-Jones arguably ennobled their representations of Eve by adapting Italian Renaissance iconography for modern British painting of the late nineteenth century.

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Watts, *The Creation of Eve* [Online]


The original title of *She shall be called woman* (1867 version, Lady Lever Art Gallery) [Fig. 108] was *Eve in the Glory of her Innocence*, and represented the newly created woman as ‘more conscious to heaven than of earth.’ Watts’ conception of Eve is utterly unique: the subject of Eve was traditionally an occasion to paint a sensuous nude with which to indulge the male gaze and upon which to project immeasurable culpability for human suffering. Watts, however, represented Eve in an abstract and roughly worked up manner that asserts the materiality of the medium. The evidence of artistic process could be said to relate to the subject: creation itself. Naked, Eve is rendered as, or ascending within, a column of light, although her face is obscured by shadow. The scumbling, evidence of the artistic process, relates to the subject of creation inspired by Genesis. The illusion of a literal reading of the subject is resisted by the artist’s assertion of the materiality of the paint and the subject, the nude Eve, therefore evades objectification. Watts described his artistic process in a letter addressed to critic Harry Quilter of the *Times*, on the eve of his winter exhibition of some 200 works at the Grosvenor Gallery; the first full retrospective of a living British artist. Watts wrote to Quilter:

‘I should have liked to point out to you, for example, how from the use of very dry colour, my recently painted pictures (which have not been varnished) have a blotchy and heavy appearance, which the earlier pictures (which have been varnished) have not, and how, from my method of painting, which is to preserve or restore the purity of my ground, these latter have acquired not only tone, but have become actually more brilliant.’

Watts apologised for the ‘unfinished state of so many of the pictures,’ but asserted:

‘I hope in all cases it will be seen that, however I may fail, all are distinct endeavours to convey a real feeling or mood, line, and colour, and form, and surface (pedantic drawing

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385 Letter from G.F. Watts to Harry Quilter, 4 pages octavo, Little Holland House, 22 December, 1881. Private manuscript, Roy Davids, Ltd.
purposely avoided), rather as the musician employs melody and harmony, than with any intention of presenting actual truth.\textsuperscript{386}

Watts' conception of the Creation of Eve is in contrast to \textit{Eve Repentant}, c. 1865-97, [Fig. 109], arguably an opportunity to paint the back view of a nude in the style of a robust, sensuous Ruben's nude. In both cases, however, Eve's face is obscured and evades particularization. Watts was described in a contemporary periodical as an artist with the 'power' of 'great originative and imaginative genius' like that of Michelangelo.\textsuperscript{387}

Watts was capable of representing a sexually alluring woman: for example, an allegorical woman, \textit{Life's Illusions}, 1849, his first wife in \textit{Choosing}, 1864, or a mythological woman, in \textit{Ariadne in Naxos}, 1869, and \textit{The Wife of Pluto}, c.1865-89. For this reason, it is compelling to observe the contrast in Watts' sympathetic, spiritualized approach to the figure of Eve, who has historically been defined by the paternal pictorial tradition of a demonized sexually alluring appearance. The Eve of \textit{She shall be called woman}, however, is arguably sensuous without being sexualized. The \textit{Athenaeum} commended the work as 'noble', describing the then unfinished picture, exhibited at the Dudley Gallery 1873 Winter Exhibition of works in oil, as 'Eve (one of a series of designs for large Pictures):'

Eve (75), naked, standing in an effulgence and in Eden, adoringly looking up, so that her face comes dark against the intensity of golden light behind and about her. There is a suggestive sentiment in this idea which we need not commend to the visitor. Of course it is a mere sketch, rendering the crude idea of the artist, the sentiment of his design, the composition of his picture, and the colour he proposed to employ. These are the elements of noble art...and they are likely to be nobly worked up.\textsuperscript{388}

\textsuperscript{386} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{387} 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' Dublin University Magazine, July 1877.
\textsuperscript{388} 'Winter Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures in Oil, Dudley Gallery', \textit{Athenaeum}, No. 2401, Nov. 1, 1873, pp.567-8.
Watts' wife, Mary, catalogued three versions of *She shall be called woman*. There are, however, at least four. Though only two of the versions were exhibited in Victorian London, considering all of them together demonstrates an evolution of the artists' various conceptions of Eve. One version, perhaps the earliest, [Fig. 110] is a white-skinned, standing nude; with exceedingly long blond hair reaching as far as her knees, standing in a dark landscape. She mirrors the figure on the viewer's right in *Olympus on Ida* [Fig. 111], the study for which was begun in 1872, during the time that Watts was developing his conception of Eve. The dainty *contrapposto* of this Eve, however, turns to face the viewer in another version [Fig. 112], one which appears to be a prelude to the action taking place in the Lady Lever Art Gallery version, 1867, and the Tate version, c.1875-92. Mary Setton Watts described one of the earlier versions as the 'most beautifully complete version of this subject,' demonstrating a preference for the lone figure without the elaborate setting of the later, Tate version; 'the figure stands straight as a column, the shoulders are in shadow, and the face dark. There are no birds or flowers.'\(^{389}\) A 'suggestive sentiment' identified by the *Athenaeum* in the 'golden light behind and about' Eve may refer to the suggestion of a halo; the light upon Eve conveys a sense of communion with celestial power.\(^{390}\)

The Tate Gallery version was exhibited at the RA in 1892 and at the New Gallery in 1896-7. Here, Eve rises through rings of clouds and flowers. The most profuse of the flowers are the white Annunciation lilies normally associated with the Madonna,

\(^{389}\) Setton Watts, Mary, *G.F. Watts*, (Catalogue of his works compiled by his widow), Vol. 1, pg. 46. (Witt Library copy of a catalogue in the collection of the Watts Gallery, Compton.)

\(^{390}\) Watts employed a combination of light and clouds in the representing, or implying, a halo behind the figure in *The Spirit of Christianity*, Trustees of the Watts Gallery, Compton, Surrey and the version in the collection of Tate Britain, 1873-5, N01637.
suggesting a relationship between the two icons of womanhood. Eve transcends the Edenic landscape and appears poised amidst transformation, in a suspended state, psychologically as well as physically. Watts described his goal in representing the goddesses of *Olympus on Ida*: ‘I have tried to express without attributes the...characteristics of the Goddesses, & by the qualities of surface to suggest a certain sense of the celestial purpose accompanying them.’ The same might be said to apply to the representation of Eve. In 1912, Mary Setton Watts wrote that it was the artist’s intention that Eve represent ‘the mind of modern times,’ indeed, ‘an incarnation of the spirit of our own time, and a hope for the future,’ is difficult to reconcile with the image, but may refer to the spirit of creation and possibility, at a time when scientific and industrial changes rapidly transformed society, particularly in the latter half of the century.

Burne-Jones’ conception of the Creation of Eve, *The Days of Creation (The Sixth Day)* 1877 [Fig. 98], recalls medieval and early Italian paintings and book illuminations that represented celestial power by distinguishing the realm within which it took place through the use of roundels. Burne-Jones formalized the viewer’s relationship to the figures of Adam and Eve by representing them in this way, although his conception of the globe, however, renders the flat roundel of traditional Creation iconography with a degree of three-dimensionality. Eve is represented in a feminine and sculptural pallor and *contrapposto*. Thin, narrow-hipped and delicately posed; she is nude but not sensuously depicted like an Academic nude. She stands in a pose like that of the object of


393 This is evinced by Northern European and Italian art, from at least the thirteenth century through the fifteenth.
Pygmalion's desire in Burne-Jones' Pygmalion series; the story of another newly created woman.\footnote{Eve's posture lies somewhere between that of Pygmalion's creation in Pygmalion and the Image: The Hand Refraint and The Soul Attains. The first series, painted 1868-70 are in the Andrew Lloyd Weber Collection, the second series (1875-8), and arguably the more accomplished of the two, is in the collection of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.}

Prinsep's The First Awakening of Eve, 1889 [Fig. 99], could be said to reflect his French training; from 1859-60 he was a student at Academic painter Charles Gleyre's popular atelier in Paris, followed by a stay in Italy, where he was in Rome from 1860-1.\footnote{Biographical information: Nagham Wyllie: "Prinsep, Val(entine Cameron)" Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, [May 29, 2006], http://www.groveart.com/} His conception of Eve is unique in this grouping as a thoroughly sensuous nude, with no narrative context or attributes. Like Cabanel's Birth of Venus, Prinsep's First Awakening of Eve represents a voluptuous nude luxuriating in the elements: Venus upon the ocean, and Eve upon the lush Edenic grass.\footnote{Cabanel also painted Adam and Eve: Paradis Perdu was exhibited in 1867 at the Exposition Universelle.} Unlike that of Burne-Jones, Prinsep's Eve is neither in the company of Adam nor celestial beings signifying her recent creation. But for the title, the subject would not necessarily be identifiable to the viewer, in the absence of the traditional standing pose, the presence of Adam or the serpent and the apple of the Tree of Knowledge. It is interesting to observe that Prinsep’s Eve, exhibited at the RA in 1889, and John Collier’s Lilith, exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1887, are similar in style and subject matter. Both Prinsep and Collier received early inspiration from British ‘Olympians': Prinsep was encouraged by Watts, and after meeting Alma-Tadema, Collier attended the Slade School of Art under Edward Poynter.\footnote{Collier's education at the Slade School of Art in London was followed by study under Jean-Paul Laurens. See: Geoffrey Ashton, : "Collier, John" Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press, [May 31, 2006], http://groveart.com/
treatment of the related transgressive, female subjects is arguably the result of their respective educations and similar style where the nude is concerned.

Watts, Burne-Jones, and Prinsep represented Eve in various manners that could also be identified as representative of movements in nineteenth-century painting. Watts was identified by contemporaries as abstract and modern in a manner akin to French Symbolist painting. Burne-Jones adapted a style identified by contemporaries as Italian into an English second-generation Pre-Raphaelite idiom, and Prinsep reflected the French and English Academic salon style of representing the historical or allegorical nude subject. Watts' grand, symbolic conception was realized on an over-life size, nearly 8 x 4', canvas he identified as befitting a national institution, Burne-Jones' conception was consistent with a type of Pre-Raphaelite concern; narrow, vertical, and proportionate to an icon of devotion and decoration in a religious setting, approximately 3 x 1', while Prinsep's vague and sensual Eve, free of narrative and attribute, was proportionate to the size of a mainstream salon work intended for private pleasure, approximately 3 x 4'.

Eve by Solomon Joseph Solomon, 1908, [Fig. 113], was painted a few years after the death of Queen Victoria, but reflects, nevertheless, the persistence of a Victorian Academic style influenced by the "Olympians" such as Leighton and Alma-Tadema. Solomon's conception appears to have been borrowed from Watts but reflects a French Academic artistic education; he studied at the RA and under Cabanel at the École des Beaux Arts, Paris. S.J. Solomon's painting is characterized by the sensuous, Academic nude, based upon Classical models, which recalls Cabanel or Prinsep's style; indeed, he would have seen both. By 1887, two years before Prinsep's painting was exhibited, S.J. Solomon was sufficiently established as a painter that he moved to a new studio at
Holland Park Road, with Watts, Prinsep, and Leighton as neighbours. He was elected ARA in 1896, the year he exhibited *The Birth of Love*, a ‘Birth of Venus’ subject painting to which *Eve* has been compared. A similarly relevant relationship exists between S.J. Solomon’s *Judgment of Paris*, RA, 1891, [Fig. 114]. The nude goddess stands in a position like that of the elevated Eve, with the apple cast before her, and the delicate position of her right hand is identical to that of Eve. In contrast to Solomon’s idealized Eve, that of Watts looks barely formed; like God’s own bozzeto. Although their approach to paint application differed, Watts and Solomon had monumentality in common; the former described *She shall be called woman* as ‘more fit for a gallery than for a private house’ and the over life-size proportions of Solomon’s *Eve* are evinced by a photograph of the painting, approximately 5 x 11’, in the artist’s studio [Fig. 115].

