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Editors

Defining  
Pre-Raphaelite Poetics

palgrave  
macmillan

Second Generation Pre-Raphaelitism:  
The Poetry of *The Oxford  
and Cambridge Magazine*

*Florence Boos*

Though short-lived, the 1856 *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was influential far beyond its limited initial audience. Perhaps the most ambitious English student publication of its century, it survived for a slightly longer period and attempted to survey a broader range of topics than its artistic predecessor, *The Germ* (1850).<sup>1</sup> Differentiated from other Oxford University-centered journals in its resolutely secular stance,<sup>2</sup> the magazine nonetheless aspired to an activist ethic, as Edward Burne-Jones wrote to his cousin during its planning stages: “We may do a world of good, for

<sup>1</sup>Until recently it has been difficult to access the *OCM*, which may account in part for its relative neglect in accounts of the development of literary Pre-Raphaelitism. It is now available on the Rossetti Archive, [www.rossettiarchive.org](http://www.rossettiarchive.org) and the William Morris Archive, [williammorrisarchive.lib.uiowa.edu](http://williammorrisarchive.lib.uiowa.edu) (hereafter RA and WMA).

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion of the *OCM* and religion, see Florence Boos, “A Holy Warfare Against the Age: The Essays and Tales of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 47, no. 3 (2014): 344–368.

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we start from new principles and [...] are as full of enthusiasm as the first crusaders.”<sup>3</sup> The *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* further maintained a distinctive focus on creative writing and the arts atypical for a university periodical of the time, including both poetry and stories in each issue.

As is well known, shortly after Morris and his close friend Edward Burne-Jones became acquainted with Dante Gabriel Rossetti they joined in soliciting the latter’s contributions to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (hereafter *OCM*). The resulting relationship led to Rossetti’s mentoring the younger poet in both writing and art during the period of Morris’s composition of *The Defence of Guenevere* (1858) (see Fig. 4.1).

More surprising and less noticed by later critics has been the reciprocal influence on Rossetti of his association with the *OCM*, as his three contributions to this publication—“The Blessed Damozel,” “The Staff and the Scrip,” and “The Burden of Nineveh”—show a startling stylistic advance over earlier drafts, and arguably also reflect some features of the *OCM*’s more socially critical ethos and tone. Morris’s *OCM* poems likewise show noticeably greater sophistication than his earlier youthful efforts, and during the magazine’s year-long *floruit* they developed the dramatic and narrative complexity which characterized Morris’s *Defence of Guenevere*, published only fifteen months later.

In what follows, I will examine the poetry of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, contributed by only four authors—Morris, Rossetti, William Fulford, and Georgiana MacDonald (Burne-Jones)—asking whether their poems exhibit signs of cross-influence, reflect an *avant-garde* aesthetic in form and content, or bear a thematic relationship to the *OCM*’s articles on contemporary topics such as women’s higher education and British militarism in the Crimea. In addition, since Morris and Rossetti were clearly the periodical’s major poets, I will trace the ways in which over the course of the year each improved his skill at organizing heavily symbolic narrative poetry in the service of blended erotic, spiritual, and artistic ideals, often within the framework of an idealized reformist medievalism.

<sup>3</sup> Georgiana Burne-Jones, *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* (London: Macmillan, 1904), 1:123–124.

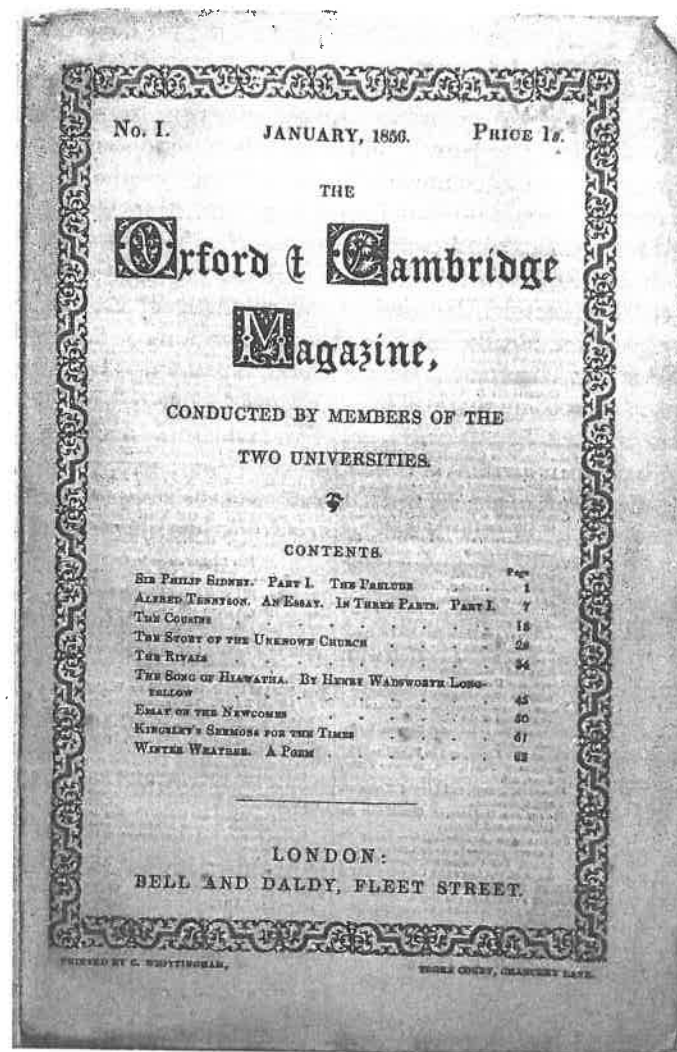


Fig. 4.1 *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (January Issue), Alderman Library, *The Rossetti Archive*

## DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI (1828–1882)

One of the *OCM*'s projectors, Cambridge undergraduate Wilfred Heeley, first invited Rossetti to contribute to the magazine sometime in late 1855.<sup>4</sup> By the time the latter's initial contribution appeared in August 1856 he had become acquainted with several of the "brothers," including Edward Burne-Jones, who had introduced himself to Rossetti at the Working Men's College in London.<sup>5</sup> Burne-Jones had also cited Rossetti favorably in the *Magazine*; in February he used a stanza from the *Germ* version of "The Blessed Damozel" as an epigraph for chapter eight of his "a Story of the North," and he devoted two long paragraphs of his January review of Thackeray's *The Newcomes* to praise of *The Germ*, which had "spoken something that will live in echoes yet" (60).<sup>6</sup> As for Rossetti himself:

Why is the author of the Blessed Damozel, and the story of Chiaro, so seldom on the lips of men? If only we could hear him oftener, live in the light of his power a little longer. (60)

And in August, Vernon Lushington's "Two Pictures" included six dense pages of praise for Rossetti's painting of the death of Beatrice—a work which had been recently rejected by the Royal Academy:

Who has done this? Who is it who has thus made new again and beautiful this old touching story, which so endears to us the memory of the great Voice of Italy?—One Dante Gabriel Rossetti. (484)

Rossetti had been touched by the praise in Burne-Jones' January review, and wrote William Allingham:

<sup>4</sup> See the headnote to "The Blessed Damozel," <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/1-1847.s244.raw.html>.

<sup>5</sup> When proposed, the magazine had at first been tentatively titled "The Brotherhood," after the informal name "The Oxford Brotherhood" assumed by the Oxford undergraduates (Burne-Jones, Morris, Charles Faulkner, William Fulford, Cormell Price, and Richard W. Dixon) who had formed a reading, writing, and discussion group. J. W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris* (London: Longmans, 1899), 1, 68.

<sup>6</sup> *OCM*, February, 95; st. 9 in the *Germ* version; there were also several epigraphs from Tennyson.

