

The “Whitelands Index”: The Making of John Pincher Faunthorpe’s *Index to Fors Clavigera*

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Abstract This paper argues the hidden context of “Whitelands Index”, *Index to Fors Clavigera* (1887), edited by Rev. J.P. Faunthorpe. My research has heavily drawn on the “Mikimoto Collection”, which is composed of the documents written by Ruskin himself and those around him. Some of these materials support my hypothesis that Ruskin and Faunthorpe did not share the concept of index-making from the very beginning, as Ruskin put emphasis on providing a “Guide”. In addition, letters and notes addressed to Faunthorpe disclose the fact that he did not necessarily try to accomplish his project only by his own hands but asked Ruskin for help and advice concerning its arrangement. He did not follow Ruskin’s concept, being passionate about establishing his own style, or the “Whitelands’ style”.

Keywords John Pincher Faunthorpe. Whitelands College. Guide. Index. Index-making. Index to Fors Clavigera. Mikimoto Collection.

Summary 1 Introduction – 2 Initial Plans for the Index. – 3 Faunthorpe’s Index Style versus Ruskin’s Expectations. – 4 Faunthorpe’s Edition. – 5 Controversial Outcome. – 6 Conclusion.



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1 Introduction

This paper aims to shed light on the context surrounding the *Index to Fors Clavigera*, or the ‘Whitelands Index’ edited by Reverend John Pincher Faunthorpe (1839-1924). According to an article by O’Gorman (1998), Ruskin referred to this index as the Whitelands Index, a name which Ruskin used not to honour the work but rather to insinuate his refusal to admit or accept Faunthorpe’s work. O’Gorman revealed that Ruskin expressed anger and discomfort when shown the index proofs prior to publication, declining to offer any comment in the form of an acknowledgement or preface (O’Gorman 1998, 54). In addition, it was divulged that Ruskin and Faunthorpe had never reached any agreement on the style of the index from its inception. The untold story of this index is hidden in documents owned by the Tokyo Ruskin Society in Japan.

This society was established at Ginza (Tokyo) in 1931, based on materials collected by Ryuzo Mikimoto (1893-1971). Mikimoto was a Japanese gentleman scholar and son of Kokichi Mikimoto (1858-1954), founder of the world-famous pearl company. While a student at Kyoto University, Ryuzo became deeply interested in the works of Ruskin and made several visits to England in the 1920s. During his time there, his father’s financial support enabled Ryuzo to acquire a significant collection of Ruskin-related materials, including manuscripts, letters, and notes written by Ruskin himself and others involved in his publishing endeavours. Unfortunately, the details of how, when, and where he obtained these items remain unclear, as Ryuzo left few notes or diaries documenting his acquisitions. However, it is believed that there are four possible sources from which he might have obtained these materials:

1. through Arthur Severn, Ruskin’s cousin and R.A., in London and Brantwood, Coniston, in 1925, 1927, and 1928;
2. from Professor Faunthorpe, the president of the London Ruskin Society;
3. through Mikimoto’s acquaintance, Miss F. Banks, daughter of E.M. Banks, who was a cousin of the Pre-Raphaelite artist H. Hunt, at E.M. Bank’s home at High Saint, Kensington, London;
4. from the collection of J.H. Stephenson, S.R.A., who was a close friend and disciple of Ruskin until his death at Brantwood (Ruskin Library 1994, v-vi).

The Mikimoto Collection includes several copies of *Fors Clavigera* and related documents that were supposedly brought to Japan via the second route mentioned above. As Mikimoto had likely never met Faunthorpe in person, what he acquired were the parts of the Faunthorpe Collection sold after his death (Kawabata 2016, 161). Some of the copies of *Fors* have extensive marginal notes and inserts,

which are just the sort of clues needed to help uncover the index-creation process. The Wellesley College Archives in the US have identified the handwriting in these notes as that of Faunthorpe, and much of the content is relevant to the index.

Faunthorpe’s index is just one of several indices. *Fors Clavigera. Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* (1871-84), consisting of 96 letters, has four indices written by different authors as follows:

1. the index to letters 1 to 48 edited by Ruskin himself;
2. *Index to Fors Clavigera* by J.P. Faunthorpe (published in 1887; this is the so-called ‘Whitelands Index’);
3. an index edited by Collingwood attached to ‘The Small Edition’ (4 vols.), which was also edited by Collingwood;
4. ‘Ruskin’s Index’, attached to Volume 29 of the *Works of John Ruskin* (39 vols.).

