Department of Fine Art : Printmaking

Annie Miller

Pre-Raphaelite model

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Submitted to the Faculty of History of Art and Design and Complementary Studies in candidacy for the Joint Honours B.A. in the History of Art and Fine Art

1995

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Niamh O'Sullivan, Sue McNab and Elaine Sisson, for many hours of help and encouragement, and to Edward Murphy for finding that book.

Annie Miller, D.G. Rossetti, 1860

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CHAPTER 1

'Annie Miller [was] a rather willful [sic] but beautiful young lower-class woman with decidedly lax morals.' [Casteras, 1987, 140]

Annie Miller became known for her role as the 'kept woman' in William Holman Hunt's 1853 painting, *The Awakening Conscience*, an association which lasted for the rest of her life (and to the present day), justly or not.[1] It is difficult to look back today and make fair judgments about the past, when all accounts originate from the same small group of people.[2] The history of Annie Miller is extremely subjective, since she herself has not left behind any written records,[3] and her story must be made up from the memoirs of William Holman Hunt and those of his friends and associates.[4] Annie Miller was neither an artist herself nor a poet, as Lizzie Siddal and Christina Rossetti were. She was a girl from a deprived background, who was fortunate enough to obtain an education, albeit in rather peculiar circumstances. As Faxon describes it, she got involved with a man who had 'a

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[1] Many artists' models have come to be associated with the roles for which they modelled. Needless to say, this was often unjustified.

[2] This often seems to be simply in the form of gossip.

[3] Even after years of schooling she was barely literate.

[4] Even some of the historians play a part in this: Diana Holman-Hunt is Hunt's grand-daughter, and Virginia Surtees is the great grand-daughter of the model Ruth Herbert.

Pygmalion complex.'[5] What follows is merely an attempt to discover the truth of Annie Miller's life, the part she played in the Pre-Raphaelite movement, and of what relevance it was, if any. Did her face simply serve to inspire 'Pre-Raphaelite male creativity'? Or was there more to it?

Annie's father was a soldier,[6] and her mother a charwoman. Due to injury, he was awarded a pension from the Royal Hospital, Chelsea in 1832 after which they married. Annie, the third child in the family,[7] was born in 1835 into a cottage in Royal Hospital Row (which was next door to a public house called 'The Duke of York.') Two years later, her mother died at the age of thirty-seven, so Annie and her older sister Harriet lived alone with their father, who drove a builder's cart in the King's Road at the time. Later his health failed him and he went to live at the Royal Hospital. Annie and Harriet went to live with their impoverished uncle and aunt, George and Bess Miller (a cobbler and a launderer), who were so poor that their first child had been born in the workhouse. They then lived in Cross Keys Court, behind the public house, sharing lodgings with a family of chimney sweeps. When she was ten years old, Annie and her sister went to work looking after the children of the man who had taken over her

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[5] Faxon, 1989,140

[6] Henry Miller was a soldier in the Napoleonic wars

[7] The eldest, a son, had died not long before her birth.

father's job, 'a Chelsea neighbour named Hill, whose wife had more profitable things to do in the afternoon,' as Diana Holman-Hunt eloquently put it.[8] [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 67] It was later reported that the girls were described by Hill as 'dirty and infested with vermin.'[9] Apparently 'his [Hill's] wife "had killed some of the lice . . .Annie's hair was remarkable for its wild and rank abandon." She was "allowed to prowl about the streets using the coarsest and filthiest of language . . . in short was in a state of absolute neglect and degradation."'[10] [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 67] Diana Holman-Hunt describes Annie's background thus:

> 'Aunt Bess . . put Harriet and Annie to work as servants at the public house. . . all the artists noticed Annie, swobbing beer filth off the floor, dodging the drunks and horses in the yard as she clattered about in rags and wood-en clogs. . . She was a natural flirt and, according to Hill, well aware from a very early age of her physical attractions, and "being bent upon getting fine clothes and indulging her love of flattery, she became a professional model" from time to time.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 68]

According to these accounts, the young woman whom Hunt met in or around 1850-1 was not quite the model Victorian lady. As Hill suggested it is possible that Annie was already a part-time model when Hunt made her acquaintance,[11] supposedly during his

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[8]'In order to provide food, or small luxuries denied them, many working-class mothers or artisans' wives at that time indulged in casual prostitution. For fear of fire, their small children were left locked up in the house during the day in the charge of a girl of nine or ten.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 67]

[9]From a letter, William Holman Hunt to Frederick G. Stephens, dated 15/2/1861, cited in Holman-Hunt, 1987, 67.

[10] This account could well be biased, as it was obtained by Hunt at a later stage when he was trying to discredit Annie.

[11] Although this story could also be a later revision on Hunt's part, when he felt Annie had betrayed him.

search for a suitable model for his painting, *The Awakening Conscience*. She would have been aged fifteen or sixteen at this time. Whether he saw her and thought that her appearance and her poverty made her seem an appropriate person to sit for the figure 'little Em'ly'[12] or whether he had already chosen the subject of the painting[13] and then started to search for a suitable model, and happened to find Annie, (who lived nearby) is not certain. It is known that in his quest for a realistic setting for the scene he visited 'different haunts of fallen women.' It has been suggested that it was on one of these excursions that he first saw Annie. There is no known evidence, however, that he approached her to model for him around 1851 and Marsh believes that he was already 'preoccupied with the affairs of another working-class girl,[14] whom he had discovered in Surrey.' [Marsh, 1985, 57] When he did decide that he wished to employ Annie, 'he wrote to her father about his desire to employ Annie as a model and received no reply, from which he deduced that if he did not act she would fall victim to the first man who approached her.

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[12]Little Em'ly was a character in Dickens' novel,*David Copperfield*, which was serialised during 1849-50. She was a so-called 'fallen woman' whose adoptive father tried hard to reclaim.

[13] Showing a kept woman in a 'maison de convenance' 'breaking away from her gilded cage with a startled holy resolve while her shallow companion still sings on' [Hunt, 1905, Vol. 2, 430]

[14]Emma Watkins, who posed for *The Hireling Shepherd.* Hunt's 'relationship' with Watkins was later made public knowledge, due to an article written in Dickens' periodical, *Household Words* several years later which horrified Hunt and upset his mother. [Holman-Hunt, 1987] (Dickens later made amends, giving help with the sale of *Christ in the Temple,* in 1860.)

[Marsh cites a letter from Hunt to Stephens, dated 15/2/1861] It was ironic that his efforts to help seemed to stimulate exactly those effects he feared.' [Marsh, 1985, 59-60]

How did William Holman Hunt's background compare to Annie's? Jan Marsh describes Hunt senior as 'a City warehouse manager' who used his influence to have his son 'placed as a clerk at a young age.' It appears that Hunt junior was not very happy about this, however, since 'he seems to have nurtured ambitions to be a gentleman and an artist.' Unfortunately, his family 'were unable or unwilling to finance his studies at the Royal Academy.' [Marsh, 1985, 55] Hunt was definitely lower middle class, and conscious of it[15] , and this could have caused him problems with future marriage plans.[16] There were many late marriages and long engagements among the middle classes. Choosing a lower class girl as partner might mean that she had less material expectations, but she would need to be educated and groomed. Hunt decided to pay to have Annie Miller educated, although there seems to have been no intention of marriage at this early

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[15] Hunt was 'a little ashamed of his modest lower middle class background.' [Parris, 1984, 17]

[16] At that time, men were expected not to marry until they could support their wife in at least the manner to which she had been accustomed in her father's house. This meant many marriages were delayed, as illustrated in paintings such as Arthur Hughes' *The Long Engagement*. The situation was exacerbated in the case of artists, whose earning power was [and is] more uncertain.

stage.[17] It was apparent that Annie needed lessons in hygiene as well as in the necessary manners. She had been modelling for Hunt (for *The Awakening Conscience*) for some time when he left for Egypt and Palestine early in 1854. Evidence of his plans to educate Annie has been spotted in *The Awakening Conscience.* [The book with the black papier mache cover on the table behind the couple has been identified by Ruairi McLean as *The Origin and Progress of the Art of Writing* which was published in 1853.] It is unclear why Hunt decided to educate Annie. If he did not intend to marry her, why did he do it? If it were due to Hunt's sense of charity, it would have been an expensive project for him (Diana Holman-Hunt estimates that it would have cost him almost £200). Marsh believes that 'the chief aim seems to have been to make sure that she did not go off the rails while Holman [Hunt] was away.' [Marsh, 1985, 62] Hunt left Annie to learn literacy from Sarah Bradshaw and Mrs Bramah was to teach her how to 'speak, stand, sit and walk correctly, how to dress and do her hair, and how to conduct herself in public and private - all of which she needed to know in order to disguise her class origins.'[18] [Marsh, 1985, 62] Hunt paid for Annie's lessons and his friend, Fred

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[17] Some writers, notably Daly and Casteras, would have us believe that Hunt had become engaged to Annie before he left for the Holy Land (in 1854), even while she was sitting to Hunt for *The Awakening Conscience* (1853.)

[18] The Census of 1851 shows Sarah Bradshaw, aged 34, a former governess, resident at 5 Prospect Place, Cheyne Walk, together with Mrs Harriet Bradshaw, aged 42, who was landlady or housekeeper of the lodgings which were occupied by Hunt and several others.

Stephens (another painter) seems to have supervised them in his absence. Annie was probably living at home with her aunt and uncle during this period. Diana Holman-Hunt speculates: 'Gradually Annie must have felt more at ease with Mrs Bramah, and learned when to shake hands or bob and how to sit down on a chair - hands in lap, knees and feet together.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 135] As Hunt did not provide Annie with 'pin money' as well as paying for her lessons, he 'allowed' her to model for other artists and, reportedly, left a list of 'approved' painters with Stephens. There are discrepancies between the various accounts of which artists Hunt permitted Annie to sit to in his absence. Daly lists the chosen artists thus: 'Millais, Michael Halliday, Egg, [George]Boyce, and Stephens.' These men were chosen because Hunt trusted them with her, which would also infer that he did not trust Annie with them. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's name was not on the list, but apparently he did not know this himself, since Hunt had not wanted to offend him. He would have been aware of Rossetti's taste for 'stunners' since they had been room-mates in the past.[19] Daly tells us that he 'told Fred [Stephens] that he feared other artists might prey on her, turning her into the slattern that most people believed an artist's model was anyway.' Annie sat to

[19]Mrs. Gaskell wrote about this predilection of Rossetti's in October 1859: '. . . if a particular kind of reddish brown, crepe wavy hair came in, he [D. G. Rossetti] was away in a moment struggling for an introduction to the owner of said head of hair. He is not as mad as a March hare, but hair-mad.' [From a letter to Charles Eliot Norton, quoted Doughty, 1949, 250-1]

George Boyce for a drawing which is dated 27 February 1854. This is known as the earliest portrait of Annie. According to Marsh, the drawing 'shows Annie as a quiet-looking girl - she was about nineteen years old - with her head modestly bent and her hair pinned up in the nape of her neck.' [Marsh, 1985, 59] She therefore looked the part of the 'good girl' which Millais and Halliday described in their letters. It would have been unlikely to have contained anything to offend Hunt. However, at a later date when Hunt was definitely considering marriage to Miller, he attempted to buy the drawing from Boyce, in an attempt to hide part of her past as a model (modelling was not considered respectable in those days). While on a boating excursion, Stephens asked Annie if any of the artists to whom she had been modelling had given her any trouble, and she replied that one had been rather 'uncivil.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 133] However, she refused to say who it was and would only say that she had been sitting to Rossetti. Stephens told her of his disapproval, and wrote to Hunt telling him that she was about to sit to Egg.[20] He added that he still thought she was a 'good girl'. [Letter from Stephens to Hunt, dated 10 April, 1874] He also found Rossetti and warned him off, which does not appear to have made any difference. Doughty's account of events was slightly different, however: 'Hunt

[20]There is evidence in the form of letters that she sat to Millais and to Michael Halliday There is no evidence of what the result of her sitting to Egg was. (According to Boyce's diary, none of the other painters had recognisably portrayed Annie's face before 1860.)