That notice in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was the most gratifying thing by far that ever happened to me—and unmistakably genuine. It turns out to be by a certain youthful Jones, one of the nicest fellows in Dreamland, for there most of the writers in that miraculous piece of literature seem to be.<sup>7</sup>

As a token of his gratitude, he offered to provide tutorials in painting, and Burne-Jones, Morris, R. W. Dixon and later another Oxonian, Valentine Prinsep, took lessons from him. In 1857, Morris, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones joined in a "Jovial Campaign" to paint murals for the Oxford Union Debating Hall, and Rossetti, six years older than Morris, began to take a keen interest in the latter's poetry. In Val Prinsep's words, "[Rossetti] was loud in the praise of Morris' and Swinburne's [poems], and always listened to them with pleasure." He remembered his first evening in Rossetti and Burne-Jones's Oxford flat, where Rossetti invited Morris to read his poems to Prinsep, for "they are devilish good." Emphasizing the oral qualities reflected in both poets' use of refrains, Morris read "in a kind of melodious growl with a considerable sing-song."<sup>8</sup>

As mentioned, Rossetti's writing also matured under the stimulus of these young admirers. Of the three poems he published in the *OCM*, two were essentially new, and the third, "The Blessed Damozel," was significantly refined, reworded, and rearranged for the occasion. The many stages of "The Blessed Damozel" included its original draft in 1846–1847, the *Germ* version in 1850, the November 1856 *OCM* text, and further-revised versions for the editions of Rossetti's *Poems* in 1870 and 1881 (see Fig. 4.2).<sup>9</sup>

Most of the changes for the 1856 version quickened the poem's pace and excised uninspired diction and repetitious sentiments. For example, two of the four stanzas present in 1850 but removed in 1856 read as follows:

<sup>7</sup> Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (London: Faber and Faber, 1994), 115; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to Allingham*, ed. George Hill, T. F. Unwin (1897), 173.

<sup>8</sup> Val Prinsep, *Magazine of Art*, 1904, part 1, 168. The poems he read both appeared in the 1858 *Defence of Guenevere*.

<sup>9</sup> Rossetti later reinserted parts of the 1850 text, but retained most of his 1856 alterations in the later versions.

Fig. 4.2 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "The Blessed Damozel," *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (November 1856), *The William Morris Archive*

1856.]

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## THE BLESSED DAMOZEL.



HE blessed Damozel lean'd out  
From the gold bar of Heaven ;  
Her eyes knew more of rest and shade  
Than waters still'd at even ;  
She had three lilies in her hand,  
And the stars in her hair were seven.

Her robe, ungipt from clasp to hem,  
No wrought flowers did adorn,  
But a white rose of Mary's gift,  
For service meetly worn ;  
And her hair lying down her back  
Was yellow like ripe corn.

Her seem'd she scarce had been a day  
One of God's choristers ;  
The wonder was not yet quite gone  
From that still look of hers ;  
Albeit, to them she left, her day  
Had counted as ten years.

(To one, it is ten years of years.  
. . . . . Yet now, and in this place,  
Surely she lean'd o'er me—her hair  
Fell all about my face . . . . .  
Nothing : the autumn fall of leaves.  
The whole year sets apace.)

It was the rampart of God's house  
That she was standing on ;  
By God built over the sheer depth  
The which is Space begun ;  
So high, that looking downward thence  
She scarce could see the sun.

It lies in Heaven, across the flood  
Of ether, as a bridge.  
Beneath, the tides of day and night  
With flame and blackness ridge  
The void, as low as where this earth  
Spins like a fretful midge.

She scarcely heard her sweet new friends :  
Playing at holy games,  
Softly they spake among themselves  
Their virginal chaste names ;  
And the souls, mounting up to God,  
Went by her like thin flames.

(Alas! To *her* wise simple mind  
These things were all but known  
Before: they trembled on her sense,—  
Her voice had caught their tone.  
Alas for lonely Heaven! Alas  
For life wrung out alone!

Alas, and though the end were reached?  
Was *thy* part understood  
Or borne in trust? And for her sake  
Shall this too be found good?—  
May the close lips that knew not prayers  
Praise ever, though they would?). (*The Germ*, 1850, 2, ll. 91–102)<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps Rossetti decided that the diction of these stanzas was labored, that the lover's self-accusations were ambiguous, and that the characterization of the damozel's "wise simple mind" was faintly condescending. In the *OCM* version Rossetti also inserted the important stanza in which the lover imagines the beloved's presence:

(Ah sweet! Just now, in that bird's song,  
Strove not her accents there  
Fain to be hearken'd? When those bells  
Possess'd the midday air,  
Was she not stepping to my side  
Down all the trembling stair?). (st. 17, ll. 97–102)

This new stanza added an earthly touch in the male lover's fantasy of the damozel's voice immanent in songs and the sounds of bells, and in the 1870 version he moved this stanza forward, a decision which improved the poem's thematic and structural balance.

Almost all of Rossetti's 1856 revisions similarly replaced clumsier phrases with more fluid counterparts. In 1850, one three-line passage had read:

And still she bowed herself, and stooped  
Into the vast waste calm,  
Till her bosom's pressure must have made

<sup>10</sup>Citations to Rossetti and Morris texts are from the RA and WMA respectively.

The bar she leaned on warm, [...]. (st. 8, ll. 43–46)<sup>11</sup>

In 1856 it read, less ponderously:

And still she bow'd above the vast  
Waste sea of worlds that swarm;  
Until her bosom must have made  
The bar she lean'd on warm, [...]. (st. 17, ll. 97–102)

Rossetti made even more drastic modifications in “The Staff and Scrip,” his last contribution to the *OCM* in December of 1856. In 1849 he had drafted an early version of the poem, now lost, based on a tale in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and according to William Michael Rossetti, in 1851–1852 he prepared another version replete with strike-outs and overwritings. A seven-page manuscript now in the Humanities Research Center in Austin, Texas is apparently a revised version of this draft, with deletions and insertions for the 1856 *OCM* text. For this new version, Rossetti deleted 38 stanzas and added twelve new ones.<sup>12</sup> The deletions sharply moderated the poem’s religious associations and emphasized the pilgrim’s courage and heroism in war, changes consistent with the *OCM*’s more secular stance and patriotic respect for the soldiers then fighting on Britain’s behalf in the Crimean conflict. “The Staff and Scrip” was Rossetti’s only poem in which a medieval protagonist fought a pitched battle, a quasi-military emphasis perhaps prompted by the widespread accolades offered to (the Queen’s) soldiers at the close of the Crimean War.

Rossetti’s revisions also foregrounded the poem’s symbolic patterning of colors and the erotically charged quality of the bond between Pilgrim and Queen:

She sent him a sharp sword, whose belt  
About his body there  
As sweet as her own arms he felt.  
He kiss'd its blade, all bare,  
Instead of her [...]. (st. 18, ll. 86–90)

<sup>11</sup> Bolded passages are those later changed.

<sup>12</sup> In addition to many revisions of individual words and lines, one stanza placed earlier was moved to the final position for emphasis.

His changes heighten the sublimated serval tensions between the Pilgrim and a younger, more feminized Queen:

Like water-reeds the poise  
Of her soft body, dainty thin;  
And like the water’s noise  
Her plaintive voice. (st. 7, ll. 32–35)

In a genteel Victorian touch, the “Queen” refuses to fight in her own defense and sequesters herself fearfully in her palace until servants bring her the Pilgrim’s corpse:

His bloodied banner cross'd his mouth  
Where he had kiss'd her name.  
“O East, and West, and North, and South,  
Fair flew these folds, for shame,  
To guide Death’s aim!” (st. 31, 151–155)

The ending wavers between the romanticized reunion in heaven of “The Blessed Damozel” and the earlier draft’s appeal to religion, as the final stanza, retained from the earlier version, identifies the Pilgrim’s love with service to his deity:

Not tithed with days’ and years’ decease,  
He pays thy wage He owed,  
But in light stalls of golden peace,  
Here in His own abode,  
Thy jealous God. (st. 41, ll. 201–205)

Perhaps the conflation of chivalric love with fidelity to a demanding God seemed strained, for this stanza disappeared in the 1870 version.

