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A HISTORIOGRAPHY AND REEVALUATION OF
THE HERBERT P. HORNE FOUNDATION

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A SUMMARY TIMELINE

1864: Horne is born in London.

1882/3: Horne begins an architectural apprenticeship with Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo.

1882: Horne begins his design for the Chapel of the Ascension.

1883: Horne, Mackmurdo and Selwyn Image form The Century Guild.

1886: Horne publishes his first article in, and becomes editor of, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*.

1889: Horne travels to Italy for the first time. He is accompanied by Fredrick Shields and the trip is funded by their patron Mrs. Russell-Gurney to find inspiration to create the Chapel of the Ascension in Bayswater Road, London.

1899: Horne helps collect 11,000 signatures for the Association for the Defense of Ancient Florence. In merit of his work, he is named Corresponding Member of the Association by Tommaso Corsini.

1891: Horne publishes his first book of poetry, *Diversi Colores*.

1894: Horne steps down as editor of *The Hobby Horse*.

1894: Horne publishes his first article as an art critic for popular London newspapers.

1904: Horne stops publishing as a contemporary art critic and moves to Florence.

1903: Horne publishes his first article in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*.

1908: Horne publishes his monograph *Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly called Sandro Botticelli, Painter, of Florence*.

1911: Horne purchases the fifteenth century Palazzo Corsi on Via de'Benci.

1916: Horne dies in Florence, and is buried in the Allori Cemetery.

The Foundation Horne, today called the Museo Horne, was bequeathed to Florence, Italy in 1916 by Herbert Percy Horne (fig. 1), along with over 5,000 objects and books housed within the meticulously restored palazzo (fig. 2). Born in London in 1864, in the course of his life Horne met and was deeply impressed by three mentors, Daniel Baron Brightwell, Walter Pater, and Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo and was involved with the most artistically, intellectually, and socially advanced group of the time. The foundational relationships and experiences that distinguished his life helped transform Horne into a thoughtful architect, designer, critic, historian, and collector, interested in the education and practices of artists and architects. Horne later moved to Florence, where he applied his unique perspective to archival research and connoisseurship to study the Italian Renaissance. The figure of Horne and his museum are noted and integral parts of Florentine culture, nevertheless, there are some aspects linked to Horne and the purpose of his work as a historian and collector which remain unexamined. Specifically, this thesis explores the reasons behind the formation of Horne's collection, the restoration of the palazzo, and his desire to create a study center. Unfortunately, Horne's death in 1916 arrived before the center's completion. Therefore, the institution's first director, Count Carlo Gamba, had a significant impact on the interpretation and curation of the objects and space as it is experienced today, and this is also considered. This exploration repositions Horne as a multifaceted and intellectually avant-garde figure whose deep investment in the study of Florentine Renaissance art, bolstered by his own hands-on experiences in painting and architecture, was tied to his interest in contemporary art of all mediums and the education of artists, artisans, and a general audience.

Horne grew up in London during a century of dramatic industrial, political and social change. In the mid-nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution had reached its peak, transforming London into the world's most populated city, as well as into the political, financial, and trading capital of the world. But the city was also struggling to balance its newly acquired tremendous wealth with issues like overpopulation, prostitution, child labor, and poverty among the working classes.

The London art world was also impacted by the dramatic societal changes which characterized London at this time. Since its inception in 1768, The Royal Academy of Art, which ran schools of instruction, held exhibitions, and provided venues where artists could display their work and cultivate critical notice, had a virtual monopoly on public taste and official patronage. Although the Royal Academy remained the standard throughout the nineteenth century, rebellious artistic groups exhibiting their work at the Royal Academy and outside institutions challenged its dominance and ideas. In 1848, seven artists living in London formed the secret society known as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. As implied by their chosen name, the artists looked to the art of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance for models to guide a renewal of the contemporary British academic style with which they had become disillusioned. The Brotherhood believed art had a responsibility to combat social ills through the depiction of subjects that lead the viewer to contemplate issues like justice, piety, the importance of family, and the struggle of purity against corruption.

In many cases, the Royal Academy showed a rather enlightened openness to the institutional critique offered by the Pre-Raphaelites and repeatedly accepted their works for exhibition. The works of the Pre-Raphaelites met with critical opposition to their pietism,

archaizing compositions, intensely sharp focus — which, with an absence of shadows, flattened the depicted forms — and stark coloration achieved by painting on a wet white ground. But they had several important champions including John Ruskin (1819–1900), who was an ardent supporter of painting from nature and a leading exponent of the Gothic Revival in England. By the later nineteenth century, alternate exhibition venues like the Grosvenor Gallery on Bond Street challenged the Royal Academy's hegemony, and audiences in England were open to the alternate conceptions of art found outside its walls.

Although Horne was born after the Pre-Raphaelite's time – the Brotherhood dissolved in the early 1850s – he came of age cognizant of the power of these artistic rebels who carefully chose their stylistic mentors and references to convey meaning through the thoughtful use of formal elements. Horne's articles, written for a variety of contemporary publications, reveal his appreciation for the work of two of its members, Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898) and William Morris (1834 - 1896) and deep admiration for their later mentor Dante Gabrielle Rossetti. This expressed preference offers insight into Horne's own aesthetic values as they were developing, while Rossetti and Burne-Jones retained the saturated palette and exhaustive detail of the earliest Pre-Raphaelite paintings, the focus of their work shifted in the course of their careers. Significantly, they presented an aesthetic of beauty for its own sake, and as their works became more decorative, they were increasingly interested in the decorative arts. In 1861, Burne-Jones and Rossetti joined Morris' new design firm of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. (reorganized as Morris & Co. in 1875) which produced murals, stained glass, furniture, textiles, jewelry, and wall coverings inspired by botanical motifs.

From about 1869 - 1881, Horne was studying in Grammar school under Daniel Barron Brightwell, an art critic for local papers, and through him was greatly influenced by Walter Pater's writing. Pater's work introduced Horne to the philosophical, cultural and artistic underpinnings of the Italian Renaissance and provided the direction for Horne's aesthetic and intellectual interests. This constituted an intellectual and philosophical break with the Pre-Raphaelite rebels whom Horne admired. While, like them, he looked outside Academic painting and towards Italian traditions for his points of reference, Horne followed Pater's lead in focusing on the Renaissance, rather than Medieval painting and art.

Around 1882 Horne was apprenticed to Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo to become an architect. Mackmurdo, with his multiple interests and great passion for the Florentine Renaissance as an interpretation of Classical art and architecture, was an ideal match for Horne. Their working relationship lasted for nearly a decade and Horne learned how to become an architect and designer of a complete environment utilizing the ideas of Classical art and architecture, as well as advocate for saving buildings in London which utilized them. Simultaneously, he edited and contributed to an avant-garde magazine dedicated to all the arts, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*. Horne's articles clearly express his admiration for art and architecture that used the proportions, colors and forms found in Classical art and architecture regardless of when they were created. But he was primarily interested in the Italian Renaissance artists as the greatest interpreters of the art and ideas that permeated Classical art. His writing also indicates an acute concern with contemporary art and the collections and objects on display in museums which inspired it.

After leaving The Century Guild, where he was responsible for editing and writing their journal between 1886 - 1894, Horne wrote (usually anonymous) exhibition and book reviews for various London newspapers and made annual trips to the continent, focusing on Italy. The articles are much shorter than his well-researched and lengthy articles published in *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, but the limited space and anonymity pushed Horne to be clear, direct and concise. Horne candidly espouses his personal opinions about a variety of work in diverse mediums and London cultural institutions, providing an excellent understanding of his perspectives on contemporary art, literature and scholarship on art and architectural history.

After several trips to Italy, Horne moved to Florence ca. 1904 where he continued writing about art, amassed a collection of diverse objects, and eventually purchased and restored a fifteenth-century palazzo. Florence was an ideal city for Horne based on his intellectual, artistic and philosophical interests, as well as the plentiful buying opportunities it presented due to recently changed laws and taste. Florence also held ample archives to substantiate his scholarship with primary documents and his articles and major publications after this move were increasingly focused on the Florentine Renaissance.

Horne's various interests and activities eventually coalesced around a single ambitious project, which he describes in his 1916 will, written days before his death: he writes that he wants his collection, books and palazzo to become a study center. An earlier 1915 letter to his childhood friend Randal Davies offers more detail. Here, Horne writes that he wanted to create a South Kensington Museum but ran out of time. Conceived in the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Museum of Manufacturers, later named the South Kensington Museum and today the Victoria and Albert Museum, juxtaposed fine and applied arts to indirectly improve British

design and manufacture.¹ The creation of a study center, based on the general principles of the South Kensington Museum, would have provided models of finely crafted objects and architecture united by the philosophical and stylistic elements Horne appreciated inside a restored fifteenth-century palazzo. Furthermore, combined with the library and primary documents he also bequeathed, the visitor could learn about the relationship between the formal elements of the work and their philosophical underpinnings.

Unfortunately, Horne died before he could complete his vision. In his will, Horne delegated the directorship of his foundation to Conte Carlo Gamba. Like Horne, Gamba's publications and previous work at the Uffizi and other Florentine exhibitions testify to his distinct interest in various mediums and the Italian Renaissance, making him a logical choice to carry out Horne's vision. However, due to dramatic and unforeseen factors, including war and national economic difficulty, Gamba was faced with a drastically different landscape than Horne had left. He was required to make interpretive decisions which significantly redefined the experience and direction of the foundation. Under Gamba, the collection and palazzo was curated and presented as a museum of the Renaissance home, an interpretation that has continued to characterize the museum.

In four chapters, my research demonstrates that Horne purchased his collection and palazzo with the explicit intention to create an institute modeled on the South Kensington Museum in Florence to educate and inspire artisans and the public. Chapter One focuses on how Horne's early mentors, Walter Pater and Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo, provided the foundation of both Horne's theoretical and practical development as well as his belief in the Italian

¹ Although the museum was renamed Victoria and Albert Museum 1899 and was known as such within Horne's lifetime, this thesis refers to the institution as the South Kensington Museum in keeping with Horne's usage.

Renaissance as the most ideal period in art history. Chapter Two critically reconstructs Horne's hitherto undiscussed career as an art critic for London newspapers. These articles provide invaluable evidence of his alignment with the founding ideas and principles of the South Kensington Museum. Placed alongside a careful examination of his collection according to a material-based categorization, these two investigations provide ample evidence of the parallels between the collections. Chapter Three discusses the originality of the didactic intentions of Horne's collection in its contemporary Florentine context asserting that its objects and specific scope would have been a unique contribution to Florence. The final chapter discusses the foundation under the leadership of the first director Conte Carlo Gamba whose interpretation of the collection as a house of the Florentine Renaissance was enormously influential.

The first scholarship devoted to Horne and the Foundation he bequeathed to Florence begins immediately after his death in 1916, and although not extensive, various publications have appeared regularly up to the present day. The scholarly literature on Horne, his collection and palazzo fit primarily into four distinct categories: brief biographies of Horne, guides to the museum, catalogs, symposium proceedings related to Horne and his foundation, and the publication of his journals. Despite the existence of these distinct categories of scholarship, for the purpose of clarity this literature review focuses on a selection of the most significant contributions of scholarship related to Horne's biography, palazzo and collection and are treated in chronological order. The literature review demonstrates the enduring influence of Count Carlo Gamba's writing on the institute and the figure of Horne.

The biographies of Horne vary in length and depth, and often focus on a single aspect of his multifaceted career. The majority of biographies appear in publications related to his collection and foundation, and are consequently both cursory and emphasize his career as a collector. They are also united by their echoing of Gamba's description and characterization of Horne's life and personality. The most notable exceptions were written by Fritz Saxl, Ian Fletcher and Caroline Elam.¹ Saxl's contribution was noteworthy due to his inclusion of a discussion of Horne's life in England and Florence, but in so doing he also bifurcated the figure of Horne. Fletcher, a professor of literature focused on Horne's literary contributions, and interest in book arts. Elam, notably, tied together Horne's English and Italian periods, and artfully linked the discussion to his collection.

¹ Saxl, 1957, pp. 331 - 44; Fletcher, 1990; Elam, 2009, pp. 169 - 225.

The first guide to the museum was published by Count Carlo Gamba in 1921 and is called *Catalogo Illustrato della Fondazione Horne*.² He first discusses Horne's biography briefly, then the palazzo and collection as a recreation of a bourgeois Florentine Renaissance home. Similarly, articles and guides whose primary purpose was to introduce the foundation to a new public, or call for renewed attention to the foundation, present the collection with the same characterization.³ Due to the simple scope and brief nature of the guides, there is little diversity of methodological approach.

The five catalogues published focus on particular aspects of the collection: four were dedicated to works on paper and one to the furniture collection. The emphasis on exhibitions and catalogues of his works on paper derives from the fact that they are fragile and thus largely in storage, and too numerous to be kept on display and thus are a good way to share the rich collection with the public. Furthermore, the only fully enclosed and protected space in the palazzo for special exhibitions is a small room on the ground floor, an intimate setting well adapted to works on paper, but not larger scale objects. The catalogues which accompanied exhibitions are helpful because they document how varied Horne's interests were, and attest to his extraordinary ability as a connoisseur.⁴ Claudio Paolini's *Il Mobile del Rinascimento: la Collezione H.P. Horne* catalogue of the furniture similarly documents the quality of furniture in Horne's collection and provides valuable information regarding the craftsmanship and changes made to the pieces which

² Gamba, 1921, p. 192.

³ Articles which announce the opening of the Foundation include: Brockwell, 1922, pp. 543, 798 - 805; Rusconi, 1922, pp. 3 - 13; Falletti, 1985, pp. 81-83. The following catalogues and guides also adhere to Gamba's characterization of the Foundation: Bertani, 1990; Bertani, 2001; Bucci and Lacchi, 2002; Nardinocchi, 2011.

⁴ The four catalogues dedicated to works on paper are: Collobi Raghianti 1963; Castelli and Gardin 1990; Garofalo 2000; Nardinocchi and Casati 2009. The catalogue dedicated to furniture is: Paolini 2002.

entered Horne's collection. It also clearly states when each piece entered the collection, helping distinguish which pieces Horne purchased from those that were later additions.

The essays from the conference proceedings vary greatly, attesting to the complexity of Horne's collection, his scholarship and also attempts to renew interest in his multifaceted contributions. The earliest of these dates to 1994, while the most recent took place in 2008.⁵ The conference held in 1994 was based on four papers which focused on the Renaissance home and clearly interprets the Horne Foundation as the recreation of a Renaissance home. The 2001 conference discussed Horne and the Anglo-American ex-patriots who lived in Florence at the end of the Ottocento and early Novecento. The 2009 publication of the 2008 symposium held the previous year celebrated the centennial anniversary of Horne's *Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly called Sandro Botticelli, Painter of Florence*.⁶

The first publication dedicated to the Horne Foundation was Guido Carocci's brief 1916 article "Il Palazzo Horne" which was published in the journal he founded, *Arte e Storia*.⁷ Perhaps spurred by concern for the future of Horne's palazzo, the major contribution of Carocci's article was that he was the first to alert a broad readership to its historical and architectural significance. Beginning with the most recent treatment of the palazzo by Horne, "sotto la direzione dell'Ing. Eugenio Campani", Carocci outlines the history of the palazzo and its place in the Florentine cityscape, designating it an important aspect of the city's visual, historical and cultural landscape, deserving attention and protection. Carocci's approach to the foundation is rooted in

⁵ Hatfield, 2009.