. . . had left her in Gabriel's charge on going East. Annie had solemnly promised Hunt to sit to no artist in his absence, without his permission, and *this he had granted to Gabriel alone.* [the italics are mine] In place of gratitude, however, Gabriel not only persuaded her to sit to other artists, but also spent all his time with Annie, dining and dancing in restaurants and at the notorious Cremorne Gardens[21] until the voice of scandal was raised.' [Doughty, 1949, 194] Ford Madox Brown wrote in his diary that Hunt had:

> 'promised to be like her guardian and she should never sit to any [but] him or those he should name lest poor Annie should get into trouble and having allowed her to sit to Gabriel [Rossetti] while he was away Gabriel has let her sit to others not on the list and taken her to dine at Bertolini's and to Cremorne [Gardens] where she danced with [George]Boyce and William [Michael Rossetti] takes her out boating forgetful it seems of Miss R. [Rentoul], as Gabriel, sad dog, is of Guggum [Lizzie Siddal].' [Brown,1981,181]

Around the same time, Annie was seen about town with the seventh Viscount Ranelagh, with whom she was reportedly observed in Bertolini's.

> 'While Hunt was dancing in the desert, alone or with a gun, his beloved Annie was waltzing in London with her latest admirer, the 7th Viscount Ranelagh. Fashionably, he drank champagne from her slipper at Bertolini's, then one of the smartest restaurants. She may have picked him up in the West End, or nearer home. His seat was Ranelagh House in Fulham, and he owned various properties in that neighbourhood.'[22] [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 165]

'When Annie and . . . Lord Ranelagh met, he was thirty-five and she was twenty. Later, Hunt and others referred to him as "that

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[21]Cremorne Gardens was known for popular entertainment, but also for prostitution. In 1877, its licence was withdrawn because of its notoriety.

[22] For details of Ranelagh's background, see Holman-Hunt, 1987, 165-6.

notorious rake."' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 166] According to Diana Holman-Hunt's account, 'Lord Ranelagh was not only charmed by her beauty, but also, probably, by her expert dancing, gracious manners and pretty voice - assiduously cultivated by the charitable Mrs Bramah, at Hunt's expense!' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 166] Daly believes that 'Annie became Ranelagh's mistress at the first opportunity.' [Daly, 1989, 114] Hunt, needless to say, was unaware of Annie's conduct. Fred Stephens continued to write Hunt telling him what he wanted to hear: how she was progressing in her education, but without giving him any idea at all of what she was getting up to in his absence. In March, 1855 he wrote:

> 'I have a visitor this evening who sits opposite turning over *Pendennis* with a quaint turn of head this every now and then as I write particularly as I have just said, "Now Annie Miller I am going to write something about you." Then she looks up. She seems rather more lively than usual tonight and I am about to make her put in this letter a few words about herself. . . She is I believe a good little goose enough. . . and looks very well having much reformed her hair dressing.'

He tried to talk her into writing a few words, without success: 'from some unaccountable funk she says she 'can't write' so I must fill up saying she hopes you are quite well and begs to be mostly kindly remembered.'[23] [Stephens to Hunt, 14/11/1855, quoted in Holman-Hunt, 1987, 150] Daly describes a sexual relationship between Annie and Gabriel Rossetti:

> 'Before long Gabriel and Annie were sleeping together. They were lovers on and off during the next several years . . . and Gabriel

[23]Marsh points out that Annie could write, as she wrote to Stephens. Perhaps she it was because of guilt.

> continued his relationship with Lizzie . . . Annie probably made it possible to sustain the purity of his fantasy, since he no longer had to press Lizzie for sex.' [Daly, 1989, 49]

Holman-Hunt describes a relationship too: 'It seems that Annie preferred him [Gabriel] to Hunt. Perhaps he was not only a better lover, but his eccentricities were more engaging and made her laugh.' [Holman-Hunt 1987, 139] Daly continues: 'Gabriel . . . must have known he was playing with fire, but he made no attempt to hide his liaison from his friends.' [Daly, 1989, 67] Perhaps Rossetti was not discreet because he felt there was nothing of any consequence in his meetings with Annie. Hunt did not find out about her behaviour until some time after his return from abroad. Marsh argues that Annie could hardly be blamed for her actions when she was taken from her former life in the back streets in an attempt to save her, 'and put into contact with bohemian life and the demi-monde; it was almost as if she was being urged to "fall."' [Marsh, 1985, 66]

Il Dolce Far Niente, William Holman Hunt, c.1860

Annie may have been the original model for *Il Dolce Far Niente* (sweet idleness), but, as can be seen from the distinct differences between Annie's features as represented elsewhere and those of the girl in the picture, it was finished from another model at a later date. Apparently the title is a response to a contemporary belief that girls were 'naturally empty-headed and pleasure-loving.' Annie may have been the original model for the girl, Marsh repeats a belief that the picture was inspired by Hunt's unhappy response to Annie's 'pursuit of pleasure and disinclination to work.'[24] He was displeased with her not taking her lessons seriously, and apparently he lectured her on his own discipline and self-denial.[Marsh, 1987, 89] Hunt included a quotation from Carlyle, which states that 'to labour honestly . . is the everlasting duty of all men.' [Hunt, 1905, Vol. 2, 115] It was obvious that Annie would never agree.

[24] Annie's eventual marriage to Lord Ranelagh's cousin meant that she did not have to appear to be working any more as the Victorian upper classes 'did not believe in the ethic of hard work.'

CHAPTER 2

'. . . It would have been impossible for men of such eyes and hearts as Millais and Hunt to walk the streets of London . . . and not to discover what was also in them. . .' [Ruskin, quoted in Hunt, 1905, Vol. 2, 428]

There was a huge interest in prostitution and the prostitute around the middle of the nineteenth century. Perhaps it was in response to the obvious presence of prostitutes in the streets of London (and other major cities), Marsh writes: 'It is clear that large numbers of Victorian males were equally enthralled by the subjects of prostitution and illicit sex while maintaining a hatred of debauchery.' [Marsh, 1985, 55] There were increasing numbers of books written on the subject, the purpose of which appears to have been to act as warnings and as moral tales about the dangers of a life of prostitution:[25] Charles Dickens' moral novel *David Copperfield* was serialised in the year 1849-50; and Mrs Gaskell's *Mary Barton* [26] was published in 1848 and her *Ruth* in 1953; Rossetti wrote his poem 'Jenny' on the subject; and Wilkie

[25] Such publications as William Tait's *Magdalenism* (1840); Ralph Wardlaw's *Lectures on the Female Prostitute* (1842) and James B. Talbot's *The Miseries of Prostitution* (1844) are examples.

[26] This book was sent to Annie by Hunt through Stephens at a time when there was some concern about her behaviour.

Collins,[27] (another of the Pre-Raphaelite circle) wrote his 'The Fallen Leaves' in 1886. Thomas Hood's poem 'The Bridge of Sighs,' (published in 1844) was a well-known piece describing the suffering of a prostitute. The following is an extract:

> 'Alas! for the rarity
> Of Christian Charity
> under the sun!
> Oh! it was pitiful!
> Near a whole city full, Home she had none . . .
> Where the lamps quiver,
> So far in the river,
> With many a light
> From window and casement,
> From garret to basement,
> She stood with amazement
> Houseless by night,
> The bleak wind of March
> Made her tremble and shiver;
> But not the dark arch,
> Or the black flowing river:
> Mad from life's history, Glad to death's mystery,
> Swift to be hurl'd - Anywhere, anywhere
> Out of the world!'

In order for the Victorian moral tales to make their point it was necessary to describe the prostitute as a sad, unhealthy and miserable individual, ' . . . ill-fed, ill-clothed, uncared for, from whose misery the eye recoils, cowering under dark arches and among bye-lanes.' [Acton, 1870, 24, quoted in Casteras, 1987, 133] Marsh writes:

> ' . . . it appears that in the nineteenth century it [prostitution] had much to offer a poor, ambitious girl . . . the lurid pictures drawn in popular literature and art of debauchery and degradation leading inevitably to disease and death did not so much depict reality as attempt to shape it.' [Marsh, 1985, 146]

It was not only in literature that such an interest was evident; it

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[27] Brother of Charley, he also had a relationship with a lower-class woman, Caroline Greaves, with whom he lived but would not marry, for fear of upsetting his mother

was present in painting too. Hunt seems to have been aware of the one-sided nature of these representations, as he is recorded as saying that 'it is by no means a matter of course that when a woman sins she should die in misery.' [Quoted Landow, 1979, 48]

The Awakening Conscience, exhibited in 1854, was one of an increasing number of paintings on the subject[28] exhibited in the Royal Academy from the 1850s onwards. Others, such as Rossetti's *Found* [29]never made it to the Academy. The model for this 'lost woman' was another of the 'stunners' for whom Rossetti was notorious, Fanny Cornforth.[30] Gabriel had complained about Hunt stealing his subject with *The Awakening Conscience,* his 'modern' or 'town' subject, as Doughty calls it.[31] [Doughty, 1949, 165-6] Rossetti is reported to have said: 'Hunt stole my subject so now I shall steal his model!'[32] [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 144] Rossetti made many attempts at representing the prostitute including *Hesterna Rosa* (1850); *Found* (1853 onwards); *Mary Magdalene at the Door of Simon the Pharisee* (1858, 1865); *Lady Lilith* (1864); and *Head of a Magdalen*(1867).

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[28] This was not uniquely a nineteenth century preoccupation; Hogarth made his *The Harlot's Progress* in 1731.

[29] Painted 1853 onward but never finished.

[30] Fanny Cornforth was a prostitute when Rossetti found her, and she modelled for many of his paintings. She was his housekeeper until Rossetti married Siddal, and again after she died. Her real name may have been Sarah Cox.

[31] In fact Watts had painted *Found Drowned* four years before, and one of his students, Stanhope, had painted *Thoughts of the Past* two years later.

[32] Was this Rossetti's motive for spending so much time with Miller?

Found, D.G. Rossetti, c. 1853-91

Prostitution was undoubtedly a problem, but in 1860 this writer believed that artists were responsible for keeping the public interested to such a degree:

> 'The Social Evil question has become a very popular one - too popular by half . . . We seem to have arrived at this point - that the most interesting class of womanhood is woman at her lowest degradation . . . and painters , preachers, and sentimentalists have kept the excitement at fever pitch.' [*The Saturday Review*, 1860, 417]

This was written even though social issues such as prostitution and romance were dealt with in a discreet fashion in the 1850s, as Marsh and Nunn point out. [Marsh and Nunn, 1989, 17] It was a problem for artists to represent the prostitute herself without the image being seen as obscene or morally reprehensible.[33] A more suitable way of representing her was found whereby Mary Magdalene became identified as 'a sort of patron saint to fallen women and a symbol of repentance for sexual transgression.' [Marsh, 1987, 89] There are many examples in the literature of the time where prostitutes are referred to as 'magdalens.'[34] In 1857, at the height of his obsession with the fallen woman theme, Rossetti painted a watercolour of Annie[35] as Mary Magdalene, in which her profile is recognisable, entitled *Mary Magdalene Leaving the House of Feasting.* Mary is

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[33] For further discussion of Victorian England's fascination with the extremes of femininity, see Trudgill, 1976, and Pearsall, 1971.