The final editors were Cook and Wedderburn, although Ruskin seems to have continued editing this index even though it remained unpublished. The two editors completed it later, adopting Ruskin’s style.

This paper focuses on the second index mentioned above, whose creation process is partially shrouded in mystery. ‘Whitelands’ refers to Whitelands College, established in 1841 with the aim of training women as teachers, an institution where Faunthorpe once served as principal. As argued below, Ruskin probably knew that Faunthorpe received considerable help from people connected with Whitelands. Thus, he wrote in a letter, “I don’t care an atom about the expense of revision <...> I am perfectly willing to let it be printed as it is, as the [‘]Whitelands Index’ — but certainly with no further preface from me than one of thanks for Whitelands[‘] sympathy & industry” (O’Gorman 1998, 54). This issue is not adequately addressed in the preface to Volume 27 of the *Works of John Ruskin*, despite its relevance to Ruskin’s work. Why did Ruskin direct such a harsh comment to Faunthorpe? This is the central question that we explore in this paper, by examining the documents written by individuals involved in the creation of this index.

2 Initial Plans for the Index

To begin with, Ruskin did not necessarily agree with Faunthorpe’s initial intentions regarding the index. Two documents, both on the same sheet (H: 23 cm × W: 37 cm), provide details on how they started the index-making process. Each document is written on one side of the sheet (H: 23 cm × W: 18.5 cm), which was folded in half and inserted into a copy of *Index to Fors Clavigera. Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* (1887). This copy, once owned by

Faunthorpe and now housed in the Mikimoto Collection at the Ruskin Library in Tokyo, contains these documents. The following are the two documents in question:

Document 1

These works are well indexed

1 *Modern Painters*

2 *The Stones of Venice*

3 *Arrows of the Chace*

& *Fors* vols 3 & 4

Art Index

1. Is it to include Art Matters in the above?

[I don’t quite understand this question—I should say—certainly—everything bearing seriously on the Arts.]¹

2. Is it to include the Oxford Lectures [&] (Works I to XI)[?]

[Certainly]

3. What book could it be well founded on[?]

[*Eagle’s Nest*—attaching first the other Oxford lectures to that.]

4. Then there are many scattered Essays of yours, **[I’ve no idea what these are!]** impossible to index until they are collected into a volume. Miss Kemm and I were going to do that if we had got your consent.

Document 2

The Economy and Manners Index

This will include

Fors

Unto This Last

Ethics of the Dust

& etc.

But

1. Is this style of Index in vol 4

Fors the right thing?

2. If not what is?

¹ For ease of reading, the author has placed the sentences written by Ruskin in square brackets in bold font.

[Well I don’t know. I think if half the articles were left out, and the rest amplified, yes. It is rather a Guide than an index which is wanted such as you would like to have for any one of your intelligent girls.]

3. Could you get a couple of copies of the Index in vol 4 from Mr Allen [**Certainly**] & go over two pages with me—I should see my way.

[But I shouldn’t see mine. I haven’t got any way—and should only be bewildered.]

Undoubtedly, two different handwritings – Ruskin’s and Faunthorpe’s – are recognisable in the manuscripts: several questions are written by Faunthorpe, with responses by Ruskin. Considered together with the letters written in 1883 and 1885, it seems that Faunthorpe had a more ambitious plan than simply making an index for *Fors*. In a letter written on 14 March 1883, Ruskin writes the following to Faunthorpe:

You could not better help me, and all that you think right in my books, than by quietly arranging a General Index of the important topics, *Fors* being the basis, and the other political economy books collaterally given. The *Art* Index should be a separate book from the Economy and *Manners* index – *Manners* better than Morals, for I’ve never gone into Moral Philosophy – and all minor matters and things ignored [*italics in the original*]. (Wise 1896, 54)

“The *Art* Index should be a separate book from the Economy and *Manners* index” refers specifically to the considerations in Documents 1 and 2 above. Two years after sending this letter, Ruskin again comments on the index: “That Index to *Fors Clavigera* must be awful! But it will be thrice the book, Index once done” (15 March 1885; Wise 1896, 79). This time, he makes it clear that the “Index to *Fors*” and other works had been excluded by the time of this letter. Based on these observations, it can be inferred that Documents 1 and 2 were written between March 1883 and March 1885, and that Faunthorpe’s plan had been significantly curtailed over time in this period.