This selection demonstrates a variety of characterizations of Eve and artistic styles: a diminutive, innocent partner to the first man in a symbolic narrative context and Gothic Revival format conjuring decorative arts, the historic representation of Eve as an object of sexual desire seducing man with the idealized body of Academic tradition, and as an abstraction invested with creative forces in a mode which anticipates the Primitivism of early modern art, both in style and content. Burne-Jones represented a

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399 According to the review of the exhibition of the Royal Academy in the *Times*, May 2, 1896, *The Birth of Love* represented “a full-sized Venus rising from the sea with flying cupids whispering to her (452).” Pery observed that “Eve is similar in conception to *The Birth of Love*” but the former is ‘more dramatic’. See: Solomon J. Solomon, RA Exhibition catalogue by Jenny Pery et al., London: Ben Uri Art Society, 1990 p. 15.
400 Bozzetto, Italian: (disegno) a sketch; (modello) scale model. “Strictly speaking, a small three-dimensional sketch in wax or clay made by a sculptor in preparation for a larger and more finished work. By extension, a rapid sketch in oil, made as a study for a larger picture.” [Online] http://www.wga.hu/databases/glossary/glossary.html#b 6th June 2006 (A term common to sculpture but applied to many mediums; also used in mosaic work, for example.)
401 The dimensions of *Eve* were not included in the exhibition catalogue by The Ben Uri Art Society, but have here been approximated from the photograph of the framed painting in the artist’s studio.
marriage of formal, classically inspired posture, early Italian decorative arts and medieval symbolism of the so-called second generation Pre-Raphaelites. Burne-Jones departed from the Academic norm: his Eve is pale and narrow-hipped, like so many women he painted that were identified as androgynous. This is demonstrated by the figure of Eve in *The Angels of Creation*, and the tendency to represent a type is further supported by a *Study of Eve for ‘The Tree of Life,’* the decoration of the American Episcopal Church of St. Paul’s, Rome [Fig. 116]. Prinsep and Solomon, however, represented Eve with the rigor of Academic idealization of the body and the implied paternalism that objectified women within Academic strictures.

**Eve in the Garden of Eden**

In the early nineteenth century, the subject of Eve or Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden was an opportunity to focus on the landscape, reflecting Romantic concerns. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, it was the figure of Eve that took precedence over the representation of landscape. These trends can be observed in the work of Romantic painter John Martin, for example, and two paintings from the last quarter of the nineteenth century: *The Garden of Eden* by F. Hamilton Jackson [Fig. 103], exhibited at the RA in 1888, and *Paradise,* c. 1895, by Strang [Fig. 104].

Martin exhibited a pair of paintings (location unknown) in 1844 (RA) and 1845 (BI); *Morning in Paradise* and *Evening in Paradise,* they measured 60 x 86 in. framed, approximately 5 x 7', bought by Charles Scarisbrick, ‘Martin’s most important patron.’

402 The titles were accompanied by text from Milton. Scarisbrick bought ‘other paintings

402 These paintings were catalogued by Graves (see: Graves, 1908). On John Martin, see: Feaver, W. *The Art of John Martin* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975, p.175.
on similar themes’ including *The Judgment of Adam and Eve*, 1843, for example. A good idea of the untraced oils can be gained from viewing pictures of similar subjects by Martin, such as *The Garden of Eden*, 1821 [Fig. 117]. Subsequently, it may reasonably be posited that the proportion of the figures of Adam and Eve was relatively small in proportion to the landscapes, according to Martin’s Romantic conception.

Art works representing Adam and Eve in Paradise, before the Fall signified a sanctified, ideal, rural idyll located in a time, place, and state of being apart from nineteenth-century life; at a time when rapid changes resulting from Industrialization left Victorian society increasingly nostalgic for rural, pre-Industrial society. John Henry Newman wrote:

> We, as the children of Adam, are heirs to the consequences of his sin, and have forfeited in him that spiritual robe of grace and holiness which he had given him by his Creator at the time that he was made. In this state of forfeiture and disinheriance we are all of us conceived and born...  

The Biblical sequence of events by which that grace was ‘forfeited’ was precipitated when Eve was tempted. The utopian state of grace with which the ‘first’ man and ‘first’ woman were endowed, however, was, for a time, intact in Paradise.

Late Victorian paintings *The Garden of Eden* and *Paradise* represent an entirely different conception than that likely to have been represented by Martin’s early nineteenth-century pair; the human body, or the Victorian nude, became more important.

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403 *The Judgment of Adam and Eve*, a small water colour (9 1/8 x 13 1/8 in.), aids in illustrating Martin’s conception of the Biblical couple, albeit upon judgment or denunciation leading to expulsion. This painting has also been identified as *The Expulsion* (Newcastle exhibition, 1970, cat. No. 62) and is unique in representing the grieving Adam and Eve proceeding into a brightly lit, cave rather than out of the Garden of Eden, rather as if they had first stopped off to collect their belongings. (Exhibition details, *Ibid.*, p. 233.)

404 *Ibid.*, p. 179. (Tate Britain, T01007.)

in the late nineteenth century than it had been in the early-mid nineteenth-century when it was eclipsed by Romantic concerns with landscape. In both of the later pictures, the figures are much larger in proportion than that of Martin’s figures. Eve is pictured alone in the wilds of Eden in the painting by F. Hamilton Jackson, and an Adam and Eve pictured in an Edenic idyll are the focus of the Strang. Polar opposite experiences of Eden are represented by these works; wild and untamed or idyllic and bucolic, lonely or romantic.

Frederick Hamilton Jackson’s *The Garden of Eden* was exhibited at the RA in 1888.⁴⁰⁶ The painting does not show Eve with Adam in Eden nor with an “attribute” such as the apple, serpent, or proximity to the Tree of Knowledge in order to represent her in the context of the Fall. Though now apparently an obscure artist, the name of Frederick Hamilton Jackson (1848-1923), a member of the Royal Society of British Artists (RBA), is linked to late nineteenth-century church decoration and a book called *Mural Painting* (Sands & Co.) 1904. A handful of paintings, all dating to the 1870s and 1880s, can be identified through auction results,⁴⁰⁷ Hamilton Jackson’s painting of Eve departs from the

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static, symbolic pictorial norm and represents an active Eve in the wilderness. In *The Garden of Eden*, a naked Eve, appears to be anxiously dashing through the tropical wilds of Eden. She steps from a small clearing in the foreground towards the darkened woods beyond the trees. Her skin dappled with sunshine, she raises her right hand to move a tree branch away as she passes from the center foreground towards the far right, into the wood. She glances anxiously over her shoulder, beyond the viewer; creating an emphatic diagonal in the composition as she travels from left foreground to right background.

Eve’s active, diagonal pose is underlined by the vegetation around her. A vertical, Philodendron in the foreground, apparently the *Monstera* species, reflects the position of Eve’s body. The Philodendron is a poisonous, ‘New World’ plant native to Florida, the Caribbean, Central and South America. Contrary to the norm of representing Eden as European woodland, the artist has endeavored to render the conception of Eden somewhat “historically” exotic with the inclusion of foreign vegetation, introduced into Europe in the late seventeenth century. The conception is original, but there are obvious technical problems within the picture.\(^{48}\) The nervous, vulnerable characterization of Eve in Eden is highly unusual and the viewer is impelled to sympathize with her fearful backward glance as she hastens into the woods. The usual ‘type’ of Eve to induce sympathy is after the Fall, on the occasion of the denunciation and Expulsion.

The opposite effect is achieved by Strang’s static Eve, in the company of an attentive Adam, in an idyllic Eden. Strang was a student of the Slade School of Art in the

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\(^{48}\) For example, there is an incompatibility in the relationship of the head of the figure to the body; Eve’s face, turning back to look over her shoulder, does not relate correctly to the right shoulder and upper arm. Her head is too far forward along the arm, and should rest further back over the shoulder.
mid-late 1870s, and was influenced by his teacher, Alphonse Legros.⁴⁹ The subject of
Paradise, c.1895, relates to the series of ten large paintings by Strang illustrating the life
of Eve. The Temptation, 1899, [Fig. 118] is the first picture in this sequence; a cycle that
was admired when it was exhibited in 1902, particularly by Sickert and the younger
generation of London art students. Strang produced illustrations to Paradise Lost,
published in 1896, before the Eve cycle was painted; examples include The Creation of
Eve [Fig. 119], The Happy State of Adam and Eve [Fig. 120], and Eve Tempted [Fig.
121].⁴⁴⁸ Strang’s cycle has not been identified among the catalogues of the selection of
venues researched for this study, however, it would be negligent to ignore a series of ten
paintings of Eve produced in the 1890s, particularly in light of evidence that they were
known to and admired by London artists. Three paintings from the life of Eve series,
exhibited at the 1902 Art and Industrial Exhibition, Wolverhampton include: The
Temptation, By the Sweat of thy Brow, and The Finding of the Body of Abel, 1899 [Fig.
128]. The series was commissioned by Laurence Hodson of Compton Hall,
Wolverhampton; a Latest Classical house, 1840-50, by Edward Banks. A collector of
Pre-Raphaelites, Hodgson commissioned the series of paintings of Adam and Eve by
Strang for the library at Compton Hall. In addition to the 1902 Art and Industrial

⁴⁹ Strang was a painter and a printmaker; and an assistant to Legros in the printmaking class, and for
twenty years he worked primarily as a printer. He was a founding member of the Royal Society of Painter-
Etchers, which ‘sought recognition of etching as a painter’s art, rather than merely a craftsman’s means of
reproducing an artist’s painting in multiples’ and formed ‘in protest against the Royal Academy’s
unwillingness to accept artist’s etchings as original works of art and... refusal to elect artist-etchers as
Academicians, whilst electing craftsmen-engravers to membership and showing their copies of
Academician’s paintings’ annually. Additionally, “in 1888 Queen Victorian granted a Royal title to the
Society and further allowed its name to be enlarged in 1898 to include, Engravers...A partnership was
forged in 1890 between the...Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and the Royal Watercolour Society, founded
information resource for printmakers [22 June 2006].
⁴⁸ An example of this publication is in the collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
John Milton (author) and William Strang, Paradise Lost, published 1896, 1 vol: ill: etchings and
engravings, Rosenweld Collection 1943.3.7997.
Exhibition, Wolverhampton, the series was also exhibited at the Whitechapel exhibition in 1910.\footnote{\textit{WILLIAM STRANG.} \textit{LoveToKnow 1911 Online Encyclopedia.} © 2003, 2004 LoveToKnow. [Online] \url{http://41911encyclopedia.org/S/ST/STRANG_WILLIAM.htm} [18 June 2006]}

Where Hamilton Jackson represented Eve in a moment of flight, Strang has characterized her with an unmoving timelessness; she appears static, even sculptural, in \textit{Paradise}, as she does in all four of his paintings of Eve here identified. Even as the artist indicates motion in the representation of his figures, the linear outlines, perhaps partially attributable to his career as a printer, have the effect of stylistic restraint. In \textit{Paradise}, Eve is the focus of Adam’s attention; she is seated in profile as Adam arranges a wreath of flowers in her hair. Adam faces the viewer, turning awkwardly to face Eve. A train of ivy in Adam’s lap, ostensibly for the wreath he weaves into Eve’s hair, acts as an intimation of the Fall that will result in their Expulsion from Paradise. A large, bird stands in the grasses beside Adam, lending Paradise a foreign exoticism; Adam and Eve, however, are characterized by an anachronistic appearance, in their Western European colouring and hair styles. The figure of Eve appears as though modeled on classical sculpture and the artistic style is reminiscent of the work of Puvis de Chavannes such as \textit{Jeunes filles au bord de la mer}, 1879 [\textbf{Fig. 129}]. Classically inspired pastorals of the Renaissance may have been inspirational to William Strang’s conception of Paradise; Eve is nearly identical in position, and even pictorial placement, to the seated nude in the foreground of Titian’s \textit{Concert Champêtre}, c.1510, [\textbf{Fig. 130}], and her detached demeanor, as well as the flat appearance of the paint, conjures the seated nude in Manet’s \textit{Le Déjeuner sur l’Herbe}, 1863, [\textbf{Fig. 131}], also representing a “fallen” woman in Edenic environs, and also influenced by Venetian pastorals. In contrast to \textit{The Garden of Eden}, by Hamilton
Jackson, the Eve of Strang’s *Paradise* is the placid object of Adam’s attention in an Edenic landscape characterized as an idyll by the artist.

**The Temptation**

Eve succumbed to temptation, and, in turn, encouraged Adam to do the same, fatally effecting the Fall. The subject of ‘Eve Tempted’ is iconic: the image of Eve, apple in hand, communing with the serpent at the tree, is arguably the most widely recognizable context. Nevertheless, it is not a category of Eve subject that was represented the most often in Victorian art. Seven works with titles that explicitly address the Temptation of Eve have been identified here; six on the subject of the Temptation among the Miltonic works, and a further three Miltonic works referring to the subsequent Expulsion. More than half of the works inspired by passages from Milton date to the 1840s and 1850s. As a Biblical subject, distinct from Miltonic references, paintings representing Eve Tempted appear to be exclusive to the late nineteenth century.