[34] There were homes (often run by nuns) set up around this time to care for fallen women which became known as 'magdalen homes.'

[35] There is a possibility that Madeleine Smith sat to Rossetti for the Magdalene, although her features are more like Annie's. See Appendix for details.

Mary Magdalene Leaving the House of Feasting,

D.G. Rossetti, 1857

barefoot and walking down some steps out of a building, presumably on her way out of the marriage feast where she washed Christ's feet with her hair. She is clasping a small decorated casket to her chin which could possibly be the jar in which she brought the precious ointment. Her head (which is surrounded by a halo) is crowned with flowers and her hair trails behind her. The painting has a dramatic appearance despite its small size (13 1/2 X 7 3/4 ins.).

Annie is represented in a much less romantic manner in Hunt's so-called 'modern life'[36] painting. The scene is clearly described: a lavishly furnished house where all the furnishings and accoutrements are shiny and brand new, right down to the music. *The Awakening Conscience* was originally conceived as a 'material counterpart' to *The Light of the World.* It was supposedly based on Peggoty's rescue of Little Em'ly[37] 'when she had become an outcast', and inspired by a quote from Isaiah.[38] Flint notes some similarities between descriptions in Wilkie Collins' *Basil* of 1852 and the room portrayed in the painting. The two artists were in contact during this period. [Flint, 1989, 51]

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[36] Cooper, 1986, 472.

[37] From the story in Dickens' *David Copperfield.*

[38] Hunt's favourite part of the Bible in the 1850's, it also provided the inspiration for *The Hireling Shepherd*

The Awakening Conscience, Holman Hunt, 1853

It was a delicate subject to tackle, and Hunt had chosen to depict it in a more potentially problematic way than most. Edward Lear saw Hunt's small preparatory sketch, and tried to persuade him not to go ahead with such difficult subject matter 'which might easily be misconstrued.' [Letter of 29/01/53[39]] Egg encouraged him to go ahead with the subject in July 1853, and even managed to influence Thomas Fairbairn to sponsor him (although there was no question of Hunt being made an advance.)[40]

The awakening of the young woman's conscience is represented as a painful ordeal;[41] in 1854, a critic wrote about Annie's face in *The Awakening Conscience* : 'The author of "The Bridge of Sighs"[42] could not have conceived a more painful looking face.' [unnamed author writing 'Fine Arts: The Royal Academy,' in Athenaeum, 27, 6 May, 1854, 561, cited in Casteras, 1987, 140] Although Annie originally modelled for *The Awakening Conscience*, Hunt painted over her face at a later stage. It is ironic that while Annie is notorious for her role in the painting, the face that is now visible belongs to another model.[43] Diana Holman-Hunt gives an account

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[39] Frances Deverell and W. M. Rossetti,'The P.R.B. and Walter Howell Deverell,' Huntingdon Library, (HM 12981-2)

[40] See Bronkhurst, 1983, 588

[41] Annie suffered terribly from cramps from holding the pose, neither sitting (because that would indicate that she had already fallen), nor standing.

[42] Thomas Hood's poem on the subject of fallen women.

[43] The same is true of *Il Dolce Far Niente*. Although Annie was the model, the face was finished from another model later.

of how Thomas Fairbairn found the original face so disagreeable that he asked Hunt to change it on his return from the Holy Land. Hunt had the picture for about a year when Fairbairn, by then Sir Thomas, demanded it back quickly. Diana Holman-Hunt explains that 'Hunt did more than change the expression, . . . he scraped out most of the head, instead of overpainting;' x-rays show nothing under the paint on the head.[44] She asserts that: 'The new face does not resemble Annie Miller in the least.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 134] This, then, would explain the differences between Annie's features as seen in Rossetti's fine-point portraits and those in Hunt's painting. Marsh does not, however, aesthetically exonerate Hunt or the owner of the second face:

> 'The woman's posture and expression suggest the sudden realization [sic] of burnt cooking in the oven rather than remorse for lost purity, and the static, waxwork quality of the painting does little for the sense of dramatic moment.' [Marsh , 1985, 61]

If this was how Annie was believed to have looked all this time (or at least until Diana Holman-Hunt wrote her book in 1969), what does represent a true picture of Annie Miller - wild young woman of low morals, or the determined-looking young woman of Rossetti's drawings? We know little about Annie Miller as a person, except from references in Hunt's correspondence with Stephens, and from oral records and hearsay. Most of the material has been written by supporters of Hunt. As Marsh

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[44] For references on the repainting of the face, see also Bronkhurst, 1983, 588.

writes:

> '. . . even the events of her life have to be reconstructed by inference from accounts by Hunt and his friends; in some ways her character and career have been so deeply confused with those attributed to the woman of *The Awakening Conscience* that they cannot now be disentangled. Whatever the reality her reputation today is that of a sexy, wanton girl, prodigal of her favours.' [Marsh, 1985, 59]

Annie sat for the picture in the autumn of 1853 in a nightgown[45] with a lace hem and with a paisley shawl tied around her hips and her hair loose down her back.[46] 'In such deshabille [sic] at noon, the woman is amusing her lover . . . but the words of the song strike a chord of remorse in her soul.' [Marsh, 1985, 60] Marsh believes that Hunt portrayed Annie as the one at fault. [Marsh, 1987, 58] In courtship (and at other sexual moments) the woman was clearly expected to be in control of the situation, as described in this quotation from an 1844 Etiquette handbook:

> 'It will be her part to repress excess of ardour whether in her own case or in that of her lover. Nothing is more like to produce a diminution of respect than an undue familiarity.' [*The Etiquette of Courtship and Marriage*, David Bogue, London, 1844, 13; quoted in Casteras, 1987, 86]

There was a great deal of interest shown in the picture when it was first shown. While he was away, Hunt was able to find out how his painting was received through reviews and letters sent to

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[45] Apparently Hunt's sister Emily argued that there should be a seam painted on the nightgown, so that Annie did not appear naked under her nightgown, but would appear to be wearing a spencer. The spencer would not have reached down below her waist, so the problem of what to do about her lower half was resolved by the shawl around her hips.

[46] Long hair worn loose and flowing was seen to signify moral lapse or sexual misconduct in those days. Similarly, prostitutes or women of easy virtue could be recognised by the absence of shawls or bonnets. If not wearing a bonnet, a respectable woman would wear a snood or hairnet.

him. As Cherry and Pollock point out, 'critics of this period were often puzzled by the pictures of Hunt, Millais or Egg.' [Cherry and Pollock, 1984, 491] According to Ruskin in *The Times* : 'There is not a single object in that room - common, modern, vulgar, but it becomes tragical, if rightly read. Painting taking its proper place beside literature.'[From a letter from Ruskin to *The Times*, as cited in Cook and Wedderburn, 1905, 33-5] In Flint's essay, [Pointon, 1989, 45-66] she discusses what constitutes 'right reading' and how easy it would have been for the general public to read the picture in the Royal Academy of 1854.[47]

> 'The art gossips, the fashionable who dabbled on the art world, and even some of his friends were buzzing, speculating about the story behind *The Awakening Conscience*. Unlike the naive viewers who stumbled into the Academy, these sophisticated types understood the significance of the absent wedding ring[48] and were titillated by the big red cashmere shawl wrapped around Annie's hips and knotted boldly in the front. They wanted to know more about the relationship of artist and model: Were they lovers or not?' [Daly, 1989,112]

Daly brings up the point that none of the other writers do: was Annie simply Hunt's mistress, or was he sincere about his motives, namely to save her from the inevitable life of prostitution? Marsh paints a picture of a more moral young man:

> 'They were not in a position to marry, and the piety they inherited from their families inhibited youthful experiments with servants and whores; indeed the problem for the young painters who cruised the Tottenham Court Road looking for models was that as well as possibly offending respectable girls, they risked picking up

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[47] For further discussion of the symbolism in *The Awakening Conscience*, see Casteras, 1987, 140, and Flint, 1989.

[48] It would have been difficult not to, since there are rings on every other finger.

> prostitutes, whom they had been taught to abhor[49]... Hunt himself wrote disapprovingly of painters as "a class of men who till this time have been thought excused for some licentiousness".[50] The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, by contrast, were pure in word and deed.'[51] [Marsh, 1985, 55-6]

Daly presents a clear-cut picture of the situation, and of Annie's interests: 'Hunt had made the mistake of portraying her as both beautiful and fallen - and therefore fair game. And Annie, who had not been raised under the constraints of the middle class, saw no reason not to enjoy herself.' [Daly,1989, 112] Annie, like many other models, became known in relation to her roles, and since her most famous role was that of the 'impure woman,' she was bound to become associated with it.[52]

As Annie was a 'kept woman' - both by Hunt (possibly for honourable reasons), and by Lord Ranelagh (most definitely for less than honourable reasons), could she, therefore, be labelled a prostitute? In *London Labour and the London Poor* of 1851-2, Henry Mayhew, the sociologist, divided prostitutes into six discrete categories: 1. the kept mistresses and prima donnas; 2. convives; 2a. independent; 2b. subject to mistress: i. 'board

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[49] Hardly true, since there are accounts of Gabriel Rossetti paying prostitutes to follow Burne-Jones around London for a day, and of his taking Morris and Burne-Jones to peep shows.