3 Faunthorpe’s Index Style versus Ruskin’s Expectations

Regarding the style of the index, Faunthorpe, in Document 2, asks whether the index in Volume IV of *Fors*, edited by Ruskin, follows the correct style and what constitutes the proper style. It should have been possible – and would have been much easier – to create an index by simply following Ruskin’s approach, as almost half of the letters in *Fors* (Letters 1 to 48) already had an index compiled by Ruskin himself. However, Faunthorpe’s questions imply that he did not consider Ruskin’s approach to be the correct style and signalled his intention not to use Ruskin’s methods.

Faunthorpe’s version of the index does indeed differ from Ruskin’s indexing style, revealing that he made a sincere effort to develop his own approach. For example, when one article has multiple references, while Ruskin organises them alphabetically, while Faunthorpe arranges them in the ascending order based on the corresponding letter’s number. In addition, 15 articles were placed differently in Faunthorpe’s index: “Author”, “Education”, “England-English”, “Fors”, “France-French”, “Guild of St. George”, “Illustrations”, “Letters”, “London”, “Notes and Correspondence”, “Oxford”, “Scott (Sir Walter)”, “Plato”, “Usury-Usurer-Usurers”, and “Venice”. This suggests he may have wanted to highlight these topics. These articles are divided into eight parts, corresponding to volumes 1 to 8 of *Fors* 1 to 8. However, it is debatable whether this division adds efficiency, as the references are primarily arranged according to the letter’s number. Moreover, Faunthorpe’s index includes many cross-references, indicated by the phrase “see [...]”. This indicates his attempt to create an index in his own style, marking the beginning of what can be recognised as the “Whitelands Index”.

Upon close examination of the correspondence in Documents 1 and 2, it is not surprising that Ruskin ultimately expressed his discomfort with the outcome of Faunthorpe’s efforts. While Ruskin acknowledged the need for a guide, Faunthorpe insisted on creating an index according to his own ideas. However, Faunthorpe’s questions did prompt Ruskin to reveal his fundamental opinions regarding the index. Ruskin conceded that the index attached to Volume IV would never be the ‘right one without some editing and corrections. While his statement that “[H]alf of the articles were left out” may have been somewhat exaggerated, it is evident that he was not completely satisfied with his own index, referring to it as “this unlucky index” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 553). He further remarks that “it is easy enough to make an index, as it is to boom of odds and ends, as rough as oat straw; but to make an index tied up tight, and that will keep well into corners, isn’t so easy” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 533). A decade after writing this passage, Ruskin would make an attempt to create a guide, rather than an index in the proper style.

This correspondence confirms to what Cook says in the preface to *Fors*: “[I]n his copy of the book [Ruskin] repeatedly writes against pages ‘Needs a note’” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: xxxi). In fact, the footnotes included in the Library Edition give us a glimpse of Ruskin’s ‘Guide’. He adds footnotes to important words, quotations from old literary works, and Latin and Greek words and phrases. Two words used in the subtitle for *Fors*, “workmen” and “labourers”, are illustrative examples of this. In Letter 11, he says: “[T]hese letters of mine are addressed to the workmen and labourers of England,—that is to say, to the providers of houses and dinners, for themselves, and for all men, in this country, as in all others” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 187).

On this page, a footnote states: “As in the title of the work, by workmen I mean people who must use their heads as well as their hands for what they do: by labourers, those who use their hands only” – index to Volumes I and II (under ‘Working Men’, Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 187). As indicated in the footnote, “Working Men” in Ruskin’s Index (which is attached to vol. 29) says “spoken of with ‘labourer’ as ‘the two sorts of providers’ 11.6. [For a note added here by Ruskin, see Vol. XXVII. P. 187n.]” (Ruskin 1903-12, 29: 675). Ruskin’s index shows that some supplemental notes were provided by Ruskin himself. Similar to these two words in the subtitle, there are 12 terms – “royalty” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 29, 297), “Richard” (54), “science” (85), “love” (90), “army” (185), “artist” (186), “working men” (186-7), “religion” (194), “classes” (260), “obedience” (297), “imagination” (346), and “faith” (347) – which have the phrase “a note added by Ruskin” in Ruskin’s index. It is highly possible that Ruskin felt the need to add additional information in the process of revising, since such footnotes cannot be found – at least not in the earlier editions of the text – in the form of individual letters or the eight-volume *Fors*.