Seven titles referring to the Temptation of Eve are identified in this study, and seventeen simply referring to ‘Eve.’ How many among those works entitled only ‘Eve’ represent her tempted; beside the Tree of Knowledge, in the company of the serpent, perhaps holding the apple? However small the number of works explicitly representing Eve Tempted, it was the moment which precipitated the Fall that subsequently necessitated the Virgin Mary’s role as the ‘Second Eve.’ It is the Temptation of Eve, therefore, which marks the extreme distinction between the characterization of Eve and the Madonna, and, paradoxically, it is this moment that connects Eve and the Madonna, as, theologically speaking, the action of the former necessitated the “calling” of the latter.
VanEsved Adams acknowledges a secular, Protestant, patriarchal Madonna-figure of Victorian studies, 'the sweet-faced...bourgeois housewife,' as well as two Victorian theological Madonnas: 'Our Lady of Immaculate Conception', proclaimed in 1854, and the 'New Eve' of the Church Fathers, rediscovered by John Henry Newman.\textsuperscript{412} It has been contended that Mary's 'perpetual virginity' and Immaculate Conception subvert 'male supremacy', which benefits from the characterization of the female represented by 'the myth of carnal, feminine evil' associated with Eve.\textsuperscript{413} Eve's mythical forfeiture of the grace with which she was endowed upon Creation, began with the Temptation.

Two examples of the subject of Eve Tempted painted in the Aesthetic and Symbolist veins which characterized art of the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century are: \textit{Eve Tempted} by Spencer Stanhope, exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, c.1877 [Fig. 14], and \textit{Eve Tempted}, 1891-2, by Watts [Fig. 101], various versions of which were exhibited between 1881-1897. One of these works was inspired by early Italian art and the other by Baroque and sixteenth-century Venetian art. Spencer Stanhope, like Burne-Jones, is characterized by a stylistic manner considered reminiscent of the Italian


\textsuperscript{413} Breen, 1982, p. 33. The doctrine of Immaculate Conception represents dogmatic theology, however, and is not considered authoritative by Protestantism, which, strictly speaking, adheres to Biblical exegesis. It is the state of grace, defined as one with which Mary was endowed from conception by the doctrine of Immaculate Conception, which, theologically, rendered Mary the second, or, 'New Eve'.
Primitives by the artist's contemporaries. Watts, however, painted *Eve Tempted* in a manner apparently inspired by Old Masters such as Rubens and Titian.

_Eve Tempted*, c. 1877, by Spencer Stanhope, was admired as ‘one of the most remarkable’ pictures at the Grosvenor Gallery and, amid flowery praise, a Florentine influence was identified:

‘Eve, a fair woman, of surpassing loveliness, is leaning against a bank of violets, underneath the apple tree; naked, except for the rich thick folds of gilded hair which sweep down from her head like the bright rain in which Zeus came to Danae. The head is drooped a little forward as a flower droops when the dew has fallen heavily, and her eyes are dimmed with the haze that comes in moments of doubtful thought. One arm falls idly by her side; the other is raised high over her head among the branches, her delicate fingers just meeting round one of the burnished apples that glow amidst the leaves like 'golden lamps in a green night.' An amethyst-coloured serpent, with a devilish human head, is twisting round the trunk of the tree and breathes into the woman's ear a blue flame of evil counsel. At the feet of Eve bright flowers are growing, tulips, narcissi, lilies, and anemones, all painted with a loving patience that reminds us of the older Florentine masters; after whose example, too, Mr. Stanhope has used gilding for Eve's hair and for the bright fruits.’

Stanhope's debt to Burne-Jones lies in the stylized treatment of the Edenic surroundings and the face of the beguiling serpent in *Eve Tempted*. The nude, blonde Eve, however, is unlike the narrow hips and sweet faces of Burne-Jones' nudes such as *The Soul Attains* from The Pygmalion series, 1868-70, and *The Rock of Doom*, 1885-8, for example. From 1865 Spencer Stanhope wintered in Italy, finally relocating there permanently in 1880. He was deeply influenced by quattrocento art; he had his frames made by Florentine craftsmen, and is unique among the artists discussed in this paper for his use of tempera. *Eve Tempted* is tempera on panel, and Stanhope was 'one of the first British artists to revive tempera painting.'

Stanhope studied with Watts, and traveled with him to Italy in 1853 and Greece in 1856-7. Through Watts, he met Rossetti and

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414 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' *Dublin University Magazine*, July 1877.
Burne-Jones. Though he exhibited at the RA, Spencer Stanhope ‘mainly supported the Dudley, Grosvenor and New Galleries, all important venues for the late Pre-Raphaelite school.’ Other followers of Burne-Jones, such as Robert Bateman, Marie Spartali Stillman, and Evelyn Pickering exhibited at the Dudley Gallery.

Watts’ *Eve Tempted* was first exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1881-2. The version at Tate Britain was exhibited in 1884. Watts’ sensuous Eve is not represented in the static, stylized manner of Spencer Stanhope’s conventional composition; rather, she leans into the vegetation, apparently tasting of the apple directly from the tree with her mouth, rather than reaching for it with her hand. The action is passionate; Eve appears to be in the midst of an embrace. Unlike the cool, Aesthetic *Eve Tempted*, c.1877, of Stanhope’s conception, or the ‘passionless, pale’ woman of Burne-Jones’ *Annunciation*, 1897, this Eve’s skin is not smooth and fair but textured, rippling and flushed with a hint of colour. The influence of Rubens can be observed in the voluptuous body of Eve and the treatment of the flesh; *The Judgement of Paris*, c. 1632-5 [Fig. 126], has been in the collection of the National Gallery since 1844. The luxuriant woman and the Edenic setting also recall Titian: *Nymph and Shepherd*, c.1570-5 [Fig. 127], *The Magdalene*, 1618 [Fig. 128], and the leopard luxuriating beside Eve in the

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417 This refers to the version now at the Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museum. See Watts, Mary G.F. Watts: *Catalogue of his works compiled by his widow*, unpublished manuscript, Watts Gallery, Compton, p. 47. (Reference copy in the collection of the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.)
418 I have discovered no record of this among the results of my research of the venues specified for study in this paper: (among those appropriate to the medium and date) neither at the RA, nor the Grosvenor Gallery, nor the New Gallery. Awaiting verification and explanation of the stated exhibition in 1884 from Tate Britain at the time of writing.
painting by Watts recalls those in *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1520-3 [Fig. 129]. As with the versions of *She shall be called woman*, the earlier Aberdeen version of *Eve Tempted* is simpler and more clearly legible than the later Tate version. Watts tended to evolve into a closer cropped composition in the Eve paintings. In the earlier version, Eve’s long hair spills down her back; in the later version her hair appears more wildly animated, flowing behind her as if to underline the action of her leaning deeply into the fruit and foliage of the tree and lending a more impassioned quality to the action of straining towards the apple.

The Expulsion

The subject of the Expulsion, representing the banishment of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, is one that occurred only after 1850 at the venues examined. With two exceptions, in fact, the subject was most often addressed 1870-1900. *The Expulsion from Eden*, by Tenniel, 1853 [Fig. 84], and *The Expulsion*, by Spencer Stanhope, 1900 [Fig. 86] are two examples of the subject. The Tenniel painting, inspired by Milton, is a vertical work which shows Adam and Eve facing the viewer, dressed in furs, yet characterized by somewhat nineteenth-century types, mourning and dwarfed and overshadowed by the monumental figure of the Archangel directly behind them. The *Art Journal* commended it as a ‘conception of much elevation,’ admiring the angel, indeed ‘a very grand realisation’ standing ominously ‘behind Adam and Eve, pointing out to them their path’ away from Eden, and, very cleverly, straight in our direction, as the viewer is

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420 *Adam and Eve*, 1550, by Titian, is in the collection of the Prado, Madrid, and represents the Temptation of Eve.
in the “Fallen” world. In contrast, the version by Spencer Stanhope is horizontal, and shows the figures of Adam and Eve fleeing Eden, to the right, far from the imposing figure of the banishing Archangel brandishing a sword, on the left. Spencer Stanhope’s version is distinctly stylized and reminiscent of a medieval or early Renaissance illumination interpreted in the style of the late nineteenth-century Arts and Crafts movement book illustration, such as the work of William Morris’ Kelmscott Press.

**Sculptural Eve: Biblical and Miltonic**

Unlike the Madonna, a significant quantity of Victorian representations of Eve was sculptural. Where the Madonna may have been a relatively unpopular sculptural subject in a Protestant culture wary of Catholic relationship to art, fearing the potential for idolatry, as expressed obliquely in the writing of Jameson, among others. Eve, however, was an opportunity to render a standing nude woman, usually based upon Classical models and a contemporary Academic sensibility. Benedict Read writes:

> Not all classical subjects in sculpture were nude...nor for that matter were religious subjects necessarily clothed; among the Grittleton collection was Baily’s *Adam and Eve*, commissioned in 1853, in which the couple is clearly not sufficiently distant from the Fall to require cover. Another Baily Biblical work was *Eve listening to this Voice* of 1842, clearly a pre-Fall representation and so entirely nude; an earlier Baily work on the Eve theme, *Eve at the Fountain* of 1822 (now at the Bristol City Art Gallery) was not only nude, but naturally so, a cast having been taken for it of the entire body of the model.\(^2\)

Three sculptures by E.H. Baily illustrate the ideal, poetic nude that Milton’s Eve inspired: *Eve Listening to the Voice*, 1841 [Fig. 83], *Eve at the Fountain*, 1849 [Fig. 

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Baily’s sculptures refer specifically to Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, a popular source of inspiration during the first half of the nineteenth century. Baily’s sculpture contrasts, both formally and in its psychological content, with *The Expulsion*, 1859, by W.C. Marshall [Fig. 132]. Writing about *Eve’s Dream*, by E.B. Stephens, exhibited at the RA 1873, the *Art Journal* commended the ‘large and ambitious proportions,’ but criticized the artist for not having ‘succeeded in gaining a very large measure of ideal beauty.’ The *Art Journal* complained, for example, that the figure of Eve was ‘too contorted’ and the ‘lines,’ therefore, not composed with much subtlety of appreciation. We may wonder, then, if W.C. Marshall may have met with criticism for the, perhaps necessarily, awkward figure arrangement of *The Expulsion*. *Eve*, 1900, by Thomas Brock [Fig. 85], however, appears graceful and demure, as she stands alone; literally and figuratively. These British works are in marked contrast to those of their modern, French contemporaries, such as *Eve Eating the Apple*, c. 1885, by Rodin [Fig. 133], and *Eve*, 1890, by Gaugin [Fig. 134], for example. The posture of Eve in the work of Rodin recalls that of *Eve Tempted*, exhibited 1884, by Watts [Fig. 101]; showing her actually collapsing into the compulsion.

Classical subjects arguably come to mind most when we think of nineteenth-century sculptures of the nude, indeed, Baily, for example, sculpted Venus as well as Eve. However, Biblical women of the “Old Testament” were often the subjects of sculpture; particularly Rebekah, Rachel and Ruth. Others included: Naomi, Judith and

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423 *Eve at the Fountain* by E.H. Baily is listed in RA Cat., 1820, no. 1008., and again in RA Cat., 1822, no. 986, specified as a statue in marble. *Adam consoling Eve after her dream* is listed in RA Cat., 1823, no 1114. RA Cat., 1837, no. 1279 is a *Head in Marble of Eve*. RA Cat., 1841, no. 1219, *Eve listening to the Voice*. Finally, *Adam consoling Eve after her dream*, is listed again in RA Cat., 1855, no. 1409 and RA Cat. 1857, no. 1209.


Jephthah's daughter.\textsuperscript{426} 

*Rebecca at the Well*, 1860, by Benjamin Edward Spence, illustrates the sensual, sculptural potential of the subject as a semi nude woman.\textsuperscript{427} Eve represents a female nude subject that is legitimised, or without sin and self-consciousness, because of the Biblical context of Adam and Eve's life of innocence in Eden before the Fall.

There is evidence of a Victorian market for privately owned, free-standing religious subject sculptures. There was also a market for Victorian religious sculptures for churches, however, the architectural context meant it was often the concern of the 'specialised architectural sculptural field.'\textsuperscript{428} Religious figures sculpted for religious architectural contexts were often indicated by the title assigned to them in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogues. For example, the 1880 RA exhibition catalogue describes *The Entombment*, by M. Raggi, as having been designed 'for communion altar in a church', and a *Statue of the Immaculate Conception* by Oliver L. Ruddock, as 'Executed in alabaster, for the Church of the Holy Name, Manchester.' The 1841 RA


\textsuperscript{427} Illustrated (plate 265) and discussed briefly in Read, B., p.203.