[50] Letter from Hunt to D. G. Rossetti, 21/3/1855

[51] They may not have been as pure as Marsh leads us to believe. Diana Holman-Hunt describes a letter sent by Hunt to Millais from his travels in which Hunt described an 'amorous encounter' on a French train. Millais apparently inked out the 'offensive passage' before he shared the letter with 'the brothers Collins and Rossetti.' [Hunt, 1987, 114-5]

[52] 'Respectable' women did not model for pictures other than portraits in those days.

lodgers' (given board); ii. 'dress lodgers' (given board and dress); 3. low lodging houses women; 4. sailors' and soldiers' women; 5. park women; 6. thieves' women. Mayhew believed that the kept women or mistresses were still prostitutes: 'prostitution does not consist solely in promiscuous intercourse, for she who confines her favours to one may still be a prostitute.' [Quoted Pearsall, 1971, 312, no refs. given] Depending upon the reading of the situation, Annie may have fitted into one of the above categories (see 2bi). Having been a prostitute would not automatically exclude a woman from making a good marriage (and, indeed, it did not do so in Annie's case). William Acton pointed out how often 'the better inclined class of prostitutes became the wedded wives of men in every grade of society, from the peerage to the stable.' [Quoted in Holman-Hunt, 1987, 68]

If the Pre-Raphaelites were as serious, responsible and religious as they have been described, could Hunt's attempt to 'save' Annie Miller have been a result of youthful idealism on his part, or was he merely 'saving' her for himself? Marsh describes Hunt's attitude as similar to one of a man who 'bought women to do with them what he would', even though he was unlikely to have seen it like that himself. She goes on to say: 'Hunt can hardly be held personally culpable, of course, for this was the actual state of relations between the sexes, whether in marriage or without, and

all the notions of romantic love could not camouflage it.' [Marsh, 1985, 61] She was not alone in thinking so, as this quote from an 1868 edition of *Westminster Review* shows: 'Prostitution is as inseparable from our present marriage customs as the shadow from the substance. They are two sides of the same shield.'[53] [Quoted in Casteras, 1987, 131] Grant Allen, writing in 1890, agreed: 'Our existing system is really a joint system of marriage and prostitution in which the second element is a necessary corollary and safeguard of the first.' [Grant Allen in 'The Girl of The Future,' *Universal Review* 2 , 1890, 58] Marsh suggests that Hunt's treatment of Annie at this time may in part have been due to a sense of competition with his fellow Pre-Raphaelites, and compares Gabriel's choice of Lizzie Siddal as his partner, and Millais' relationship with Effie Ruskin. 'Knight errantry, it may be remarked, was a favourite artistic theme.'[54] [Marsh, 1985, 59] Marsh writes about the curious position in which Hunt and Annie found themselves:

> 'he regarded himself as Annie's guardian but behaved more like a traditional "protector" or jealous lover. It is hard not to snipe at the way her obedience seems to have been demanded in exchange for a few lessons in elocution and etiquette, and impossible to see this as different in substance to "buying" a prostitute or "keeping" a mistress' [Marsh, 1985, 63]

Marsh suggests that Hunt's journey to the Holy Land was partly in

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[53] unidentified comment cited in Cominos, 'Late Victorian Sexual Respectability and the Social System,' 1963, 230

[54] For further discussion of the Victorian passion for medievalism and the cult of chivalry, see Mark Girouard's *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, 1981

the form of an escape to ease his conscience, as a result of some sort of sexual liaison between Hunt and Miller. She hypothesises that 'some such moral crisis would explain the self-mortifying aspects of Hunt's Holy Land travels,' and would explain the reason for him painting *The Scapegoat*, 'banished to a lurid desert in expiation of sin.' [Marsh, 1985, 61-2] She admits that she wouldn't equate the goat and the painter, but she does make a comparison between Hunt's method of painting his own hair and that of the goat. The location of the goat near to the supposed site of Sodom and Gomorrah[55] (at the cost of at least one goat's life and at great trouble and discomfort to Hunt) may also have been significant, as Marsh points out. [Marsh, 1985, 62] While Hunt was painting in the desert, Annie was

> 'waltzing in London with her latest admirer, the 7th Viscount Ranelagh. Fashionably, he drank champagne from her slipper at Bertolini's, then one of the smartest restaurants. She may have picked him up in the West End, or nearer home. His seat was Ranelagh House in Fulham, and he owned various properties in that neighbourhood.'[56] [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 165]

The previous year, another admirer of Annie's, Gabriel Rossetti had made a pen and ink drawing in 1853 on the subject of 'awakening consciences', which he titled *Hesterna Rosa*. The title translates as 'Yesterday's Rose'. On the foot of the drawing he quoted eight lines of Elena's song from Sir Henry Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde* (Act V. so.i):

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55 cf Bronkhurst, 1984, 120.

56 For details of Ranelagh's background, see Holman-Hunt, 1987, 165-6.

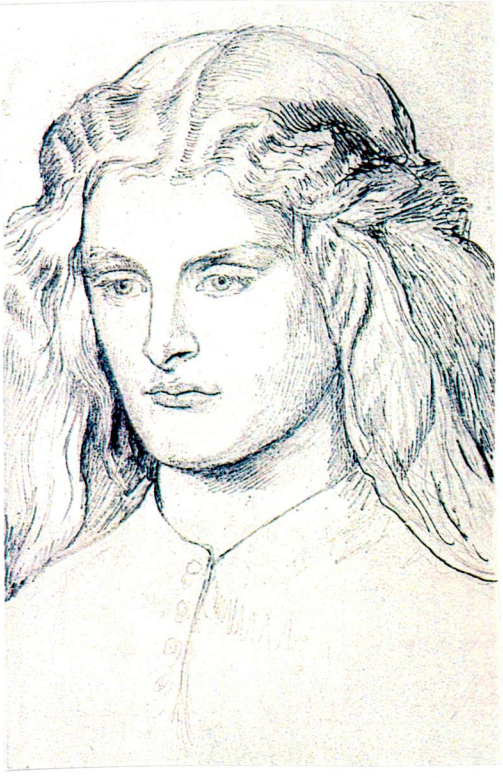
'Quoth tongue of neither maid nor wife
To heart of neither wife nor maid:
"Lead we not here a jolly life
Betwixt the shine and shade?"
Quoth heart of neither maid nor wife
To tongue of neither maid nor wife
"Thou wag'st, but I am worn with strife,
and feel like flowers that fade."'
[Surtees, 1971, 21]

There is an orgy going on.[57] The woman at the left of the drawing is yesterday's rose (*Hesterna Rosa*). She looks away in embarrassment. At the right of the drawing there is a cherub playing a lyre (symbolising innocence.) 'One of the harlots actually covers her brow in a gesture of stricken conscience while listening to music.' Marsh believes that the drawing was the result of an idea of Rossetti's at Sevenoaks of an image on the theme of 'women of easy virtue.' She proposes that the similarity between this theme and Hunt's in *The Awakening Conscience* could crucial to Annie's identification as model. 'In Pre-Raphaelitism, models often became associated with the moral character of the figures for which they sat, since artists and audience assumed correspondence between nature and appearance.' Apparently there is no evidence that Annie sat to Gabriel during 1854-5 in Hunt's absence, although she is believed to have been a model for *Hesterna Rosa,* and the facial features do not look unlike hers. She would have been the model for the

[57] There is an ape (possibly symbolising sin or lust) to the left of the group, which Faxon suggests could be derived from Durer's engraving, (c. 1497) *The Virgin and the Monkey,* in which the monkey is chained and sits calmly.

woman who realises what is going on, and, looking towards the cherub, covers her face in a gesture of shame.

Hesterna Rosa, D.G. Rossetti, c.1857



Annie Miller, D.G. Rossetti, c.1860

Annie Miller, D.G. Rossetti, c. 1860

CHAPTER 3

The Victorian bourgeois conception of the ideal woman was of one who was chaste; in order to be chaste, she must still retain her virginity. To quote H. Fehling: 'the appearance of the sexual side in the young girl is pathological,' [quoted in Ellis, 1913, 195] This sexual feeling was likened to disease, and even to criminality. Women who lost their virginity were considered ineligible for marriage.[58] There was no place in the Victorian conception of female sexuality for any kind of active desire on the part of the woman. Dr. William Acton[59] wrote that it was an insult to woman even to consider her capable of sexual response. She would feel 'good' because she could not enjoy sex and not because she could. [Grosskurth, 1980, 230-1] It can be seen, then, that Annie could not be regarded as the ideal marriage partner, [both because of her reputation and her suspected behaviour] and this could explain Hunt's reluctance to go ahead with his proposal to marry her. The following description of desirable behaviour for/in wives was published in *woman as she is, and as she should be* [anonymous, 1835]:

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[58] Thomas Branagan's 1808 volume, *The Excellence of Female Character Vindicated,* gave advice typical of the nineteenth century. He advised young men thinking of marriage to test the young lady by making sexual advances towards her. If she demonstrated 'becoming abhorrence,' she would make a suitable wife. [Faderman, 1985, 158-9]

[59] Author of Functions *and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs,* 1857, he was the originator of many Victorian sexual beliefs.

> 'With grace to bear even warmth and peevishness, she must learn and adopt his tastes, study his disposition, and submit in short, to all his desires with that grateful compliance, which in a wife is the surest sign of a sound understanding.' [Quoted in Pearsall, 1971, 358]

The wife was expected to submit to her husband in all things. Marriage, as described above, was not regarded as a state where women could be people in their own right. However, as Marsh points out: 'for women, in 1855, there was scarcely any other desirable option.' The vast majority of women were completely dependent on men for their maintenance. Marriage was a *desirable* state only in that it released woman from one state of dependence into another. There was precious little autonomy for the single woman (or for the married woman; the women with the most freedom at this period were the widows), particularly in the middle classes. Women from the lower classes had more freedom, even if this was due to necessity, rather than ideals. One of the best known pieces of propaganda for the ideal wife is in Coventry Patmore's[60] 'Angel in the House,' (published 1854-62). The following is an extract:

> He meets by heavenly chance express,
> The destined maid; some hidden hand
> Unveils to him that loveliness
> Which others cannot understand.
> Her merits in his presence grow,
> To match the promise in her eyes,
> And round her happy footsteps blow
> The authentic airs of Paradise.
>
> He prays for some hard thing to do,
> Some work of fame and labour immense,
> To stretch the languid bulk and thew
> To love's fresh-born magnipotence.

[60] A writer associate of the Pre-Raphaelites

An example of the 'good wife' in painting can be seen in George Elgar Hicks' *Woman's Mission: Companion to Manhood* (1863). *The Times* wrote that it showed 'woman in three phases of her duties as ministering angel.' [*The Times*, 27 May, 1863, 6; quoted in Casteras, 1987, 50] There are details carefully included in this painting which show what a good housekeeper the woman is.[61] Charles W. Cope's *Life Well Spent*, 1862, portrays another good wife and mother.[62] (Apparently there was originally a companion piece entitled *Time Ill Spent.*) The 'bad wife' was the subject of many a cautionary Victorian tale. Ruskin warned 'You must be either house-Wives or house-Moths; remember that. In the deep sense, you must either weave men's fortunes, and embroider them; or feed upon, and bring them to decay.'[63] [Ruskin, *The Ethics of the Dust*, 1866]

Before Hunt left on his travels, he had considered how it would benefit him to have a wife, and had told Mrs Combe[64] so. There is a fragment of a letter in existence from Hunt to Mrs Combe which shows his impatience to marry:

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[61] As does Hicks' other painting of a good wife and her husband (albeit of a lower social standing), *The Sinews of Old England*, 1857.

[62] She sits sewing beside her three children in a comfortable interior, complete with Bible, prayer book and a madonna lily.