⁶ The conference was organized by Villa I Tatti, The Harvard University Center for Renaissance Studies, The Foundation Horne and Syracuse University in Florence.

⁷ Carocci, 1916, pp. 250 - 251.

his lifelong interest in Florentine architecture and history which manifested in the journal he founded, “Arte e Storia”, his scholarship and his work founding the Museo di Firenze Antica. “Arte e Storia” was aimed at a diverse national audience, addressed issues of Italian contemporary art and offered a place for the discussion of historical art. The Museo di Firenze Antica, housed in a portion of the monastery of San Marco, was begun to display the fragments of Florentine architecture that Carocci salvaged during the destruction of the historic center. *Firenze Scomparsa*, in part, documents the historical and architectural patrimony of Florence which was drastically altered by the demolition of the historic center that he actively protested.⁸

The first exhibition related to Horne as a collector was the 1916 Burlington Fine Arts Club “Exhibition of the Herbert Horne Collection of Drawings with Special Reference to the Drawings of Alexander Cozens”. The accompanying catalogue’s preface is written by Horne’s life long, friend Randall Davies.⁹ The exhibition of easily transportable works served as a savvy and practical memorial exhibition to celebrate Horne in London where he was an active critic, author, artisan, and architect in his early-and mid-career. Although not a scholarly account of Horne, his museum or collection, Davies’ biographical note is extremely valuable because it is the only extant first hand account of Horne’s London life, and because it indicates clear ties between Horne’s early and later life and interests. Davies’ account depicts Horne as earnest and avant-garde in his intellectual and artistic endeavors, both creating and critiquing artistic and intellectual work. Davies writes, while “the most considerable writers and thinkers of that time...were still laughing at the absurdities of the aesthetic movement, and utterly blind to the

⁸ Ibid., p. 250.

⁹ Horne and Davies were lifelong friends: they attended grammar school together, Horne wrote the introduction to Davies 1904 publication on Old Chelsea Church, and Horne willed Davies all of his personal paper to destroy upon his death.

serious side of the great awakening, Horne was steadily fostering what was of promise for the future, heedless of popular favor...”¹⁰ Davies recounts that Horne began seriously collecting drawings, including an impressive selection of Cozens’ drawings, in the 1890s, and that he sold his collection to Edward Marsh before moving to Florence in 1904. But he also notes that Horne left an exhaustive study on Cozen unfinished at the time of his death, clearly indicating that Horne remained interested in the artist throughout his life.¹¹ Davies also quotes a letter from Horne regarding his Florentine Palazzo and collection which indicates that Horne sought to create an institute similar to the South Kensington Museum, London, but was wary of running out of time. Despite Davies’ close friendship with Horne, and his first hand account of his life, his testimony was not revisited until Caroline Elam’s 2009 essay.

Count Carlo Gamba Ghiselli (Firenze 1870 - Firenze 1963), art historian and Inspector of the Uffizi Gallery between 1907 and 1963,¹² was the director of the Horne museum from its opening in 1921 until his retirement in 1962. He published three brief, small format guides to the museum in 1921, 1926 and 1961.¹³ He also published a 1920 article in *Dedalo* called “Il Palazzo e la Raccolta Horne a Firenze”¹⁴ and a 1922 article in the *Marzocco* entitled “La Fondazione Horne e la Casa Fiorentina del Rinascimento”.¹⁵ As the title of the 1920 article suggests, the article served to publicly announce the existence of the collection and palazzo which was ex-

¹⁰ Davies, 1916, p. 9.

¹¹ Ibid., 7.

¹² Todros, 1989, p. 10.

¹³ Gamba, 1921; Gamba, 1926; Gamba, 1961.

¹⁴ Gamba, 1920, pp. 162 - 185.

¹⁵ Gamba, 1922, p. 2.

pected to open within a year. The *Marzocco* article was penned after Gamba curated the palazzo and, as indicated by the title, stated his work presents the collection as a Florentine Renaissance home.

The three guides are each under forty pages, offer minimal historical information, some black and white images of portions of the Palazzo and select works in the collection. The 1926 guide is merely an English translation of the 1921 guide. The signed 1961 guide is an updated, slightly more detailed version of the previous two publications.

These publications begin with limited information about Horne, but do note that he amassed his collection on a small budget by frequenting smaller shops and off-season auctions, and that he was a noteworthy art historian due to his perceptive eye and rigorous archival research. Gamba then proceeds to a discerning visual description and analysis of the palazzo and its architectural details. The 1921 and 1926 guides, *Catalogo Illustrato della Fondazione Horne*, faithfully adhere to Horne's attribution of the palazzo to Giuliano da San Gallo, whereas the 1961 guide, *Museo Horne a Firenze*, incorporates Adolfo Venturi's 1906 study and attribution of Palazzo Corsi to Simone del Pollaiuolo, called Il Cronaca.¹⁶ The changed attribution did not alter Gamba's analysis of the structure's superb distribution of the space which "era evidentemente proposto di mostrare, come si potesse rendere grandiosa ed elegante una casa di limitate dimensioni, mediante la scienza della proporzioni, della distribuzione della luce e della sobria e ricercata ornamentazione. Sopra una vasto e chiaro sotterraneo egli trovo modo di innalzare tre ordini di spaziosi ambienti, collegati per mezzo di un'ampia e ricca scala, ricavandovi anche talune co-

¹⁶ Venturi, 1906, p. 432.

modità non comuni nelle antiche costruzioni.”¹⁷ The guides do not include detailed discussions of the collection but offer basic information to orient the viewer, and Gamba does not connect Horne’s collection to his art historical publications and interests. Instead they contend that Horne sought to “raccoliere oggetti antichi d’uso domestico, se non sempre degni di un grande museo, tali tuttavia da rivelare il senso pratico e nello stesso tempo il gusto decorativo della stirpe, oggetti insomma che potevano aver fatto parte dell’arredo tradizionale di una casa dell’antica borghesia fiorentina.”¹⁸

Although Gamba does not specifically connect the collection to the palazzo, which would bolster his presentation of the Horne Museum as a Quattrocento house museum, he writes that the Board of Directors of the Horne Foundation made every effort to respect Horne’s desires and facilitate easy viewing of the collection.¹⁹ Unfortunately, Gamba fails to state how he knew Horne’s desires because he does not cite Horne’s will, letters, or specific conversations nor does he expand upon what he means by “easy viewing”. The 1921 guide concludes with the Board of Directors hope to augment the collection with objects “provenienti dai depositi dei Musei Fiorentini”, presumably to finish the display recreating a Quattrocento house, and publish Horne’s unfinished scholarship based on research and notes he left.²⁰ The 1961 guide reports on the successful augmentation of the collection using objects in storage from other museums, but also acknowledges the drastic diminishment of the endowment due to the depreciation of the lira which

¹⁷ Gamba, 1921, p. 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁹ He writes in Italian, the “*Consiglio d’Amministrazione della Fondazione Horne,*” which is akin to the American system of a Board of Directors.

²⁰ Gamba, 1921, p. 4.

essentially reduced the museum to “un nobilissimo monumento dedicato alla memoria dell’illustre fondatore e benefattore Herbert Percy Horne”.²¹ The new characterization of the museum tied it more closely to the figure of Horne, but the assessment also reduced it to a static monument.

The immediate influence of Gamba’s writing can be found in two articles published in 1922 which announce the foundation’s opening, “The Horne Collection in Florence” by Arthur John Rusconi²² and Maurice W. Brockwell’s “The Hebert Horne Foundation, Florence”²³ which both echo Gamba’s characterization of Horne and the collection. Like Gamba’s description of Horne, Rusconi describes him “not [as] a wealthy man, but a born treasure-hunter, who was gifted with an extraordinary sense for the beautiful...” and that “[t]he chief objects of his search were articles of domestic and ornamental use in the Florentine houses at the time of the Renaissance, and his indefatigable patience and ardour were rewarded by a collection which, had he but lived to complete it would have been unique.”²⁴ Rusconi lauds Horne’s collection installed by Gamba as “beautiful” and writes that the works of art are arranged “as in a wealthy abode of the Renaissance” as having created a historical palace full of precious objects and refined comfort.²⁵ Rusconi subsequently describes the variety of work in the Horne collection emphasizing the diversity of the mediums, and the accompanying twelve black and white images of Horne’s objects illustrate his point.

²¹ Ibid., p. 9.

²² Rusconi, 1922, pp. 3 - 13.

²³ Brockwell, 1922, pp. 543, 798 - 805.

²⁴ Rusconi, 1922, p. 5.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

In 1957 Fritz Saxl, a librarian and scholar at the Warburg Institute, London, delivered a lecture called “Three Florentines: Herbert Horne, Aby Warburg, Jacques Mesnil”, which was a sensitive and erudite call to restore art history to its vibrant and international pre-war state.²⁶ Saxl aptly summarizes the enormous art historical contributions of three very different art historians, each born ca. 1860, who published equally distinct works on Botticelli. Saxl’s presentation of Horne divides his life into two independent phases: his early London life as a socially lively time when he was intensely pursuing manifold artistic and literary interests, and his severe, obsessive and solitary scholarly Florentine years. Saxl roots Horne’s art historical career and contributions within the evolution of the discipline of art history, and compares his work with Aby Warburg, who was interested in all “imagery as an expression of the human mind...” and Jacques Mesnil’s sensitive aesthetic writing.²⁷ The comparison impresses the reader with the originality of Horne’s rigorously historical and severely impersonal scholarship. Like Davies’ essay, Saxl’s account is a valuable acknowledgment of Horne’s London life and training, but the division of Horne’s career and identity was so complete that it did not allow for connections between Horne’s two experiences and countries to be made. Although some later studies by architectural historians like Brenda Preyer and Daniella Lamberini undermined this division, it remained pervasive in the literature regarding Horne until the publication of Caroline Elam’s 2009 essay “A Kind of Posteritorious Distinction”.²⁸

²⁶ Saxl, 1957, pp. 331 - 344.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

²⁸ Brenda Preyer discusses how Horne’s early architectural experiences informed his work in *Renaissance ‘Art and Life’ in the scholarship and palace of Herbert P. Horne* and Daniella Lamberini ties Horne’s restoration of his palazzo and work in Florence with the Association for the Defense of Ancient Florence to his early career in an Arts and Crafts Guild in *Herbert Horne, Architetto Restauratore e Membro dell’Associazione per la Difesa di Firenze Antica* (2005) both published in Fantoni, 2000.

In 1966, Filippo Rossi published the most comprehensive catalogue of the Horne Museum to date. The publication is divided into four sections: the founding and early years of the Foundation, a biography of Horne, a study of the building, and finally, a cursory introduction to the first chronologically organized and annotated illustrated catalogue of the collection. Notably, Rossi's essay is the most updated synthesis on scholarship on Horne and the foundation, but also continues to adhere to Gamba's interpretation. It combines Gamba's previously mentioned characterization of the Horne Museum as a house museum and Venturi's 1906 attribution of the Palazzo Corsi-Horne to Il Cronaca with an analysis of Horne's "cospicua raccolta di mobili intagliati e intarsiati, dal '400 al '600, notevoli tutti per chiarezza di stile e per sobrietà di gusto..." as stylistically similar to the architectural spirit of the building.²⁹ As part of a larger initiative to catalogue the collections of privately established Florentine museums and foundations, the strength of the publication is the comprehensive list of objects in the museum. The catalogue's inclusion of the objects' inventory numbers, which indicate which pieces were part of Horne's original collection and those that were not, and the occasional notes regarding donations is particularly helpful as it provides the most complete way to understand the composition of the collection and origin of the objects to date.

In 1966 *Disegni Inglesi della Fondazione Horne*, a critical catalog written to accompany the exhibition of the same title held three years earlier in "La Strozzi" Gallery, Florence was published.³⁰ This first large scale exhibition of Horne's drawing collection in Florence, it includ-

²⁹ Rossi, 1966, p. 10.

³⁰ Between the 1963 exhibition and the 1966 publication of the catalog, Collobi Ragghianti published four articles discussing groups of drawings in the collection which also appear in the catalog, and the scope of the articles is similar to that of the catalog. They do not offer the critical insight into the collection as a whole, but document the quality of the collection which strategically serves to broaden the audience and promote future interest and scholarship: Collobi Ragghianti, 1963; Collobi Ragghianti, 1965; Collobi Ragghianti, 1967; Collobi Ragghianti, 1968.

ed more than 200 sheets from his collection of English drawings. Licia Collobi Ragghianti, curator of the exhibition and author of the catalog, asserted that the quality of the collection and the diversity of artists represented merited further investigation, as did the figure of Horne. In the introductory essay, she notes the exceptional quality of the collection yet also suggests that Horne had no ambition for important pieces, but “rather preferred something...more personal...”³¹ She wrote that Horne started his collection of English drawings while still a London resident, and that he sold 128 foglios to Edward Marsh, but not *en bloc* as has often been claimed. The distinction is important for Collobi Ragghianti as she notes that it was the more homogenous portion of Horne’s collection which could help us “recover the spirit that animated the collector, to explain the reason for the selections...” that she writes was still undiscovered.³² The strength of the exhibition and catalog was the highlighting of the unusual quality of the large nucleus of English drawings in Florence, which also supported her claim that they were deserving of further scholarly attention as well as restoration which she felt was urgent.

In 1975, nearly nine years after the devastating November 4, 1966 flood, Luciano Bellosi discussed his curation of the Horne Foundation in a pair of articles both entitled “Il Museo Horne.”³³ Considering the safety of the objects, Bellosi transferred the more delicate objects to the upper floors and retained the more resistant works on the ground floor. Bellosi also notes that he strove to respect Gamba’s arrangement of the collection, which he characterizes as a museum “che sembra nato prima dei tempi moderni, completamente tradizionale, in cui le simmetrie sono sacre, in cui tutto è disposto rispondendo alla domanda: ci sta bene o ci sta male? Un

³¹ Collobi Ragghianti, 1963, p. 8.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³³ Bellosi, 1975a, p. 63; Bellosi, 1975b, pp. 229 - 241.

museo che nel mondo di oggi vorrebbe riproporsi come la riconquista di una misura umana. E speriamo di essere riusciti nello scopo.”³⁴ Significantly, Bellosi is the first to present the foundation as a reflection of the combined effort of Horne and Gamba. Bellosi describes Horne as an English aesthetic student of Walter Pater who sought to display the objects in an interesting and artistic manner, and Gamba as the adept executor of this idea. Bellosi’s recognition of the foundation as a museum that reflected Gamba’s curatorial ideas and practices was an unprecedented deviation from the presentation of the collection as strictly that of a Quattrocento house museum. Despite the novelty of Bellosi’s acute observation, it was not repeated in subsequent scholarship. The only exception to date is a brief acknowledgement in a footnote in Daniela Lamberini’s 2005 essay.³⁵

In “La casa di un Signore del Rinascimento: il Museo della Fondazione Horne,” published in 1985, Franca Falletti announces the institute’s plans for revitalization through the publication of new scholarship and exhibitions related to the Horne Foundation.³⁶ Characterizing the institute as a fascinating museum created by a collector and historian with a unique vision, Falletti summarizes Horne’s interest in the Italian Renaissance as linked not only to the object’s formal elements but also their philosophical underpinnings. Falletti writes that Horne’s intention, executed by Carlo Gamba, “era quello di realizzare entro le mura del suo palazzetto non un museo, ma l’immagine quasi vivente di una casa da signore del Rinascimento, con i suoi mobili,

³⁴ Bellosi, 1975b, 240.