“The Burden of Nineveh,” Rossetti’s sole contribution placed in a present-day setting, was likewise greatly expanded from an 1850 fragment whose three stanzas corresponded roughly to stanzas four through six of the *OCM* version. Rossetti thus either wrote or drastically revised the poem for the *Magazine*, though he improved it yet further for the 1881 version.<sup>13</sup> The ambience of the “Brotherhood” may have encouraged him to write in the voice of a socially critical contemporary artist,

<sup>13</sup> Andrew Stauffer, “Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s ‘The Burden of Nineveh’: Further Excavations,” *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* 16 (Spring 2007): 45–58; Florence Boos, *The*

for in the opening stanzas of the *OCM* text, the speaker's tone is initially supercilious:

I have no taste for polygot:  
At the Museum 'twas my lot,  
Just once, to jot and blot and rot  
In Babel for I know not what [...].  
And as I made the last door spin  
And issued, they were hoisting in  
A winged beast from Nineveh. (ll. 1-4. 7-9)

Only the last two lines survived in its 1881 counterpart:

In our Museum galleries  
To-day I lingered o'er the prize  
Dead Greece vouchafes to living eyes,—  
Her Art for ever in fresh wise  
From hour to hour rejoicing me [...].  
And as I made the swing-door spin  
And issued, they were hoisting in  
A winged beast from Nineveh.<sup>14</sup> (st. 1, ll. 1-5. 8-9)

Perhaps Rossetti later decided that the flippant tone of the original opening ill comported with the poem's concluding indictment of imperial hypocrisy and power.

In other respects, however, the *OCM* stanzas remained much more intact than their counterparts in "The Blessed Damozel." The poem's blunt comparison of Nineveh with imperial Britain, for example, was retained in later versions, and its final three stanzas were entirely unchanged:

*Poetry of Dante G. Rossetti* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 207-215. The 1881 version also deleted stanza 17, beginning "Then waking up, I turn'd, because / That day my spirits might not pause [...]."

<sup>14</sup>Other changes improved wording, e.g.: "Delicate harlot—eldest grown / Of earthly queens! There on thy throne" became "Delicate harlot! On thy throne / Thou with a world beneath thee prone [...]." Sculptures from Nineveh were brought to the Nineveh Gallery of the British Museum 1851-1883.

The smile rose first,... anon drew nigh  
The thought:... Those heavy wings spread high  
So sure of flight, which do not fly;  
That set gaze never on the sky;  
Those scripted flanks it cannot see;  
Its crown, a brow-contracting load;  
Its planted feet which trust the sod:....  
(So grew the image as I trod)  
O Nineveh, was this thy God,—  
Thine also, mighty Nineveh? (st. 21, ll. 201-210)

Arguably, "The Burden of Nineveh" was Rossetti's most successful poem on a contemporary moral/artistic theme, perhaps the more so because its critique of cultural blindness ("those scripted flanks it cannot see") and the arrogance of power ("its crown, a brow-contracting load") could evoke a multitude of contradictory referents from the realms of politics or religion. Its generally skeptical stance toward Victorian pretensions to enlightenment and mastery also harmonized with the *OCM*'s initial aim of providing an idealistic counterweight to conventional journalism.

Writing for the receptive audience of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* thus inspired an important stage in Rossetti's poetic development, during which he significantly revised his best-known poem, "The Blessed Damozel," and brought two rough drafts to completion. The revisions to "The Staff and Scrip" mark a transition from his initial Art Catholic style toward lessened religiosity and somewhat greater narrative concision, and its protagonist's heroic death in defense of his Queen makes him Rossetti's sole warrior protagonist. "The Burden of Nineveh" is likewise timely in its focus on an alien form of art—the Assyrian bulls—and the cycles of empire rather than romantic love. The desire to please his youthful admirers prompted Rossetti to revise his previous poetic drafts with care, and the *OCM* gained from the inclusion of his dramatic, symbolic, and visually arresting verses. In turn, he was encouraged by the pragmatic and activist tastes of his new audience to situate his evocations of moral and spiritual themes within a somewhat broader social frame.

#### WILLIAM MORRIS (1834-1896)

Morris was one of the *OCM*'s founders, though Richard Watson Dixon had first suggested the idea of such a project, and he and Burne-Jones visited the latter's friend Wilfred Heeley in Cambridge in July



Fig. 4.3 Walker & Boutall, "William Morris at 23" (© National Portrait Gallery, London)

of 1855 to discuss the initiation of a magazine they tentatively called *The Brotherhood* (see Fig. 4.3).<sup>15</sup> Morris volunteered to underwrite the projected magazine with the aid of an inheritance he had received from his mother on reaching his majority the preceding year,<sup>16</sup> and its first issue appeared in January 1856 with reviews, short stories, essays, and a single poem, Morris's "Winter Weather." Morris further arranged for

<sup>15</sup> Mackail, 1, 68.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Burne-Jones had estimated that it would cost 300–500 pounds, plus the 100 pounds to Fulford (*Memorials*, 1, 121). Morris's income at the time of his inheritance was 700+ pounds; the bulk of his 1856 income was thus dedicated to the *Magazine*.

the *OCM*'s generous layout and decorated initials with the publisher Bell and Daldy (who later brought out his *Defence of Guenevere* and *Life and Death of Jason*), edited its first number, and paid William Fulford to edit numbers two through twelve.<sup>17</sup> Eight of his contributions were prose tales, although three of the latter included inset lyrics, and he contributed an essay, two reviews, and five poems, in addition to the three interpolated "songs."<sup>18</sup>

Morris was a severe critic of his own early work. He destroyed many early poems in a purge Dixon described as a "massacre,"<sup>19</sup> and let his *OCM* essay, reviews, and prose romances sink into oblivion.<sup>20</sup> He did include one of the interpolated songs ("In Prison") and four of his five *OCM* poems in *The Defence of Guenevere* (1858), selections whose dramatic and allusive style marked a shift from the romantic narratives in quatrains he had written as an undergraduate.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps influenced by Rossetti, Morris's writing for the *OCM* exhibited a more concise and symbolic style, as Morris refined the musical qualities of his lyrics and dramatic narratives developed through recitation to his friends; and he was apparently encouraged by the results, for he turned next to preparing his first volume of poetry.

Morris's contribution to the *OCM*'s first issue and the only poem not included in *The Defence*, "Winter Weather," was a revision of "The Midnight Tilt," an early undergraduate poem that survives only in manuscript.<sup>22</sup> The poem's nocturnal duel derived its ambience in part

<sup>17</sup> Morris contributed approximately 30 pages of printed text between January and June, but 101 during the second half of the year when the energies of the other contributors began to wane. He was thus responsible for more than a sixth of the *Magazine*'s contents.

<sup>18</sup> For a parallel discussion of Morris's five major *OCM* poems, see Florence Boos, *History and Poetics in the Early Writings of William Morris: 1855–1870* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015), 87–96.

<sup>19</sup> Dixon, "Memoir," 21.

<sup>20</sup> May Morris included the romances, Morris's essay "The Churches of North France: The Shadows of Amiens," and his review of Browning's *Men and Women* in the *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, 1910–1915).

<sup>21</sup> As with the other youthful poems, copies may have survived because his sister Emma Morris had preserved them; for texts and publication information, see "Early Poems," Lists and Texts, #16, WMA.

<sup>22</sup> *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, January, 63–64; B. L. MS Add. 45.298A, ff. 36–37.



from medieval sources Morris had studied at Oxford (Malory, Froissart, and several historians of the Crusades), and its atmospheric details also anticipated their counterparts in the *Defence*.<sup>23</sup> Like Rossetti's "The Staff and the Scrip" and William Fulford's "To the English Army Before Sebastopol," "Winter Weather" dramatizes an armed conflict, although the shift in title represents the poem's focus on tone and mood rather than the details of combat.