[63] The consequences are clearly illustrated in Augustus Egg's 1858 triptych *Past and Present*, (Tate Gallery)

[64] His patron

> 'I wish more than ever that I could be married, but then I am in greater difficulty than ever because I know that most women would be crushed at the idea of the sort of life I should have to offer them. I never care one farthing for any women but highly bred ladies whose grace and refinement sit naturally upon them without any affectations or otherwise.' [Quoted Holman-Hunt, 1987, 233]

He was appalled at the state of the middle-class marriage market. As a young painter he could not hope to fare well. He did not tell her that he was considering Annie Miller, as he knew that she could not possibly approve. According to Diana Holman-Hunt, Mrs Combe suggested herself to him as a travelling companion at one point, since she had no sons and was careless about the effects such a journey would have on her self. She did not believe that any wife (or at least one who could be considered suitable) would consider taking such a dangerous journey. It seems that by 1855 Stephens did not believe that Hunt was going to marry Annie, rather that his intention was to save her from degradation and the streets. In a letter to Hunt he joked that 'of course all girls thought of nothing else but marriage.' Marsh comments that Hunt had not realised that he could be the man to marry her 'but maybe Annie had; her behaviour suggests that, like Mary Barton [from Elizabeth Gaskell's novel of the same name], she was now determined that "her looks should make her a lady."'[65] [Marsh , 1985, 66] Marsh: 'Annie's success with men was to be her chief means of self-improvement.' The only lasting way for a woman to

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65 Mary Barton had dreams of marrying the rich mill-owner's son, and was lucky to escape ruin at his hands.

better her social standing was through marriage and this was the substance of many romantic novels, and (by all accounts) many a housemaid's dream. It was dreams like this which had caused Mary Barton's problems. Marsh writes that 'the main avenue of achievement lay through appearance and a pretty girl was frequently urged to improve her situation (and incidentally that of her family) by marrying a gentleman.' [Marsh, 1985, 101] Munby[66] recorded a marriage between Lord Robert Montague and nursemaid Betsy Wade, in 1862. Society was horrified, while the servants, including Munby's servant-wife Hannah, were jealous. [Hudson, 1972, 146] Marsh believes that: '. . . the apparently widespread tales of gentlemen seducing maidservants perhaps owed as much to the marriage aspirations of the latter as to the lust of the former. It was worth the risk to become a lady.' [Marsh, 1985, 102]

Hunt discovered that Annie had been seen in the company of a 'swell Regent Street whore,' and that she had been seen out around town with the Rossetti brothers, and all these revelations about Annie meant that Hunt was less willing to marry her. In December on 1856, Stephens wrote to Hunt:

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[66] Arthur Munby collected data and photographs of women who did jobs like scullery scrubbing, fishing, and mining. He was fascinated with working class women. His life and diaries are preserved through Derek Hudson's biography of him, and the work or scholars such as Griselda Pollock.

> 'You cannot of course hold yourself out to her as a prize for exertion on her part . . . In fact I fancy she expected the golden apple was going to drop into her mouth and that you would marry her without further trouble or interest on your part.' [letter from Stephens to Hunt, dated 9/12/1856, quoted in Holman-Hunt, 1987, 177]

In the same letter, Stephens stated his belief that Annie's feelings were 'too shallow' for her to be worthy of the title of Mrs Holman Hunt. The next day, Hunt wrote back that he wanted Annie to go to school to get rid of her 'wretched false pride' and 'fatal indolence.' [undated letter from Hunt to Stephens, quoted in Holman-Hunt, 1987, 176] He said that 'she must either have life without the control of one vanity, or would not have it at all.' Hunt was fighting a battle with Annie to get her to go to school (there would have been no possibility of his marrying her, if she had not been sufficiently groomed). He wrote that once he had started his mission, he would continue 'for years . . . rather than be the first to give up the attempt.' [letter from Hunt to Stephens, 10/12/1856, quoted Marsh, 1985, 108] He seemed determined to go ahead at this point, but Annie was slow learning her lessons. So, she spent at least part of 1857 'at school.' She lived in lodgings at Mrs Stratford's[67] house, 11 Bridge Row, Pimlico.[68] Later that year Annie got in trouble with Mrs Stratford for 'deceit.'[69] Anyway, the police were sent to Stephens and then to Hunt.

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[67] The wife of a 'minor civil servant, an Inland Revenue messenger.'

[68] Another woman who lived there had been a teacher and may have taught Annie.

[69] Diana Holman-Hunt believes that it was over the rent.

Meanwhile, Mrs Stratford called to Mrs Bramah, because it was she who had recommended Annie. It seems that while in Mrs Stratford's care she had stayed out overnight, under the pretence of staying with her sister, or aunt. Marsh reports that Mrs Bramah was 'much shocked' at the disclosures - 'so much so, indeed, that the dire "question" (that is, was she pure?) was asked.' It seems that Mrs Stratford vouched for her purity. Stephens was concerned about the deception in which he was involved through not revealing to Mrs Bramah that there was a possible marital interest on Hunt's part. [See Holman-Hunt, 1987, 196] Hunt showed little concern over this incident, but sent Mrs Gaskell's book, *Mary Barton* to Annie with Stephens. After this incident Annie was encouraged to pay attention to her book-keeping[70] and to earn any money she needed through other means than modelling. She refused to listen or to take money from Hunt. Stephens wrote to Hunt that 'she firmly believed you had sent her there to be rid of her . . she throws the whole blame on you, in shortness utterly intractable.' [letter from Stephens to Hunt, dated June 1858, quoted Holman-Hunt, 1987, 199] As part of a move on Hunt's part to make Annie a more acceptable wife, he called on Boyce on 21 January, who wrote the following:

> 'After desultory chat and looking at drawings etc. Hunt introduced the subject which principally brought him. Having in prospect to marry Annie Miller, after that her education both of mind and manners shall have been completed, he wished to destroy as far as

[70] Book-keeping was then considered an essential household skill for a wife.

> was possible all traces of her former occupation, viz. that of sitting to certain artists (those artists however, being all his personal friends, Rossetti, A. Hughes, Stephens, Egg, Holliday [Halliday], Millais, Collins and myself and as mine was the only direct study of her head, as it was, he would hold it a favour if I would give it him and he in return would give me something of his doing that I might like.'

As Boyce wanted to keep the drawing, he resisted,

> 'but finding that it was a serious point with him, and that my refusing would be in some degree an obstacle in the carrying out of his wishes with regard to her (which it would be both selfish and unkind and foolish in the remotest degree to thwart) I at last reluctantly assented . . . He thanked me heartily for my compliance. He gave me real pleasure by telling me that she says I always behaved most kindly to her.' [Boyce, 1980, 20-1]

It was only a week later that Brown wrote that Hunt, from being 'all hot' about marriage to Annie, had now 'somehow quite cooled . . . and says now that it is never to be.' [Brown, 1981, 201] By 1859, Hunt and Annie were on friendly terms again, and he began to paint *Il Dolce Far Niente* at this time. According the title was chosen to tease Miller, and he painted an engagement ring on the finger in the painting. [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 203] Shortly afterwards, he found out about Annie's relationship with Ranelagh, and that she had been spotted in the company of a 'swell Regent Street whore.' He was angry, and went through a period of 'persecution mania,' imagining that the personal messages in *The Times* were from Annie. Annie considered suing him for Breach of Promise, since she had a written proposal from him, but Ranelagh dissuaded her. It would not suit him to have scandals exposed involving his relationship with an artists' model. According to an account by Diana Holman-Hunt, Annie called to

Lord Ranelagh over the New Year and told him about her broken engagement. Apparently he advised her to sell her love letters from Hunt to a newspaper, or to Hunt himself. His cousin, Thomas Ranelagh Thomson, was present and seems to have thought it a good idea too. Ranelagh went out and left Annie alone with Thomson for the first time, who 'told her that he had hoped for this all along. . . ' Hunt recounts how Annie returned to the Stratfords saying that she had a 'beau' and that she had a great money-making plan. She gave the Stratfords five guineas, but it is unclear whether she got it from Ranelagh or Thomson.[71] The result of all this was that at the end of January 1861, Mrs Stratford called on Stephens saying that she was calling on Annie's behalf.

> 'It was surprising that a Christian, religious gentleman should turn against humble folk. She added darkly that Miss Miller had other friends . . . perhaps aristocrats were more reliable than artists after all. Annie had a trunk full of letters from Mr Hunt and drawings of her . . . studies she believed they were called.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 224]

Annie eventually married Captain Thomas Thompson, a cousin of Lord Ranelagh, at St. Pancras' Church on 23/7/1863. They kept the marriage secret for some time so that they still had the option of blackmailing Hunt at a later date when his reputation was important to him. 'In later years Hunt, accidentally meeting Annie, "a buxom matron with a carriage full of children, on

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[71] Possibly from Ranelagh, since Thomson was not so well-off.

Richmond Hill," and learning that she, like himself, was now happily married, forgave "the offence, which in fact," he said, "worked me more good than harm."[Doughty, 1949, 259]

Hunt married Fanny Waugh[72] on the 28/12/1865. They set out for the Holy Land the following year. Fanny was eight months pregnant. She gave birth on 26 October 1866 to Cyril Benone and on 10 November Hunt wrote to Stephens:

> 'Poor Fanny suffered most cruelly at the confinement her preliminary pains were so extreme and the danger was so great that it was resolved upon as the only means of saving her life that instruments shld [sic] be used to extract the child by force - by some chance short of a miracle - as it seemed with a knowledge of the violence employed - the poor little child was born alive altho [sic] so badly injured about the head as to leave great doubts whether he wld [sic] live a day . . . the poor mother however was injured much more seriously - (for 9 days the baby is not getting proper food) poor Fanny has had to lie at the very gates of death many and many an hour. Now I bless God it is thought she is out of imminent danger altho [sic] she is sadly wasted and v. feeble.'

Fanny died almost two months after the birth. Both the Waughs and Hunt's sister Emily wanted to take the child, but Hunt had taken on a Tuscan foster mother. Hunt and the Waughs had no further contact with Emily Hunt. Hunt stayed in Florence and painted *Isabella and the Pot of Basil* from studies he had made of Fanny. When the baby seemed well enough, they travelled to Paris. The baby got worse and worse, and Hunt returned to London. He was dying when they arrived, as the wet nurse had had no milk. A new one was found, and the baby survived.

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[72] The daughter of a pharmacist who had eight daughters, and sister of Alice Waugh, who married Thomas Woolner.

While painting a portrait of Edith [Fanny's younger sister], he discovered that she cared deeply for him. However, due to the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act they could never marry, so they decided not to think about it and he returned to Florence, from where he travelled to Jerusalem. There were disagreements about the way in which the Waughs were bringing up the child, they were overly-protective, and Hunt wanted them to teach him to ride and send him out to Jerusalem. He thought that if he married he would have more chance of getting him. When, in 1871, he returned to England following illness, Edith wrote a love letter to him and he was tempted, but worried about scandal - as he was a religious painter, his career could be affected. In November 1875 Hunt married her younger sister Edith in Neuchatel, Switzerland. The Waugh family did not approve of the illegal second marriage. Hunt campaigned for many years to have the law changed, and was the founder member of 'The Marriage Law Reform Association.' [See Landow, 1979, 180 for details, and references to Hunt's many letters to *The Times* on the subject.] He died on 7 September, 1910 and was cremated and his remains interred in St. Paul's. Of all the Pre-Raphaelite group of artists, he was survived only by William Michael Rossetti. Annie died in 1925.[73]

[73] She and her husband are buried in Shoreham Cemetary, grave no. B.19.7

Annie Miller, D.G. Rossetti, c.1860

CHAPTER 4: BEAUTY

'Annie Miller [was] a beautiful red-haired girl living in a Chelsea slum and working as a barmaid. She was only fifteen when Hunt met her in 1850.' [Bowness, Tate Gallery, 1984, 19]
Ford Madox Brown described Annie as 'looking most syren-like.' [Brown, 1981, 184]

Cherry and Pollock point out that the cult of the artists' model was not as evident in previous periods as it was in these times:

> 'Such priorities are reserved for Victorian and especially Pre-Raphaelite artists constructed as bohemian, libertarian, forever and always in pursuit of the lovely women who inspire their art and *sustain its pleasure.*' [Cherry and Pollock, 1984, 493]

Their use of language seems particularly apt in the case of this group. Public interest became especially visible during the 1984 Tate Gallery Exhibition, when countless articles were written. Reproductions of Pre-Raphaelite paintings continue to be (or are again) popular mass-produced images. Is this because they make 'pretty pictures,' or because of their status as male-produced images for a predominately male audience? The question cannot be dismissed resolved so readily since female artist-photographers such as Eveleen Myers and Julia Margaret Cameron produced images of equally seductive 'syrens' - were they simply producing these because of their fashionable status/they knew

they were fashionable, or what [they thought] people wished to view?