³⁵ Lamberini writes, “E importante sottolineare, per altro, che i restauri condotti dal Gamba al palazzo e ai suoi arredi nei primi decenni di direzione del museo, con grande entusiasmo ma con penuria di mezzi e utilizzando le stesse maestranze del cantiere diretto da Horne, ben lontani dalla sensibilità conservativa mostrata dal suo predecessore, sono volti piuttosto al ripristino e al rifacimento in stile, di moda ai suoi tempi.” Lamberini, 2005, p. 85, n. 69.

³⁶ Falletti, 1985, pp. 81 - 83.

i suoi quadri e anche, naturalmente, i suoi oggetti d'uso quotidiano come la semplice seggiolina della balia, la brocca per attingere l'acqua, lo specchio della signora o l'annaffiatoio per i fiori."³⁷ Falletti's description is noteworthy because she is the first to consider Horne's intellectual and philosophical motivations regarding the formation of his collection, but her characterization of the palazzo and collection ultimately relies on Gamba's interpretation of the foundation as a house museum incomplete.

In 1988, Luisa Morozzi published *Le carte Archivistiche della Fondazione Herbert P. Horne: Inventario*.³⁸ Morozzi's work opens with a biography of Horne and proceeds to a tripartite list of the archive: historic papers, with the exception of some nineteenth-century papers; a 'spogli di documenti fatti da Giovanni Baroni, archivista prima, sotto il Governo granducale, dell'Archivio diplomatico, e poi dell'Archivio di stato di Firenze alla sua istituzione'; and those of Horne's personal papers which were not sent to Randal Davies.³⁹

Morozzi's biography of Horne is the most complete study of his life to date, but her adherence to Saxl's division of Horne's life and career ultimately limits her analysis. Morozzi also relies on Gamba's interpretation that Horne sought to create a Quattrocento house museum underpinning her claim with a comparison of Horne's collection to those of his contemporaries. Morozzi writes, "[i]n effetti, per quanto concerne l'arredamento e di suo "palagetto" lo Horne aveva intenzione di attenersi il più scrupolosamente possibile allo spirito rinascimentale, cercando di interpretarne fino in fondo con il gusto che permeava tale epoca. A tale scopo aveva con-

³⁷ Ibid., p. 81.

³⁸ Morozzi, 1988.

³⁹ In Horne's will, held in the Notary Archive, he writes, "La mia corrispondenza privata sarà conseguente al Signor Randall Davies, 4 (??) Cheyne Square Londra."

dotto ricerche e studi sugli ambienti di un palazzo fiorentino del '400, su oggetti di arredamento, documentandosi su fonti archivistiche e letterarie, così da restituire alle sale del suo “palagetto” una immagine, la più fedele ai modelli rinascimentali, cui intendeva ispirarsi.”⁴⁰ In this way, although Morozzi connects Horne’s art historical and archival research to the collection and building, a valuable step which was lacking in previous scholarship – and one which was especially pertinent considering Morozzi’s focus on Horne’s archive – she admits that she cannot fully identify the true motivations behind this connection.

The preface to Morozzi’s work was authored by Ugo Procacci, the then director of the foundation, and is also a valuable addition to the scholarship on Horne. Like Morozzi, Procacci follows Gamba’s assessment of the direction of the museum, writing, that Horne “...con particolare amore, personalmente restaurato, venisse a essere, appunto con tutto quello che egli aveva messo insieme, non un museo, ma un esempio di raffinata dimora signorile di un uomo del Rinascimento, benestante e colto, in cui perciò non poteva mancare anche una preziosa biblioteca...”⁴¹ Procacci’s essay focuses on Horne’s library which he uses to further support the position that Horne sought to create a Renaissance home. Procacci writes, “Occorreva ora occuparsi della biblioteca e delle carte archivistiche; della prima ignoravo cosa contenesse negli scaffali, dove sembrava che tutto fosse in ordine, o perciò che i libri fossero stati collocati al loro posto dallo stesso Horne, dato che mi era noto esser di lui il disegno della libreria; ma basto un superficiale esame per accorgermi che si trattava di un ordine del tutto apparente, essendo mescolati alla rinfusa, probabilmente quando Giacomo De Nicola, direttore del Museo Bargello,

⁴⁰ Morozzi, 1988, p. XXXIV.

⁴¹ Procacci, 1988, p. V.

compilò nel 1917 l'inventario di tutto quello che era di proprietà della Fondazione..."⁴² Although his description of the library bolsters Procacci's idea of the foundation as a house museum, its greater significance for scholarship is that it calls attention to the fact that large portions of Horne's collection remained undiscovered as late as the 1980s, thus acknowledging lacunae in the assessment of the collection and foundation as a whole.

In 1970 Ian Fletcher, a scholar of Victorian literature, published "Herbert Horne: The Earlier Phase," and in 1990,⁴³ *Rediscovering Herbert Horne*, treating Horne's literary career.⁴⁴ The article is essentially a distillation of the eight-chapter book in which Fletcher is the first to examine the historical and social context of Horne's years writing in London. Noting that Horne is usually studied by art historians, the strength of Fletcher's contribution is his careful readings of Horne's poetry as well as the study of diaries, memoirs, and letters of other important London-based literary and artistic figures of the 1890s which mention Horne. Fletcher's analysis of Horne as an incredibly cryptic figure, who eventually freed himself of the influence of his early mentors to assert his intellectual independence offers some valuable insight into Horne's largely ignored personal character and its expression in his non academic writing. However, for the purposes of this study, it is Fletcher's last two chapters, which discuss Horne's career as an art historian and 'his final phase,' that are of consequence. Citing unfinished publications and letters to friends, Fletcher asserts that Horne's increased dedication to Italian art history did not completely overtake his interest in English poetry and couches Horne's desire to recreate a Renaissance home in Horne's attempt to become a well-rounded Renaissance man himself.

⁴² Ibid., p. VI.

⁴³ Fletcher, 1970.

⁴⁴ Fletcher, 1990.

Luisa Morozzi revisits her biographical inquiry into Horne in her 1989 essay “Appunti su Herbert Horne, Collezionista e Studioso Inglese a Firenze tra la Fine dell’Ottocento e gli Inizi del Novecento”. Originally developed as a 1986 conference paper, Morozzi asserts that Horne’s diverse interests and endeavors were the manifestation of his multifaceted training, and that he should be considered as a typical Ottocento collector and intellectual who is distinguished by his specific interest in creating a historically accurate refined Renaissance home.⁴⁵ Although she concedes that she is unsure of what inspired Horne to make this choice, she substantiates her claim, which echoes Gamba’s interpretation, through a discussion his collection, largely amassed through Tuscan and Umbrian Antique dealers, which included large pieces of furniture, small devotional pieces and his philological restoration of the Palazzo Corsi-Horne. She writes that “agli inizi degli anni Novanta, si verifico in Herbert Horne, senza che noi possiamo essere in grado di accertare i reali motivi, un profondo mutamento di interessi culturali che lo porto ad allontanarsi progressivamente dall’ambiente londinese, e a trascorrere, dal 1894 in poi, gran parte dell’anno nel nostro paese. Lascio da parte lo studio di argomenti artistici e letterari inglesi, per concentrarsi sui fatti artistici italiani, soprattutto fiorentini.”⁴⁶

In 1990, the Horne Museum held an exhibition and published an accompanying catalog called *I Codici Miniati della Fondazione Horne*. Similar in scope to Ragghianti Collobi’s exhibition and catalog, the introductory essay by Licia Bertani indicates that twenty-four hitherto unpublished codexes were chosen to document the quality and variety of Horne’s collection which mirror his ability as a connoisseur and his myriad interests. Although only a small portion of

⁴⁵ Morozzi, 1989, pp. 211- 222.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Horne's collection, the catalog entries, written by Cristina Castelli and Alessandra Gardin, demonstrate Horne's ability to select excellent works in a market which was flush with rare and antique books, as well as his complete integration into Florentine culture and civility. The selected collection is of particular interest to this thesis because it highlights Horne's enduring interest in the history of books for their content and construction which was first evident in Horne's 1894 *The Binding of Books: An essay in the History of Gold-Tooled Bindings*.

Brenda Preyer's 1993 *Il Palazzo Corsi-Horne: dal Diario di Restauro di H.P. Horne* is the most comprehensive discussion of Horne's building.⁴⁷ The publication is an annotated translation of Horne's journal from English to Italian, which meticulously chronicles his restoration choices and work on the palazzo making Preyer the first scholar to examine in detail Horne's effort to unearth the original Palazzo from its later notable alterations. Her exhaustive study examines the building and the changes made to it in order to discuss two significant and understudied aspects of Horne's career: his abilities as an architect and as a preservationist. She notes that the diary's acute clarity and meticulously labeled drawings enable the reader to follow Horne's seamless logic as he sought to understand the root of every extant and multilayered architectural situation and its historical cause. Preyer's discussion also highlights how Horne's training and work in London as an architect impacted the sensibility of his approach in treating a building, and the extent of his practical building knowledge and experience. While Preyer limited herself to an analysis of Horne's work on the palazzo, her research provides significant evidence of the links between Horne's professional experiences and personal passions and philosophy, a key argument of this thesis.

⁴⁷ Preyer, 1993.

Itinerari nella Casa Fiorentina del Rinascimento (1994), edited by the museum's current director Elisabetta Nardinocchi, is the publication of four lectures given at the Horne Museum in 1994.⁴⁸ Following an introduction by Nardinocchi, the essays can be argued to adhere to the greater effort, initiated by Falletti and Bertani, to make Horne's institute more culturally and intellectually relevant in the present day. Although the essays incorporate objects and aspects of Horne's palazzo and collection, they are not a strict reading of the works. Nevertheless, the theme of the essays based on the idea of the Renaissance home presented in the Horne Museum reinforces the interpretation of the museum as the recreation of a Renaissance home established by Gamba.

Cristiana Garofalo's 1998 thesis, *Disegni della Fondazione Horne di Firenze*, focused on Horne's collection of works on paper.⁴⁹ In a brief introduction, she acknowledges the merit of Ragghianti Collobi's Strozzi exhibition, Rossi's 1966 catalog, and the 1992 exhibition dedicated to Horne's collection held in Memphis, Tennessee, and Athens, Georgia, but also notes that in each study and exhibition, the attributions reflected those registered in an inventory written circa 1921 by the Uffizi Gallery. She writes that the entire collection's attributions should be carefully reexamined, but limits her study to fifty largely unpublished and mostly Italian drawings from the Cinquecento and the early Seicento due to the extensive size of the collection. Garofalo's corresponding entries provided new technical and critical-historical information as well as some new attributions which sustained her call for further study of the collection.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Nardinocchi, 1994.

⁴⁹ Garofalo, 1998.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Following on her 1997 thesis, Cristiana Garofalo curated the 2000 exhibition and catalogue called *Da Raffaello a Rubens, Disegni della Fondazione Horne*.⁵¹ Garofalo's introductory essay focuses on the rationale for the selection of the thirty-five figural drawings exhibited which "è stato inoltre quello di poter permettere al visitatore di spaziare in modo abbastanza lineare all'interno di una parte della collezione e, allo stesso tempo, di poter riassumere visivamente in mostre le esperienze dei principali maestri del disegno italiano, e di qualche artista straniero."⁵² As noted by Luciano Bellosi in the introduction, Garofalo's selection demonstrates the variety of works in Horne's collection, and his exceptional ability as a connoisseur, recognizing and collecting works for small sums that have an extreme artistic and historic value. Garofalo's introductory essay provides a brief biographical sketch of Horne that renders him a typical Ottocento connoisseur interested in the selection of each object based on its beauty and interest.

Also promoting this interpretation is Claudio Paolini's 2002 catalog *Il Mobile del Rinascimento: La Collezione Herbert Percy Horne* which details the quality and breadth of the collection's furniture.⁵³ The catalogue and introductory essays offer great insight into how objects entered Horne's collection, either through purchase or donation, and their placement by Gamba. Additionally, like Preyer's work, Paolini offers an exemplary analysis of the individual pieces indicates the sensitivity of Horne's interventions and his respect for the original form and materials of work. While, again like Preyer, Paolini stops here, his research offers an important contribution to the construction and understanding of Horne's intellectual biography. The catalogue

⁵¹ The catalogue from the 2000 exhibition is: Cristiana Garofalo, *Da Raffaello a Rubens: Disegni della Fondazione Horne* (Livorno: Sillabe, 2000).

⁵² Garofalo, 2000, p. 11.

⁵³ Paolini, 2002.

also documents the treatment of the furniture after the 1966 flood which heavily damaged some objects in the collection thus contributing to the knowledge of the full arc of the objects' existence which conditions what we experience today.

The next substantial publication related to Horne and his foundation was the publication of acts of conferences held in 2001 at the Foundation Horne.⁵⁴ *Herbert Percy Horne e Firenze: Atti della Giornata di Studi* (2005) is composed of eight disparate essays that focus predominantly on Horne's Florentine years and seek to highlight how dynamic and varied Horne's interests were. It opens with a succinct synthesis of Horne's biography by Nardinocchi, while the other essays focus on a particular aspect of Horne's collection and palazzo to root him in the early twentieth-century Florentine cultural and intellectual milieu. The strength of the publication is its contextualization of Horne's collection and career in Florence, and its greatest value is its exploration of distinct aspects of Horne's collecting and intellectual legacy. However, the quality of the individual essays varies greatly. Furthermore, their focus on Horne's life in Florence reveals itself to be as much a limit as an asset as it ultimately restricts our sense of the complete man, since he lived the majority of his life – and experienced the majority of his influences – in London.

In 2007 Morozzi returned to the topic of Horne in her 2007 lecture "Un Collezionista Londinese a Firenze: Herbert P. Horne (1864 - 1916) Architetto, Designer, Poeta, Storico dell'Arte e Connoisseur".⁵⁵ In her essay she acknowledges Horne's multifaceted background and diverse collection, but echoing her earlier work on Horne she focuses on his collection of draw-

⁵⁴ Nardinocchi, 2005.

⁵⁵ Morozzi, 2007.

ings and again defines Horne as an art historian-collector who was able to amass “un nucleo di quasi un migliaio di disegni, che ancora oggi rispecchia il suo gusto per la scoperta dell’oggetto raro e prezioso...”.⁵⁶ This essay is distinguished by her emphasis on Horne’s activity as a collector and offers new insight into his knowledge of Florentine and London antiquarian shops, auction houses, museums and other private buyers. She writes that his ability to choose excellent and rare objects was increased by his art historical knowledge and resulted in an impressive private collection amassed with limited funds. Because the essay is focused on his amassing of the collection and his identity as a collector of drawings her inquiry into the reason behind Horne’s collecting and its afterlife is limited, she suggests that the question be taken up by future scholars.

In 2009, Syracuse University in Florence published *Sandro Botticelli and Herbert Horne, New Research*.⁵⁷ The publication includes six essays from a 2008 conference held at Villa Rossa, Syracuse University, Florence, which primarily explored aspects of Horne’s scholarship on Botticelli and demonstrated the enduring contribution of his 1908 tome on the early-Renaissance artist.⁵⁸ Only Caroline Elam’s “Herbert Horne: ‘A Kind of Posteritorious Distinction’” deviates from the focus on Botticelli to unerringly guide us through Horne’s remarkable career.⁵⁹ Her essay is the first to remedy Saxl’s enduring division of Horne’s life by indicating how the progression of his training and work ultimately culminated in his rigorous, methodologically modern scholarship, and the extraordinary collection held in the foundation today. She is also, remark-

⁵⁶ Garofalo, 2007, p.162.