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exhibition catalogue describes *Eve listening to the voice*, by Baily, as a private commission: 'a statue in marble executed for Joseph Neeld, Esq., M.P.'\(^{429}\) The statue of *Rebecca* by Spence, like *Eve* by Baily, were privately owned and were likely 'meant to be seen from the standpoint of literature rather than religion,' although, indeed, some 'religious sculpture for the home' was in the service of the 'pious minded' rather than that of artistic aesthetics.\(^{430}\) The marble sculpture of *Eve*, by Brock, is a life-size, free-standing sculpture that eschews context and, but for the title, could not necessarily be differentiated from any number of Classical or mythological nudes. This is characteristic of late-nineteenth century art but it is also an arguably 'timeless' characteristic of sculptural tradition as well. The subject of Eve, particularly in a Miltonic context, happily marries religious and literary references, or, aesthetic, and allusion to, requisite Victorian moralizing concerns.

**Eve: Present in the Annunciation**

Christian theology clearly asserts that Eve’s transgression resulted in the Fall which necessitated the redemption of mankind through Jesus, and it could be said to follow that, subsequently, Eve necessitated the Annunciation. Jameson defined the event of the Annunciation as representing 'the announcement of salvation to mankind'.\(^{431}\) The subject of the Annunciation, therefore, often represents a 'type' of Eve subject because it traditionally includes an Expulsion scene. As thorough as Jameson’s identification, description and analysis of the art of the Old Masters was, she neglected any mention of the frequent symbolic inclusion of the Expulsion in Annunciation scenes.

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\(^{429}\) RA Cat., 1841, no.  
\(^{431}\) Jameson, 1899, p. 281.
Old Master examples of this iconography include works by both Italian and Northern artists: Fra Angelico, c.1452, Dirk Bouts, c.1445, Lorenzo di Credi, c.1480-85. The *Annunciation*, c.1480-85, by Lorenzo di Credi [Fig. 141], one of the most representative works by this artist, has been at the Uffizi since 1798: Burne-Jones, who first traveled to Florence in 1859, would surely have had occasion to see it and it seems surely to have inspired the setting of his *Annunciation*, 1879 [Fig. 4]. This fifteenth-century Annunciation painting represents the Creation of Eve, the Fall, and the Expulsion in a sequence of bas-reliefs in the foreground, painted as though a part of the architecture within which the Annunciation takes place. Burne-Jones seems to have been inspired to work similar reliefs into the architecture above the Annunciator. The bas-reliefs of the Credi, however, are not integrated into the painting; rather, they appear to consciously, cleverly conjure the format of an altarpiece by acting in the place of a predella.\footnote{\textsuperscript{432} Jameson noted:}

> "Sometimes the Annunciation...as a mystical subject-forms part of an altar-piece of itself. In many Roman Catholic churches there is a chapel or an altar dedicated expressly to the Annunciation, the subject forming the principal decoration.\footnote{\textsuperscript{433}}"

Burne-Jones’ *Annunciation* represents a bas-relief of the Expulsion above an narrow arch-way, in a space like a spandrel between the side of the arch and the end of the wall, in front of which the Annunciator stands while receiving the angel Gabriel’s message. The relief of the Expulsion represents the angel in front of a tree, banishing Adam and Eve, who cower and leave Eden to the right of the tree. The pictorial, and thereby the symbolic theological connection between Eve and Mary is underlined by the mirroring of the composition of the Expulsion scene in that of the Annunciation taking

\footnote{\textsuperscript{432} The predella is the small strip of paintings that forms the lower edge or socle of a large altarpiece (pala).}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{433} Jameson, 1899, pp. 283-284.}
place: the angel is uniquely represented in front of a tree and Mary is to the right. *Ecce Ancilla*, 1893, by Rupert Bunny [Fig. 52], integrates the Expulsion scene through the decorative work on the wall behind the figure of the Annunciate. The inclusion of Eve in these contexts clearly underlines Mary as the second Eve, whose role as the mother of Jesus, the ‘Redeemer’, is necessitated by the transgressions of the first Eve.

**Daughters of Eve**

An intriguing type of Victorian art that refers to Eve can be identified in those works normally entitled ‘A Daughter of Eve’ or Daughters of Eve.’ This would appear to be a subject relatively common after 1850, particularly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, specifically 1876-99, when at least ten works with this or similar title were exhibited variously at the RA, DG, GG, and NG. Judging from what little visual evidence I have observed, works of this type usually show a contemporary nineteenth-century woman or women with an apple in hand. This is an obvious allusion to Eve; it functions as her attribute and signifies that, according to Genesis, womankind is descended from her. It seems implicit in this symbolism that a sense of culpability or a potential for corruption is being identified as inherent in womankind. Although a vaguely anti-feminist message may be contained in this type, it is interesting to note that *A Daughter of Eve*, by Annie Louise Swynnerton, was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1886.434 Another compelling example of the type is A Son of Eve, by Miss Ida Chetwynd, exhibited at the New Gallery in 1899.435 The only painting from this category

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434 In 1922, Swynnerton was the first woman elected ARA (Associate of the Royal Academy of Arts), and was ‘the first woman to receive academic honors since 1768, when Angelica Kauffman and Mary Moser became foundation members of the RA.’ See: Wood, 1971, p. 166.
435 NG Cat., 1899, no. 370.
for which an illustration was located is *A Daughter of Eve*, 1881, by Collier [Fig. 136]. This vertical painting, 20 x 15.75 in., shows a languid, Classical beauty in a garden, reclining along the top of Roman architecture decorated with a frieze, reaching below to pluck fruit from the top of a small tree. A Mediterranean type of seascape extends into the background beyond her. Another painting similar to the ‘Daughter of Eve’ type is *Temptation*, 1881, by Bouguereau [Fig. 137]. This horizontal painting, 39 x 52 in., shows a young, presumably middle-class, contemporary woman reclining in a European pastoral setting and holding an apple in the company of a naked baby girl wearing a headband, who appears entranced with the woman and fruit. *Dorothy Seton - A Daughter of Eve* by J.M. Whistler, 1905 [Fig. 138], further confirms that the subject is typically a contemporary young woman holding an apple, even into the twentieth century.

Additionally, I discovered an American photograph from the turn of the nineteenth century, *A Daughter of Eve*, c. 1904-6, by Frances Allen [Fig. 139], of a blonde baby girl of approximately 18-24 months, seated in a wooden chair in a long, white dress and cap, admiring the apple she holds in her lap. The subject type seems to be simply an opportunity to show a pretty, contemporary girl or young woman but the traditional implications of the explicit association with Eve lend a potentially sinister, or cynical, undertone to a seemingly sweet subject, particularly when a baby girl is the subject.

The subjects of both Eve and the Madonna were, therefore, adapted during the latter half of the nineteenth century, to include secular versions of these polarized types of woman. The secular Madonna type is apparent in works such as *Take your Son, Sirl*, 1851-6, by Brown, where a middle-class, nineteenth-century mother in flowing white
dress, bears her infant son in the posture of a Madonna and child (one which conjures the Pietà pose). The mirror directly overhead functions as a reminder of the halo of the Virgin Mary, and this type of painting seems to be a modern day adaptation of an anachronistic Flemish devotional painting such as those by Rogier van der Wyden and the Master of Flémalle, although Brown was clearly influenced by the Arnolfini Portrait, date, by Van Eyck. This painting is often interpreted as a wife offering a son to her her husband, as the subject is modeled on the artist’s own wife and child. Marcia Pointon, however, has argued that this work is a paradoxical play on new life being proffered, in the form of the naked infant, by impending death, in the form of the pallid mother and she suggests that the portrayal of the infant was influenced by medical images of fetuses.\footnote{436 Pointon, Marcia, "Interior Portraits: Women, Physiology and the Male Artist", Feminist Review, No. 22 (Spring, 1986), pp. 5-22.} Similar “secular Madonna” subjects were also painted by Thomas Faed, for example, such as Ere Care Begins, 1865 [Fig. 140] his diploma work for the RA.

In Idols of Perversity (1986) Bram Dijkstra described the ‘functional marginalization of women,’ which relegated them to so-called separate spheres, as domestic containment in an existence that reflected the archetype of Eve as an ideal woman before the Fall: a woman like ‘the unforgotten Eve of Paradise’ described by Owen Meredith.\footnote{437 Dijkstra, B., pp. 4-5.} Dijkstra referred to the ‘cautionary’ painting, The Awakening Conscience, RA 1854, by William Holman Hunt, which represents a fallen, indeed ‘kept’ woman of the mid-nineteenth century, seeing the proverbial light. In “Lost and Found: Once More the Fallen Woman,” Linda Nochlin discusses Hunt’s The Awakening Conscience in terms of a repentant Magdalene, citing the popular reproductions of The Repentant Magdalene Renouncing all the Vanities of the World, by Charles Le Brun, as a
model, and she discusses *Found*, 1854, by Rossetti, in its relationship to his previous work, *Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee*, 1848. Indeed, thinking of Hunt's admiration for Venetian painting, one can imagine Titian's *Magdalene* [Fig. 128] inspiring the treatment of the fallen woman in *The Awakening Conscience* as well. Nochlin identifies 'the opposing terms of family and fallen woman and the sinister threat that woman's unregulated sexual activity was felt to offer the bulwark of Victorian paternal authoritarianism – the home,' which is revealed in the secularization of Eve and Madonna types, informing contemporary Victorian representations of fallen woman and domestic Madonnas, such as those of Thomas Faed or Ford Maddox Brown. Victorian artists of the latter half of the nineteenth century, therefore, adapted religious subjects, inspired in part by traditional, oftentimes Renaissance prototypes, for modern times, and the influence of the Old Masters is apparent even in the secularized versions of these religious subject adaptations.

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Chapter IV. Conclusion

The Proportion of Eve to Madonna Subjects

In the Victorian revival of Madonna and Eve subjects in art, we can conclude that Madonna types were the defining paradigm of ideal womanhood, against which others, like Eve, at first innocent, then seductive and sinful, might be measured. Eve subjects occurred at a ratio of approximately 1:3; outnumbered by Madonna subjects. More than 50 subjects inclusive of Eve, ten of which can be illustrated, and a total of more than 150 subjects inclusive of the Madonna, at least 39 of which can be illustrated, have been identified in the course of research for this study. At least 25% of the Madonna subjects catalogued can be illustrated and nearly 20% of the Eve subjects catalogued can be illustrated. Additionally, two paintings of Lilith, Adam’s mythical first wife, were illustrated and examined in chapter three: *Lady Lilith*, 1864-8, by Rossetti, exhibited in 1883, Lilith, 1887, by Collier,

Nineteenth-Century London Exhibition Venues

A selection of well-known London venues have been studied for the purposes of examining the frequency and types of Eve and Madonna subjects that were exhibited in nineteenth-century England. These sites were selected for their cultural significance as premier exhibition galleries of the nineteenth century; they cover the whole of the Victorian era, and represent a range of aesthetic values and artistic mediums. They range from conservative promoters of Academicism, such as the Royal Academy of Arts (RA, est. 1768), to those with enduring legacies as sites that promoted stylistic risk-takers of the nineteenth century, such as the Dudley Gallery (DG, est. 1865), Grosvenor Gallery
(GG, est. 1877), New Gallery (NG, est. 1888), and the New English Art Club (NEAC, est. 1886). The venues, therefore, represent a range of sites where national tastes codified, national heroes made and international artistic values were reexamined and reevaluated.

The importance of the RA, the oldest venue examined, was that of a teaching and exhibiting institution produced and represented the national school of modern British art produced through the Academic systematization of artistic theory and practice. The RA exhibited the widest variety of media, including oils, water-colours, prints, drawings, sculpture and reliefs. During the Victorian years, the number of works included in the annual summer exhibitions ranged from approximately 1,500-2,000 (500-700 paintings, 400 drawings and miniatures, 25-100 engravings and an average of roughly 200 sculptural works, for example). In the last quarter of the nineteenth-century the number of paintings increased with the average number of oils close to 1,000, approximately 200 water-colours, 300 engravings, etchings, drawings and miniatures and 200 sculptural works. Of a total of the two subjects combined, the proportion of paintings representing Eve is 10%, relative to 90% representations of the Madonna exhibited at the RA. At the other venues surveyed Eve was generally exhibited at a proportion closer to 20% or 30%, to a proportion of 80% or 70% Madonna subjects, and was therefore occurred in a relatively low proportion at the RA. The subject of Eve appears to have had stronger representation at progressive sites that emerged during the latter half of the century, particularly in the fourth quarter.