For the *OCM* poem Morris added three stanzas to the earlier draft that delay the action by describing the opponent and his defeat. "Winter Weather" turns on balanced repetitions, and Morris's revisions refined the poem's AABCCB rhyme scheme and alternation of lines, words, sounds and colors to vary its diction and remove infelicities.<sup>24</sup> For example, stanza 10 of "The Midnight Tilt" had read, rather awkwardly,

In the winter weather  
We rode back together  
From the broad mead under the hill.  
And the body of the traitor  
I laid at the gate there,  
It lay right stiff and still. ("Midnight Tilt," st. 10, ll. 55–60)

The *OCM* version removed the allusion to the enemy's stiffened body and inserted the more evocative details of a cock's crow and silenced hound:

In the winter weather  
We rode back together  
From the broad mead under the hill;  
And the cock sung his warning  
As it grew toward morning,  
But the far-off hound was still. (*OCM*, st. 12, ll. 67–72)<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup>For a full discussion of Morris's medieval sources, see Margaret Lourie, ed., *The Defence of Guenevere*, William Morris Archive, <http://morrisedition.lib.uiowa.edu/defenceguenevere.html>.

<sup>24</sup>Alterations were many and occur in *OCM* version sts. 4 (expanded), 5 (added), 6, 8, 11, 12 (expanded), 13 (added), and 14.

<sup>25</sup>Another instance occurs when st. 4 of "Midnight Tilt," I heard his mail clinking / The sound my ears drinking / For the night was very still," becomes in the *OCM* version, st. 5, "His mail-rings came clinking, They broke on my thinking / For the night was

The poem's details are likewise emblematic. The speaker's colors are the dark blue of truth, his opponent's the "blood-red" of war, and his horse is "gallant," unlike the "mighty" steed of his better-equipped opponent. As in "The Staff and the Scrip" the occasion of the battle is romantic rather than patriotic ("A false tale made he / Of my true, true lady"). The speaker is triumphant, unlike most of his later counterparts in "The Defence," but the imagery remains bleak and cold. After the encounter, the speaker and his seconds ride quietly home:

We rode back together  
In the winter weather  
From the broad mead under the hill;  
No cloud did darken  
The night; we did hearken  
How the hound bay'd from the hill. (st. 15, ll. 85–90)

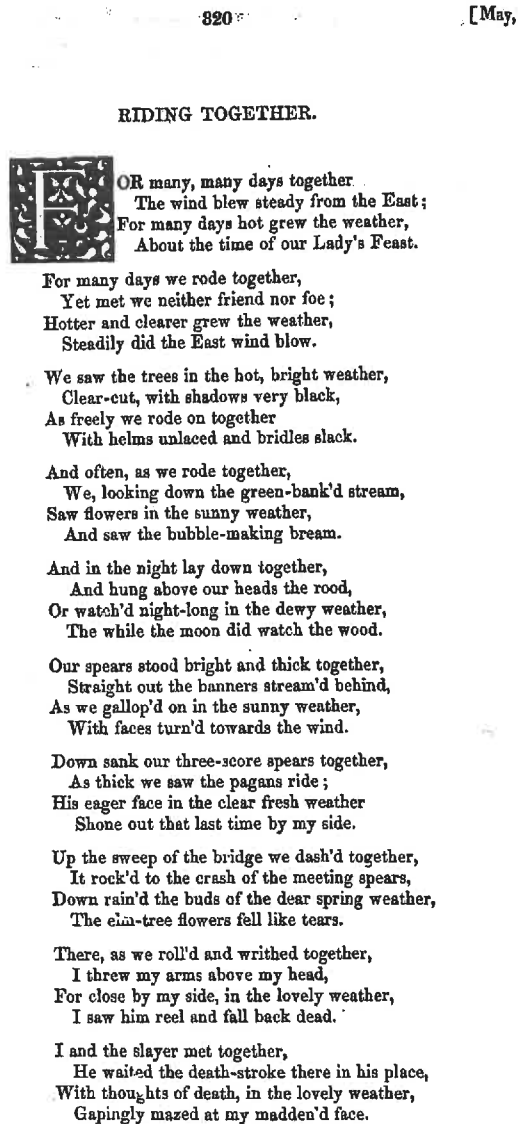
The poem's austere conclusion—devoid of praise and external recognition—was characteristic of Morris's early poetry, as was its stark minimalism, intensity, and conscious omission of historical or narrative context.

Five months later, Morris's "Riding Together" appeared in the *OCM*'s May issue (see Fig. 4.4). Although the poem resembles "Winter Weather" in exploring dramatic conflict and loss in the context of "manly" battle, "Riding Together" shows an advance over the earlier poem in specificity and the use of symbolism. "Riding Together" likewise derived from an earlier draft, entitled "The Captive," and the new version incorporated revisions to eleven of the poem's thirteen stanzas.<sup>26</sup> Margaret Lourie has observed that its likely source was a passage in Jean de Joinville's *Life of St. Louis*, recounting an episode during the seventh Crusade in which de Joinville had been taken prisoner when attempting to defend a bridge

hush'd and still." Further ambiance is added in *OCM* expanded st. 4, "So ever together / In the sparkling weather / Moved my banner and lance; / And its laurel trapping, / The steel over-lapping, / The stars saw quiver and dance."

<sup>26</sup>See "Early Poems, Lists and Texts, #55," WMA. Both the manuscript version, "The Captive," and "Riding Together" contained 13 stanzas; of these, sts. 1–6, 9, 12 and 13 remained largely intact, but verbal improvements were made to sts. 7, 8, and 10, and 11 was rewritten for clarity.

Fig. 4.4 William Morris, "Riding Together," *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (May 1856), *The William Morris Archive*



during the Battle of Mansura in Egypt (A. D. 1250).<sup>27</sup> Morris's enactment centered on a violently defended fellowship and the desecration of the peace of nature:

Up the sweep of the bridge we dash'd together,  
It rock'd to the crash of the meeting spears,  
Down rain'd the buds of the dear spring weather,  
The elm-tree flowers fell like tears. (*OCM*, st. 8, ll. 29–32)

Morris's revisions retain the earlier version's echoing lines but heighten the poem's clarity, narrative precision, and psychological drama: The tenth stanza of the early draft had read:

I and the slayer met together,  
O! vainly, vainly reined he back,  
As he caught my eye in the clear, bright weather,  
Shout, for his fixed eyes, and hold so slack. ("The Captive," st. 11, ll. 41–44)

In "Riding Together" this becomes, more dramatically:

I and the slayer met together,  
He waited the death-stroke there in his place,  
With thoughts of death, in the lovely weather,  
Gapingly mazed at my madden'd face. (*OCM*, st. 10, ll. 37–40)

Even the opponent's death has a poignance, as the latter foresees his doom "in the lovely weather." Morris deleted a stanza referring to these enemies as "turbaned," and added another to explain the fate of these crusading "brothers," who like de Joinville's men, had drowned in the river beneath and near the bridge<sup>28</sup>:

<sup>27</sup> Richard of Devizes, ed., *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1848).

<sup>28</sup> The deleted stanza had read, "Shout, for the crash as we met together! / Shout, for the splinering of the spears! / For the swords leaping up in the bright, bight weather! / For the turban that the strait-sword tears[.]" Stanza 7 is another instance of improvement: "The Captive"'s "Our spears sank down in rest together— / For thick we saw the Pagans ride, / I saw his face in the clear, clear weather, / He rode that last time by my side," becomes in the *OCM* version, "Down sank our three-score spears together, / As thick we saw the pagans ride; / His eager face in the clear fresh weather, / shone out that last time by my side." The revised version thus gives some sense of the valiant character of the protagonist's slain friend.

Madly I fought as we fought together;  
 In vain: the little Christian band  
 The pagans drown'd, as in stormy weather,  
 The river drowns low-lying land.