⁵⁷ Hatfield, 2009.

⁵⁸ The essays are the publication of the first two days of a three day 2008 conference.

⁵⁹ Elam, 2009, pp. 169 - 225.

ably, the first to call attention to Horne's letter to his school friend Randall Davies and the possibility of Horne's collection having been formed with the mission of creating a study center akin to the South Kensington Museum in Florence, a central premise of this thesis.

In the same year, the small-scale exhibition and catalog *Il Paesaggio Disegnato: John Constable e i Maestri Inglesi nella Raccolta Horne* followed in the vein of Garofalo's 2000 publication by focusing on a small portion of Horne's collection of drawings.⁶⁰ The anthological exhibition emphasized the geographical, stylistic, and chronological variety and quality of the collection's works on paper, and provided the opportunity to view works that are in storage due to their fragility. In their respective essays co-curators Elisabetta Nardinocchi and Matilde Casati link the collection to the figure of Horne. Noting the collection's emphasis on watercolors with a preference for landscapes, Nardinocchi's essay, *Il Paesaggio Disegnato: Sulle Ragioni di una Collezione e sui Motivi di una Esposizione*, links the collection to Horne's profound sense of "Englishness" which she claims never dissipated despite his move to Florence and his love for Italian art. Careful to support Nardinocchi's idea, Casati's thoughtful essay also supports Cris­tiana Garofalo's characterization of Horne as a typical late nineteenth century connoisseur. But after linking some of the selected works to Horne's early articles, she furthers the idea by defining him as a "collezionista-storico dell'arte che raccoglie materiale grafico con specifico interesse per i temi oggetto delle sue personali ricerche, cioè nel caso della monografia su Alexander Cozens. La collezione dunque segue un preciso intento documentario, legato a esigenze di studio, e il gusto personale di Horne seppe salvaguardarla da divenire uno sterile e meccanico ac-

⁶⁰ Nardinocchi and Casati, 2009.

cumulo campionario.”⁶¹ For the purpose of this study, Casati’s characterization is of particular note because it suggests a specific relationship between Horne’s art historical interests and his collection and bolsters Davies, Fletcher and Elam’s premise that London’s artistic and intellectual culture continued to be a powerful influence on Horne’s Florentine experience and collecting.

The second anthological exhibition of Horne’s drawings held at the Foundation focused on the figure. Again co-curated by Elisabetta Nardinocchi and Matilde Casati, the 2011/12 exhibit, *L’Immagine e lo Sguardo: Ritratti e Studi di Figura da Raffaello a Constable*, included twenty-nine portraits, self-portraits and figure studies from the late fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century and largely focused on Italian artists. As noted in the two essays penned by the curators, the exhibition emphasized the geographical, stylistic, and chronological variety and quality of the collection’s works on paper, and provided the opportunity to view works that are often relegated to storage due to their fragility. Nardinocchi’s essay provides a brief and yet comprehensive study of the multifaceted nature of the figure. Although she admits she is unsure if the figure was of particular importance for Horne, she states the theme was chosen due to the rich and varied options the collection presented for an exhibit. Casati’s essay, *Ritratti e Studi di Figura: Uno Sguardo alla Collezione Horne*, is distinguished for its discussion of Horne’s unpublished “Catalogue of my second Collection, chiefly of Italian Drawings” a notebook that begun on January 1, 1905. It includes descriptions of a miniature and eighty-eight drawings by Italian artists and foreigners from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries purchased between 1890 - 1905. She writes that although the catalog “costituisce un campionatura rispetto ai circa mille fogli presenti nel fondo, il Catalogue costituisce un importante strumento per tracciare il profilo

⁶¹ Nardinocchi and Casati, 2009, p. 22.

dell'attività collezionistica intrapresa da Horne nel campo della grafica, nonché una significativa testimonianza del rigoroso approccio scientifico da lui adottato dello studio del disegno.”⁶² Casati's mention of the catalog is especially valuable because despite the exhibition's emphasis on Horne's collection of Italian drawings, it is clear that his purchase of, and thus interest in, English drawings continued after his move to Florence and resulted in the one of the finest collections of its kind in Italy.

The most recent guide, *Museo Horne: Guida alla Visita del Museo* (2011), edited by Nardinocchi, was published as part of the seventh edition of *Piccoli Grandi Musei*, an initiative that focused on the phenomena of collecting Renaissance art in the early eighteenth century.⁶³ Like previous guides, it is organized into three sections: Horne's biography, the palazzo and the collection. Echoing Gamba's characterization of Horne, he is presented as a parsimonious collector with an ability to find treasures in unlikely locations due to his excellent eye and scholarly understanding of the Italian Renaissance. Deviating from previous guides, and linking the Horne foundation to the *Piccoli Grandi Musei* theme of collecting, Nardinocchi briefly discusses Horne's career as an advisor and buyer for wealthy American individuals and cultural institutes. The portion discussing the Palazzo is limited to the construction and renovation of the palazzo, but notably includes commentary on the post 1966 flood restoration and recent renovation of the facade. The catalogue of objects is limited to those on view, and offers cursory information in a small entry for each object. Like previous guides, Nardinocchi maintains Gamba's approach to the collection as the recreation of a Renaissance home, though she is novel in her attempt to rein-

⁶² Nardinocchi and Casati, 2011, pp. 18 - 19.

⁶³ Nardinocchi, 2011.

force the narrative by linking some of the objects to the theme of the museum as a Renaissance home. However, because she does not specify which pieces were acquired by Horne or Gamba, it provides a false sense of Horne's choices and mission.

This thesis seeks to correct a fundamental misunderstanding of Herbert Horne and his legacy that has characterized the vast majority of the literature on this subject: the notion that his palazzo and collection were intended to be the recreation of a Renaissance home. In particular, it elaborates on Elam's assertion that Horne sought to create an institution like the South Kensington Museum in his adopted city, Florence. To this aim, it diverges from previous scholarship in its broader scope which includes an inquiry into the impact of Horne's early London life on his collection, scholarship and envisioned institute. Furthermore, it takes a critical approach toward the role of Gamba's tenure as director in which he interpreted and curated the collection and palazzo for the public. This approach allows us to clarify for the first time the influence of each man on the institute and assess how their different training and interests shaped what is experienced by the contemporary visitor.

The catalogs published by Rossi and Paolini were fundamental to this study.⁶⁴ Despite the publication of more recent catalogues, Rossi's work remains unsurpassed as a compendium of the collection. The complete inventory numbers indicate which pieces were purchased by Horne and those that were donated, loaned and purchased to be incorporated into the foundation after his death. While brief, Rossi's catalogue entries included valuable information regarding the date and price of purchase for many of the objects thus helping to decipher which objects Horne paid a notable sum for. Rossi's selection of photographs is also valuable resource because

⁶⁴ Rossi, 1966; Paolini, 2002.

it provides images of some objects which were heavily damaged and subsequently restored due to the 1966 flood. Paolini's catalogue was used extensively because the detailed information regarding Horne's purchase and restoration of furniture provides great insight into Horne's appreciation and treatment of an object which was frequently disregarded or radically altered by his collecting contemporaries.

These resources are complemented by an exhaustive consideration of Horne's writing from 1886 - 1914 which provide an excellent understanding of his perspectives and development, and have been largely overlooked by past scholars. Horne's publications can be divided into three phases. The first phase is dominated by his writing for *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*. Horne wrote as the editor, himself, and anonymously from 1886 - 1893 on a wide variety of topics. The breadth of the articles allow for an analysis of the development of Horne's opinions, as well as how his methodological approach and language was carefully modified for each topic. His second phase of publications, ca. 1893 - 1904, was comprised of exhibition and book reviews for London newspapers. In these, Horne vehemently espouses his personal opinions about a variety of works and London cultural institutions attesting to his deep investment in contemporary art, culture and education. The third phase of his writing from ca. 1904 - 1916 is dominated by his articles on the Italian Renaissance published in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* and his monograph on Botticelli. Although his Renaissance writing has received great attention because of its contribution to the field, this thesis examines his earlier articles to understand the roots of Horne's connoisseurship and sensitivity to the placement of works.

In order to clarify the distinct role that Count Carlo Gamba played in the public definition of the Horne Museum, a thorough study of his publications and role in the museums and exhibi-

tions was conducted. It also considers the social, political and economic context of the museum and city when he became the director. Finally, this thesis takes the additional step of using these materials to reposition the museum within the Florentine cultural and museological landscape.

This chapter examines how Horne's lifelong dedication to the study and creation of finely designed objects of diverse mediums was formed by his relationships with two key mentors. Horne had a typical middle class childhood and education until he was transformed in his teens by the writing of Walter Pater, which challenged him to cultivate an intellectual, aesthetic, and sensory engagement with the world. This provided the foundational direction and underlying sensibility for Horne's body of work, scholarship, and collection. In 1882 he embarked on the second foundational relationship of his life: a contract drafted in this year indicates that Horne entered the architectural studio of Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo first as an apprentice and then as an equal partner. Alongside Mackmurdo, Horne learned practical skills like drawing and designing, and also contributed to and edited a journal that their association published, The Century Guild Hobby Horse. These experiences were essential to Horne's later career as an art critic, historian and collector because they provided him with concrete knowledge about the construction of objects and their materials as well as an opportunity to begin developing his ideas and methodology for his art criticism and history.

The intellectual influence of Walter Pater

Horne was born in London on February 18, 1864 to Horace and Hannah Louise Horne, the first of three siblings.¹ Although there is little documentation of his childhood, letters from Horne and his family suggest largely average and uneventful relationships.² Letters in the Horne

¹ Chaney, Hall, 2002, p. 70.

² For a contrasting view of Horne's childhood see Fletcher, 1990, p. 10.

archive between Horace and Herbert do indicate Horace's frequent financial reliance on Herbert, but they also include invitations to dinner in both the city and at the seaside, and demonstrate Horace helped manage practical aspects of his son's life.³ Horne also conserved numerous letters from his father, including Horace's letter to Hannah Louise to "be opened when he no longer is" (he died in 1894) and a lock of his hair - suggesting an emotional attachment and desire to remember.⁴ Fewer letters to and from Horne's mother are extant, but they do include personal reflections, details of the marvels of his travels, as well as the promise of more letters and to bring her to Italy.⁵ Indeed, she died in 1903 in Florence and is buried in the Gli Allori cemetery, with a sober and elegant tombstone designed by her son.⁶ After her death, Horne corresponded frequently with his uncle to fairly settle her estate between Herbert and his two younger siblings, Louis and Beatrice. The letters suggest a high level of collaboration between family members and an earnest effort to care for Louis, who lived in a permanent care facility due to depression and mental illness.⁷ Beatrice, a gifted musician, was a life-long ally of

³ Carteggio Horne II. (H - W). Inv. 2600/33; segn. K.I.7.a

Information in following letters indicate the relationship described above: (London, 18.X.1893), (London, 18.X.1893), (London, 26.I.1894), (Folkestone, 5.IX.1894), (Folkestone, 7.IX.1894) (Folkestone, 16.IX.1894).

⁴ Carteggio Horne II. (H - W). Inv. 2600/33; segn. K.I.7. (Folkestone, 19.IX.1894.)

⁵ The letters from Herbert P. Horne to Hannah Louise Horne are archived as the following: (Windermere, 15.XVIII.1886), (Windermere, 20.IX.1886), (Pisa, 14.IX.1889), (Rome, 27.X.1889), (Venice, 8.IV.1894), (London, s.d.), (London, s.d.). The letters from Hannah Louise Horne to Herbert P. Horne are the following: (Venice, 6.X.1902), (Venice, s.d.), (Venice, s.d.).

⁶ She is buried in Gli Allori cemetery two plots away from Horne. They have the same simple rectangular tombstone crowned by a temple pediment. It has been suggested that Hannah Louise Horne passed unexpectedly while visiting Horne, and the 1904 dedication of his translation of *Michelangelo's Life* by Ascanio Condivi suggests she was ill. The dedication, H.P.H AD MATREM MORITVRAM suggests an active turning toward his mother in her final hour. The AD suggests physical movement - not a static facing the subject which is his mother. It is also the only dedication of his work to a family member, suggesting a close personal attachment.

⁷ There are twenty-four letters conserved from Henry Percy Horne to Herbert Percy Horne in the archive. Twenty-two letters are dated from 1903 and primarily concern dividing Hannah Louise Horne's estate and managing Louis' care.

Herbert, and their frequent letters indicate she assisted Horne with his publications.⁸ A letter conserved in the Giovanni Poggi archive also indicates that she enquired after his donation to Florence to ensure his wishes and will were respected.⁹

Horne was brought up in the middle-class areas of Kensington and Bedford Park. He studied at Miss Moore's Grammar School under Daniel Barron Brightwell, and alongside his friend Randall Davies.¹⁰ It was presumably around this time that Horne read Walter's Pater's texts which made a great impression on him. Pater's influence on Horne is often treated superficially because Horne and Pater's understandings and treatment of the 'historical sense' diverge radically in Horne's mature work. In *Studies in the Renaissance* (and *Imaginary Portraits*), Pater imaginatively tried to recapture the past as if one lived there, and creatively reconciled historical fact with what he imagined about the past. Consequently, he often disliked whatever threatened his imagination, imposed clear boundaries, or revealed the mysteries that he preferred remained hidden. To the contrary, Horne's scholarship combined connoisseurship with rigorous archival research to consistently substantiate his ideas with primary documents, and his mature art history shows an interest in delineating influences as clearly as possible within a tradition or period to identify a single painter's authentic *oeuvre* and establish their place within the history of art.

However, Horne recognizes his debt to Pater in his dedication and introduction of his *magnum opus*, *Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly called Sandro Botticelli: Painter of Florence*.

⁸ Carteggio Horne, Inv. 2600/33; segn. K.I.7. (Bridport, 25.IV.1908).

⁹ Carteggio Poggi, lettera H, 104 - 120; 20-12-1904/27-11-1917.

¹⁰ Horne wrote the preface to Davies' book *Old Chelsea Church*, and Davies was willed Horne's personal papers to destroy upon his death. Davies held an exhibition of a small portion of Horne's collection of Alexander Cozen work and decorative art at the Burlington Arts Club in 1916 in his memory.

Horne partially dedicates the work to Pater noting his importance regarding his “initiation in these studies” and describes Pater’s 1870 essay (republished in 1873) on Botticelli as, “the subtlest and most suggestive appreciation of Botticelli, in a personal way, which has yet been written...[and] may serve to remind us how largely this very essay has contributed towards the discovery of the unique place which Botticelli holds among the great masters of the Renaissance.”¹¹ Horne’s reverence for Pater’s philosophy and writing is also evident in his August 1, 1896 article reviewing *Miscellaneous Studies: A Series of Essays*, a posthumously edited and published compilation of essays.¹² Because the book has no thematic focus like his *Studies in the Renaissance* or his posthumously published *Greek Studies: A Series of Essays*, Horne focuses on larger elements of Pater’s work. Horne, normally a formidable critic, exalts Pater and transforms possible criticisms of Pater’s work and literary style into reasons to celebrate him, ultimately championing him as an exceptional writer, philosopher and teacher.

Although Horne concedes that Pater’s writing could sometimes seem grammatically cumbersome and problematic due to “an absence of a proper co-ordination of their several parts”, he defends them as part of a crafted technique of “elaborate building up of sentences” to express sophisticated thoughts.¹³ While reviewing books on art and architecture and history, Horne heavily criticizes the authors’ misattributions of artists’ works, but he does not criticize Pater for similar factual blunders because, as he eloquently argues in his 1896 article, “A Review of Pater’s *Miscellaneous Studies*”, the scope of Pater’s work is to teach his readers to discern beauty and excellence in life and the minutia of dates has no bearing on Pater’s large,

¹¹ Horne, 1908, p. xix.