The British Institution (BI, est. 1806) was founded, it was asserted, 'by a number of noblemen and gentlemen to encourage art, and it was not in any way intended to be a rival to the Royal Academy,' whose members 'continued to exhibit their works' at the BI
‘in large numbers until the expiration of the lease in 1867.’ Algernon Graves prefaced the complete dictionary of contributors and their works with the following statement:

The catalogues for this series of Exhibitions are most difficult to obtain, very few sets being in existence. From first to last over 28,000 works were shown to the public, and no record of the works of the principal artists of the nineteenth century can be in any way complete if their exhibits at the British Institution are not included.\textsuperscript{441}

The proportion of works representing Eve to those representing the Virgin Mary at the BI is relatively consistent with the average at the other venues surveyed: paintings of Eve and Mary were exhibited at a ratio of approximately 20\%:80\% respectively. The proportion essentially reverses in favor of a higher quantity of works representing Eve when the few sculptural works exhibited at the BI, some half dozen, are quantified: 70\%:30\%. As a ‘sinful’ subject, Eve, represented as a nude before the Fall, may have been perceived to be appropriate to the sensual, three dimensional medium of sculpture. In a Protestant country that shunned anything which might be understood as Marian veneration associated with Catholicism, the Madonna in sculptural form might have been understood as an insupportable form of representation in terms of the subject and medium. Jameson asserted that ‘the ethics of the (historical) Madonna worship, as evolved in art’ could be likened to ‘the ethics of human love;’ which is good ‘so long as the object of sense remained in subjection to the moral idea’ and the appeal is ‘to the best of our faculties and affections,’ as well as the ‘influences to be ranked with those that have helped to humanize and civilize our race.’\textsuperscript{442} However, Jameson cautioned, as soon

\textsuperscript{440} Graves, 1908, p. vii.
\textsuperscript{441} Ibid., p. vii.
\textsuperscript{442} Jameson, 1899, pp. 20-1.
as the object becomes an idol, "then worship and worshippers, art and artists, were together degraded."\textsuperscript{443}

Martin may be the best-known painter who exhibited the subject of Eve at the BI, in a pair of paintings inspired by Milton’s \textit{Paradise Lost: Morning in Paradise} and \textit{Evening in Paradise}.\textsuperscript{444} Martin’s paintings demonstrate that not only Genesis but John Milton’s seventeenth-century epic poem \textit{Paradise Lost} inspired Victorian representations of Eve. The connection between visual art and poetic text is often evinced by references to Milton’s text in titles and accompanying excerpts included in Victorian exhibition catalogues. With regard to representations of the Virgin Mary, the Victorian exhibition catalogues examined for this dissertation demonstrate the subject of the Flight into Egypt occurred with the greatest frequency in the early nineteenth century. John Linnell exhibited two versions of \textit{The Flight into Egypt} at the BI in the 1840s.\textsuperscript{445}

The Society of Painters in Water Colours (OWS, est. 1804, Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, or, RWS from 1881) is significant for the sole representation of the water-colour medium throughout the nineteenth century and, in fact, to the present day. The titles of paintings exhibited by the Society of Painters in water-colours suggest that the primary subjects consisted primarily of picturesque landscape, both English and European, especially Italian and Germanic. Genre, still life and make up frequent categories as well as ‘Oriental’ pictures, both landscape and genre.

No pictures of Eve were exhibited at the OWS; a relatively conservative site. As a medium employed to represent landscape and genre, the most significant type of religious subject pictures exhibited at the OWS/RWS was what might be identified as ‘devotional

\textsuperscript{443} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{444} BI Cat. 1845.
\textsuperscript{445} BI Cat., 1841, 1849.
genre', or, scenes of religious worship, practice and ceremony, as opposed to the history painting featured in oil at the RA. The total water-colours exhibited each year ranged from 216 in 1895 to 380 in 1850, with an annual average of approximately 300. It would appear that no pictures inclusive of Eve were exhibited at the OWS or RWS, but the best-known pictures of the Madonna exhibited there were *The Annunciation*, 1864, by Burne-Jones [Fig. 48] and *The Child Jesus among the doctors in the Temple*, 1887, by Hunt.\(^{446}\)

In its inaugural exhibition catalogue, the Dudley Gallery articulated what distinguished it from institutions such as the RA or the OWS. It was, initially, 'exclusively devoted to drawings as distinguished from Oil Paintings' and did 'not in its use by Exhibitors involve Membership of a Society,' and, indeed, these two conditions were not, at that time, 'fulfilled by any London Exhibition.'\(^{447}\) The establishment of the DG was 'called for solely by the requirements of very many Artists,' indeed, requirements, it was added, 'of which the reality is evinced by the large number of works sent in for Exhibition.'\(^{448}\) The focus upon exhibiting works in the water-colour medium, like the OWS, resulted in the religious subjects constituting what might be identified as 'devotional genre', or, scenes of religious worship, practice and ceremony. However, in 1867 the Dudley Gallery initiated a winter exhibition of oils: 'The number of such

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\(^{446}\) *Eastward of Eden*, by Albert Goodwin, was exhibited in 1875, OWS Cat. 1875, no. 62, accompanied by the following text: 'And Cain went forth from the presence of the Lord'. OWS Cat. 1864, no. 200 and OWS Cat. 1887, no. 67. The complete text accompanying the title of the latter is: *The Child Jesus among the doctors in the Temple* composed to illustrate the passage in the Gospel of St. Luke as indicating that Christ while staying in the Temple entered the schools, hearing the doctors, and asking them questions. A mosaic for this picture is to be executed and placed in Clifton College Chapel).

\(^{447}\) It was explained, for example, that: The Water Colour Societies reserve their walls for Members, while those Galleries which are open to all Exhibitors (such as that of the Royal Academy) afford but a limited and subordinate space to all works in other material than Oil.' See: *General Exhibition of Water Colour Drawings, Dudley Gallery, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly 1865: The First*, London: Dudley Gallery, 1865, p. 9.

Pictures exhibited every Winter in other Galleries differently managed, leads them to hope that the proposed Exhibition will prove both useful and attractive, more especially as they believe that no definite arrangement has yet been made to supply the place of the British Institution where the lease expired in 1867. The thirteen artists who ‘consented to assist the Committee in reference to the selection and arrangement of Pictures sent in’ were all full Academicians (RA) or associates of the Royal Academy (ARA), including Millais and Watts. The institution of the winter exhibition of oils paintings resulted in the submission of a different type of religious picture: in 1867, Rosa Mystica, by Solomon was the first oil of the Madonna to be exhibited at the Dudley Gallery. In 1873, Eve (one of a series of designs for large Pictures), by Watts, was the first oil of Eve to be exhibited at the Dudley Gallery. The total works exhibited at the annual summer exhibition of water-colours ranged from 519 in the inaugural year, 1865, to 720 in 1869, with an annual average of just over 650 works. The total number of works exhibited at the winter exhibition of oils ranged from 215 in the first year, 1867, to 484 in 1876, with an annual average of 390 works, approximately 60% of the average number of water-colours.

The Grosvenor Gallery, established in 1877 by Sir Coutts Lindsay, was, as Colleen Denney has put it, ‘the venue for progressive trends in the late nineteenth century.’ The opening of the Grosvenor Gallery is often associated with the emergence of Burne-Jones, whose work had not been exhibited in seven years, with a brief exception.

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450 DG Cat. 1867, no. 3. DG Cat. 1873, no. 75.

at the Dudley Gallery, since he had ‘ceased to exhibit with the Old Water Colour Society over a censorship dispute.’ Following the inaugural year of the Grosvenor, Burne-Jones and associates, including Watts, ‘achieved widespread popularity in France in 1878’ when they exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Denney describes Coutts Lindsay as having ‘perceived that British art was moving in a new direction that was not being sufficiently represented by the existing institutions;’ Evelyn De Morgan (née Pickering), Stanhope, Strudwick, Moore, Watts and Whistler were among those artists represented at the Grosvenor, reflecting a predominantly ‘second generation’ Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic style. Gallery Manager Charles Hallé articulated Coutts Lindsay’s methods as having developed in conscious contrast to those associated with the Academy: ‘The fundamental idea was to give pictures during their brief public life a fair chance of being seen at their best,’ effected not only by the hanging arrangements but also ‘coordinated colour schemes, and a system of diffused lighting,’ thereby instituting a new standard of ‘exhibition reform.’

The Grosvenor positioned itself as a representative of a new generation of artists underrepresented or underappreciated at the Academy but equal to Contemporary art on the Continent. The Grosvenor was established with ‘the express intention of promoting

453 *Ibid.*, p. 66. Among those associates were: John Spencer Stanhope, Marie Spartali Stillman, Walter Crane, Albert Moore and Thomas Armstrong. On pg. 70 Denney points out that ‘Lindsay himself was chosen as one of the British jurors (of the British art of the Exposition Universelle) by the Prince of Wales, hence he had a direct hand in choosing the British artists who would show in 1878’.
Pre-Raphaelite painters and challenging 'the sleepy self-complacency of the dwellers of Burlington House [the Royal Academy],' as co-director Joseph William Comyns Carr described it in his memoirs, *Some Eminent Victorians: personal recollections in the world of art and letters* (1908).

Of the 17 paintings representing Eve or the Madonna at the Grosvenor, there were four of the former and 13 the latter; a ratio of approximately 24%:76%. This is consistent with the average observed at most of the venues here examined. Of the Marian subjects exhibited at the Grosvenor, five titles refer simply to a Madonna or *Mater Dolorosa*, two are Nativity scenes; two are Annunciation scenes and one a Flight into Egypt. The pictures of Eve included two simply named for her, Eve Tempted and a subject representing Eve after the Fall, as a joyous mother: they are *Eve Tempted*, 1877, by Stanhope and *Eve's Second Paradise*, 1885, by Phillip Richard Morris. One of the best-known Victorian Annunciations was exhibited at the Grosvenor: *The Annunciation*, 1879, by Burne-Jones. When the gallery opened in 1877, Burne-Jones' six panels *Days of Creation*, including *The Sixth Day*, [Fig. 98] were exhibited along with Watts' *Love and Death*, circa 1885-7, Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold*, 1875, [Fig. 141] and works Whistler referred to as 'harmonies', as well as the work of Moore, Strudwick, and Stanhope, thereby bringing together 'the ideas of the *quattrocentists*, and the philosophies of decorative treatment and two-dimensionality of all these artists,' including Aestheticism and Symbolism, in an environment which cultivated the atmosphere of an

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457 Ibid., p. 72.
elite, private venue in contrast to the RA. Indeed, foreign artists were represented at the Grosvenor, and *L’Apparition*, c.1874-6, by Gustav Moreau [Fig. 142], representing Salomé, another biblical *femme fatale*, was exhibited in its inaugural year as well. In fact, Moreau painted both *Eve*, c.1880-85 [Fig. 143] and the Virgin Mary, *Fleur mystique*, c.1890 [Fig. 144].

Initially a rival to the Grosvenor Gallery, the New Gallery was established in 1888 and might be seen to have picked up where the Grosvenor was about to leave off. Financial difficulties following the collapse of Coutts Lindsay’s marriage to his wife Blanche in the 1880s ultimately necessitated the closing of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890. During the final years of its operation, Coutts Lindsay’s co-directors, artist Charles Hallé and author Joseph Comyns Carr, aired their grievances in the *Times*, resigned and founded the New Gallery. The standards and reputation of the Grosvenor declined due to the financial strain experienced by Lindsay; Burne-Jones complained in a letter to Hallé, upon his withdrawal from the gallery, that the ‘club rooms and concert rooms’ were too readily hired for evening parties, thereby degrading the ‘palace of art.’