Ruskin’s decision to work on a guide likely stemmed from his concern about readers’ ability to understand his arguments. He states in Letter 5, “I have hitherto written to you of things you were little likely to care for, in words which it was difficult for you to understand” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 79). He admits that he received quite a few comments on this point from readers, which might have prompted him to work on a guide for the readers’ sake. Strengthening the footnotes as a first step was necessary in order to narrow the gap between his statements and the readers’ understanding. That Ruskin had a guide in mind may explain why he seems unwilling to reconsider the style of the index with Faunthorpe, as Document 2 shows.

4 Faunthorpe’s Edition

In Faunthorpe’s index, there is a notable aspect related to footnotes that should be mentioned. Unlike the earlier versions of *Fors* (i.e., the epistolary and eight-volume versions), the text edited by Cook and Wedderburn includes copious footnotes indicating quotations from the Bible. It is true that based on Ruskin’s text alone, it is almost impossible for people unfamiliar with the Bible to distinguish Ruskin’s own words from the many biblical phrases that he cited so naturally, often without quotation marks.

Faunthorpe appears to be one of the individuals who focused on this point. He used 11 pages for the article “Bible; quoted, referred to, commented on, or newly translated”, although Cook stated it was not yet perfect (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: xxxiv).

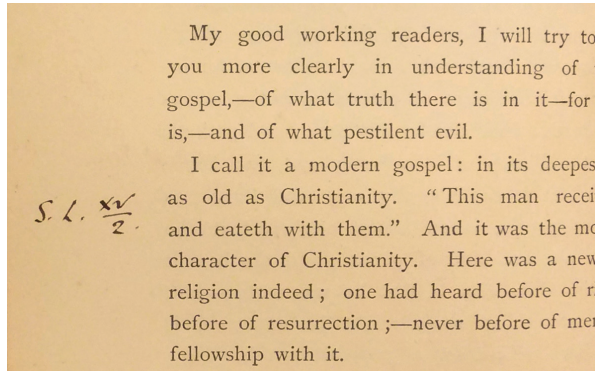


Figure 1 Margin notes, the Tokyo Ruskin Society

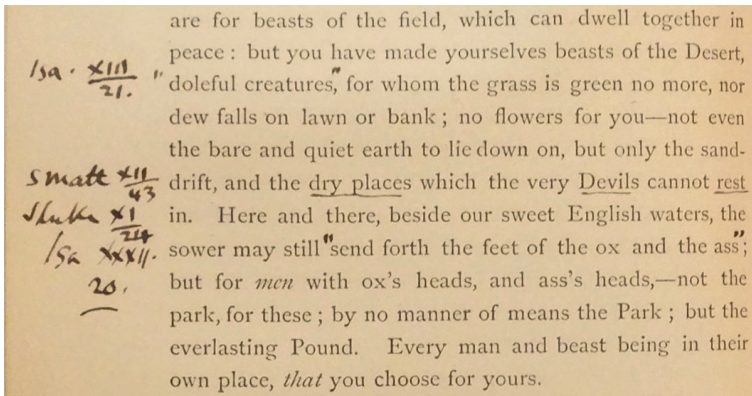


Figure 2 Margin notes, the Tokyo Ruskin Society

Here, the eight-volume *Fors* and its index kept in Ruskin Library Tokyo offer an important clue. On almost every page of those copies, notes are written on the top, bottom, right, and left margins; most are about the Bible, with others about the works of Shakespeare and Greek classics. Figures 1 and 2 include only a few examples [figs 1-2].

Figure 1, taken from Letter 28, features some words from the Bible quoted without quotation marks in the printed text. The handwritten margin notes identify these words and reference the relevant books and verses. For example, Ruskin wrote, “and the dry places which the very Devils cannot rest in” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 510). However, the actual verse from the Book of Matthew reads, “When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none” (Matt. 12:43) [fig. 1].

The Library Edition includes a footnote that directs readers to “Compare Matthew xii. 43”. Figure 2 also includes a reference to

a Bible quotation. This time, Ruskin directly quotes a verse from Luke: “And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them” (Luke 15:2; Ruskin 1903-12, 28: 99). Ruskin’s words closely mirror to match the Bible verses [fig. 2].

Although it is uncertain exactly when these notes were written, it is evident that Faunthorpe expended considerable effort on this work. Prior to the inclusion of *Fors Clavigera* in the Library Edition, Bible references were never specified in the footnotes, as previously noted. As a man of the cloth, Faunthorpe seems to have been just the right person for this task. He may have tried to respond to Ruskin’s suggestion that a guide was needed, while considering it his responsibility as a clergyman to help readers understand the Bible and Ruskin’s text more deeply. Nonetheless, Faunthorpe’s index includes simply a list of chapters and verses from Genesis to Revelation, without any additional comment or explanation. In any case, it is probably far from the guide Ruskin envisioned.