¹² Pater, 1910.

¹³ Horne, 1896, p. 108. See appendix 41.

overarching life lessons and philosophy. Horne writes, “[t]hat nothing is wholly common or mean is, perhaps, after all, the conclusion of what he has had to teach us. Certainly, no critic of human life ever possessed, in a greater degree, the power of disengaging the rare, the peculiar quality, of this or that work of art, this or that personality, this or that circumstance or occasion: no one ever approached human life with a keener sense of the subtlety of its colors, its lights and shadows, its complexity, its evasiveness.”¹⁴

Despite the marked differences between Pater and Horne’s scholarship, Horne’s praise of Pater and his careful scrutiny of his texts indicates great respect and admiration for the singular qualities of his work and contributions. In Horne’s work, five of Pater’s central principles arise and contribute markedly to Horne’s methodological practices and subject choices, and an investigation of these five points also demonstrate how commonly perceived differences between Horne and Pater’s style actually show a debt to Pater.

From Pater, Horne learned that one could approach art and art history without being a trained Art Historian. Pater, born in London, raised in England, won a scholarship to Queens College, Oxford University, to study Greek Philosophy with Benjamin Jowett in 1858. Pater earned an A.B. in Literae Humaniores,¹⁵ and stayed on at Oxford as a tutor, never becoming a full professor due to the controversial nature of his private life and three publications.¹⁶ Despite his studies and training in Greek philosophy, his only volume of essays discussing the subject,

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 108. See appendix 41.

¹⁵ Three works by Walter Pater were published posthumously under his literary executor Charles Lancelot Shadwell, a pupil and close friend: *Greek Studies: A Series of Essays* (1895), *Miscellaneous Studies: A Series of Essays* (1913) *Gatson de LaTour: an Unfinished Romance* (1896).

¹⁶ His three publications included two volumes of essays, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873), *Imaginary Portraits* (1887), and a philosophical novel *Marius the Epicurean* (1885). Pater was a suspected homosexual which was illegal in England, and his writing was accused of having homoerotic undertones.

Greek Studies: A Series of Essays (1895), was prepared and published posthumously by his literary executor. Instead, his most influential work, *Studies in the Renaissance*, is a slim volume composed of eight essays which are erudite meditations on distinct artistic, literary and intellectual aspects of the Renaissance, and one essay which revives Johann Joachim Winckelmann as a great Renaissance man who strongly impacted the more famous Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.¹⁷ In the preface and the conclusion, Pater frames his text as an exploration of the Renaissance in an expanded chronological and geographical context and encourages the reader to think independently about the subjects - never to merely adopt his position.¹⁸

Pater's powerful and critically discussed writings encouraged and empowered Horne to pursue a life of the mind despite his rather improbable upbringing as a child who was limited to a grammar school education. Letters from Horace Horne preserved in the Horne Museum consistently mention the family's monetary difficulties, and indicate Horace's financial dependence on Herbert, suggesting that despite Horne's great intellectual promise Herbert needed to choose an economical education or professional training. However, his background did not limit him from writing prolifically and, perhaps inspired by his reading of Walter Pater, Horne was not content to be a mere intellectual dilettante. Rather, he fashioned himself to be a real contributor to the field of inquiry in art, architecture, and poetry, publishing numerous articles and books which were accessible to diverse audiences. His first two articles, published in 1886, were about architecture, the following year he expanded his repertoire to discuss poetry

¹⁷ Each of Pater's three books provide great insight into his intellectual and private sphere. However, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* was altered and republished three times in his lifetime denoting its particular significance to him, and its popularity.

¹⁸ These general precepts were also echoed in his novel *Marius the Epicurean* (1885).

and by 1894 he began reviewing exhibitions and books about art and architectural history.¹⁹ He wrote copious articles which, despite their brevity, consistently demonstrate a detailed mastery of the various subjects which he framed in their historical and contemporary context.

In addition to Horne's novel contributions to the art and architectural history through his articles, he also aided in making valuable texts available to an Anglophone audience. In 1903 Horne's *The Life of Leonardo di Vicini by Giorgio Vasari, done into English from the text of the second edition of the 'Lives' appeared*, and the following year his translation of *The Life of Michelagnolo Buonarroti, Collected by Ascanio Condivi da la Ripa Transone* was published. In the preface to Horne's translation of Leonardo's biography, he notes the awkwardness and inadequacy of the current English language translation, and offers his work as an attempt to rectify the situation with one of Vasari's more famed biographies. Acknowledging Vasari is usually at his best when writing about artists he knew, Horne nevertheless praises his work on Leonardo as one of his finest biographical portraits of a fifteenth century artist because of how he "relates the successive events of his life in their proper order" as opposed to other biographies which are either populated with errors or "are little more than so many collections of anecdotes." Horne also writes that he tried to "convey something of the literary charm of Vasari's narrative,

¹⁹ Horne's first two articles on architecture were "Nescio quae mugarum: No. 1. At the charterhouse," *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* 1 (1886), 77 (see appendix 1) and "A Study of Inigo Jones," 1 (1886), *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1886), 123 (see appendix 2). In the following year he wrote four articles about poetry: "The life mask of William Blake," *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1887), 29 (see appendix 3), "Nescio quae mugarum: No. IV. Carols from the coal-fields," *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1887), 76 (see appendix 4), "Note upon Blake's Sibylline leaf Homer and Virgil," *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1887), 115 (see appendix 6), "Potentia Silentii: being a selection of passages from the letters and papers of James Smethan," *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1887), 123 (see appendix 7). In November of 1894 Horne published "colour in architecture," *Saturday Review* (1894), 502 (see appendix 24), "The New English Art Club," *Saturday Review* (1894), 577 (see appendix 25), "Pen drawing," *Saturday Review* (1894), 560 - 562 (see appendix 26), "Houses and furniture," *Saturday Review* (1894), 604 (see appendix 27), "The fine arts in technical schools," *Saturday Review* (1894), 616 - 617 (see appendix 28), "Bach and the harpsichord," *Saturday Review* (1894), 654 - 655 (see appendix 29), "Rembrandt van Ryn," *Saturday Review* (1894), 677 - 678 (see appendix 75).

and to illustrate its value as a piece of biography and criticism.”²⁰ Aware of the current trend to deny Vasari’s contribution due to his somewhat garbled imitation of Ciceronian prose and occasional error, Horne defends Vasari as “the most engaging of story-tellers, a master of literary portraiture, and though it is now the fashion to deny it, a master of criticism.”²¹ Horne’s work has a dual purpose: he introduces the general reader to Leonardo and his art, but also furnishes the more serious student of Italian painting with a brief introduction to the study of artist. In his detailed notes - which he assures the reader he had to limit, nevertheless assume more space than Vasari’s writing in the text - he offers a limpid translation, corrects errors which contemporary scholarship has indisputably agreed upon, provides the location of all extant original documents, and elucidates several Leonardesque questions beyond what had hitherto been done.²²

His translation of Ascanio Condivi’s work is not annotated thus precluding an analysis, but it is significant that it is Condivi’s text - not Vasari’s - that is translated. Condivi, a student and assistant to Michelangelo, based his biography on the artist’s own words, tells his life story, his relationship with his patrons, his objectives as an artist, and his accomplishments. Within fifteen years of its publication in 1553, Vasari incorporated much of it to correct and revise his biography of Michelangelo in the second edition of his *Lives of the Artists*, but it was Condivi’s biography which formed the basis of a biography that has been central to the study of Michelangelo for four centuries. Thus it is fitting that Horne, ever attentive to documentary evidence, made this indispensable source for the life of Michelangelo available to English language readers.

²⁰ Horne, 1903a, p. 7.

²¹ Ibid., p. 7.

²² His translation of Michelangelo’s Life by Ascanio Condivi da la Ripa Transone is not annotated.

From 1903 until the last year of his life he published sixteen articles in *The Burlington Magazine*. Founded by his friend Roger Fry, and clearly geared toward a specialized audience, Horne's articles are based on primary documents and carefully address single, pointed issues. His ability to reconstruct the historical, cultural and artistic background of the figures and the discussed works is formidable, as is the documentary evidence he uses to support his claims. This work culminates in his monograph on Botticelli which was praised by Roger Fry for its scientific information, stylistic analysis and how the information and presentation effectively augments the perfection and beauty of the work. Horne's work on Botticelli began under a contract from the London based publisher George Bell as part of an economic series of books aimed at an increasingly educated middle class. Planned to be around 30,000 words, it was published ten years after the initial contract, and had morphed into a massive work of which only 240 copies were printed and was sold for the extravagant price of 10 guineas. Despite the small printing, his detailed analysis, chronological ordering of his career through stylistic analysis and Horne transforms Botticelli from a painter who had largely fallen into obscurity into a protagonist of the Renaissance of which no collection of Italian paintings feels complete without. Fry writes, "[e]ither a thing is worth saying or it's not. If it is worth saying it is in the book; if it is not, it is excluded - but there is no intermediate class, everything is here on the same footing. There are no notes, no headings, no chapters, no index. All the knowledge about Botticelli that Mr. Horne has accumulated in years of patient study is here poured out in one continuous and equable stream. That such a method conduces immensely to the beauty of the book no one who opens this work can deny."²³ Fry also informs us that Horne had collected much other valuable

²³ Fry, 1908, pp. 83 - 84.

archival information for his future publications, but he was so invested in research and building his knowledge of the Quattrocento that he did not spend his time writing.

The second concept Horne gleaned from Pater was to think independently and critically, even revolutionizing a period or ideas for which a general consensus was already established, rendering them anew. In his text, Pater explicitly tells his readers to think independently as aesthetic critics. Pater writes, "...In aesthetic criticism the first step towards seeing one's object as it really is, is to know one's impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realize it distinctly. ...What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to *me*? What effect does it really produce on me? Does it give me pleasure? And if so, what sort or degree of pleasure? How is my nature modified by its presence and under its influence? The answers to these questions are the original facts with which the aesthetic critic has to do; and, as in the study of light, of morals, of number, one must realize such primary data for oneself or not at all."²⁴ When Pater initially published these challenging ideas in his *Studies of the Renaissance*, John Ruskin (1819 - 1900) - the Oxford University Slade professor of Art and widely read art critic - determined the dominant mode of interpreting art. Ruskin denied the importance of the subjective experience and presented a clear dichotomy between the Gothic as an intellectually and morally superior time when spiritualism pervaded all aspects of society and art and the Classical and the Renaissance as ages replete with pagan corruption.²⁵ Meanwhile, Oxford University Professor of Poetry, Matthew Arnold, a famed representative of the cultural establishment, advocated that critics take an objective view and eliminate any personal prejudice

²⁴ Pater, 1873 (ed. 2010), p. 20.

²⁵ Although Ruskin eventually softens his view on some Florentine artists later in his career, his dissatisfaction with Florentine art can be discerned in his 1885 *Mornings in Florence*.

in their discussion of the arts. Pater's novel definition and ideas liberated the Renaissance, and the reader, from chronological, geographic and ideological boundaries and enabled Pater to create new themes, and anachronistic artistic and intellectual kin. Pater also gifted the interpretive and critical power to the viewer and sanctioned the celebration of the individual and daily life through an appreciation of a period which championed the individual and earthly experience. Consequently, Pater's championing of the Renaissance for its "spirit of rebellion and revolt against the moral and religious ideas of the time", and his move to "one's object",²⁶ as possessed and interpreted by the viewer based on individual life experiences, diametrically opposed the contemporary cultural norms as established by Ruskin and Arnold.

Horne rose to the distinctly Paterian task to constantly question and rethink the way that art and architecture are approached, and challenged others to do the same. As Caroline Elam stated in her 2009 essay, Horne developed the methodological approach still favored by Renaissance historians today which combines careful stylistic analysis paired with archival evidence and situating the works of art in their cultural, historical, as well as their physical context consistently offering a new interpretation and meaning of work in his studies.²⁷ This is exemplified by Horne's two-part 1905 article in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* on Andrea del Castagno. The first portion of the article demonstrates that "Andrea's birth cannot be placed earlier than the first decade of the fifteenth-century" and was most likely in a nearby Florentine *contado*.²⁸ In the second portion, Horne utilizes this information to discuss how Castagno's talent was probably discovered and introduced into the Florentine artistic milieu.

²⁶ Pater, 1873, (ed. 2010), p. 20.

²⁷ Elam, 2009, p. 165.

²⁸ Horne, 1904d, p. 232.

Horne's rigorous archival research, interpretation of fifteenth-century Tuscan dialect, and stylistic analysis enabled him to respect individual contributions and demonstrate how they participated in the development of an overall, period-specific set of ideas and style. Although his convincing article presents a radically different stylistic development and contribution than previously considered, Horne, like Pater, is careful not to present his analysis as finite, and he invites the reader to continue his work. Horne writes, "my space is already gone, and I have been able to touch but hurriedly upon a few of the more significant and characteristic traits of these frescoes: still perhaps, I have been able to show that, obscure as may appear the development of Andrea's manner, and the chronology of his works, they are questions which, despite their difficulty, we may yet in great measure hope to solve."²⁹

In Horne's reviews of exhibitions and publications, he routinely opposes conventional opinions on architects, artists, and mediums through careful analysis. For example, in Horne's April 29, 1901 *Morning Leader* article, Horne takes issue with the contemporary vogue for only celebrating the youthful work of George Frederic Watts, and criticizing his later output. Horne writes that Watts' mature handling of color and forms demonstrates that he has "gained certain other qualities which are among the rarest to be met with, even in the old masters." Horne continues, "[b]ut these pictures differ chiefly from Mr. Watts earlier works in their effort after a peculiar simplification of form and mass, a simplification such as we find only in the last works of a few great artists who have lived to a patriarchal age, such as Michelangelo and Titian. Just that dryness and bluntness of form which offends so many of us in these pictures of Mr. Watts' puts me in mind of such drawings of Michelangelo as the "Pietà," in the British Museum..."

²⁹ Ibid., p. 232.

Horne concludes by writing, “it seems to me that in criticizing such exhibitions as that at the New Gallery, we are apt to overlook the fact that Mr. Watts is one of the very few living English masters, certainly the only exhibitor in the present show who succeeds in keeping alive a tradition of great painting.”³⁰ Horne’s article not only defends Watts’ current work, but Horne’s fresh stylistic analysis places his work on par with two artists unquestionably placed in the canon of art history, thus attempting to secure Watts’ a position.

The third Paterian principle that Horne internalized was to value temporal sensory experiences rather than an end result. Pater writes, “Every moment some form grows perfect in hand or face; some tone on the hills or sea is choicer than the rest; some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real and attractive for us; — for that moment only. Not the fruit of experience, but experience itself is the end.”³¹ Although an Oxford don, he advocated that the value of temporal, fleeting life experiences were equally important for the development of the individual as the solitary, contemplative study that the university and intellectual elite advocated for.

Although this aspect of Pater’s writing contributed significantly to his reputation as deeply subversive and controversial, and jeopardized his chance of a professorship, it is evident in Horne’s writing that he underscores the value of life experience to become a great artist – technical skill alone is not sufficient. In his 1889 preface discussing the intellectual and philosophical direction of *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, Horne writes, “[a]mong our younger painters especially, the aim is to be able to paint, and beyond this they have no ambition. Yet

³⁰ Horne, 1901a, p. 154. See appendix 80.