Burne-Jones and Watts were among the most prominent contemporary English artists featured at the New Gallery, as they had been at the Grosvenor Gallery. Burne-Jones exhibited a sketch for the *Star of Bethlehem*, another well-known Victorian painting of the Madonna, in 1881. In 1891-2 a series of paintings of Eve were among the

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works included in a solo exhibition of the works of Watts.\textsuperscript{460} Both versions of the Annunciation by Burne-Jones were included in a solo exhibition of his work held in 1892.\textsuperscript{461} At the New Gallery, five paintings of Eve and 19 paintings of the Madonna were exhibited. This represents a proportion of approximately 21\%:79\%. The New Gallery was a venue where a relatively high number of Madonna subjects were exhibited. With the exception of the first three years in operation, 1888-90 and 1895, the Madonna was represented by one, often two or even three works per year; for a total of at least twenty-one pictures representing her from 1891-1901. Apart from the Annunciations by Burne-Jones, versions of the Annunciation by the following artists were exhibited from 1892-1901: Clement O. Skilbeck, Walter Spindler, Stanhope, Arthur J. Gaskin and Henry Ryland.\textsuperscript{462} Another well-known Madonna subject shown at the New Gallery was The Prioress’s Tale by Burne-Jones, exhibited in 1898. This painting is unique among all of the Victorian Madonna subjects catalogued in the course of researching this dissertation for the representation of a ‘miracle.’ The Madonna is not represented in a scene form the life of Jesus, or even in her own lifetime, but in a miraculous appearance during the Middle Ages, as told by Chaucer. Overall, the New Gallery exhibited a relatively high proportion of religious subjects; approximately 4\% in its inaugural year, 1888, and therefore equal to the highest proportion of religious subject attained at the RA, in 1850. Painting, sculpture and medals were included in the annual exhibition. Paintings, however, constituted 80-90\% of the total works shown. The average total number of works exhibited at the annual summer exhibition was 440, with a low of 347 the year the gallery was founded and a high of 513 in 1898. If the Victorian age was one of

\textsuperscript{460} NG Cat. 1891-2, no. 76, 87, 152, 154.
\textsuperscript{461} NG Cat. 1892, no. 5 & 32.
\textsuperscript{462} NG Cat. 1892, no. 307, NG Cat. 1893, no. 331, NG Cat. 1894, no. 1, NG Cat. 1898, no. 132 & 292.
contradictions, this is particularly evinced by the unexpectedly high proportion of religious subjects exhibited at progressive venues late in the century.

The New English Art Club (NEAC) was established in 1886 when approximately fifty artists mounted to rival the Academic idiom by demonstrating a modern French influence. The inaugural exhibition catalogue stated that the fifty founding members were 'united in their art sympathies' and 'associated themselves together with the view of holding an Annual Exhibition, hoping that a collective display of their works, which has hitherto been impossible, will prove not only of interest to the public, but will better explain the aim and method of their art.' The founding members of the NEAC were painters that had studied and worked in Paris, La Thangue and Clausen for example, and were inspired by the rustic, naturalistic painters of the Salon, such as Bastien-Lepage as well as Whistler. Both Clausen and Bastien-Lepage exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in the 1880s. The broad 'square brush' technique of contemporary French painting informed the initial NEAC idiom. Shortly after the founding of the society, however, an 'Impressionist clique,' led by Walter Sickert, took over in 1888. Although founded in the interests of 'reforming the selection process at the Royal Academy' and to create a 'national movement' that would rival the RA, the NEAC, like the New Gallery, was ultimately intertwined with the RA; NEAC members such as Clausen were prominent exhibitors at the RA, where Clausen eventually became a popular Professor of Painting in

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464 Bastien-Lepage exhibited two religious subjects in 1880; one representing ritual, La Communion and the Biblical picture The Annunciation to the Shepherds.
Sargent had been aligned with the NEAC but also exhibited at the RA and became an Associate of the Royal Academy. The 'London Impressionists' exerted a monopoly on the NEAC that resulted in the resignation 'en masse' of the Newlyn artists and others, including the Glasgow Boys, a loosely associated group of Scottish artists who, rejecting Academicism looked rather to the realism of Scottish painters such as Thomas Faed.\footnote{66}

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the NEAC's dedication to modern French techniques, the popular appeal of Pre-Raphaelite art, even to NEAC visitors, is evinced by an advertisement in the 1894 NEAC exhibition catalogue stating that 'photographs of the works of E(dward) B(urne-) J(ones), Bart., G.F. Watts, R.A. and D.G. Rossetti (\textit{Beata Beatrix & Dante's Dream})' were available from Frederick Hollyer (9 Pembroke Square, Kensington.) The NEAC was also notable for instituting bi-annual exhibitions. From 1894 the Club held two exhibitions per year; one in spring-summer and a winter exhibition in December was also instituted.

During the Victorian years an average of approximately 100 paintings in total were exhibited each year at the NEAC and only a handful, some half dozen religious subjects were among them, one of which might have included the Madonna; \textit{For a Holy Family} by Solomon Joseph Solomon was exhibited in 1886.\footnote{67} \textit{The Proverbs}, by Fred Hall in Newlyn, was exhibited in 1887 and may have represented a genre scene of

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worship, perhaps reading the Bible or at prayer.\textsuperscript{469} The following year, 1888, \textit{The Return of the Prodigal} by Charles Hazelwood Shannon was exhibited.\textsuperscript{470} Some ten years later, in 1896 and 1897, two paintings relating to the lives of saints were exhibited: \textit{The legend of St. Cuthbert and the Dun Cow}, by Robert Spence, and \textit{St. Anthony and the Satyr}, by Roger Fry.\textsuperscript{471}

The NEAC exhibition catalogues arguably demonstrate that when modern life was represented with modern painting techniques, religious subjects finally began to lose their footing, although in France, religious subjects were represented in modern painting by artists such as Gauguin and Maurice Denis. In late nineteenth-century England, religious subjects persisted predominantly in the work of those who might be loosely referred to as followers of the Pre-Raphaelites. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century religious subjects were the domain of an Aesthetic or late Pre-Raphaelite manner characterized by an idiom informed by reinterpretation of Renaissance or mediaeval art of the fifteenth century. \textit{The Expulsion}, 1900, by Stanhope [Fig. 86] demonstrates the former and \textit{The Annunciation: 'Hail thou art highly favoured!'}, c.1899, by Parsons [Fig. 12] demonstrates the latter. Orientalist treatments of religious subjects persisted to the turn of the century in the form of paintings such as \textit{An Evening in Nazareth}, 1900, by Schmalz and \textit{The Flight into Egypt}, 1900, by Simon Vedder, for example.

\textit{Victrian} \\
\textbf{Charting the Madonna}

Unexpected conclusions can be drawn from the data gathered for this study about the quantity and types of the Madonna exhibited; for example, the Madonna was a greater

\textsuperscript{469} NEAC Cat. 1887, no. 12. \\
\textsuperscript{470} NEAC Cat. 1888, no. 26. \\
\textsuperscript{471} NEAC Cat. 1896, no. 4, NEAC Cat. 1897, no. 74.
artistic presence in the late nineteenth century London exhibitions than she had been in the early Victorian years. Surprisingly, the frequency with which the Madonna was represented as late as the 1890s, more than two-dozen, is roughly equal to that of the high frequency of subjects inclusive of the Madonna exhibited in the 1840s and 1850s, when religious subjects overall were generally more pervasive. A decline occurred in the 1860s through 1880s, however, with the number dropping from approximately twenty in the 1860s to half that, some ten, by the 1880s. Following the high numbers which occurred in the 1890s, the final years of the Victoria’s reign, 1900-01, saw more than a dozen pictures of the Madonna; a high proportion in a short time, relative to the averages over the course of the years examined (1838-1901). Relative to the quantity of paintings produced, the Victorian Madonna was very rarely exhibited in sculptural form; only once, or, occasionally, twice per year. In the 1860s, however, the number peaked, and more than half a dozen, some eight, sculptural works representing the Madonna were exhibited, perhaps reflecting an increase in British sculpture at or from this time.

Subject categories in which the Virgin Mary was represented include: Annunciation, Madonna, Madonna and Child, Nativity or Adoration, ‘Holy Family’, Flight into Egypt, and various other scenes from the youth of Jesus. Pictures with titles that refer only to a Madonna may represent a Madonna and Child, but without images to examine this is uncertain. In an overwhelmingly Protestant culture, representations of the sole Madonna may have been undesirable but representations of the Madonna and Child would underline her supporting role as the mother of God. The aspect of the Madonna referred to most in Victorian painting is that of Divine motherhood; Jameson opened the first chapter of Legends of the Madonna with the acknowledgement that ‘No doubt it was
as the mother of the Saviour Christ that she was first venerated.\footnote{Jameson, 1899, p. 17.}\footnote{\mbox{37} images have been identified out of the \mbox{151} titles identified from the Victorian London exhibition venues; therefore \mbox{24.5\%} of the pictures can be illustrated.}\footnote{\mbox{Jameson, 1899, p. 45.}}\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. xxii.}\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 45.}\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 319.}\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 319.} Originals have been located or images identified of approximately one quarter of the total works representing the Madonna in the nineteenth-century exhibition catalogues of London venues researched.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 45.} These works demonstrate that Victorian images of the Virgin Mary tended to represent her role as the mother of Jesus; a characterization that is in line with the Protestant and patriarchal English nineteenth-century society in which these art works were produced and exhibited. Jameson spoke of the Madonna as an embodiment of the ‘sanctification of simplicity, gentleness, maternal love and heroic fortitude.’\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 319.} Warner, however, contends that ‘in the very celebration of the perfect human woman, both humanity and women were subtly denigrated.’\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 45.} Jameson articulated qualities associated with the Madonna as something with which Victorian women might identify, particularly maternal devotion.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. xxii.} Describing the subject of the Nativity, Jameson conjured the words of seventeenth-century Churchman and devotional writer Jeremy Taylor: ‘She blessed him, she worshipped him, and she thanked him that he would be born of her,’ as, indeed, she posited, ‘many a young mother’ must have done whilst hanging ‘in adoration over the cradle of her first-born child.’ \footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 319.}

The two subjects that occurred most frequently from 1838-1850 were the Flight into Egypt and the Madonna and Child. There were a greater number of titles that simply refer solely to the Madonna than any other subject inclusive of Mary: approximately 45 titles refer variously to works identified as simply \textit{A Madonna, The Holy Virgin,} or \textit{Mary.}
After the sole Madonna titles, the Annunciation, the Madonna and Child, and the Rest on the Flight to Egypt were the most prevalent subjects among works representing the Virgin Mary, all occurring in equal proportion to one another among the venues studied. The subjects of the Flight into Egypt and the Madonna and Child occur in equal proportion to one another throughout the Victorian era, although they both dip in proportion to other subjects in the latter half of the century, such as the Annunciation and titles referring solely to the Madonna.

Charting the Victorian Eve

The frequency of works representing Eve was particularly strong during two periods of the nineteenth century: the 1850s, when the quantity of works exhibited divided evenly between paintings and sculpture, and the latter half of the nineteenth century, specifically the fourth quarter, when Eve was represented primarily in oil paintings. The subject was at its lowest in the 1840s and 1860s. During the 1860s, only one painting of Eve was exhibited; normally, however, the quantity of paintings was only slightly greater than that of sculptural works. The number of Eve subjects was particularly high during the 1850s and again 1870-1890s.\textsuperscript{478} Similarly, the number of Madonna subjects exhibited was particularly high during the 1850s and again in the 1890s.

The primary varieties of Victorian Eve subjects are: 'Talmudic Eve', or, Eve's predecessor, Lilith, the Creation/Birth of Eve, Adam and Eve, Eve Tempted, and the Denunciation/Expulsion of Adam and Eve, and After the Fall. A type of 'New Testament

\textsuperscript{478} In the 1890s, the quantity of paintings overwhelmingly outnumbered that of sculptural works due to the exhibition of a series of oils by Watts.
Eve’ can be identified in the ancillary role Eve plays in the iconography Annunciation; this is through reference to the Fall represented in elements of decorative art included in the background. The data collected for this study from the nineteenth-century exhibition catalogues demonstrates that Milton’s Eve of the seventeenth-century epic poem Paradise Lost provided a significant source of inspiration in Victorian art inspired, in part, by the profound influence it had upon the Romantics. Lastly, the subject of ‘Daughters of Eve’ specifically identified women as Eve’s ‘descendants’ and was represented in a variety of time periods, including the nineteenth century. Overall, among the varieties of style demonstrated by the Victorian works representing Eve illustrated in this study one can identify Academicism, reflecting both English and European manners, and Pre-Raphaelitism, Aestheticism, Symbolism, and, arguably, early modern tendencies in the art of Watts, for example.