One notable entry in Faunthorpe’s index is “Author”, referring to John Ruskin. Ruskin criticised this particular entry, saying, “I entirely dislike the long article ‘Author’ and saw in almost every page needless words which I should put pen through, quite mercilessly” (O’Gorman 1998, 54). Thirty pages were dedicated to Author, which is disproportionate compared to other entries. For example, the entry “Ruskin” is only five lines long. In these pages, descriptions are divided into eight parts, depending on the volume (1-8). Ruskin’s activities and behaviours are described in detail, and even matters tangentially related to Ruskin are included, resulting in an inflated chronology that spans 30 pages.

Long explanations, unsurprisingly, can cause problems in how an index functions. In the Preface to *Index to Fors*, Faunthorpe notes that “any reader not finding what is wanted under one letter, will most probably find it under another, in intimate, and what seemed to me at the time to be superior, connection”. This seems to serve as an excuse for potential confusion users might experience when searching for a specific word. Moreover, the copy of Faunthorpe’s Index in Tokyo includes a handwritten note on the front page that reads: “E.g. The author gives a Prayer Book to a pretty girl is not under Girl nor Prayer Book, but it is under Author 80.222. /note /Nov. 3. 1901”. The Preface contains an asterisk indicating this as a prime example. Few people would think to look up ‘author’ when searching for particulars about ‘prayer book’. This example, whether accidental or deliberate, illustrates the problem with the ‘Author’ entry and suggests an acknowledgement of its imperfection. As a result, the index may not serve its users effectively.

It is not at all surprising that the two words ‘author’ and ‘Bible’ permeate the index, as these two elements are inevitable when talking about Ruskin’s works. However, even though their overrepresentation

is partially the result of Faunthorpe’s attaching so much importance to them, there is another possible reason why certain articles adopt a thoroughly different style from others. According to Bischof, “Faunthorpe shouldered most of the work himself, but at several key points he enlisted the help of his wife and the young women at Whitelands. At one point he had twenty-six Whitelands women, one for every letter of the alphabet” (University of Roehampton). That is to say, as many as 26 different people were enlisted, each responsible for one letter from A to Z. This may explain the ambiguity in the references found in Faunthorpe’s index. For example, the phrase “Note from Old Index” sometimes appears in the index, indicating that the information is cited from Ruskin’s original index. The entries which include this phrase are as follows: “army” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 185; Faunthorpe 1887, 13-14); “artist” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 186; Faunthorpe 1887, 15); “classes” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 260; Faunthorpe 1887, 94-5); “faith” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 347; Faunthorpe 1887, 157); “Giotto” (Faunthorpe 1887, 195); “love” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 90; Faunthorpe 1887, 288); “man” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 85; Faunthorpe 1887, 293); “religion” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 194; Faunthorpe 1887, 371); “Richard” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 54; Faunthorpe 1887, 376); “royalty” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 29,297; Faunthorpe 1887, 382); “science” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 85; Faunthorpe 1887, 399); “squire” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 30-1; Faunthorpe 1887, 433); “St George’s Company” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 323; Faunthorpe 1887, 206 [under ‘Guide of St George’]); and “working men” (Ruskin 1903-12, 27: 186-7; Faunthorpe 1887, 487). In some cases, it is written in title case (“Note from Old Index”), and in others in lower case (“note from old index” or “note in old index”). It is highly likely that each letter was edited by different individuals following different processes, and the index as a whole was published without a standardised system. This inconsistency is evident in entries such as “artist” and “army”, which are written in a unique style. Such a lack of uniformity was probably one of the reasons that upset Ruskin.

5 Controversial Outcome

In addition to the students assigned to each letter of the alphabet, it appears that a number of other individuals also helped Faunthorpe. This is suggested by letters discovered in the Ruskin Library. Three letters addressed to Faunthorpe discuss *Fors*, especially Volumes 7 and 8 (containing Letters 73 to 96). They were all sent by the same person, H.A. Freeman, although the identity of this person remains unclear. All were sent from Menton, France, and dated January and February 1885, consistent with the estimated timeframe for creating the index.