Two paintings by John Everett Millais, which are sometimes believed to contain Annie, are *Waiting* and *The Girl in the Pink Bonnet* (both 1854). In May 1854 Millais wrote: 'Annie Miller has been sitting to me and I have painted a little head from her. She is a good little girl and behaves herself properly.' Michael Halliday's letter the next month confirmed this, saying that Millais had done 'two or three beautiful little studies of Annie Miller' and that 'he and I have been giving her a lot of work to do lately.'[74] [Letter from John Everett Millais to Hunt, 10/4/1854, quoted Mary Lutyens, *Millais and the Ruskins*, 1967, 150n; and M. Halliday to Hunt, Apr-May 1854, quoted D. Holman-Hunt, 1987, 132] Marsh proposes that the head that Millais painted was 'a small oil entitled *Waiting,* and [for] *The Girl in the Pink Bonnet* ,' which she suggests may have been a head study for *Waiting*, although she concedes that her only grounds for doing so may be that the model[s] for both pictures wear[s] the same bonnet. Although it is known that Annie did sit to Millais, the facial features of the woman (if she is the same person) in these two oils are not quite similar to the fine-point studies that Rossetti

[74] It is not known what the result of Halliday's work was, although it is unlikely to have been a portrait, since Boyce was under the illusion that he was the only one to have produced a recognisable head from her.

completed some six years later [see pages 34-5, 47]. Even though the figure in *Waiting* is small, and therefore hard to identify Marsh believes that she could well be Annie, but she is unsure of *The Girl in the Pink Bonnet*, because of her facial features: 'Annie seems to have [had] stronger, squarer features, while here Millais painted a sugarplum.' [Marsh, 1985, 63] Other scholars also dispute the identification; Mary Lutyens claims that Annie Miller was the model for *Waiting* and Malcolm Warner states that she was not. [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 132; Tate Gallery cat. no. 59] Malcolm Warner believes that: 'her actual identity remains to be discovered.' [Tate, 1984, 121] Diana Holman-Hunt believes Lutyens' account; ie that Annie was the model; and gives as evidence the similar 'spacing and proportion of the eyes, the nose and mouth' both in these two paintings and in Rossetti's *Helen of Troy.* [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 132] The colouring of Annie was profoundly different in all these paintings; in *Waiting* the woman is a pink-cheeked brunette; in *Helen of Troy* she is a blonde 'syren;' and there does not seem to be a colour reproduction available from which to judge *The Girl in the Pink Bonnet.*

Marsh believes that Hunt found female physicality problematic: 'It seems evident that he regarded feminine physicality as a a snare; his presentations are consistently more coarse and less

The Girl in the Pink Bonnet, J.E. Millais, 1854

Waiting, J.E. Millais, 1854

appealing than those of Millais or Rossetti.' [Marsh, 1987, 86] She gives Il *Dolce Far Niente* [ill. page 13] as an example as the central female is not so alluring as one might expect her to be given the nature of the painting (although this could be due to recent events in his relationship with Annie Miller). *Il Dolce Far Niente* was painted by Hunt probably using Annie as model. Diana Holman-Hunt believes that Hunt finished *Il Dolce Far Niente* early in 1865, from Fanny's face 'for which Annie's reddish gold hair made a most unsuitable frame.' [Holman-Hunt, 1987, 237] She continues:

> 'The relaxed pose of a professional and the clothes are typical of Annie. Fanny's strong yet sensuous features, without the long straight hair she had, make the total effect so incongruous that the model looks like a female impersonator in a wig.'[Holman-Hunt, 1987, 237]

The figure contains a strange blend of masculine and feminine; the face could be a man's, while the expression would appear to be both inviting and daring the viewer at the same time. It is a return by Hunt to the ruddy-cheeked country type he used for *The Hireling Shepherd.*[75] Marsh sees a discrepancy between the 'sensuous treatment of the figure, who is clad in a sumptuous Renaissance costume,' and the 'virtuous nature of the subject, a young engaged woman reading by the fireside.' [Marsh, 1985, 165] The young woman in question looks as if she has no interest whatsoever in reading her book, nor does it appear that she will

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[75] It is possible that Hunt was influenced by phrenological ideas in his choice of the model's facial type and shape of head, for a further discussion of phrenology and the Pre-Raphaelites, see GRILLI, 1984; or LANDOW, 1979

develop one in the near future. Marsh comments that the figure is more overtly sexual than those in many of Hunt's paintings. It is certainly true that, in Marsh's words, '. . . the young woman looks bold and brazen.' She continues: 'The directness of her gaze makes the spectator uncomfortable, almost as if accosted.' [Marsh, 1987, 89] She gazes out of the picture, appearing to look at the viewer and to one side at the same time.[76] Marsh suggests a possible reading of the painting based on Hunt's well-documented loathing of the middle-class 'marriage market,'

> 'whereby young ladies were perceived as selling themselves for the best offer in terms of income and status they could attract; feminine charms and accomplishments were seen as legitimate inducements in this transaction.'

She draws attention to the woman, who 'displays her engagement ring suggestively, with more than a hint of vulgar anticipation.' She also alludes/indicates to a possible hidden agenda, 'in the purchase of comfortable idleness through a wedding ring [which may] account for the similarities between *Il Dolce Far Niente* and *The Awakening Conscience*, where a comparable relationship is seen as morally reprehensible.' [Marsh, 1987, 89]

Another painting for which Annie certainly modelled is a chalk pastel, dated 1863, by Rossetti which is known as *Woman in Yellow,* or *Lady in Yellow.* Surtees describes it as unfinished. It was probably intended as a colour study for a painting to be

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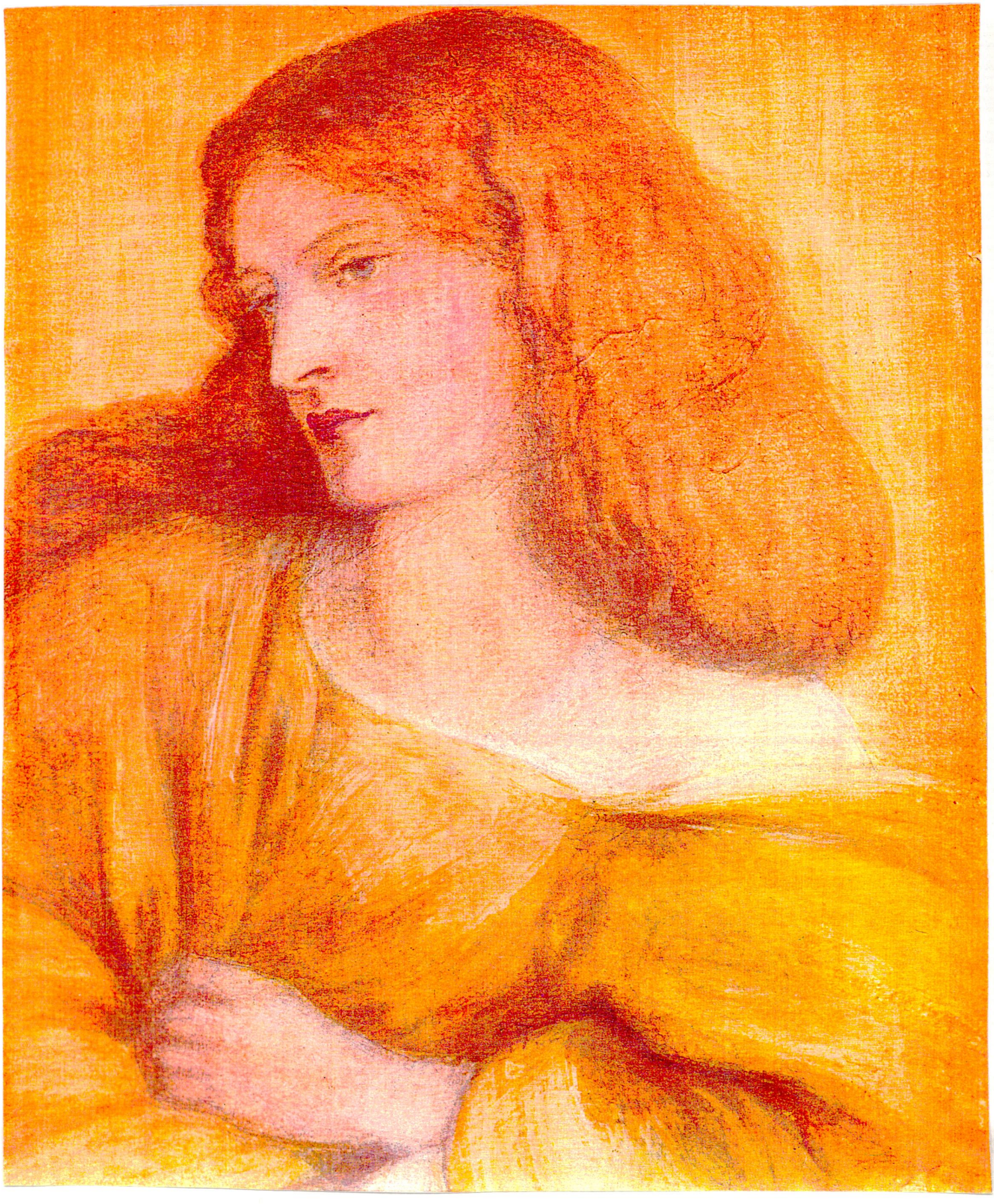
[76] Actually, both eyes do not face quite the same direction.



Woman in Yellow, D.G. Rossetti, 1863

completed at a later date, but he never made another version. Annie is shown seated, with her head turned three-quarters to her right and inclined to one side. She is looking out of the picture directly at the viewer. Her arms are folded, and as a result, her dress is falling off her left shoulder, exposing it. Her hair is loose and falling around her shoulders. Her lips are richly coloured, but seem almost thin by Rossetti's standards/there is no attempt to turn them into the full-bodied lips Rossetti often chose to represent. As this painting does not pretend to have a 'worthy topic,' perhaps it could be described as more honest:

> 'It is not that these paintings have no subject. Their subject is in fact double. Woman is subject to patriarchal power relations. Man as sovereign, possessing subject of the gaze has the power to look to fear, to subordinate woman to his gaze and define woman as temptress, the femme fatale fatally *seducing him.*' [Cherry and Pollock, 1984, 492]

The Woman in Yellow is a gentle, soft study; much more low-key than the overtly sexual *Helen of Troy,* for example. That painting, with its woman's pouting red lips, gazing eyes sends out a clear message of sexual danger to the viewer; most overtly 'woman as temptress.' There is an inscription by Rossetti on the back, which makes his opinion/view/perception of Helen clear: 'Helen of Troy ελεναυξ, ελανδροξ, ελεπτολιξ[77] destroyer of ships, destroyer of men, destroyer of cities. Painted by D.G. Rossetti. 1863.' [Surtees, 1971, 92] Swinburne described the painting thus:

> '. . . The picture of Helen, with Parian face and mouth of ardent blossom, a keen red flower-bud of fire, framed in broad gold of wide-spread locks, the sweet sharp smile of power set fast on her clear curved lips, and far behind her the dull flame of burning and light from reddened heaven on dark sails of lurid ships . . .' [*Essays and studies*, A. C. Swinburne, 1875, 99, quoted in Surtees, 1971, 92]

[77] Agamemnnon, Aeschylus, 688.