The poem ends sadly as the survivor mourns lost fellowship and unending imprisonment: "My dungeon bars are thick and strong, / I take no heed of any weather, / The sweet saints grant I live not long." "Riding Together" is Morris's sole *OCM* poem lacking romantic or erotic overtones, but it captures well his consistent themes of struggle, loss, imprisonment, and aborted human ties.

By contrast, the August poem "The Chapel in Lyoness" moves from retrospective lyric to the poetic dramatization of multiple voices. Morris's most carefully crafted contribution to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, it may have been the first composed of the four Malorian poems which later opened *The Defence*. Spoken in three voices and poised between lyric and narrative, "The Chapel"'s dramatic construction also prefigured the legendary settings and multiple speakers of Morris's later poems, such as "Sir Peter Harpdon's End," "Scenes from the Fall of Troy," and "The Lovers of Gudrun." Morris based "The Chapel" on Malory's tribute to the death of a faithful knight who had devoted his life to a search for the Holy Grail, and the decorated chapel of Malory's Lyoness, a mythical realm, since inundated by the sea, provides a fit setting for the lonely knight's death. In Morris's poem, Ozana, whom Malory had portrayed as a brave but undistinguished knight, lies disoriented and fatally wounded, and his two monologues are his last before death.<sup>29</sup> The poem's three knightly personae—Ozana, Bors and Galahad—each speak twice, but never directly to each other. As in Morris's later *Defence* poem, "The Blue Closet," the effect resembles that of a pageant in which performers address an audience rather than each other, evoking an eerie, surreal realm where the characters exist only

<sup>29</sup> Morris was attracted to the theme of the second-tier knight, one of the lesser-knowns of history, as in his discarded *Defence* draft, "Palomydes Quest."

in a shared psychological intimacy.<sup>30</sup> In the poem's iconographic resonances, Ozana's fidelity to his fellows, the Grail quest, and a "golden tress" (presumably given him by a woman he has rescued) help him overcome the pain and confusion of his imminent death:

Sometimes strange thoughts pass through my head;  
 Not like a tomb is this my bed,  
 Yet oft I think that I am dead;  
 That round my tomb is writ,

"Ozana of the hardy heart,  
 Knight of the Table Round,  
 Pray for his soul, Lords, of your part;  
 A true knight he was found."

Ah! Me, I cannot fathom it. (*He sleeps.*) (sts. 7, 8, ll. 25–33)

At this point *Galahad* abruptly speaks. He has, it seems, been watching by his friend all along, and moreover has been singing a song Ozana cannot hear: "All my singing moved him not" (st. 10). Realizing that death is impending, Galahad leaves the chapel, bathes his face in a nearby purifying stream, and returns with a wild rose and water to place on his friend's face. At these signs of love and cleansing, Ozana then reveals his inmost desires: "He smiled, turn'd round toward the south, / Held up a golden tress" (st. 13). Ozana's last gesture is not prayer, then, as Galahad recognizes: "Against his heart that hair he prest; / Death him soon will bless" (st. 14).

At this point, *Bors* enters to pay his respects to the dying knight and touches him affectionately ("I laid my chin upon his head" [and] felt him smile; my eyes did swim, / I was so glad he was not dead") (st. 16). Soon thereafter when *Galahad* kisses his brow, Ozana experiences relief ("I shiver with delight"), addresses his love: ("God move me to thee, dear, to-night!") (st. 18), and expresses gratitude that he no longer sees through a glass, darkly:

<sup>30</sup> Morris prepared revisions to the poem but decided after all to keep the original version. May Morris prints these emendations in the *Collected Works*, 1, 12–13. The unused altered version seems more polished and heightens Ozana's character as a visionary, but Morris may have wanted to retain the unsophisticated, naïve quality of the original. See also Curtis Dahl, "Morris's 'The Chapel in Lyoness': An Interpretation," *Studies in Philology* 5 (1954): 482–491.

My life went wrong; I see it writ,

“Ozana of the hardy heart,  
King of the Table Round,  
Pray for his soul, lords, on your part;  
A good knight he was found.”  
Now I begin to fathom it. (*He dies.*) (sts. 18–19, ll. 74–79)

As he witnesses this, Bors looks at *Galahad* (not Ozana) and asks with genuine wonderment, “What strange things may his eyes see[?]”

As in “Winter Weather” and “Riding Together,” in “The Chapel of Lyonesse” ties of “brotherhood” are basic to identity, and the shrouded mystery of a protagonist’s life—in this case an ennobling but frustrated romantic attachment—is revealed at the threshold of death. Victorians admired this poem when Morris reprinted it in *The Defence of Guenevere*.<sup>31</sup> Modern critics have preferred the intricate anguish of Guenevere and Lancelot in “The Defence” and “King Arthur’s Tomb,” but “The Chapel in Lyonesse” remains an evocative work in its surreal iconography, gentle sublimation, and otherworldly allusiveness.

Morris also published two shorter poems, “Hands” in July and “Pray But One Prayer for Me” in October, both of which, like “The Chapel in Lyonesse,” record a protagonist’s attempts to reach an idealized beloved beyond death. Though Morris’s poems are quite different from Rossetti’s in tone and emphasis, this was also the situation dramatized in Rossetti’s “The Blessed Damozel,” published shortly afterward in November. In Morris’s July poem, the title “Hands” rather oddly represents a depersonalized speaker: “My rough hands so strangely made, / Folded Golden Guendolyn.”<sup>32</sup> The mythic loved one had represented natural beauty devoid of rank: “Gold or gems she did not wear, / But her yellow rippled hair, / Like a veil, hid Guendolyn.” The poem’s chivalric context—“hands used to grip the sword-hilt hard”—suggests that the speaker

<sup>31</sup> Richard Garnett, *Literary Gazette*, 6 March 1858, 227; Anonymous, *Tablet*, April 1858, xix, 266. “Sir Galahad” was also a favorite; see *The Ecclesiastic and Theologian*, March 1858, 160.

<sup>32</sup> “Hands” became the untitled song that concludes “Rapunzel” in *The Defence of Guenevere*; again the associations are allusive rather than literal, as the newly liberated “Rapunzel” is renamed “Guendolyn” and the fairytale’s happy ending is undercut by the song’s anticipation of her death.

has rescued her from a dire fate, but their moment of intense intimacy—“Tears fell down from Guendolen”—has precluded her death, and “Guendolyn now speaks no word.” Deprived of love, the speaker returns to his embattled life, “Hands fold round about the sword”; only in the poem’s final stanza can he regain control of his own selfhood (“my,” “me”), though now faced with the limits of his connection with the past:

Only ‘twixt the light and shade,  
Floating memories of my maid  
Make me pray for Guendolen. (st. 6, ll. 16–18)

Morris’s October lyric, “Pray But One Prayer for Me,” is similarly suggestive, and the ambiguity of the speaker’s relationship with the object of his love paradoxically intensifies the poem’s emotions of blended frustration, pain, and fulfillment<sup>33</sup>:

Pray but one prayer for me ’twixt thy closed lips,  
Think but one thought of me up in the stars [...]  
The uneasy wind rises; the roses are dim;  
Through the long twilight they pray for the dawn,  
Round the lone house in the midst of the corn.  
Speak but one word to me over the corn,  
Over the tender, bow’d locks of the corn. (ll. 1–2, 10–13)

The speaker’s beloved simultaneously inhabits a remote afterlife (“up in the stars”) and yet suffuses his natural surroundings; moreover, she is imagined as capable of speaking “one word” to him “over the tender, bow’d locks of the corn,” that is, amid the fertility of harvest. At once angelic and human, forever lost yet a source of fulfillment, she remains both a physical and loved human being and a mythic force within a pantheistically experienced nature. It is possible to fault this poem on several logical and syntactical grounds, but its echoing musical cadences exactly convey the elegiac emotions of its speaker and, indeed, of many of Morris’s early love-lorn but paradoxically fulfilled narrators.