From the very first letter, we know that the sender was closely involved in creating the index entry for ‘Bible’:

I send with this the two lists, Bible Quotes—Works of, referred to—for Fors 8, which I have been over very carefully and have copied as like there is S. Mark’s Rest as possible.

Fors 7 I have nearly completed the two similar lists for Fors 7, which will be much longer, Bible Quoted being something enormous. (H.A. Freeman, Letter to Faunthorpe, 20 January 1885)

The sender mentions attaching the list for *Fors 7* and *Fors 8*, and already infers the extensive nature of the work based on the lists (“Bible Quotes being something enormous” and “will be much longer”). The comment about completing the task “as you [Faunthorpe] suggest” during that spring indicates that Faunthorpe must have given the sender some kinds of direction and that it was followed. Beyond following directions and instructions, the sender also suggests an improvement in the editing process, saying, “I should certainly suppose it would be far better to index before doing anything in the way of alphabetizing”, adding that “it seems as if Fors would really be completed (I mean its index) some day”, implying that the completion of the index was within reach in January 1885.

The second letter is dated around 10 days after the first one (1 February 1885). This time, they are discussing not only the entry for “Bible” but also “Author, Books of referred to”. To be precise, this refers to the article “Author’s Works, quoted or referred to”, which follows “Author” in Faunthorpe’s index. It addresses almost every work of Ruskin related to *Fors*. The sender states the following: “[B]oth lists I have been carefully through again and again”, although reports feeling “very much at sea... with respect to text”. This reveals that two entries, “Bible” and “Author”, which are conspicuous and controversial, as discussed above, are obviously not the work of Faunthorpe alone. In this letter, the style of the index is also discussed:

Page 1. You put first ‘Venice’? I should as soon have put the next word ‘November’ but see no reasons for putting either as they have no relation to the text and seem to me simply misleading to anyone looking at references to a Venice. This is only an instance of what—I felt more or less throughout. (H.A. Freeman, Letter to Faunthorpe, 1 February 1885)

“Venice” and “November” are singled out, with Faunthorpe being advised that Venice should not appear next to November because “they have no relation” and it is “simply misleading to anyone looking at references to Venice”. Furthermore, the sender states: “This

is only an instance of what—I felt more or less throughout”. That is to say that issues related to the complexity of organising entries had already been raised prior to publication at the editing stage. The phrase “only an instance” implies that there are other words to be reconsidered. This recalls Faunthorpe’s words in the Preface and the handwritten comment on that page. Had he taken this advice seriously at the time and revised the index accordingly, the work would not have been criticised so harshly in the newspaper some years after its publication, as discussed below. At the end of this letter, the sender says, “Tell me what you think”. This shows that Faunthorpe did not simply direct, but also received advice from this person, and they argued on an equal footing.

The last letter is dated “Feb. 5th, 1884”, but it is likely a mistake, as the context suggests that the year should be 1885. It is more plausible that this letter was written on 5 February 1885, four days after the second one mentioned above. The sender asks Faunthorpe for advice, this time on synonymous and analogous entries, such as ‘Misery’ and ‘Poor’. Looking up these words in the index, they do have various different references, avoiding tautology. Therefore, the sender of these letters did more than merely arrange the references in accordance with Faunthorpe’s instructions; they also apparently intervened in the mechanisms of the index. Although we cannot know the identity of H.A. Freeman, it is self-evident that Faunthorpe received significant support and assistance from their correspondence.

Judging from this context, Faunthorpe seems to have rather been the chief editor of the index, with various people, including the students at Whitelands and H.A. Freeman, as general editors, although he completely neglected to mention this in his work. The letters from H.A. Freeman also reveal that Faunthorpe listened carefully to the people around him – although he did not take Ruskin’s advice as seriously.

The following are two examples of parts of letters from H.A. Freeman.