Helen of Troy, D.G. Rossetti, 1863

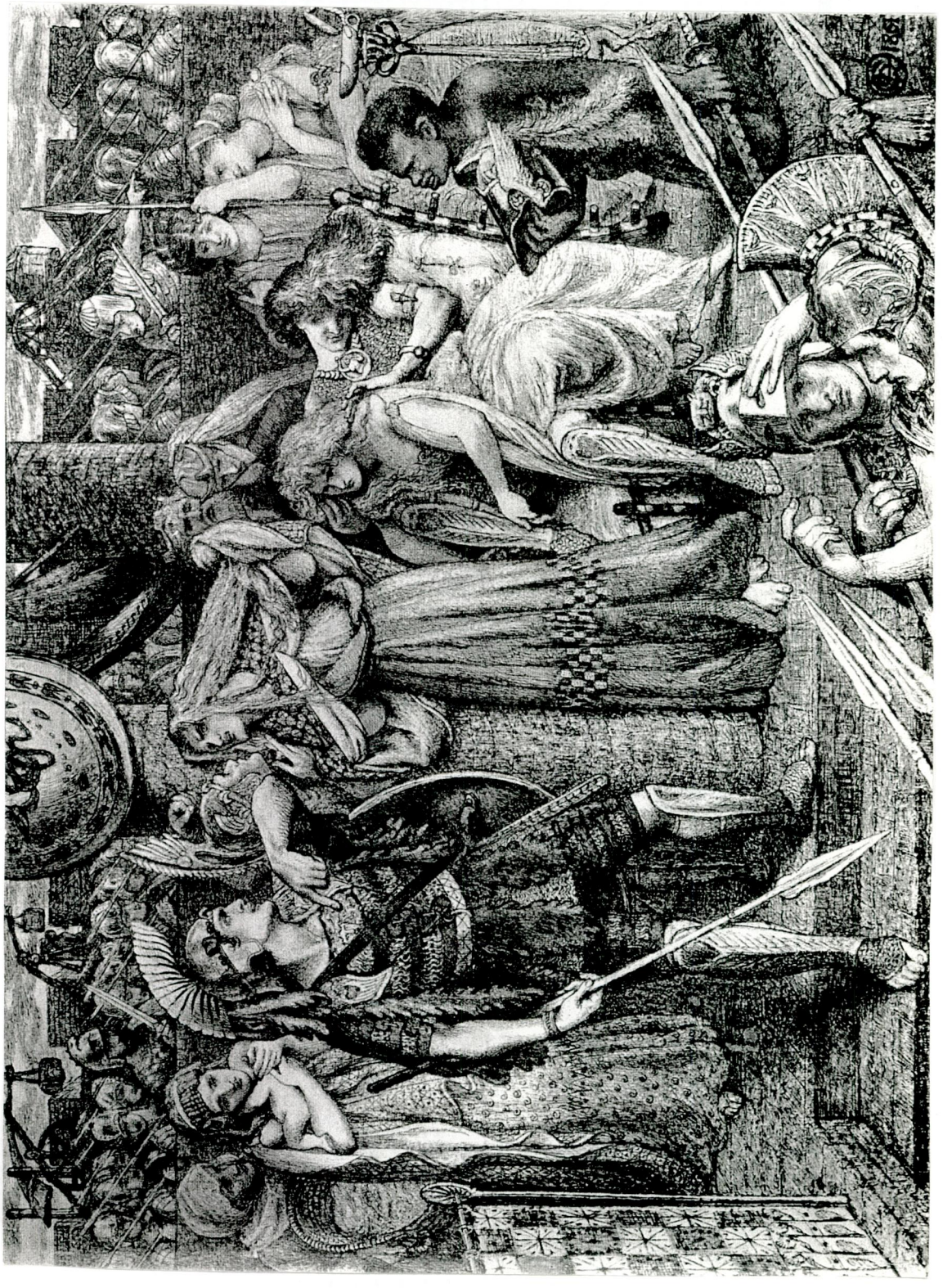
In this painting, Annie certainly resembles the 'syren' described by Brown. Cherry and Pollock could almost have written the following piece about the painting of Helen, although, of course, it applies to a series of Rossetti paintings from this period with single women placed within the frame. Usually just the woman's top half is shown, and she appears to be offering something to the viewer; herself usually.

> 'Perceived as sexually voracious, as a temptress, the impure woman occurs generically in many paintings and drawings by Rossetti . . . of historical or mythological figures whose beauty is fatal to men. In works by Rossetti . . . an image of woman is produced across a fragmented body, with attributes of flowing hair, exotic jewellery, dressed in gorgeous stuffs, holding fruits and flowers. With the increasingly schematized [sic] or abstracted facial features these paintings produce women as feminine object, to be looked at, an image made for, bought by, delected over and feared by its masculine viewers.' [Cherry and Pollock, 1984, 492]

Griselda Pollock compares Pre-Raphaelite portraiture and recent fashion photographs in her chapter on 'Woman as sign: psychoanalytic readings.' where she writes:

> 'Often there was only a blank, air-brushed expanse of colour in which eyes freely floated above undulations of shocking and moistly red lips. These were not faces, nor portraits but fantasy. I recognised a striking parallel with nineteenth century drawings of female faces by D.G. Rossetti which were also *not* portraits.' [Pollock, 1988,122]

Again, this is relevant to *Helen of Troy* of 1863. Two years earlier, in 1861, Rossetti had made a complex pen and ink drawing on a related theme, but executed in a very different style, which was entitled *Cassandra.* Annie modelled for the figure of Cassandra, who was the daughter of Priam and Hecuba, king and queen of Troy. Troy town was ruined in a battle



Cassandra, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 1861

because of Helen who had run away (from her husband) with Paris, a shepherd boy and son of Priam and Hecuba. Cassandra had a gift of prophesy, but was doomed because she was never to be believed. She had predicted the battle, but had not been taken seriously.

> 'Rend, rend thine hair, Cassandra : he will go.
> Yea, rend thine garments, wring thine hands, and cry
> From Troy still towered to the unreddened sky.
> See, all but she that bore thee mock thy woe:-
> He most whom that fair woman arms, with show
> Of wrath on her bent brows; for in this place
> This hour thou bad'st all men in Helen's face
> The ravished ravishing prize of Death to know.
>
> What eyes, what ears hath sweet Andromanche,
> Save for her Hector's form and step; as tear
> On tear make salt the warm last kiss he gave?
> He goes. Cassandra's words beat heavily
> Like crows above his crest, and at his ear
> Ring hollow in the shield that shall not save.'
>
> (D. G Rossetti)

Andromanche was Cassandra's sister-in-law and wife of her brother, Hector. Most of the family was killed in the war, and Cassandra and her mother were carried as captives to Greece. Helen went back home to her husband, hence 'destroyer of ships, destroyer of men, destroyer of cities.' Surtees describes the drawing as 'one of Rossetti's finest.'

Surtees [1971, 80] quotes from a letter from Rossetti to a Colonel Gillum, in which he describes the drawing:

> 'The incident is just before Hector's last battle. Cassandra has warned him in vain by her prophesies, and is now throwing herself against a pillar, and rending her clothes in despair, because he will not be detained any longer. He is rushing down the steps and trying to make himself heard across her noise, as he shouts an order to the officer in charge of the soldiers who are going round the ramparts on their way to battle. One of his officers is beckoning to him to make haste. Behind him is Andromanche with their child, and a nurse who is holding the cradle. Helen is arming Paris in a

> leisurely way on a sofa; we may presume from her expression that Cassandra has not spared her in her denunciations. Paris is patting her on the back to soothe her, much amused. Priam and Hecuba are behind, the latter stopping her ears in horror. One brother is imploring Cassandra to desist from her fear-inspiring cries. The ramparts are lined with engines for casting stones on the besieger.'

In this drawing Annie looks similar to to the studies which were made of her by Rossetti. She has clear features, and a clearly-defined bone structure. Was her personality defined by her visage, as the phrenologists claimed? Marsh describes her personality thus: 'Annie seems to have been bright, attractive and intelligent, with an independent mind, *ready to seize opportunities;* she was streetwise, as we might say. For his part, Hunt found her lively and stunningly good-looking.' [Marsh, 1985, 60] Others have not been so kind; Edward Clodd, for example: 'There was the making of an intelligent woman in her.' [Edward Clodd, *Memories,* 1916, 200; quoted in Marsh, 1987, 124] She has been described both as a 'vixen'[78] and as a 'goose,'[79] neither of which could be considered complimentary, although the latter could possibly be considered a term of endearment. One suggests a scheming mind; the other foolishness. She has been represented as a lazy schemer, a young mistress, a 'destroyer of ships, destroyer of men, destroyer of cities,' and as a magdalen; yet it is only in Rossetti's fine-point drawings of her that she

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[78] Letter from Hunt to Stephens, 25 January, 1861, quoted Holman-Hunt, 1987, 225-6

[79] Letter from Stephens to Hunt, dated March, 1855

emerges as a recognisable countenance. Perhaps the true picture of Annie Miller was that of a strong woman who knew what she wanted, and got what she wanted. After all, she escaped from the squalid life she was leading in Cross Keys Yard and got a new life, probably without even having to sleep with or marry Hunt. Her story had an ending which could have come from a romantic novel of the time: she married into the nobility [almost].

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APPENDIX

WORKS IN WHICH ANNIE MILLER APPEARS

The Awakening Conscience, William Holman Hunt, 1853-4

Retouched 1856, 1857, 1864, 1879-80, 1886.

Inscribed 'Whh [in monogram form] LON / 1853'

Oil on canvas, arched top

30 X 22 (76.2 X 55.9)

First exhibited Royal Academy, 1854 (No. 377)

Also a small preparatory sketch, dated January, 1853 (collection of Stanley Pollitt) [Reproduced in Bennet, 1970, 26]

Hesterna Rosa, DGR, 1853, [Surtees cat. 57][Plate 49]

Pen and ink, 71/2 X 91/4[80]

The title is translated as 'Yesterday's Rose'.

Signed and dated, inscribed on the foot of the drawing : 'Composed - 1850 - drawn, and given to his P.R. Brother Frederic G. Stephens - 1853', and below are quoted in two columns are eight lines of Elena's song from Sir Henry Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde* (Act V. sc. i):

> 'Quoth tongue of neither maid nor wife
>
> To heart of neither wife nor maid:
>
> "Lead we not here a jolly life

[80] There exists also a smaller, similar drawing to the one above (Surtees cat. no. 57A), and a replica, in watercolour (1865), entitled *Elena's Song*, the present location of which is unknown.[cf Surtees, 1971, 22]

Betwixt the shine and shade?"
Quoth heart of neither maid nor wife
To tongue of neither maid nor wife
"Thou wag'st, but I am worn with strife,
and feel like flowers that fade."'

[Surtees, 1971, 21]

Waiting, Millais, 1854.

Opinion differs as to whether Annie Miller was definitely the model.

Oil on panel

123/4 X 93/4 (32.4 X 24.8)

Monogrammed and dated 1854.

Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.