³¹ Pater, 1873, (ed. 2010), p. 154.

how can a man learn to paint unless he has first learned to *live*? But this brings us back to our former conclusion, that Art becomes great only in proportion as it interests itself in the conduct of life.”³² Similarly, in his 1891 commencement address to the students of the Whitechapel crafts school, he advises them to live striving to become great artists who produce excellent work. But he also assures them that becoming a master is extraordinarily rare, and working, striving for such an end, is a worthy life pursuit. Like Pater, Horne directly addresses the reader with a persuasive and honest plea, writing: “[y]ou may, perhaps, never be able to attain to the perfection of the grand Masters; but with pains and study, you may come to love and understand them: and to divine what is best and greatest in art; to desire and to follow after it; is in itself its own great distinction, its own immense reward.”³³

Although Pater focused on the Renaissance, and suggests that one should not limit oneself chronologically or geographically, Pater writes, “He will remember always that beauty exists in many forms. To him all periods, types, schools of taste, are in themselves equal. In all ages there have been some excellent workmen and some excellent work done.”³⁴ Likewise, although elsewhere in Pater’s text he espouses music as the most perfect art, he recognizes the merit and power of all mediums’ individual characteristics and claims that painting, poetry and music (among other arts) are capable of delivering the same intense feelings and interest.

Horne’s own career demonstrates his belief in the significance of the arts regardless of medium and provenance. Horne was an accomplished architect, poet, watercolorist, draftsman, typographer, and book designer. Horne as an architect is exemplified by his Chapel of the

³² Horne, 1889, p. 1. See appendix 13.

³³ Horne, 1891, p. 92. See appendix 22.

³⁴ Pater, 1873, (ed. 2010), pp. 2-3.

Ascension constructed in Bayswater Road, London.³⁵ Here, Horne designed an intimate chapel whose rational proportions and select architectural decorations created a refined and simple space conducive to non-sectarian prayer, as the patron wished, and provided plenty of wall space for the frescos as demanded by Frederic Shields. Horne also wrote poetry which he eventually compiled into a single volume entitled *Diversi Colors* (1891). Although his poetry is not distinguished for its profound content or gracious style, it demonstrates his desire to experiment with literary arts. Additionally, Horne designed ex-libris, tailpieces, initial letters and book covers for *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, his own and friends' publications in which his linear designs attentively balance positive and negative space (fig. 3).³⁶ Finally, Horne's most obvious commitment regarding the equal importance of the arts is evident in his forming an Arts and Crafts Guild with Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo ca. 1883 which, along with their publication, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, dominated a decade of his life.

Horne's adherence to the Paterian valuing of diverse arts and the importance of articulating the expressive merits of distinct mediums is equally evident in his scholarship. Although Horne ultimately champions architecture as the most perfect art, his 1891 commencement address at the White Chapel Craft School evidences how inclusive Horne is when discussing art. Horne explicitly states he uses the word "Art' in its widest significance, to

³⁵ Horne's chapel, conceptualized ca. 1890 was completed in 1910. It can only be understood through scant black and white photographs of the facade and interior because it was bombed during the June 18, 1944 Blitz and demolished in 1969 during the Post war clean up. Perhaps due to the private nature and limited existence of the chapel, it has not been extensively studied. The most comprehensive analysis of the interior fresco cycle is Margareta S. Frederick's essay "On Frederic Shield's Chapel of the Ascension, 1887 - 1910" which discusses "the Chapel as representative of the changing Victorian precepts of religion and faith as well as attitudes towards public art and decoration on the even of the modern age." Frederick, 2016.

³⁶ This aspect of Horne's career was most amply discussed in "Ian Fletcher's Rediscovering Herbert Horne" (1990) in his chapter entitled The Typographer and Book Designer. Several of Horne's designs, including his initial letter design for the letter M, an ex-libris for himself and for Charles Loeser, were on display in the 2013 exhibition Horne and Friends: Un Sogno da Salvare at the Horne Museum which has since remained as a permanent display on the ground floor.

include Literature, Music, Painting, Architecture; in short whatever is fine in its nature..."³⁷ In fact, although Horne, like Pater, was ultimately deeply invested in the Renaissance, he extols the virtue of nearly all mediums and diverse periods in his writing. In Horne's article on Inigo Jones (1886), a tripartite article on James Gibbs (1889), and critique of the "New Reredoes at St. Paul's Cathedral in relation to the whole design of that Cathedral" (1888) Horne deftly discusses the impact of the individual architectural elements and details in relation to the whole work on these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English churches. Horne also wrote about poetry, demonstrating a knowledge about contemporary and past authors and styles through effective comparisons in his article on "Thoughts Towards a Criticism of Dante Gabriele Rossetti" (1887), and his critique in "Nescio Quad Mugarum: No. IV. Carole from the Coal-Fields." In 1894 Horne published *The Binding of Books, An Essay in the History of Gold-Tooled Bindings*, which provided the history of the process of binding books in France, England and Italy and a critique of its practices, and sought to reestablish the craft as an art worthy of appreciation and scrutiny. Horne reviews exhibitions of contemporary painting from 1894 - 1904 for a variety of London based journals and, according to Randall Davies, at the end of his life continued to work on a volume about the eighteenth-century landscape artist Alexander Cozens.

The fifth principle Horne derived from Pater was not to form intellectual habits, but instead to seek differences in all art and situations to understand their unique nature, always striving to be as intellectually alert as possible. Pater writes, "And the function of the aesthetic critic is to distinguish, analyze, and separate from its adjuncts, the virtue by which a picture, a landscape, a fair personality in life or in a book, produces this special impression of beauty or

³⁷ Horne, 1891, p. 85. See appendix 22.

pleasure, to indicate what the source of that impression is, and under what conditions it is experienced. His end is reached when he has disengaged that virtue, and noted it, as a chemist notes some natural element, for himself and others...”³⁸ Pater continues, “[f]ailure is to form habits; for habit is relative to a stereotyped word; meantime it is only the roughness of the eye that makes any two persons, things, situations, seem alike...”³⁹

Horne begins honing his eye and intellect by analyzing, judging and reframing works of art and architecture in his numerous publications. In Horne’s 1888 article “Prefixed Some Remarks upon the Principles of Wood-Cutting: Of the Illustrations to the ‘Quadriregio,’ Florence, 1508”⁴⁰ Horne discusses how an understanding of the distinctive merits, limitations and primary function as well as characteristics of each art form is essential for successfully creating and critiquing work. Horne’s commitment to refining his eye and distinguishing one work from another is evident in his later publications on painters. Most notably in his monograph on Botticelli, he utilizes stylistic analysis to distinguish which works are autograph and which are from his workshop. Horne writes,

“In the present volume I have endeavored to bring together whatever throws any real light on the life, or work of Sandro Botticelli, in a historian or antiquarian or aesthetic view; but without losing sight of the fact that the only valuable function of the connoisseur is to distinguish the genuine productions of a master (especially in the case of Sandro) from those of his imitators, and to disengage and note the significant qualities of such genuine works. In a future volume, I

³⁸ Pater, 1873, (ed. 2010), p. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Horne, 1888, pp. 34 - 38. See appendix 12.

propose to discuss the productions both of his immediate disciples and of those painters who fell indirectly under his influence, or who were associated with him in some way or another; in short, the productions of his school in the widest sense of the word. This second volume will, also contain a catalogue of all the known works of the master and his imitators, and a full index to both volumes.”⁴¹

In this endeavor he was indisputably aided by his own practical experience in the arts. John Pope-Hennessy noted, “Horne possessed preternatural powers of observation. Thanks to his experience as an artist, he knew how the pictures he described were painted — his account of the technique of Botticelli’s mentor, Antonio Pollajuolo, is by far the best that has been written on that difficult and enigmatic artist — and without laboratory aid he formed a clear and almost always accurate impression of their physical state...”⁴²

Horne also charges that ignorance of this important task threatens the cultural and artistic environment. In Horne’s brief 1887 article, “Nescio quae nugarum: St. Mary le Strand” he demonstrates how a lack of discernment and education when assessing architecture results in the damage and destruction of the civic, cultural and artistic identity of London. In the article, Horne accuses authorities of using a fallen piece of cornice on Gibbs’ seventeenth-century church as a poor excuse to tear down the whole building, and declares that the church has actually been condemned due to modern ignorance of its stylistic, historic and cultural significance. Horne despairingly writes, “[t]he question whether these buildings are to stand or not, appears to rest entirely with men to whom there seems less chance of the qualities and worth

⁴¹ Horne, 1908a, p. xix.

⁴² Pope-Hennessy, 1986, p. xi.

of fine architecture dawning upon them, than there is of the other side of the moon revealing itself to future astronomers.”⁴³

Pater’s advocacy for careful recognition, discrimination and discernment of minutia instilled in Horne a belief in their transformative power when applied to life and art. They also furnished Horne with traditional connoisseurship abilities like comparing paintings between different artists, perceiving and describing stylistic development of an artist as well as persuasive evaluative and interpretative writing. This skill set, when applied to the evaluation of art enabled Horne to independently assess and write about works of art, contributing markedly to the originality of his critical and historical scholarship. It should also be remembered that it provided Horne with a marketable skill which provided an income. Based on a relationship which he formalized with Bernard Berenson in 1899, Horne began quietly advising and selling works of art. Horne had the works warehoused with C.H. Bessant at the Cavendish Works in Soho, London, and consigned them on commission to Robert Ross of the Carfax Gallery, and he had a longterm advising relationship with the prominent American collector John G. Johnson.⁴⁴ In 1903 Horne was also an advisor for London’s National Gallery of Art helping manage, sell and purchase works for their increasingly important collection of Italian Renaissance painting.⁴⁵ Even Berenson who was deeply committed to utilizing and teaching his method of connoisseurship rooted in Giovanni Morelli’s method, recognized Horne’s authority. As Machtelt Bruggen Israels recounts, in 1909, when an unidentified dealer left a marble bust at

⁴³ Horne, 1887, p. 160. See appendix 5.

⁴⁴ Morozzi, 1988, pp. 25, 36; Elam, 2009, pp. 177 - 178, 196 n. 60.

⁴⁵ Since 1903 Horne is listed as a member of the National Gallery Committee. See National Gallery of Art Collection Fund second annual report, London, 31.XII.1905.

Berensons' home in Fiesole to be considered for purchase they were tempted to buy it until Horne examined it. His "smile of ingenious countenance" indicated that it was not by Mino da Fiesole as suggested, but rather by the mid-nineteenth century forger Giovanni Bastianini.⁴⁶

Practical experience and learning to communicate through form and style.

A contract signed by Horne's father in 1882 indicates that Herbert's apprenticeship turned into his first professional experience under the tutelage of Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo. Mackmurdo was charged with the task of teaching Horne to draw as well as to design buildings, and one year later take him on as a partner.⁴⁷ Horne studied and worked alongside Mackmurdo for nearly a decade as a designer as well as a contributor to and editor of the journal, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, which was founded by Mackmurdo in 1884. Horne built on the philosophy gleaned from Pater, and incorporated it with the practical skills and theoretical knowledge about art and architecture he was exposed to through Mackmurdo.

Mackmurdo had a significant creative background that prepared him well for his role as teacher and mentor to Horne. Mackmurdo learned to draw from the Gothic architect James Brooks when he entered his London studio ca. 1870. Mackmurdo's drawings of Gothic cathedrals completed under Brooks demonstrate an unusual amount of attention to ornamental details, and an exceptional rendering of space and complex perspectives. In 1873 he took a hiatus from architecture to attend Ruskin's Oxford University lectures and The Ruskin School of

⁴⁶ Israëls, 2015, p. 58.

⁴⁷ William Morris Museum, Walthamstow, MS Century Guild 192/15.

Drawing and Fine Art.⁴⁸ From 1874 - 1876 Mackmurdo travelled with Ruskin, following his advice of constantly drawing - paying equal attention to nature as to the works of man - and sketching daily at sunrise for one year.⁴⁹ These years of drawing resulted in Mackmurdo's exceptional command of line, perspective and the ability to project detailed buildings and objects with a gracious linear emphasis.

When Mackmurdo strayed from Ruskin during their trip to Italy, it was to remain in Florence for two years (1874 - 1876) to sketch and study monuments. He also amassed a considerable collection of models and drawings of architecture, furniture, ornamental details, textile patterns, embroideries, and woven fabrics. His two year sojourn ended unexpectedly due to his unwelcome intervention in the cleaning of the facade of the Cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore. When Florentines ignored Mackmurdo's warnings that acid would destroy the naturally protective layer of oxidation, he alerted the Minister of Fine Arts, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle.⁵⁰ After an official investigation sustained Mackmurdo, the vindictive local authorities revoked all of his allotted privileges, and even barred him from sketching outdoors.⁵¹ Mackmurdo left Florence frustrated, but also imbued with a belief in the necessity of protecting and creating great works of art and architecture and interest in how Florence's guild system contributed to the creation of a stylistically unified artistic program.

⁴⁸ Block, 1941, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Mackmurdo's sketches from 1874 and 1875 are currently held in the Morris Memorial Gallery, Walthamstow England.

⁵⁰ There is no perfect English language translation for the position that Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle held. In Italian he was called an "ispettore" and he was in the "settore Belle Arti" which depended on "Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione".

⁵¹ Vallance, 1899, p. 183.

Upon his repatriation, Mackmurdo began to advocate for the preservation of important structures, publish, and work as an architect. In 1887, Mackmurdo worked alongside William Morris with the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), affectionately known as the Anti-Scrape Society, which campaigned for the defense of all architectural styles. They sought to respect the authentic work that attests to eloquent craftsmanship and the building's whole life, rather than "restore" it to a single historical moment which could include the unnecessary renewal of worn features or the hypothetical reconstruction of whole or missing elements at the expense of the genuine but imperfect work.⁵²

Mackmurdo's publications sought, in part, to educate the public on how to determine what constituted great architecture. Mackmurdo's early interest in educating the public through publications is evident from his 1883 discerning study on Christopher Wren's (1632 - 1723) seventeenth-century London churches, *Wren's City Cathedrals*.⁵³ The main essay, largely based on public lectures Mackmurdo gave in opposition to a Parliamentary bill that ordered the churches' destruction, was an attempt to teach the public about the churches' historical, cultural and aesthetic significance to create a communal, erudite and passionate appreciation of them to ensure their perpetual safety. Mackmurdo writes that the churches' steeples, significant

⁵² According to the SPAB manifesto written by William Morris in 1887, they pled "those who have to deal with them, to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands..."

⁵³ The book is largely famed for its unusual cover design as a precursor to Art Nouveau. It has a dark frame with a columnar base, inside which three stylized flowers form a striking and asymmetrical pattern, and is flanked by two attenuated bird-forms, and the spaces between are filled by leaves which have metamorphosed into flames and the title is worked into the pattern.

individually, artfully interact with each other and the cityscape and contribute to London's unique and powerful skyline.⁵⁴

Mackmurdo's rejection of the vertically aspiring and religiously oriented Gothic architecture, and preference for the Classically-based Renaissance work must have been particularly appealing to Horne who had already been inspired by Pater's essays on the Renaissance. Additionally, although Mackmurdo and Morris were good friends and collaborators, and Horne's articles attest to a deep admiration of Morris, Mackmurdo's intellectual and artistic interests were distinguished by Mackmurdo's focus on the present. In a letter from June 24, 1940 Mackmurdo wrote to Lillian Block, "William Morris - trained architect - had started designing and making furniture. I followed his example. ...William Morris a much greater man was in truth a revivalist. His life was an attempt to resurrect the art of the middle ages. I loved him and I admired him. But his eyes were in the back of his head. I was always looking forward, as a champion of Evolution. And am still. Out of death comes not dying and corruption but a new and fuller life. Were it not so, we should still be crawling upon our bellies and eating dust."⁵⁵ During Horne's apprenticeship, the most important lessons he learned from Mackmurdo were to draw, to project buildings as an architect, and to consider a building within its historical and visual context all the while remaining focused on the present.