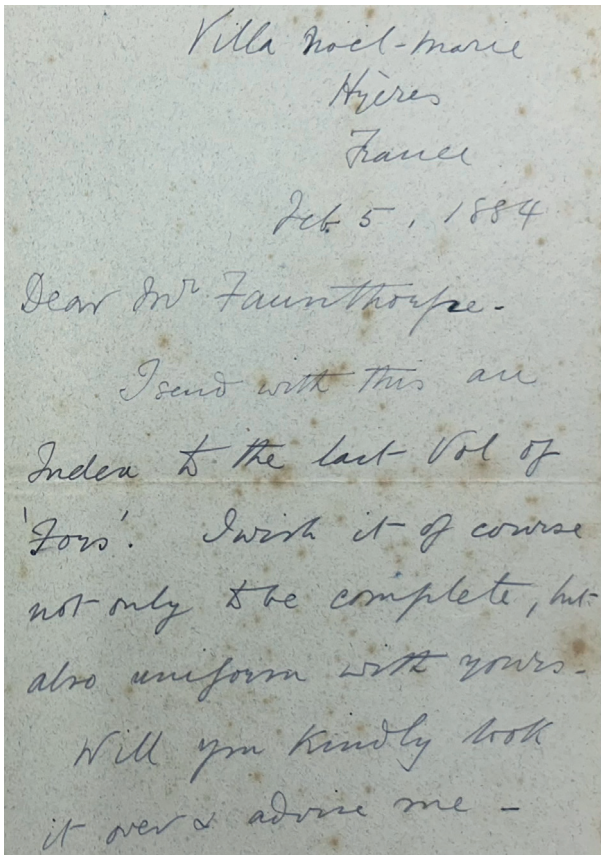


Figure 3
Letter from
H. A. Freeman
(5 February 1884),
the Tokyo Ruskin
Society

Villa Noel-Marie
Hyères
France
Feb 5, 1884

Dear Mr Fauntorpe,

I send with this an Index to the last Vol of 'Fors'. I wish it of course not only to be complete, but also uniform with yours.

Will you kindly look it over and advise me.

Villa Marie, Menton
France
Jan 20, 85

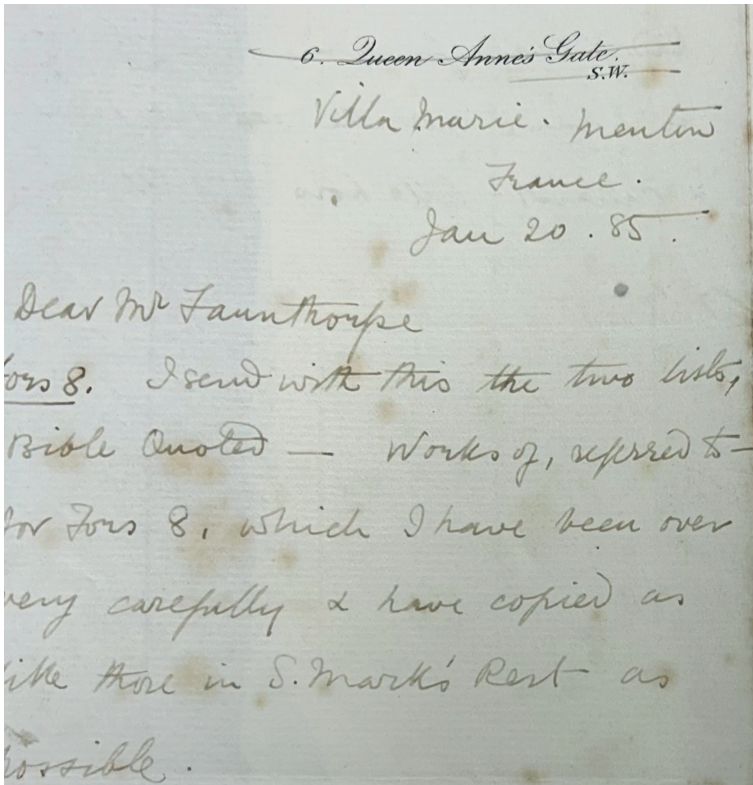


Figure 4

Dear Mr Faunthorpe,

Fors 8 I send this with the two lists, Bible Quotes – Works of, referred to – for Fors 8, which I have been over very carefully and have copied as like those in S. Mark's Rest as possible.

As discussed, Faunthorpe's index was an achievement made possible by the help of many people around him. Unfortunately, however, it did not receive Ruskin's official approval and instead was met with harsh criticism. Worse still, more than 10 years after its publication, the index received a poor review in a newspaper.

Two clippings from the *St James Gazette* from May 1902 are pasted in a copy housed in the Ruskin Library. In the earlier one (17 May), *Index to Fors* is referred to as a bad example of an index because of "the bad arrangement". As an example, "Punch" is included as a subordinate word in the "London" entry, regarding which the article states: "Who, for example, would seek Mr Ruskin's opinion of 'Punch' under

the heading of ‘London’?” (*St James Gazette*, 17 May 1902, 5). The following is a citation from the article:

London, - Fifty square miles outside of, demoralized by upper classes
 --- its middle classes compare unfavourably with a
 --- some blue sky in, still
 --- hospital named after Christ’s native village, is
 --- honest journal of, ‘Punch’.