Malcolm Warner wrote for the Tate Gallery Catalogue, 1984 that the model 'has been said to be Holman Hunt's girlfriend Annie Miller but this is probably incorrect.' He cites the different facial characteristics in Boyce's 1854 portrait as evidence, and concludes that 'her actual identity remains to be discovered.'[81] There is a reference to the painting in the Art Journal of 1857, page 310 in which it is called *The Stile.* When it was sold in 1859 by Joseph Arden, it was called *Girl at the Stile.*

The Girl in the Pink Bonnet, JEM, 1854, Marsh holds that AM is the model for *Waiting*, but she sees *The Girl* as more doubtful

Dante's Dream on the Death of Beatrice, DGR, 1856, [Surtees

81 Sold in Sotheby;s on 23 June, 1981 as part of Lot 18

cat. 81][Plate 95] Annie Miller is probably not a model for this drawing.

Morning Prayer, Hunt, 1856, oil, 91/4" X 7", signed and dated.

Mary Magdalene Leaving the House of Feasting, DGR, 1857, [Surtees cat. 88; Plate 113](Tate Gallery no. 2859)

Watercolour, 131/2X73/4

Monogrammed and dated 1857 lower right corner.

Virginia Surtees comments that the 'likeness to Annie Miller is marked.' [Surtees, 1971, 50]

> 'It has been suggested by Sir Sacheverell Sitwell that Madeleine Smith sat to Rossetti for the Magdalene "more than once"; " . . . her husband, Wardell [sic] was a designer and craftsman who was much employed by William Morris . . . Her marriage brought Madeleine Smith into contact with many members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle, and she was drawn by Rossetti, more than once as the Magdalene." [*Splendours and Miseries,* S. Sitwell, 1944, p.209] The Morris firm in which George Wardle worked as a designer was founded in 1861 and it is unlikely that she was known to the circle before that. The only new Magdalene executed by Rossetti (with its related study) after 1858 is No. 250, belonging to the year 1877, which bears no resemblance to her.' [Surtees, 1971, 50]

Lady Godiva, illustration for Moxon's edition of Tennyson's poems, Hunt, March, 1857

Parting, an illustration based on *At Night in Once a Week,* Hunt, published 21 July 1860

Il Dolce Far Niente, WHH, 1860

(The dating is uncertain, the picture seems to have been started using Annie around 1860 and finished using Fanny Hunt as model for the face at a later stage.)

Oil; The title is usually translated as 'sweet idleness.'

Cassandra, DGR, 1861, [Surtees cat. 127; Plate 196]

(British Museum, No. 1910-12-10-4)

Pen and ink, touched with white, 13 X 181/2

Monogrammed and dated 1861 on lower right.

From about 1861 Rossetti used classical references in his work, including Cassandra, Helen of Troy and Astarte Syriaca.

'Rend, rend thine hair, Cassandra : he will go.

Yea, rend thine garments, wring thine hands, and cry
From Troy still towered to the unreddened sky.
See, all but she that bore thee mock thy woe:-
He most whom that fair woman arms, with show
Of wrath on her bent brows; for in this place
This hour thou bad'st all men in Helen's face
The ravished ravishing prize of Death to know.

What eyes, what ears hath sweet Andromanche,
Save for her Hector's form and step; as tear
On tear make salt the warm last kiss he gave?
He goes. Cassandra's words beat heavily
Like crows above his crest, and at his ear
Ring hollow in the shield that shall not save.'

(D. G Rossetti)

Surtees comments that: 'in the head of Cassandra the features of

Annie Miller can be distinguished and it is tempting to relate No. 708 to this drawing.' [Surtees, 1971, 80] She continues:

> 'Considerably reworked in 1867, this design - perhaps inspired by Meredith's poem *Cassandra* [82] - is one of Rossetti's finest; as with *Mary Magdalene in the House of Simon the Pharisee* he had intended eventually to make a painting from it, but this was never achieved. It is an elaborate composition full of power and urgency and not without humour. A note of pathos is introduced in the whole-length figure of Andromanche clutching her naked baby, and in Hecuba standing on the right, her hands over her ears while Priam tries to comfort her. Special note should be taken of the pattern formed within the confined space of the battleground where Trojan soldiers are marching to battle, forming a design with their helmets and raised spears more usually provided by Rossetti's angels' heads within enclosed wings..' [Surtees, 1971, 80]

Surtees [1971, 80] quotes from a letter from Rossetti to a Colonel Gillum[83] :

> The incident is just before Hector's last battle. Cassandra has warned him in vain by her prophesies, and is now throwing herself against a pillar, and rending her clothes in despair, because he will not be detained any longer. He is rushing down the steps and trying to make himself heard across her noise, as he shouts an order to the officer in charge of the soldiers who are going round the ramparts on their way to battle. One of his officers is beckoning to him to make haste. Behind him is Andromanche with their child, and a nurse who is holding the cradle. Helen is arming Paris in a leisurely way on a sofa; we may presume from her expression that Cassandra

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[82] *Letters,* pp 425, note 2, 690, note 1.

[83] MARILLIER, H.C., *Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Illustrated to his Art and Life,* London, 1899

has not spared her in her denunciations. Paris is patting her on the back to soothe her, much amused. Priam and Hecuba are behind, the latter stopping her ears in horror. One brother is imploring Cassandra to desist from her fear-inspiring cries. The ramparts ate lined with engines for casting stones on the besiegers.'

Helen of Troy, DGR, 1863, [Surtees cat. 163; Plate 232]][Plate 232, study, plate 233, and replica, dated 1863 not illustrated, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, No. 2293] Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, (No. 2469),

Oil on panel, 121/4 X 101/2

Monogrammed and dated 1863 on the lower left corner

Inscription by Rossetti on the back:

'Helen of Troy ελεναυξ, ελανδροξ, ελεπτολιξ[84] destroyer of ships, destroyer of men, destroyer of cities. Painted by D. G. Rossetti. 1863.'[Surtees, 1971, 92]

'. . . The picture of Helen, with Parian face and mouth of ardent blossom, a keen red flower-bud of fire, framed in broad gold of wide-spread locks, the sweet sharp smile of power set fast on her clear curved lips, and far behind her the dull flame of burning and light from reddened heaven on dark sails of lurid ships . . .' [*Essays and studies*, A. C. Swinburne, 1875, 99, quoted in Surtees, 1971, 92]

'In mid-March 1863, he was painting a portrait of Annie Miller "which he has converted in the background. He has also made several beautiful studies from divers women."' [Doughty, 1949,

[84] Agamemnnon, Aeschylus, 688

312, quoting from Boyce's diaries]

Woman in Yellow/ Lady in Yellow, DGR, 1863, [Surtees cat. 165; Plate 235] (Tate Gallery, No. 5233)

Watercolour and some pencil, 161/4 X 123/4 in.

Monogrammed and dated 1863 on lower right corner.

Surtees describes this as an 'unfinished study of Annie Miller. Half-figure with the head turned to the left; her face is framed by her long hair which is worn loose. Her hands lie together at her waist, the left one partly hidden by the folds of her right sleeve. The hair, dress, and background are in various shades of yellow.' [Surtees, 1971, 93] Faxon describes this as belonging to Rossetti's 'Venetian period.'

Retribution, Millais, 1854.

8 X101/4 (20.3 X 26), monogrammed 'JEM' and dated 1854.

Pen and sepia ink,

British Museum

Also referred to as *The Man With Two Wives* [John Guile Millais, Vol. 2, 490]

PORTRAITS

Portrait, Boyce, 1854

Annie Miller, DGR, 1860, [Surtees cat. 354; Plate 404], Ill. in TG Cat., no. 229

pen and ink; 91/2 X 9

Monogrammed on lower right corner and dated 1860 on lower left corner. Inscribed upper left: 'Annie Miller in 1860.'

Surtees describes this as: 'Head and shoulders three-quarters to the left with a mass of hair falling on either side. Annie Miller sat to Rossetti from about 1854-63.' [Surtees, 1971, 173]

Annie Miller, DGR, 1860, [Surtees cat.355], given to Boyce [Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, No. 454'04][Reproduced in *Boyce Diaries*, pl. XVII.] [Doughty, facing p. 480]

pencil,107/8 X 113/8

Inscribed on the back in the hand of G.P. Boyce: "D. G. Rossetti, the maker of this sketch, to G. P. Boyce, January 26th, 1860.'

Surtees describes the drawing thus: 'Head and shoulders, head turned slightly to right and the hair outspread over her shoulders. Hands place one above the other on a ledge.' [Surtees, 1971, 173]

Annie Miller, DGR, c.1860, [Surtees cat. 356], given to Fred. Shields by Rossetti [Reproduced in *Portrait of Rossetti*, R. Glynn Grylls, 1964, facing p.49]

pencil, 121/2 square

Surtees describes the drawing thus: 'Head three-quarters to right, slightly downturned; the hair, falling freely, is roughly sketched.' [Surtees, 1971, 173]

Annie Miller, DGR, c.1860, [Surtees cat. 357],

pencil, 121/2 X 151/2

Surtees describes thus: 'Head in profile to left; hair fastened at the back of her head, then falling freely on to her shoulders.' [Surtees, 1971, 173]

Annie Miller, DGR, c. 1860, [Surtees cat. 358],

pencil 121/2 X 151/2

Surtees describes thus: 'Whole-length, seated in a chair, turned to the right, leaning against a cushion, the head nearly in profile. Her left hand is raised to the circular brooch at her throat; her right hand, holding a handkerchief, lies in her lap.' [Surtees, 1971, 173]

Annie Miller, DGR, 1860-3, [Surtees cat. 359], [Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, No. 1430]

pen and ink, pencil; 8 X 5

'Head and shoulders turned slightly to the left, eyes looking down; hair worn loose.' [Surtees, 1971, 174]

MISCELLANEOUS SKETCHES

Annie Miller, DGR, 1860-3, [Surtees cat. 708][Plate 490], [Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, No. 332'04]

pencil, 95/8 square; possibly relates to *Cassandra*, 1861

'Half-length; leg-of-mutton sleeves; arranging her hair which falls freely about her face.' [Surtees, 1971, 226-7]

Annie Miller, DGR, 1860-3, [Surtees cat. 709], [Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery, No. 331'04]

pencil; 9 5/8 X 6 13/16

'Nearly three-quarter length; body turned slightly to the right; she is dividing her hair into tresses.' [Surtees, 1971, 227]

Annie Miller, DGR, 1860, [Surtees cat. App. 12], [Maas Gallery]

pen, ink and pencil; 10 1/2 X 8 1/2

'Head and shoulders to right, with the head in profile. The hair falls heavily on the shoulders; neck of the dress indicated.' [Surtees, 1971, 234]

Lady of Shalott (1850), of which G. S. Layard wrote:

> 'When I saw this canvas in April, the figure of the Lady was nude, and I could not but tell the artist that it seemed to me almost sacrilege to drape so fair and exquisite a conception, which taught the lesson at one flash that modesty has no need of a cloak. This lovely figure bore no evidence of having been servilely copied from a stripped model, who had been distorted by the *modiste's* art. It did not suggest unclothedness, for the simple reason that it gave no impression that it knew the meaning of clothes at all.' [G. S. Layard, *Tennyson and his Pre-Raphaelite Illustrators: A Book about a Book,* Stock, April 1894 (Limited ed. of 750), quoted in Holman-Hunt, 1987, 205]

[cf Tate Gallery catalogue, 1984, No. 168] Compare to *The Arnolfini Marriage*, which came to the National Gallery in 1842. 'The mirrors, like the one in *The Awakening Conscience*, . . . show us what her future will be.' [Grilli, 1984, 43]

It is possible that Annie sat to Hunt for the figure of Mary in *The*

Finding of the Saviour in the Temple, [Tate Gallery Catalogue, No. 85] although the head is known to have been drawn from another model.