Learning to draw from Mackmurdo enabled Horne to effectively plan buildings, visually communicate ideas and information to clients and builders, and aptly prepared him for the next

⁵⁴ Mackmurdo, 1883, p. VIII.

⁵⁵ Block, 1941, p. 140.

phase of his career with Mackmurdo designing objects, furniture and buildings as part of an Arts and Crafts guild.

Horne's drawing skills were avidly used during his five week trip to Italy in 1889. During his visit he employed his command of rendering space, details, perspective, and form to help record and remember the monuments he visited.⁵⁶ Throughout the journal, the sketches are of single elements, do not record a whole building, nor are they finely finished for use. But the details and careful labeling allow for a mental reconstruction of the space as a whole based on his measurements. Specifically, Horne's Wednesday, September 11, drawing of "the inner, or Nun's, church" of "San Maurizio, Corso Magenta, Milano" shows how he used line, shading and measurements to record the details of the interior to understand their aesthetic relationship as defined by their mathematical harmony (fig. 4). Horne notes that despite not having his measuring tools, he improvised with a sheet of paper to calculate the space and his drawings are 1/4" to scale.⁵⁷ In the drawing, he documents the measurements of the columns, the space between the columns and the walls, and their relationship to the arched doorway. He also records how much they are recessed, and carefully details the profile of the entablatures and bases.

Although World War II and the clean up in its aftermath did not leave a single one of Horne's buildings intact, his preparatory drawings (fig. 5) and photographs of the Chapel of the Ascension (fig. 6), Bayswater Road, London, demonstrate Horne's ability as a draftsman and

⁵⁶ Chaney, Hall, 2002, pp. 69 - 125.

⁵⁷ He notes that the church was erected in 1503 - 1519 by Giovanni Dolcebuono, a pupil of Bramante" and that the gallery "internally, in the upper Gallery or Triforium, as nearly as I could calculate, in width [was] 45'.6", and in length 89', 10". Chaney, Hall, 2002, pp. 84.

architect.⁵⁸ In May 1882, Horne was commissioned by Mrs. Russell-Gurney to design a non-sectarian chapel to celebrate the memory of her husband. She requested that the Chapel of the Ascension be inspired by early Renaissance architecture and provide a quiet contemplative space free from urban distractions with sufficient wall space to accommodate the artist Frederic Shields' large narrative fresco cycle.⁵⁹

The ink and water color plans for the chapel indicate Horne was not a mere dilettante, but a competent draftsman who rendered detailed and measured drawings to communicate effectively with builders.⁶⁰ The chapel is a simple, decorous and practical structure which was easily constructed from inexpensive materials and pleased his patron and Shields. He provided the requested sanctuary like environment and ample, uninterrupted, wall space for Shield's frescos by lighting the interior with clerestory windows. Horne also satisfied the patron's request for Renaissance references by using architectural details which recall Italian Renaissance architecture. Although Fritz Saxl asserted that the building was based on the design of the Romanesque Cathedral of Pietrasanta, San Martino, an idea which was later perpetuated by Margaretta Frederick in her article "Frederic Shields' Chapel of the Ascension 1887 - 1910",⁶¹ this claim is challenged in Edward Chaney's 2002 article.⁶² I agree with Chaney's argument, and furthermore contend – based on an exhaustive survey of Italian Romanesque churches – that

⁵⁸ For a discussion of Horne's London architectural contributions see Fletcher, 1990, pp. 56-58; Morozzi, 1988, p. 17.

⁵⁹ Mills, 1912, p. 296.

⁶⁰ The drawings are currently held in the Victoria and Albert Museum and catalogued as Herbert Percy Horne [?], Collection of Architectural Drawings, and designs for wall paper, metalwork, woodwork". They are numbered 1146-1920 through E.1157-1920.

⁶¹ Frederick, 2016.

⁶² Chaney, Hall, 2002, p. 75.

the architectural elements and their combination do not recall a single church, or a real, local or regional architectural identity, but rather present a simplified, organized and rational architecture and decorative scheme designed to generically recall Italian Renaissance architecture. Although not distinguished by exceptional style, the drawing and building do attest to Horne's practical architectural skills gleaned from Mackmurdo.

In 1883, during the second phase of Horne's relationship with Mackmurdo, the architecture firm expanded to include the design of furniture and decorative arts. Joined by Selwyn Image (1849 - 1930), the three men named the new venture the Century Guild.⁶³ One of England's first Arts and Crafts Guilds, it was an alliance of like-minded designers and craftsman who sought to provide an alternative to industrially designed and produced objects.⁶⁴ Although Pater's writing had already impressed on Horne that all objects from all periods were worthy of consideration, his writing nonetheless emphasizes fine arts by recognized masters from the past. Thus it was through the Century Guild that Horne learned how to consider how nearly any contemporary object could be designed and created to result in an object worthy of being considered a fine art. The brief mission statement published in their journal identifies their goal "to render all branches of Art the sphere, no longer of the tradesmen, but of the artist. It would restore building, decoration, glass-painting, pottery, wood-carving and metal-work to their rightful place beside painting and sculpture...In other words, the Century Guild seeks to

⁶³ Like Mackmurdo, Image was an artist who had studied with, but strayed from Ruskin, and later became the Oxford University Slade Professor of Art.

⁶⁴ Block, *Pursuit of Beauty*, 1941, p. 106.

emphasize the *Unity* of Art; and by thus dignifying Art in all its forms, it hopes to make it living, a thing of our own century, and of the people.”⁶⁵

This concept is reinforced by the very use of the word ‘guild’ in the name which indicates an association with earlier artistic guilds and a conscious rejection of mechanically produced objects made at a lower cost. According to Mackmurdo, the Century Guild was inspired by Florentine workshops in which individual aspects of a project were executed by the appropriate expert, and then combined into the final product.⁶⁶ The Century Guild was not alone in their pursuit, nor in their use of the word ‘guild’ in their name, but they were distinct in their indifference to attempting to appeal to a broad public by creating beautiful objects at a reasonable price. The Century Guild’s objects were unselfconsciously costly and created for an elite audience using classical forms. The Century Guild also did not make their own work, but was rather akin to a design firm because Mackmurdo, Image and Horne drew the designs for objects which were then executed by the appropriate craftsman.

⁶⁵ The manifesto of The Century Guild was published monthly in their journal, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*.

⁶⁶ Mackmurdo describes Taddeo’s activity, “[i]n thinking of Taddeo, we must not forget that he was one of that council of six painters called together to prepare a model of the new cathedral of Florence. In these days such was the care taken to ensure the utmost perfection possible in all national buildings, that frequently no less than three models were made for a single building. One model would be prepared by the “Maestri di pietra” or architects, another model would be made by the “Orafi” or metal workers, and a third by the “Pittori” or painters. Thus the experience and genius of each art guild was brought into service, that the beauty of public buildings might in no respect fall short of the completeness possible to the times. Each council dealt with its distinctive art: the architects with the construction and architectural form of the building; the metal workers or carvers dealt with the quality, proportion, and placement of the figures and all ornamental enrichment, while the painters showed how the various coloured marbles might be disposed so as to combine the utmost decorative variety with restrained harmony of effect. By such co-operation of artists one does all that is possible to gain the best experience and skill, while to do less than this when any public building is to be erected is to fail in the first step of so important an undertaking.” Mackmurdo, 1886, p. 72.

Mackmurdo also pointed out the importance of the Guild: “[w]e may here note that to secure this co-operation of sculptors, painters, and metal workers in architectural work this Century Guild of Artists was formed, since it is still found that for the thoroughness of architectural work this co-operation is imperative.” There is a list of the craftsmen who the guild worked with, and whose work they endorsed at the end of the guild’s journal. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Although the complete *oeuvre* of the Century Guild is no longer extant, their style and quality of work can be reconstructed through the “Notices of Contemporary Work” published in their journal, re-publications of comments on their work from outside sources in their journal, individual pieces of finished furniture, as well as drawings for decorative objects and textiles that have been preserved in museums. The guild’s design of a home, an exhibition room and a single object demonstrates how they utilized color, structure and proportions based on classical architectural elements to create beautiful stylistically unified works and interiors.⁶⁷

In 1887, the Guild advertised a house design (for sale for 620 sterlings) to propose the use of beautiful materials and harmonious proportions to create a spacious and pleasant home which will “introduce dignity and beauty into a group of buildings that were treated in an insufficient and vulgar manner by contemporary commercial builders” and demonstrates “how practical is the principle of the unity of the arts, and how easy it is to introduce color and sculpture into the simplest architecture (fig. 7).”⁶⁸ Although their use of color cannot be analyzed because the advertisements are in black and white, the scaled floor plan and two interior drawings show that the space was designed to facilitate the most convenient and discreet

⁶⁷ An example of a home designed by the Century Guild can be found in an advertisement in *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, 1887, p. 122. An exhibition room which was created for the 1888 Manchester Exhibition booth and a photograph was published in the 1888 *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* 1888 (p. 41), and a settle which was created in 1886 for a drawing room for a private residence in Cheshire, England which is currently in storage at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Museum number: W.16:1 to 4-1967).

Mackmurdo’s advocacy for an environment imbued with a single style is evident in his 1886 article discussing the new reredos of the St. Paul’s Cathedral. Like Pater, Mackmurdo validates the importance of variety in art, but also advocates for the use of a consistent style. Mackmurdo recognizes the importance of all styles (as evidenced by his work with the SPAB), but for his work he imbues it with a single style which derives from the Classical. Mackmurdo writes, “Certainly, if a reredos was to be erected in this cathedral, clearly their first duty was to put so important a work into the hands of a man competent by training to understand classic architecture - one most sure, by natural sympathy with this style, to create something that should, while enriching the fabric, so unite itself with the composition as to become a consequent part of it. This, the reverend body has not done, and disastrous will be the result. ... For no man can to-day cast his thought in a Gothic mould, and on the morrow as it in a classic form; or if he can, it merely means he has no depth of sentiment - ergo, is no artist...” Mackmurdo 1886b, p. 78.

⁶⁸ Century Guild Design, 1887, p. 122.

use of the private and public rooms by the family and benefit from the most amount of natural light. The exterior window alignment and simple, classically inspired decorative details emphasize the structure's elevation and understated grandeur without compromising its horizontal orientation.

In 1887, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* reprinted a positive review and photograph of their recent Manchester Exhibition booth which demonstrates their use of harmonious proportions in an interior (fig. 8). In the review, *The Journal of Decorative Art* praised their booth as unique, original, and responsible for creating the next trend in furniture design “that will lead public taste to the appreciation of simpler forms and ideals of the beautiful in Art” and contrasted this with the contemporary taste for small spaces and abundant details.⁶⁹ The critic writes, “There is no frittering away of interest in a multitude of small spindles, recesses, and shelves; but a broad conception of good line, and distribution of parts, and a nice sense of proportion evidences itself everywhere.”⁷⁰ Indeed, the furniture reveals a distinct emphasis on classical horizontality, clean lines, simplicity and carefully measured proportions that combine to create a sense of breadth and spaciousness both in the individual elements and in the whole room. The plush and decorative details on the furniture accent their beauty and fine craftsmanship. The exhibition space is only compromised by the placement of the furniture flush against the walls, and the abundant use of contrasting floral and geometric patterned wallpapers utilized in a single space, which are natural consequences of utilizing a single space to advertise as many of their products as possible, and the need to create sufficient space for visitors.

⁶⁹ Notices of Recent Work, 1888, p. 41.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Interestingly, one of the wallpapers in the Manchester Exhibition was designed by Horne, and the same pattern was used for the fabric of one of the Guild's most noted and well preserved pieces of furniture: a satinwood settle designed for the drawing room of a private residence in Cheshire, England (fig. 9). The settle has a high back, a wooden canopy supported by attenuated classically-inspired columns, curtained sides to protect the sitter from drafts, and a seat cushion. The base of the canopy is punctuated by recessed horizontal rectangles that contain low relief ovals with delicate, long, thin leaves that seem to grow out of them. The ovals have a Latin inscription written in all capital letters: *Jucunditas cordis haec est: vita et exultat viri est lungoe vita.*⁷¹ On the short sides of the settle, the Latin inscription is flanked by two small, high-relief figures set against a vegetal background in recessed, vertically-oriented, rectangular spaces. The block print curtains, which can be opened, match the seat cushion and are made from a pattern designed by Horne.

The settle's structure and columns create a stately, classical piece, while the luminous golden-hued wood and the side curtains interrupt the hard surfaces to create an intimate and protective space. The orthodox construction demonstrates the guild's awareness and respect for tradition, while the well-balanced proportions, carved components, and various luxurious materials exalt their dedication to detail-oriented craftsmanship. The object is further distinguished by both the Latin inscription and the slender columns which clearly recall the use of pilasters and columns on Florentine Renaissance *lettuccio* which were often used to decorate and divide the back of the object, or support the canopy. Together, the elements declare the owner (and the Century Guild) culturally and intellectually astute, and aligned with the

⁷¹ The phrase translates to 'Gladness of heart is the very life of man, cheerfulness prolongs his days'. Book of Ecclesiasticus, 30: 23.

Renaissance, at a time when commissioning furniture was a costly, socially significant and time-honored tradition. The serious nature of the piece is alleviated by the fabric's motif: the trumpeting wingless, nimbus-toting figure – presumably an archangel – makes one think of paradise, and one's current divine position enjoying such a relaxing and luxurious space.⁷² The attenuated form of the angel and subdued colors are refined and elegant like the settle's construction, but the delicate lines create a sense of whimsy.

In addition to expressing their ideals through material works, the group also published their own richly illustrated journal *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (fig. 10). The history of the journal is slightly confusing because it initially began publication in 1884 with a single issue, and was not republished until 1886 when it began quarterly publication which continued until 1892. It retained the original, easily recognizable frontispiece until 1892 when a single image of a knight on a horse was adopted. (fig. 11).⁷³ *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* used the style of magazines to publish their poetry and prose, and to facilitate a fluid and more regular exchange of ideas with like-minded individuals. But they combined high quality images, materials and careful organization of erudite information into a finely crafted object, like the ones praised in the journal.

The Century Guild Hobby Horse's poetry can generally be divided into two categories.

There are original works by famed poets like Matthew Arnold, Christina Rossetti and John

⁷² Although the works by the Century Guild are often difficult to assign to an individual artist, it is certain Horne designed the settle's upholstery fabric due to a signed drawing held in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁷³ Despite the two year gap between the first two issues, the title and the symbolically loaded frontispiece, designed by S. Image, were retained and suggests the desire for continuity with the 1884 issue. The frontispiece depicts two armored knights astride white horses holding seemingly bannerless standards. In June 24, 1940 letter sent to Lillian Block, Mackmurdo writes, that knight's shield was "pierced by but not broken by the arrows of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil," and the design seems to represent the artist whose sensitivity is outraged by modern civilization but whose artistic integrity is never broken by its arrows. Block, 1941, p. 105.