<sup>33</sup> “Pray But One Prayer for Me” was printed in *The Defence of Guenevere* under the title “Summer Dawn”; the only verbal change was the substitution of “dun” in the *Defence* version for the *OCM*’s “dim” in line 10. Margaret Lourie notes that the poem might be related to the Provençal alba, usually a daybreak dialogue between two lovers in which each stanza ends with the word ‘alba,’ which means “dawn.” Note that in the original version Morris ends lines 5 and 11 with ‘dawn.’”

Morris's final contributions to the *Magazine* were mostly prose tales, perhaps as other contributors fell away and more text was desired. Nonetheless two of the prose tales contained interpolated songs; and an untitled lyric ("Wearily, drearily / Half the day long," later titled "In Prison") sung by the protagonist's unresponsive love interest in "Frank's Sealed Letter" later became the last poem in *The Defence*. Prisoners' laments appeared from time to time in medieval literature<sup>34</sup>; and Morris's lyric, like the *Defence's* "Riding Together," "The Tune of Seven Towers," and "Spell-Bound," seems an imaginative response to accounts of the sufferings of Crusaders.<sup>35</sup> Many of Morris's early poems return to themes of entrapment, and even in song, the poet catches literal details of the prison's tiny window, fetters, and macabre graffiti:

While, all alone,  
Watching the loophole's spark,  
Lie I, with life all dark,  
Feet tether'd, hands fetter'd  
Fast to the stone,  
The grim walls, square lettr'd  
With prison'd men's groan. (st. 2, ll. 9-14)

The second interpolated poem appears in the prose tale "The Hollow Land," as the protagonist Florian and his brother Arnould enter the castle of a rival queen stealthily by night in order to kill her. As the assassins creep through a darkened castle, they hear fragments of an eerie refrain evoking blood-red injury as well as comfort:

Ships sail through the Heaven  
With red banners dress'd,  
Carrying the planets seven  
To see the white breast  
*Mariae Virginis*. (ll. 5-9)

In this audacious faux medieval carol the heavens bend to see, not the infant Jesus, but Mary's white breast, the child born in a manger already

<sup>34</sup>Lourie, 255-256. She cites a prisoner's complaint in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* at the London Guildhall.

<sup>35</sup>What may be Morris's first known poem, "The Mosque Rising in the Place of the Temple of Solomon," had featured the Crusaders' violence on entering Jerusalem. See "Early Poems," WMA, #10.

wears a crown, and sea and ocean collapse as ships sail through the heavens. Viewed as a tribute to a medieval nativity scene, however, the carol makes sense: the participants are crowned in vivid colors of the season, and the seven planets form an aureole around Mary's head.

The October installment of "The Hollow Land" concluded the tale with Florian's long atonement for his past crimes and anticipated union with his beloved Margaret, who guides him to a land of daisy-like flowers and sings of their future:

Christ keep the Hollow Land  
All the summer tide;  
Still we cannot understand  
Where the waters glide

Only dimly seeing them  
Coldly slipping through  
Many green-lipped cavern mouths  
Where the hills are blue. (ll. 1-8)

Here the seasons and elements have dissolved to their mirror opposites: winter to summer, gold and red to green and blue, and the brilliance of stars to the soft iridescence of flowers. Caverns and water evoke shelter and origins, and their "green-lipped" qualities render them natural and benign.

In total Morris's eight formally varied poetic contributions to the *OCM* evoke intense emotion through displacing their speakers into symbolically rendered, historically specific, and often painful situations. With the possible exception of Ozana, Morris's dramatized characters are denied the hope of extraterrestrial union central to Rossetti's early poems. Instead such solace as exists is found in ethical action ("Winter Weather," "Riding Together," "The Chapel in Lyonesse," "In Prison"); male brotherhood ("Riding Together," "The Chapel in Lyonesse"); idealized romantic love ("Hands," "Pray But One Prayer for Me"); accepted loss ("The Chapel in Lyonesse," "Riding Together"); and a sense of spiritualized mystery infusing all of nature: "Still we cannot understand / Where the waters glide. / Only dimly seeing them..." ("The Hollow Land," ll. 1-2). One might argue that Morris's more secularized and fatalistic poetic world marks a partial break with the earlier forms of Pre-Raphaelitism embodied in *The Germ*, but it also anticipates the more chastened and tragic impasses of later poetic works such as Rossetti's "The Chastenship" and "The One Hope" or Morris's *Sigurd the Volsung*.

### WILLIAM FULFORD (1831–1897)

Although his poetry lacks the symbolic and dramatic qualities which made Rossetti's and Morris's poems so memorable, William Fulford's passion for contemporary poetry, egalitarian educational views, and energetic editorial work for the *OCM* helped shape the magazine's tone and extend its life.<sup>36</sup> R. W. Dixon's "Memoir" of the period described Fulford as a major force in the original 'band of brothers' and recalled his practice of reading aloud, shared with other members of "the set":

We immediately fell upon poetry: and he read me a poem, "In youth I died," which afterward appeared in the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine [...] Fulford had great critical power, and extraordinary power of conversation. His literary principles were early fixed. He was absolutely devoured with admiration of Tennyson. Shakespeare he knew and could speak of as few could. Keats the same. Shelley the same.<sup>37</sup>

Georgiana Burne-Jones also remembered him fondly in her *Memorials*:

We little girls liked and admired him very much [...] He had an endless interest in expounding the poets and [...] fed us with Longfellow first of all [...] before introducing us to the works of his prime hero Tennyson.<sup>38</sup>

Fulford took a B. A. degree in 1854, taught briefly in a boy's school, helped tutor Morris for his final examinations in 1855, and joined Morris and Burne-Jones on a walking tour of France in the summer of 1855.<sup>39</sup> Georgiana remarked that he had been "hesitating about taking orders" in 1855, and Morris's alleged need for a tutor and payment of £100 for Fulford's service as the *Magazine's* editor in 1856 may in part have been an attempt to help out a friend. In keeping with a long tradition of men

<sup>36</sup> Recently Patrick Fleming's claim that the *OCM* furthered others' careers but left Morris and Fulford with "the drudgeries of publication" does overdue justice to the talents of one of the 'Brotherhood's' more ardent *spiritus rectores*. See his "William Fulford, 'The Set,' and *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45, no. 3 (2012): [301–319], 313.

<sup>37</sup> R. W. Dixon, "Memoir of William Morris," ed. Florence Boos, *William Morris Society Newsletter-US*, January 2008, 19–20.

<sup>38</sup> *Memorials*, vol. 1, 67.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 117–118.

of little means with no desire to read law or enlist in the military, Fulford assumed the obligations of a deaconate in 1864 and became an Anglican minister later that year.<sup>40</sup>

Roger Simpson has observed that the breaking off of an engagement between Fulford and Georgiana Burne-Jones's younger sister Alice Macdonald may explain his relative erasure from later accounts of the Brotherhood.<sup>41</sup> Whatever the course of his partial estrangement(s) from his former friends, in the next decade Fulford published four volumes of verse—*Sonnets* (1859)<sup>42</sup>; *Songs of Life* (1859); *Saul; A Dramatic Poem; Elizabeth, an Historical Ode; and Other Poems* (1862), in which Simpson discerns "a substantial indebtedness to Morris's verse"; and *Lancelot, with Sonnets and Other Poems* (1865), in which Fulford (like Morris) critiqued Arthur as a harsh patriarch and celebrated Lancelot as the hero of the cycle.<sup>43</sup>

Fulford had contributed four short stories to the *Magazine*, among them "Cavalay," a tripartite quasi-autobiographical account of a sensitive and self-doubting Oxford student who loves Tennyson; and "Found Yet Lost," a striking tale of an embittered fisherman's wife and murderer who scorns the commonplaces of pious Christian remorse. He also wrote

<sup>40</sup> See Roger Simpson, "William Fulford: An Arthurian Reclaimed," *Quondam et Futurus* 1, no. 1 (1991): 69, and Simpson, "In Defence of William Fulford: A Minor Pre-Raphaelite Poet," *Journal of the Pre-Raphaelite Society* 21, 22. Without doubting Fulford's sincere piety, it should be noted that the two members of the Oxford Brotherhood who became ministers may also have lacked other immediate prospects.