Shifting Values

During a period popularly referred to as one defined by a ‘crisis of faith’, the persistence of religious painting throughout the nineteenth century bears witness to continued engagement with these two Biblical icons.479 Religious painting ‘was regarded as an instrument to elevate the taste and moral faculties of painters and audiences alike.480 Theologian, Evangelical pastor and author P.T. Forsyth wrote in 1889 that ‘the deepest influences on the art of our Victorian era have been religious influences.’481 This

479 Fraser, 1986, p. 2.
481 Forsyth, 1889, p. 188. Peter Taylor Forsyth (1848-1921) was a Congregationalist (Evangelical) theologian, a pastor and author.
study demonstrates a trajectory whereby the narrative, didactic characteristics of early-mid Victorian art arguably gave way to an increasingly aestheticising and secularized approach to religious subjects in the late Victorian years, or, the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. While religious art is a particular genre, the trends within it can be said to demonstrate more general movements in nineteenth-century art. Forsyth concluded *Religion in Recent Art* (1889) by advising that he found it necessary to analyze pictures, 'just as the best preaching analyses its text' and informed his readers: 'I have treated the artists as teachers, not entertainers.' Forsyth's approach underlines the fact that Victorians invested art with a morally instructive purpose and the ratio of works exhibited could be interpreted as, or represents, an imperative to celebrate the Madonna over Eve. Alternatively, as a painter active during the latter half of the nineteenth-century, Watts, was 'deeply spiritual' and even 'interested in the mystical,' but he was 'mistrustful of formalized religion' as well as 'unconvinced by the supernatural claims of theosophy.' Watts adapted a traditional, even anti-feminist subject to the modern day when he redefined Eve as a positive, dynamic figure in *She shall be called woman*; representing her as creative energy, and, at the same time, light, dark, oil and pigment. He redefined religious mythology and demonstrated a modern impulse by asserting the medium. Watts stated:

'I see a very noble expression of Art in the visionary, very monumental & even splendid, not religion in the ordinary sense having nothing to do with any sort of dogma, but touching the highest & I think the truest religious sensibilities, suggestively touching philosophical imagination.'

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484 Watts substituted the word 'dogman' for dogma in the original text. Letter to W.J. Stillman, 14 January, 1885 (Schafer Library, Union College: WJS 584) cited in *The Vision of G.F. Watts, OM, RA (1817-1904).*
At the turn of the century, a shift has been identified as occurring, from Marx to Freud, whereby, 'the search for and understanding of the ills that plague mankind tended to be translated from the public and sociological domain to the private and psychological one.' Baudelaire identified imagination as the 'queen of faculties,' and Symbolist artists were among those who 'revolted against a materialist viewpoint' and Symbolist painting 'gained in expressive power through an emphasis upon sounds, rhythms or colours employed, over and above what was represented.' Hugh MacMillan, a contemporary admirer of Watts described his palette;

His colours, like the colour of the veils of the ancient tabernacle, like the hues of the jeweled walls of the New Jerusalem, are invested with a parabolic significance...To the commonest hues he gives a tone beyond their ordinary power.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, art was increasingly 'no longer explicit' but became inclined to the 'suggestive and expressive' and the 'evocation of the mental and spiritual experience of the individual, a rejection of the visible world in favour of the visionary.'

A striking degree of originality in the treatment of religious subjects can be found in the work of both Watts, as we have seen, and that of Solomon. Solomon's innovative representation of The Annunciation, 1892 [Fig. 17], discarded didactic purpose and narrative context, even blurring the boundaries of male and female, celestial being and human, representing a moment of apparently wordless spiritual dialogue between two

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485 p. xxiii.
487 Lucie-Smith, 1972, p. 50.
488 Ibid., p. 10.
enigmatic bust-length figures in profile against a blue ground.489 Watts’ version of the creation of Eve, ‘She shall be called woman,’ c.1875-92 [Fig. 1], similarly disengages the subject from the narrative context, even eschewing sexual identification to some degree, in order to transcend didacticism in favor of symbolism. Symbolist art was characterized mainly by its thematic concerns rather than a unifying idiom. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Symbolist disengagement of subject from context signifies a release from the constraints of narrative and didacticism; echoed by the concomitant autonomy of the medium from the demands of representation.

Rossetti conjured early Italian art in Ecce Ancilla Domini!, 1850 [Fig. 3], Burne-Jones revisited both Medieval and Classical models in works that reflect Gothic Revival and Aesthetic impulses, such as the Annunciation, 1863 [Fig. 48], and the Annunciation, 1879 [Fig. 4]. Stanhope similarly represented both Medieval influences and Aesthetic concerns in the Flight into Egypt, 1862 [Fig. 13], and Eve Tempted, 1879 [Fig. 14]; one of the few artists from this study to paint both the Madonna and Eve. Burne-Jones, however, is perhaps the most famous British artist to have painted both the Madonna and Eve, at least the most famous since Blake, who, famously, painted them both as well. Hunt and Goodall painted ‘historical’ and Orientalist Madonnas; Holy Mother, 1875 [Fig. 78] with similar concerns to those painted by Tissot and Tanner, who were painting in France and also traveling to the Middle East. Solomon and Watts, however, endeavoured to turn religious imagery inside out, reducing traditional types such as the Annunciation or the Creation of Eve, respectively, to visionary emblems of emotional and spiritual states.

Mid-to-late nineteenth-century Britain seems generally to have produced art that increasingly eschewed the literality of the advancing, material world. This can be charted from the mid-nineteenth-century revival of early art, associated with the Pre-Raphaelites, through the detachment from narrative and the attention to the 'sensible' effected by Aestheticism, to the anti-Realist concerns which emerged as Symbolist attitudes in the 1880s and the acknowledgement of material and process which characterized early modern concerns. In England, the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century were increasingly characterized by detachment from the literal and external, from narrative and the didactic. In their place, one finds the increasing influence of 'art for art's sake,' imagination, and engagement with, or assertion of, the medium and process of art-making itself, to a lesser degree than movements in European modernism.

Conclusion

In late nineteenth-century England, religious subjects persisted predominantly in the work of those who might be loosely referred to as followers of the Pre-Raphaelites, including Aesthetic painters. Eve and Madonna subjects occurred at a ratio of approximately 1:3 or 1:4. The ratio remained surprisingly consistent and varied only slightly throughout the Victorian era; even at the variety of sites examined. Surprisingly, the Madonna was a greater artistic presence in the late nineteenth century than she had been in the early Victorian years, in spite of the 'crisis of faith' associated with the late nineteenth century.

Although the RA was the premier exhibition venue and represented the art establishment, private, alternative sites, such as the Dudley, Grosvenor and New
Galleries, emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was in these galleries that real changes in style can be observed; in 1867, *Rosa Mystica*, by Solomon was the first oil of the Madonna to be exhibited at the Dudley Gallery. In 1873, *Eve (one of a series of designs for large Pictures)*, by Watts, was the first oil of Eve to be exhibited at the Dudley Gallery.

In 1894, Wood identified art as a site where ‘the strife of the new thought with the old language is begun.’ Victorian representations of the Madonna and Eve, archetypes who retained the essential qualities with which they are traditionally invested, such as the purity and sanctified maternal love of the former, and the sensuality and morbidity associated with the latter, demonstrate that the way in which they, in particular, were represented during the nineteenth century reflects the broader concerns of the art of the time. The constraints of a prescribed moral or didactic purpose of early-mid nineteenth-century religious art were loosened by Aestheticism in works such as *Mary Magdalene*, 1858-60, by Sandys, *Rosa Mystica*, 1867, by Solomon, or *Lady Lilith*, 1864-68, by Rossetti. Pater was concerned with the possibility of an art that refuses subservience to ‘reality’ in the form of...visual realism,’ for example. Indeed, Watts stated ‘I paint ideas, not things.’ In the 1880s, Symbolism emerged, characterized by a preoccupation with emotions, dream states, mythologies and religion, innocence, sin, beauty,

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490 DG Cat. 1867, no. 3. DG Cat. 1873, no. 75.
491 Wood, 1894, p. 10.
motherhood, sex, disease, death. Although they were traditional, religious figures, the Madonna and Eve were each emblematic of and were invested with some of these fin-de-siècle themes by artists such as Watts. Increasingly detached from their original biblical narratives, the figures of both Eve and the Madonna persisted; the former as a figure in an expanding repertoire in European painting which manifested sex and death through woman in the form of vampires, sphinxes, or Salomé, and the latter enduring in secularized form, such as one finds in the work of Maddox Brown (Pretty Baa-Lambs, 1851-9, a modern Madonna of the Meadow type), Faed, and Mary Cassatt. Art by the turn of the century, often no longer explicitly religious, favoured mystery and symbolism over the early-mid-century narrative purpose with which religious art was invested, and, in Europe, endeavored to engage with materiality and process beyond that which the work of Watts at times revealed. The Madonna type, therefore, persisted, even as new artistic styles emerged and values shifted in the latter half of the century; a problematic figure for the modern mind to reconcile with.

In The Modernist Madonna: Semiotics of the Maternal Metaphor, Jane Silverman Van Buren cautioned that, 'in a culture or society that dichotomizes gender identity and roles,' such as Victorian society, the identification of the mother could represent a sign of 'limited womanhood.'\textsuperscript{495} Warner asserts that in the very celebration of the perfect human woman, both humanity and women were subtly denigrated.\textsuperscript{496} One turns from the sinful, degraded characterization of Eve to find that the price of the esteem associated with the Madonna is chastity and obedience: Eve and the Virgin Mary are polarized female characterizations rather than psychically integrated subjects. St. Jerome articulated the

\textsuperscript{496} Warner, 1976, p. xxi.
antithetic relationship between the two biblical female archetypes of evil and good with
the ‘formula’ of ‘Death through Eve, Life through Mary,’ and broadly generalized by St.
Augustine; ‘through woman, death; through woman life.’ Cultural anthropologist
Joseph Campbell explained: ‘in the Bible, eternity withdraws, and nature is corrupt,
nature has fallen’ and ‘in biblical thinking we live in exile.’ Eve, Campbell asserted, is
responsible for our free will; she delivered our consciousness and rendered our ‘eyes
opened’ so that we may be ‘as gods’ and author our own existence. Campbell asserted
that once one rejects the Fall, as such, ‘man is not cut off from his source’. Campbell
affirmed that ‘Woman brings life into the world’, even in the myth of the Fall: ‘The idea
in biblical tradition of the Fall is that nature as we know it is corrupt, sex in itself is
corrupt, and the female as the epitome of sex is a corrupter.’ Campbell challenged these
negative connotations: ‘Why was the knowledge of good and evil forbidden to Adam and
Eve?’, it is infantilizing; without knowledge, he asserted, we would be incapable of any
real ‘participation in life.’

I would agree with Silverman Van Buren that the dichotomization of gender roles
effects a limited notion of womanhood, effecting a kind of social tyranny that John Stuart
Mill famously opposed. I would agree, too, in spite of Jameson’s efforts to empower
women by association with the Madonna, with Warner’s assertion that women were,
paradoxically, ‘subtly denigrated’ by idealism, such as that of Ruskin and Carlyle.

Finally, Campbell’s enlightened interpretation of the myth of the Fall affirms that the

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cited in Grössinger, C. Picturing Women in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Art, Manchester and New
498 Joseph Campbell and Bill Moyers, Joseph Campbell: The Power of Myth with Bill Moyers (ed. B.S.
499 Ibid., p. 25.
500 Ibid., p. 47.
501 Ibid., p. 47.
legacy of the biblical mythology of Eve is one of having delivered our consciousness, and
that, subsequently, on multiple levels, 'Woman brings life into the world.'\footnote{Ibid., p. 47.}

Appendix A

\textbf{Eden Bower}

It was Lilith the wife of Adam:
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Not a drop of blood was human,
But she was made like a soft sweet woman.

Lilith stood on the out skirts of Eden;
(Alas the hour!)
She was the first that thence was driven;
With her was hell and with Eve was Heaven.
In the ear of the snake said Lilith: -  
(Sing Eden Bower!)  
“To thee I come when the rest is over;  
A snake was I when thou wast my lover.

“I was the fairest snake in Eden:  
(Alas the hour!)  
By the Earth’s will, new form and feature  
Made me a wife of the earth’s new creature.

“Take me thou as I come from Adam:  
(Sing Eden Bower!)  
Once again shall my love subdue thee;  
The past is past and I am come to thee.

“Oh but Adam was thrall to Lilith!  
(Alas the hour!)  
All the threads of my hair are golden,  
And there in a net his heart was holden.

“O and Lilith was queen of Adam!  
(Sing Eden Bower!)  
All the day and night together  
My breath could shake his soul like a feather.

“What great joys had Adam and Lilith! --  
(Alas the hour!)  
Sweet close rings of the serpent’s twining,  
As heart in heart lay sighing and pining.