These five lines effectively illustrate how the entries in Faunthorpe’s index often include items that seem unrelated to the main heading. They appear to be picked at random from a broad selection of items loosely related to London. This makes it difficult to find specific words, as H.A. Freeman pointed out in a letter regarding the entries for “Venice” and “November”.

A few days later, on 21 May, Faunthorpe wrote a rebuttal of the criticism, pointing out that “the above five are respectively the 12th, 20th, 32nd, 45th, and 79th [of about 90 references], so that it is not quite fair to ‘quote’ them as if they were consecutive”. While he insisted that his style of indexing was reasonable, he concluded his rebuttal as follows:

The Index does not profess to be perfect, although it represents the labour unpaid of about two years of a man’s life.

THE COMPILER

(of the Index to “Fors Clavigera”). (*St James Gazette*, 21 May 1902, 17)

The index is not “perfect” – a term that recalls what Faunthorpe states in the Preface. Although he challenged the criticism he received, the anger-filled letter from Ruskin may have remained uppermost in his mind.

These newspaper articles tell us that Ruskin was evidently not the only person who disliked the style of Faunthorpe’s index. People who actually used this index also had a negative impression, and while we cannot confirm whether this was the opinion of the majority, it cannot be ignored. This exchange with the newspaper also reveals that Faunthorpe must have been extremely proud of his index. He might not have responded to the criticism unless he had strong confidence in his work, despite the possibility that public criticism hurt his pride.

6 Conclusion

The ‘Whitelands Index’ would have been the perfect title for the index to *Fors Clavigera*, which would not have been realised without Whitelands’ cooperation, even though the final version was published under Faunthorpe’s name alone. It cannot be said with certainty that Faunthorpe edited this index for the convenience of Whitelands’ students, since according to Ruskin, *Fors* was “not for girls”—although the women at Whitelands did manage to obtain some copies and read them (Wise 1895, 48; University of Roehampton). Considering the fact that quite a few students were assigned to arrange the contents, Faunthorpe at least seemed to allow the students access to the text of *Fors*. Moreover, he might have intended this as an opportunity for the students to read the text preparing a ‘guide’ for future students as well. In any event, this project began with Faunthorpe’s claim that “he was a self-professed expert in *Fors Clavigera*” (Hilton 1985, 441). However, this self-confidence might have worked against the process of making an index. Although he consulted Ruskin on the question of style and asked for advice, he did not necessarily follow Ruskin’s approach. Instead, he involved many individuals who were probably connected to Whitelands.

While Faunthorpe was apparently proud of the fruit of his labours, he seems to have felt slightly guilty about not being able to satisfy Ruskin. He concluded his Preface to the index as follows:

I have one hope left, that it may be useful to readers of “*Fors Clavigera*,” one confession to make, that it is not perfect; and one clear intimation to give, that Mr. Ruskin is wholly irresponsible for its present shape, because he never saw the proofs. January 1887. (Faunthorpe 1887, Editor’s Note)

Given Ruskin’s letter, he probably felt obligated to take all the criticism against the index upon himself.

Denis Duncan defines index as “a timesaver, telling us where to look for things”, like a kind of map (Duncan 2022, 3). According to this definition, Faunthorpe’s index can hardly be regarded as an ‘index’. As H.A. Freeman, the writers of the critical newspaper article, and even Faunthorpe himself recognised, his index required more time for users to locate words than it saved. In addition, it cannot be considered a useful ‘guide’, as it does not provide supplementary information.

As discussed so far, Ruskin and Faunthorpe approached the work quite differently, one aiming at a guide and the other at an index, and the plan proceeded without agreement being reached. The “Whitelands Index” was born of Faunthorpe’s passion and two years of work. Although it may be impossible to regard this index as either a guide

or an index, it might be better to view it as belonging to a unique genre: the ‘Whitelands Index’. Instead of following Ruskin’s advice, Faunthorpe apparently received significant support and cooperation from individuals with a likely Whitelands connection. In the light of the correspondence presented in this paper, it seems reasonable to conclude that Ruskin referred to Faunthorpe’s work as the ‘Whitelands Index’ to signal his disdain. Consequently, Faunthorpe’s self-confidence resulted in an *Index to Fors Clavigera*, that did not receive any praise from Ruskin.

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