<sup>41</sup> *Memorials*, vol. 1, 189, 193. Georgiana describes the engagement as having been "over for some time" by 1858, but Simpson lists the date of the breach as 1859.

<sup>42</sup> Fulford's 12-sonnet sequence received a prize for the Shakespeare's anniversary contest and was published as *England's Bards, 1864*, London: Day and Son, 1864.

<sup>43</sup> Simpson, "William Fulford: An Arthurian Reclaimed," 59. Simpson notes parallels between Fulford's "The Slain Knight" and Morris's "The Little Tower," and between Fulford's "The Lament of Sir Palomides" and Morris's unfinished fragment on Sir Palomydes (60–61). "The Parting of Lancelot and Guenevere" (following Morris's spelling) also parallels "King Arthur's Tomb." In *Lancelot*, Fulford's fullest treatment of the Arthurian cycle, Arthur is presented as actively seeking Guenevere's death, and the omission of details of Arthur's campaigns and of the Grail quest removes from Lancelot a dishonorable contrast with Arthur's successes (66–69). Other poems of the volume, "Hector and Andromache," "Orpheus and Eurydice," and "Dante to Beatrice," suggest unpublished poems by Morris ("Scenes from the Fall of Troy" and "The Story of Orpheus and Eurydice") and by Rossetti ("Dante at Verona").

appreciative studies of works by Alexander Smith, Tennyson, and Shakespeare, among others. Dixon described his principal poetic model during this period:

[...] Fulford was absorbed in Tennyson. He had a very fine deep voice, and was a splendid reader of poetry. I have listened entranced to his reading of "In Memoriam." He was also writing much at this time; and would often read his pieces to us. No doubt many of them had a Tennysonian ring.<sup>44</sup>

He must indeed have been persuasive, for Tennyson is cited in *OCM* essays by Burne-Jones and the two Lushingtons as well as Lewis Campbell, the author of an *OCM* essay on "Prometheus."<sup>45</sup> The general faith in Tennyson as the greatest living poet doubtless affected Morris as well, although Dixon described the latter's response to Tennyson's poetry as "defiant admiration": [H]e perceived the rowdy or bullying element that runs through much of Tennyson's work [...].<sup>46</sup> Morris's favorite Tennyson poem in this period was "Oriana," and his *OCM* and *Defence of Guenevere* poems show the influence of Tennyson's quasi-medieval pictorialism and strongly repetitive rhythms.<sup>47</sup>

Many of Fulford's *OCM* poems may have been written prior to 1856, and thus Tennyson, rather than Rossetti or Morris, served as the model for these early efforts. These *OCM* poems employed couplets, ballad quatrains, *In Memoriam* stanzas, and unrhymed quasi-free verse. His "Remembrance" abounded with Tennysonian echoes ("phantoms," "Nature's voice," "Love will not die"):

Thus we recall the dead, when time  
Has soften'd anguish to regret:  
They seem forgotten; but 'twere crime  
'Gainst love to say that we forget. (231, st. 9, ll. 33–36)

<sup>44</sup>Dixon, "Memoir," 20.

<sup>45</sup>Tennyson is also quoted in Edward Burne-Jones's "The Newcomes" (January), "Ruskin and the Quarterly," (June), and "A Story of the North" (February), as well as in Vernon Lushington's "Oxford" (April).

<sup>46</sup>Dixon, "Memoir," 20–21.

<sup>47</sup>For a discussion of Morris's indebtedness to Tennyson, see Chap. 3 of Boos, *History and Poetics*.

Fulford's "To the English Army Before Sebastopol," the *OCM* poem which most directly addresses a contemporary event, celebrates a battle which had taken place the preceding September. Unlike Rossetti's "The Staff and the Scrip" and Morris's "Riding Together," the poem does not dramatize the emotions of participants in a distant or mythic battle but instead elevates the fortitude of present-day soldiers as an exemplum for imitation after the manner of Tennyson's 1854 "The Charge of the Light Brigade":

Vain too the frost, the winter rain,  
The labour in the trenches vain;  
In vain the nightly cannonade;  
Vain all,—they could not be dismay'd.  
Sick, starved, unfed, all martial show  
Stript off, left bare in naked woe;  
With elements, sea, land and sky. (451, ll. 9–15)

then sounded the plangent C-major chord of patriotic encomium:

And foes in one conspiracy,  
They stood unshaken, till the fire  
Has tried them [...] yet we doubt not sure  
With honour ever to endure. (451, ll. 16–20),

and the tremulous counterpoint of vicarious emulation:

Would I were faithful, brave as you! [...]  
Would I could conquer love of ease,  
And, no more seeking self to please,  
Could hear the order, that alone,  
And straightway, though to death, march on! (452, ll. 42, 44–48)

Fulford was not alone among *OCM* contributors in his support of the Crimean War from a distance. In 1880 Morris recalled that at the time he had mistakenly believed that British intervention in the Crimea was justified but had since come to oppose all such imperial *casus belli*.<sup>48</sup> Burne-Jones applied unsuccessfully for an army commission during a

<sup>48</sup>May Morris, ed., *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1936), 2, 484.

period of depression and uncertainty in 1855, and wrote later that (like the hero of "Maud") "I wanted to go and get killed."<sup>49</sup> Perhaps more traditional in his politics than his peers, R. W. Dixon wrote two *OCM* essays in which he suggested ways in which the British government might maintain its implantation in the Crimea,<sup>50</sup> and Vernon Lushington—who in later life became a firmly committed anti-imperialist—had already published a pamphlet maintaining Britain's right to go to war "in defense of others."<sup>51</sup> Despite the fact that it is hard to assimilate "To the English Army Before Sebastopol" to the more *avant-garde*, symbolic, and dramatic poetry for which Morris and Rossetti are noted, Fulford's poems also track the themes of love, generalized aspiration, and ethical commitment that informed the *OCM*'s other selections.

Although the Pre-Raphaelites and their associates held generally idealistic views on sexuality and romantic love, the currently debated issue of women's equality receives mention only in the *OCM*'s prose essays. Several contributors expressed the view that denial of education to women was unnatural as well as unjust, but Fulford deserves recognition as the member of the group most concerned with the topic of women's higher education. His essay "Woman, her Duties, Education, and Position" was written in support of two lectures in which Anna Jameson called for the establishment of women's colleges on the pattern of Working Men's Colleges, and his essays and stories conveyed a real warmth and goodwill toward women as friends and persons of intellectual substance.<sup>52</sup> As

<sup>49</sup> *Memorials*, 1, 109–110.

<sup>50</sup> These were "The Barrier Kingdoms" (February) and "The Prospects of Peace" (March).

<sup>51</sup> David Taylor, "Vernon Lushington: Practising Positivism." Diss. University of Roehampton, 2010, Chapter 4, 112–115. It should be noted that many largely symbolic battles occurred in the *OCM*'s prose tales, among them "The Story of the Unknown Church," "A Story of the North," "Gertha's Lovers," "The Druid and the Maiden," "A Dream," "Svend and His Brethren," "Golden Wings," and "The Hollow Land"—though their struggles and armed conflicts were displaced into history or dream vision.

<sup>52</sup> *OCM*, August, 462–477. Fulford's essay notes: "Indeed women such as "Mrs. Chisholm, Miss Carpenter and Miss Nightingale [had already] "overcome difficulties to which men had proved unequal (464). Commending establishments such as Kaiserwerth (where Florence Nightingale was trained as a nurse), and any woman who "[...] grounds her Rights upon the performance of her duties," he predicted that such women "will not lack for champions out of her own sex; [for] men will rise up who will count it an honour to join in exalting those who are raising and ennobling their common humanity" (472).

a Tennysonian, he found a model for the educated woman of the future in Princess Ida and in "In Memoriam"'s "earnest of what all may yet become": "an ideal of woman, as woman was created, as she may yet be in the time of 'the world's great bridal'—the half 'of that great race which is to be'" (*OCM*, 17). That Fulford responded to the more progressive rather than reactionary attitudes of his most revered model is also shown in his brief 1859 poem, "To a Young Lady, with a Copy of Tennyson's 'Princess," which begins:

This book sums up a poet's thoughts  
Of Woman's work and Woman's rights,  
With glimpses of that far off time,  
The age of 'equal Rights and Might.'<sup>53</sup>

Although Fulford was a much less original poet than either Rossetti or Morris, in his devotion to feminist causes he anticipated important poetic themes of the mid- and late Victorian period, including the insights embedded in the works of several women poets.