“What bright babes had Lilith and Adam! --  
(Sing Eden Bower!)  
Shapes that coiled in the woods and waters,  
Glittering sons and radiant daughters.  
“O thou God, the Lord God of Eden!  
(Alas the hour!)  
Say, was this fair body for no man,  
That of Adam’s flesh thou mak’st him a woman?

“O thou Snake, the King-snake of Eden!  
(Sing Eden Bower!)  
God’s strong will our necks are under,  
But thou and I may cleave it sunder.

“Help, sweet Snake, sweet lover of Lilith!  
(Alas the hour!)
And let God learn how I loved and hated
Man in the image of God created.

"Help me once against Eve and Adam!
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Help me once for this one endeavour,
And then my love shall be thine for ever!

"Strong is God, the fell foe of Lilith:
(Alas the hour!)
Nought in heaven or earth may afeit him;
But join thou with me and we will smite him.

"Strong is God, the great God of Eden:
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Over all He made He hath power;
But lend me thou thy shape for an hour!

"Lend thy shape for the love of Lilith!
(Alas the hour!)
Look, my mouth and my cheek are ruddy,
And thou art cold, and fire is my body.

"Lend thy shape for the shame of Eden!
(Sing Eden Bower!)
That he may wail my joy that forsook him,
And curse the day when the bride-sleep took him.

"Lend thy shape for the shame of Eden!
(Alas the hour!)
Is not the foe-God weak as the foeman
When love grows hate in the heart of a woman?

"Would'st thou know the heart's hope of Lilith?
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Then bring thou close thine head till it glisten
Along my breast, and lip me and listen.

"Am I sweet, O sweet snake of Eden?
(Alas the hour!)
Then ope thine ear to my warm mouth's cooing
And learn what deed remains for our doing.

"Thou didst hear when God said to Adam: -
(Sing Eden Bower!)
‘Of all this wealth I have made thee warden;
Thou’rt free to eat of the trees of the garden:

“All that I hold in Eden;
(Alas the hour!)
All save one I give to thy freewill,-
The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.”

“O my love, come nearer to Lilith!
(Sing Eden Bower!)  
In thy sweet folds bind me and bend me,
And let me feel the shape thou shalt lend me!

“In thy shape I’ll go back to Eden;
(Alas the hour!)
In these coils that Tree I will grapple
And stretch this crowned head forth by the apple.

“Lo, Eve bends to the breath of Lilith!
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Oh how then shall my heart desire
All her blood as food to its fire!

“Lo, Eve bends to the words of Lilith!—
(Alas the hour!)
“Nay, this Tree’s fruit, - why should ye hate it,
Or Death be born the day that ye ate it?

“Nay, but on that great day in Eden,
(Sing Eden Bower!)
By the help that in this wise Tree is,
God knows well ye shall be as he is.”

“Then Eve shall eat and give unto Adam,
(Alas the hour!)
And then they both shall know they are naked,
And their hearts ache as my heart hath ached.

“Aye, let them hide amid the trees of Eden
(Sing Eden Bower!)
As in the cool of the day in the garden
God shall walk without pity or pardon.

“Hear thou Eve, the man’s heart in Adam!
(Alas the hour!)
Of his brave words hark to the bravest:-
‘This the woman gave that thou gavest.’

“Hear Eve speak, yea list to her, Lilith!
(Alas the hour!)
Feast thine heart with words that shall sate it –
‘This serpent gave and I ate it.’

“O, proud Eve, cling close to thine Adam,
(Alas the hour!)
Driven forth as the beasts of his naming
By the sword that forever is flaming.

“Know, thy path is known unto Lilith!
(Sing Eden Bower!)
While the blithe birds sang at thy wedding,
There her tears grew thorns for thy treading.

“O my love, thou Love-sake of Eden!
(Alas the hour!)
O to-day and the day to come after!
Loose me, love – give breath to my laughter.

“O bright snake, the Death-worm of Adam!
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Wreathe thy neck with my hair’s bright tether,
And wear my gold and thy gold together!

“On that day on the skirts of Eden,
(Alas the hour!)
How shall we mingle our love’s caresses,
I in thy coils, and thou in my tresses!
“With those names, ye echos of Eden,
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Fire shall cry from my mouth that burneth, -
‘Dust he is, and to dust returneth!’

“Yet to-day, thou master of Lilith, -
(Alas the hour!)
Wrap me round in the form I’ll borrow
And let me tell thee of sweet to-morrow.

“In the planted garden eastward in Eden,
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Where the river goes forth to water the garden,
The springs shall dry up and the soil shall harden.
"Yea, where the bride-sleep fell upon Adam,
(Alas the hour!)
None shall hear when the storm wind whistles
Through roses choked among thorns and thistles.

"Yea, beside the east-gate of Eden,
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Where God joined them and none might sever,
The sword turns this way and that forever.

"What of Adam cast out of Eden?
(Alas the hour!)
Lo! with care like a shadow shaken
He tills the hard earth whence he was taken.

"What of Eve too, cast out of Eden?
(Sing Eden Bower!)
Nay, but she, the bride of God's giving,
Must ye be the mother of all men living.

"Lo, God's grace, by the grace of Lilith!
(Alas the hour!)
To Eve's womb, from our sweet to-morrow,
God shall greatly multiply sorrow.

"Fold me fast, O God-snake of Eden!
(Sing Eden Bower!)
What more prize than love to impel thee?
Grip and lip my limbs as I tell thee!
"Lo! Two babes for Eve and for Adam!
(Alas the hour!)
Lo! Sweet Snake, the travail and treasure,-
Two men-children born for their pleasure!

"The first is Cain and the second Abel:
(Sing Eden Bower!)
The soul of one shall be made thy brother,
And thy tongue shall lap the blood of the other."
(Alas the hour!)

D.G. Rossetti
Appendix B

LEGENDS OF EXILE
FIRST SERIES.
MAN AND WOMAN.

"Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels." Psalm viii.

I. THE LEGEND OF POETRY.

1: Adam and Eve, cast out of Paradise,
2: Wander'd along the wilderness forlorn,
3: Till all its unfamiliar sands and skies
4: Were one dim solitude without a bourne.
5: Then Eve, outwearied, sank upon the ground;
6: And, where she fell, motionless she remain'd.
7: Adam had climb'd a little barren mound
8: A few steps farther. There he stood, and strain'd
9: His backward gaze to the forbidden bound
10: Of Eden. Still their banish'd lord could see,
11: Though faint in fading light, the happy bowers
12: Where nevermore his fallen mate and he
13: Might roam or rest, renewing griefless hours;
14: And Adam groan'd.

14: Meanwhile, unheard, unview'd,
15: Jehovah's arm'd Archangel, from the gate
16: He had shut forever, adown the solitude
17: And darkness of that world all desolate
18: The footsteps of the fugitives pursued.
19: Sudden he stood by Adam's side, and said,
20: "Man, thou hast far to go. It is not good
21: To look behind thee. Forward turn thy head!
22: Thither thy way lies." And the man replied
23: "I cannot." "What thou canst thou knowest not,"
24: The Archangel answer'd, "for thou hast not tried.
25: But trial is henceforth Man's earthly lot,
26: And what he must he can do," Adam cried
27: "What must I?" "Thou hast set aside God's word,
28: But canst not," said the Angel, "set aside
29: Necessity; whose bidding, tho' abhor'd,
30: Obey thou must." And Adam ask'd in awe

31: "Is then Necessity another Lord?"
32: The Angel answer'd "Tis another Law."
33: "Another Law! But me thy sweeping sword
34: Hath left not," Adam mutter'd, "hap what may,
35: Another Paradise to forfeit still.
36: What if that other Law I disobey?"
37: "Thou canst not," sigh'd the Seraph, "for thy will
38: Hath lost its freedom, which was yesterday
39: A part of Paradise. For good or ill
40: Necessity controls it. Wretch, thou art
41: Weary already, and thou fain wouldst sleep,
42: Yet sleep thou dost not, tho' thine eyelids smart
43: With the unwilling vigil they must keep;
44: 'Tis thy necessity to think and wake.
45: To-morrow, thou wouldst wake and think. In vain!
46: Slumber unwill'd thy thoughts shall overtake,
47: And sleep thou shalt, tho' sleep thou wouldst not. Pain
48: Thou wouldst avoid, yet pain shall be thy lot.

49: Thou wouldst go forth—Necessity forbids,
50: Chains fast thy weakness to one hated spot,
51: And on thy shut wish locks her iron lids.
52: Thou wouldst know one thing, yet shalt know it not.
53: Thou wouldst be ignorant of another thing,
54: Yet canst not choose but know it. Unforget
55: To thy reluctant memory shall cling
56: What thou wouldst fain forget, forgotten fleet
57: From foil'd remembrance on evasive wing
58: What thou wouldst fain remember. Change or cheat
59: Necessity, thou canst not."

59: Shuddering
60: Adam crouch'd low at the Archangel's feet,
61: And cried "Whate'er I must be, and whate'er
62: I can be, aid, O aid me, to forget
63: What I no longer may be! Even this bare
64: In hospitable wilderness might yet

65: To unremembering eyes seem all as fair
66: As Eden's self, nor should I more repine
67: Were I once more unable to compare."
68: "Poor wretch," the Angel said, "wouldst thou resign
69: All that remains to thee of Paradise?"
70: "Of Paradise is anything still mine?"
71: Sigh'd Adam, and the Angel answer'd "Yes,
72: The memory of it." "Thence," he groan'd, "arise
73: My sharpest torments. I should suffer less
If I could cease to miss what I survive."
"Wouldst thou the gift, then, of forgetfulness?"
The Seraph ask'd. And Adam cried, "Give! give!"
With looks uplift, that search'd the deeps of heaven,
Silent the Angel stood, till, as it were,
In response from the source of glory given
To that seraphic gaze, which was a prayer,
Reörient thro' the rifted dark, and high

O'er Eden, rose the dawn of such a day
As nevermore man's mourning eyes shall bless
With beauty that hath wither'd from his way,
And gladness that is gone beyond his guess.
The panting Paradise beneath it lay
Beatified in the divine caress
Of its effulgence; and, with fervid sigh,
All Eden's folded labyrinths open'd wide
Abysm within abysm of loveliness.
Thither the Archangel pointed, and replied:
"Adam, once more look yonder! Fix thine eye
Upon the guarded happiness denied
To the denial of its guardian law.
Contemplate thy lost Eden—the last time!"

And Adam lifted up his face, and saw
Far off the bowery lawns and blissful streams
Of Eden, fair as in his sinless prime,

And fairer than to love forbidden seems
The long'd-for face whose lips in dreams requite
Adoring sighs that, save in passionate dreams,
Are disallow'd idolatries. Dark night
Elsewhere above the lifeless waste was spread,
As o'er a dead face the blindfolding pall.
"Seest thou thy sinless past?" the Angel said.
And Adam moan'd, "All, all! I see it all,
And know it mine no more!"

His helmèd head,
As in obedience to some high command
Deliver'd to him by no audible word,
The Archangel bow'd. Then, with decisive hand,
He seized and drew his formidable sword.
Thro' night's black bosom burn'd the plunging brand;
Two-edgèd fires, the lightnings of the Lord,
Flasht from its fervid blade, below, above,
And, where their brilliance thro' the darkness broke,
Clear from the zenith to the nadir clove
Man's sunder'd universe. At one dread stroke
The Archangelic sword had hewn in twain
The substance of Eternity.
There ran
The pang and shudder of a fierce surprise
Thro' Adam's soul; and then he slept again
As he had slept before, when he (likewise
In twain divided—Man and Woman) began
His double being.

Upon the night-bound plain,
In two vast fragments, each a dim surmise,
Eternity had fallen—one part toward man,
The other part toward man's lost Paradise.
The light of Eden by its fall was crost,
And in its shadow vanish'd—save one gleam
Of faintly-lingering glory that was lost
In Adam's slumber, and became—A Dream.

Adam had lost his memory by the stroke
Of that celestial sword's transfixing flame,
And so forgot his dream when he awoke.
Yet did its unremember'd secret claim
Release from dull oblivion's daily yoke
In moments rare. He knew not whence they came,
Nor was it in his power to reinvoke
Their coming: but at times thro' all his frame
He felt them, like an inward voice that spoke
Of things which have on earth no utter'd name;
And sometimes like a sudden light they broke
Upon his darkest hours, and put to shame
His dull despondency, his fierce unrest,
His sordid toil, and miserable strife.
These rare brief moments Adam deem'd his best,
And call'd them all The Poetry of Life.

Owen Meredith