#### GEORGIANA MACDONALD (1840–1920)

Georgiana MacDonald was the fifth of eleven children born to a Methodist minister and his wife, and during adolescence she helped care for two younger brothers and three younger sisters. The most artistically inclined of her family, Georgiana had studied drawing at the Government School of Design in South Kensington; and though she claimed to have "had no precise idea of what the profession of an artist meant," she had "felt it was well to be amongst those who painted pictures and wrote poetry."<sup>54</sup> She was only fifteen years old when the twenty-three year old Burne-Jones proposed to her in 1856; the day after she accepted his suit Burne-Jones brought her his volumes of Ruskin to read, and William Morris presented his friend's new fiancée with an inscribed copy of J. M. W. Turner's *Rivers of France*.

<sup>53</sup> Simpson, "An Arthurian Reclaimed," 58–59.

<sup>54</sup> MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite*, 68.



Georgina Macdonald's poem in the December *OCM*, "The Porch of Life," was thus the work of a gifted sixteen-year old.<sup>55</sup> Lacking the university education of other *OCM* contributors and their relative familiarity with the more recent poetry of Keats, Shelley, and Tennyson, Georgiana's only known poetic effort contrasts with the Tennysonian and/or medieval poems of Fulford, Morris, and Rossetti. In this sole blank verse contribution to the magazine, the poet developed a tripartite variant of Wordsworth's meditation on the fall from childhood innocence. "Who knows their inner life?" the speaker asks,

Who feels their beauty is the gift of God,  
And, midst their shrinking bashfulness, reverts  
(E'en as the distant carols of the lark,  
Scarce seen amidst the blue ethereal haze)  
Their hidden charm of perfect innocence [...] (776, ll. 28–31)

The poet argues, as had Wordsworth in "Tintern Abbey" and "Ode on Intimations of Immortality," that we must "become again as little children" if we wish to understand transcendence and "loyalty of heart":

When first I saw that loveliest sight of all,  
A child at prayer, some faint and glimm'ring thought  
Of God's great purpose in creating man  
Flash'd first across me, [...] the love that He must have  
For pure and willing childhood, and for those  
His full-arm'd soldiers in a conquer'd town,  
Who, in their Captain's absence, had maintain'd  
Their early discipline and loyalty of heart. (776, ll. 35–43)

The military metaphor here startles. In later life Georgiana Burne-Jones became an opponent of all forms of British imperialism, and would likely have avoided the assimilation of dutiful children to "full-armed" members of a children's crusade.<sup>56</sup> As we have seen, such military allusions seemed omnipresent in 1856, as in Bernard Cracroft's heartfelt praise in the June issue for Crimean nurses, "who, through evil report and good report, in spite of sneers and fears, [...] left the comforts of an English home to bear

<sup>55</sup> She had turned 16 on July 21, 1856.

<sup>56</sup> MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite*, 350, 513.

consolation [...] and care to our wounded beneath an eastern sun—[...] in the true spirit of Jane Eyre" (329).

In later life Georgiana was an active suffragist and feminist, and Fiona MacCarthy describes her as "a woman who broke out of her own doll's house and became a respected and hard-working Parish Councillor in the Sussex village of Rottingdean."<sup>57</sup> As Stephen Williams has also demonstrated in two recent articles, Georgiana was not only "hard-working" but effective in helping establish a local nursing service later integrated into the National Health system.<sup>58</sup> Georgiana was not an ethereal "Princess Ida," perhaps. But she was, in William Fulford's words, clear "earnest of what [women] may yet become."

## CONCLUSION

What resulted from the collaborative poetic relationships fostered by the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* and their aftermath? Arguably all the poetic "brothers" contributed to and benefited from the *OCM*'s brief fellowship. Interestingly, also, each of the male poets responded to the public discourse surrounding the Crimean War with sublimated and distanced representations of "manly" violence in the service of assumed just causes. At least seven of their poems fit this category, and six of these feature Crusaders or chivalric knights ("The Staff and Scrip," "Winter Weather," "Riding Together," "The Chapel in Lyonesse," "Hands," and "In Prison"), suggesting Burne-Jones's previously quoted description of *OCM* contributors as present-day crusaders.

Fulford's zeal for the poetry of Tennyson—conceived as a progressive thinker—influenced the taste of his fellow contributors, and his later, more dramatic and psychologically complex poetry showed the influence of Morris and to a lesser degree Rossetti. Rossetti—inspired in part by the respect of his newfound companions—brought three of his best-known poems into near-final form, and his *OCM* versions of "The Blessed Damozel," "The Staff and Scrip" and "The Burden of Nineveh" reflected as well as influenced the Magazine's distinctive combination of

<sup>57</sup> Fiona MacCarthy, *The Last Pre-Raphaelite*, xxii–xxiii.

<sup>58</sup> Stephen Williams, "Making Daily Life 'as Useful and Beautiful as Possible': Georgiana Burne-Jones and Rottingdean, 1880–1904," *JWMS* 20, no. 3 (2013): 47–65, and "'A Clear Flame-Like Spirit' Georgiana Burne-Jones and Rottingdean, 1904–1920," *JWMS* 20, no. 4 (2014): 79–90.

romantic medievalism, dramatically heightened language, and resistance to conventional norms in art and politics.

Under Rossetti's encouragement Morris acquired greater skill in the use of strong rhythms, visual images, and the portrayal of erotic emotions, often projected into medieval settings, and over the course of the year developed the complex synthesis of *eros* and *thanatos* which characterize his 1858 *Defence of Guenevere*. Many aspects of Morris's later interests are adumbrated in the wider concerns of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, and his first experience with the practical aspects of publication as editor, contributor, and sustainer proved useful when nearly thirty years later he assumed the editorship of *Commonweal* (1884–1889), the Socialist League newspaper, and shortly thereafter co-founded the Kelmscott Press in 1891. One might even interpret Morris's last poetic epic, *The Pilgrims of Hope* (1885–1886), expressly written for *Commonweal*, as a reprise in more direct and contemporary language of the motifs of idealistic struggle and romantic loss which had characterized his poems for the *OCM*. And although the fourth poetic contributor, Georgiana Macdonald Burne-Jones, was destined to become neither artist nor poet, her memories of the "Oxford Brotherhood" and their friends, as recorded in her *Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones* and her son-in-law J. W. Mackail's *The Life of William Morris*, helped interpret their efforts for posterity.

The *OCM* attracted only a few reviews, although it gained the favorable attention of Ruskin, Browning, Carlyle, and Tennyson.<sup>59</sup> Moreover the social and intellectual interchanges which accompanied the *OCM*'s existence inspired the later "jovial campaign" at Oxford, the collaborative decoration of Red House, the foundation of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co., and several lifelong friendships and collaborations. An equally important legacy of the *OCM*, however, may have been its energizing role in helping shape the further development of Pre-Raphaelite poetry during the 1850s and thereafter in accord with its anti-establishmentarian social and aesthetic ideals.

<sup>59</sup>For the reception of the *OCM* see Paola Spinozzi and Eliza Bizzotto, *The Germ: Origins and Progenies of Pre-Raphaelite Interart Aesthetics* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012), 194–195. The *OCM* was reviewed by the *Press*, the *Guardian*, *John Bull*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Saturday Review*, and *The Spectator*.

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