Addington Symonds. There are also translations into English of classic poems from Greek and Latin, and modern poems from French and Italian. Poetry, traditionally considered an aesthetic and rhythmic literary art which transforms language - a means of communication - into a thought provoking expression of beauty, was perfectly aligned with the magazine's mission to improve the quality of daily life, and underlines the guild's belief in the importance of all the arts.

Throughout its eight-year existence, essays comprise the largest portion of the journal. Although these extended statements by the authors are the easiest way to understand "the Hobby Horse men", the wide variety of topics and contributors does not lend itself to a simple comprehensive analysis, though it does attest to the Guild's belief in the inclusion and vibrant discussion of a variety of arts, mediums and practices. The essays include discussions of art and its socially and politically pertinent roles, like Selwyn Image's 1886 essays "On the Representation of the Nude", "On the Theory that Art should Represent the Surrounding Life", and "On Art and Nature". Introductions to important works held in the National Gallery, London, allowed the publication to also function as a sort of early guide book. More narrowly defined discussions included "Stained Glass: Ancient and Modern" by J. Aldam Heaton (1887) and "Chain-stich Embroidery" (1889) by May Morris.

The Century Guild Hobby Horse was an especially significant opportunity for Horne because he was both a contributing author and editor of the journal. As a contributor, Horne began to publish and share his ideas through written language rather than only through design. As editor, Horne determined the shape of the journal's discourse by choosing its intellectual content, but also remained tied to the visual arts by deciding the layout of the magazine and contributing personally to its tailpieces and initial letters. This experience also introduced Horne

to London's intellectual and cultural elite like Oscar Wilde, John Addington Symonds, William and May Morris as well as Lionel Johnson. These relationships pushed Horne to dialog and engage with the contemporary intellectual and cultural realm, never acquiescing into intellectual or artistic complacency.

Mackmurdo edited the 1884 issue, and co-edited the 1886 issue with Horne, who then assumed the role of editor from 1887 to 1892/4.⁷⁴ Under Mackmurdo's editorship, general essays which discussed the sacredness of art and its function in society were published. They reflected his belief in the mutual interdependence of all areas of life and were marked by a strident religious tone which can be found in his later books like *The Human Hive: its Life and Law* (1926). As editor, Horne decreased the number of poems and nearly eliminated general essays on the nature of art in favor of topic-specific essays substantiated by historical documents, manuscripts and letters.⁷⁵ This led to a more specialized and technical content, focused on refining and elevating the discussion of art and its discipline to a scholarly level.

Horne also became responsible for the journal's layout which was integral to the intention of advancing the principles of the unity of art, encouraging higher standards in all art forms, and reaching a refined readership that usually snubbed such popular modes of communication. Photogravure was chosen to produce high-quality ink-print images of everything from Italian Renaissance woodcuts to Pre-Raphaelite painting. Despite its high cost, it was probably chosen

⁷⁴ At the end of the table of contents of *The Hobby Horse* in the January 1892 issue, a note indicates that Horne left the position of editor. It states, "In consequence of ill health, Mr. Herbert P. Horne has been obliged to relinquish the editorship of *The Hobby Horse*: his connection with the magazine ceased with the issue of the last number." However, Horne is listed as the sole editor again in the 1893 and 1894 issues.

⁷⁵ There was also the publication of letters and papers of literary figures such as James Smethan and Adam Legendre (Horne 1887, pp. 123 - 134, see appendix 7; Horne 1888, pp. 88 - 91, see appendix 10; Horne 1890, p. 91 - 11, see appendix 17; Horne 1891, pp. 45 - 60, see appendix 21).

because it was the most accurate means to reproduce images and demonstrated *The Century Guild Hobby Horse's* knowledge of the latest technological innovations in the printing trade.⁷⁶ The initial letters, tailpieces and ornaments were woodblock prints in black and white, with the occasional use of sepia and red. They are finely and carefully rendered and comprise a large body of work whose fame and significance has garnered more scholarly interest than the magazine's content.⁷⁷ The journal was also printed on rag paper with substantial margins, rendering it materially more akin to a fine book than a magazine.

Working on the guild's publication also provided Horne with an outlet to publish his own poetry and prose. This was an important transitional moment in Horne's career because it was the first time he publicly articulated his work in a platform for like-minded artists and intellectuals. Until his compilation of poetry, *Diversi Colores*, was published in 1891, the journal served as his only means to bring his work to the public sphere. Horne's poetry has been most extensively discussed by Ian Fletcher and Julie Codell.⁷⁸ Largely focusing on the quality, form, tone, and harmony of Horne's work, Fletcher writes that Horne was experimenting with a variety of literary motifs, but that his work was generally unsuccessful because Horne lacked talent and originality.⁷⁹ Codell asserts that the poems' content and form "reveal that Horne's poetry and literary studies reflect the influence of his favorite literary models...[and are] riddled

⁷⁶ Photogravure was the preferred method of reproduction for artist-photographers from the 1880s through the 1930s. The plate could manipulate to adjust the image and it closely approximated the tonal range and appearance of continuous-tone, "true" photographs.

⁷⁷ Mackmurdo's designs have garnered the most scholarly interest due to Nikolaus Pevsner's citation of them as the first traceable work of the Art Nouveau. Pevsner 2005, p. 81.

⁷⁸ For a wide discussion focused on Horne's poetry see: Fletcher, 1990; Codell, 1978, McGann, 2003.

⁷⁹ Fletcher, 1990, p. 20.

with allusions to past literature.”⁸⁰ Matthew Brinton Tildesly suggests that these themes mirror Selwyn Image’s poetry and life, and claims them as evidence that Horne studied with him before entering Mackmurdo’s studio.⁸¹ Although this theory would help fill a small gap in our knowledge of Horne’s youth, Tildesly’s claim is unsatisfactorily supported and is largely inconsequential regarding the duration and impact of their relationship which also developed due to Image’s involvement with The Century Guild.

Horne wrote twenty-three articles in *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* which he published under his own name, as the editor, and the pseudonym Lyllal Auberson. Select articles by Horne have been examined by Caroline Elam and Daniela Lamberini in connection with Horne’s development of a methodological approach to art history and restoration, or have been treated in a cursory manner in brief biographies on him that usually precede publications dedicated to aspects of his collection and foundation.⁸² Although the titles of Horne’s articles suggest divergent topics they are in fact united by several key themes. Focusing on the art forms that he currently practiced – architecture, poetry and woodworking – Horne identifies and defines the individual stylistic elements and their combination that demarcate a great work. Horne lauds work that indicates an understanding and use of the individual medium’s distinctive properties and demonstrates a knowledge of the rules of classical art and architecture. But he also emphasizes the importance of imbuing the work with individual personality and experience. He criticizes those who do not adhere to these principles, and encourages the use of this combination both to create new work and to critique others those who do not.

⁸⁰ Codell, 1978, p. 87.

⁸¹ Tildelsley, 2007, p. 175.

⁸² Lambertini, 2005; Elam, 2009; Morozzi, 1988.

Horne's interests and ideas can be clearly identified in his most substantial articles on two relatively undiscussed architects whose works populate London and its environs: Inigo Jones (1886) and James Gibbs (1889). Horne provides ample biographical and contextual information for the architects, as well as visual analysis of their structures to establish a chronology of their work. Regarding Jones, Horne provides the most accurate biographical account of the architect to date, noting how his early seventeenth-century travel and studies in Italy significantly influenced his stylistic development. Lauding his calm proportions, the classical austerity of the structures, and his knowledgeable use of stone – all of which were infused with his unique interpretation – Horne credits Jones with “having changed the whole fashion of English architecture” from 1615 to the outbreak of the Civil War.⁸³ Upholding his work as exemplary, Horne decries the proposed destruction of the buildings due to London's current mania for an architectural stylistic overhaul.

Noting a lack of scholarship on Gibbs, Horne combines archival research and visual analysis in a tripartite article to present the most complete study possible of his work and career. Acknowledging Gibbs' work was unfortunately “full of discernment and little invention” and that “his was not the sureness of the supreme masters, either in science, or in the art, of building...”, Horne concedes “yet, with all these was the most significant architect...” because of his use of Ancient architectural principles he learned training in Italy with the student of Bernini, Carlo Fontana.⁸⁴ He defends Gibbs' buildings from their proposed destruction based on their combination of Classical architectural elements and addition to London's architectural

⁸³ Horne, 1886, p. 126. See appendix 2.

⁸⁴ Horne, 1889, p. 73. See appendix 15.

identity. Regarding Saint Mary le Strand, Horne writes, “may we also hear no more proposals for the demolition of a church which is, perhaps, the choicest piece of regular art that has been give us since Wren gave us his own transcendent inventions.”⁸⁵ But these articles are more than a passionate defense of the buildings. Horne’s clear language, measured phrases, and detailed explanations culminate into a method to evaluate how aesthetically successful particular works of art and architecture are, and how to create them based on proportions, and the selection and combination of the decorative elements.

Horne uses the same barometer to judge the work of two poets, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and John Skipsey, in two 1887 articles. Analyzing scholarship on Rossetti, Horne writes that the problem is twofold. One, “it is impossible as yet to determine the ‘master-current’ of the literature of which Rossetti was a part, we being in the midst of the stream in which he himself moved, we content ourselves in endeavoring to discover the master-current of the man” and that Rossetti’s “Italian nature” was nearly impossible for those of “northern blood” to understand.⁸⁶ Consequently, those who sought to imitate Rossetti’s writings were doomed to creating confused, inauthentic work. Concerning Skipsey, Horne writes that the originality of language and expression in his first compilation earned Skipsey the title of a ‘true poet’, but that it was threatened by his latest anthology “Carols from the Coal-fields: and Other Songs and Ballads”.⁸⁷ Horne reproaches Skipsey, like the misinformed followers of Rossetti, of modeling his writing too closely on work that he did not fully understand, confusing his own poetry and losing his authentic voice and approach. Horne writes, “Every poet, and the greater he is the greater seems

⁸⁵ Horne, 1889b, p. 34. See appendix 14.

⁸⁶ Horne, 1887g, p. 96. See appendix 8.

⁸⁷ Horne, 1887c, p. 76. See appendix 4.

the necessity to him, must work his deliverance through whatever man he takes for his classic. Someone he must use for his deliverance, but as a guise of verity behind which to screen himself he must *not* use him; for a poet, above all men, must be true to himself...’’⁸⁸

Horne’s 1888 article, “Notes on the Quadriregio’ of Federico Frezzi, by Richard Garnett, to Which are Prefixed some Remarks upon the Principles of Wood-Cutting”, was ostensibly an introduction to the publication of the fifteenth-century woodcuts, but doubled as a defense of Selwyn Images’ recently disparaged woodcuts published in *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*. In the article, Horne provides a comprehensive lesson on the history and defining characteristics of the medium in which he demonstrates that they are not intended to be naturalistic representations. According to what he presents as a proper understanding of the medium, he extolls Image’s use of line and space. Horne declares that only by recognizing the true properties, possibilities and limitations of a medium can it be judged, and admonishes his detractors for imparting unjust, ill-informed criticism.

The decade Horne spent with Mackmurdo supplied Horne with practical insight into the art and architecture that he first learned to appreciate from Pater, and the opportunity to write about its historical and contemporary importance. Although while working as a designer and architect at the Century Guild Horne did not manually produce work, his close partnership with artisans and builders taught him to visually render his ideas, and consider the relationship between form, material, and process to create novel contemporary work based on the guiding principles of Classical art and architecture. That is, Horne learned how to communicate ideas through visual information in an effort to procure the feelings in its viewers that Horne learned to

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

value through Pater's teachings. Finally, Mackmurdo's funding of *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* created an opportunity for Horne to engage in a written discourse on art and architecture in which he was able to critique, document and defend works of art and architecture informed by his applied understanding of the subjects.

Between ca. 1894 – 1904, Horne fashioned a living for himself as a freelance art critic for a variety of London weekly papers. Horne wrote for the Saturday Review from 1894 - 1900, The Review of the Week in 1899 and 1900, The Londoner in 1900, and The Morning Leader 1900 - 1904. These previously unexamined newspaper articles, the majority of which were published anonymously, represent his most prolific period of writing. The frequency with which they were published, together with the brevity required by the medium, results in an unfettered expression of Horne’s opinions on contemporary topics. This chapter develops in two parts. The first part links Horne’s defining intellectual ideas, as identified in this research, to the articles in which he addresses them. The second part looks at the creation of the South Kensington Museum, and shows how closely aligned the museum’s foundational ideas were with Horne’s own opinions and objectives. Indeed, Horne would later use the South Kensington Museum as the model for his own collection established in, and bequeathed to, Florence.

Discovering Horne through his newspaper articles:

The great variety of experiences that characterized Herbert Horne’s life were nevertheless united by a remarkably cohesive set of intellectual beliefs. The key tenets of this belief system, as established in Chapter 1, was the careful recognition, discrimination and discernment of minutia which enabled one to think independently and critically, even revolutionizing a period of ideas for which a general consensus was already established. While the first chapter of this research provided evidence for the experiences and relationships which formed his perspective, this section will look at the prolific critical output of his thirties where these ideas find lively

expression in the myriad articles he wrote on everything from art history surveys for the general public to exhibition reviews of contemporary art. Between ca. 1894 – 1904, Horne wrote for the *Saturday Review* from 1894 - 1900, *The Review of the Week* in 1899 and 1900, *The Londoner* in 1900, and *The Morning Leader* 1900 - 1904. Published anonymously, these articles have been largely ignored by the scholarship on Horne. However, as the following pages will demonstrate, they provide an unequalled resource for understanding Horne’s intellectual perspective not only through his actions, but through his own words.

Horne’s fundamental belief, which mirrors that of the South Kensington Museum, that taste is learned, and consequently must be consciously taught is a guiding principle in his articles. He clearly defines what makes a work beautiful and successful according to his stated standards, but he also respects the goal and perspective of the individual artist or architect when evaluating their contribution. But in order to inform taste, Horne charges that one has to learn from the finest work. In his August 19, 1901 *The Morning Leader* article he states this precept plainly. Horne writes, “Taste is an acquirement; we are no more born with a fine sense of taste in painting than with a knowledge of the three Rs.” Starting from this fundamental tenet, Horne continues that in order “[t]o have fine taste we must be conversant with the best pictures.”¹ Based on this belief, it is logical that Horne considers the education of artisans and the public as well as the art they look at with great seriousness.

Horne’s concern and awareness about the training of artisans is most directly addressed in his December 8, 1894 *Saturday Review* article entitled “The Fine Arts in Technical Schools” which discusses “the brief announcement in the official circular issued by the Technical

¹ Horne, 1901j, p. 4. See appendix 89.

Education Board of the London County Council regarding the appointment of Inspectors of Art Schools and Classes”.² The earnest nature of his concern is conveyed through his description of the decision as “a matter of vital importance to the finer interests of our social well-being” and is evident from his depth of knowledge of the bureaucratic structure and history of the pedagogical approaches implemented at the school, which underwent constant changes during its development. Horne critiques the lack of practical experience of their previous choice of Inspectors, but praises the board’s latest appointment of William Richard Lethaby and George J. Frampton.

Horne writes that the practical experience of the two men, and their demonstration of good design, are essential components which enabled them to competently determine the course of the students’ instruction. Horne, normally a ferocious critic, is particularly enthused about Lethaby’s appointment because he is both an architect and scholar. Horne writes, “[h]e has a considerable acquaintance with the practice of architecture, from which a proper knowledge of the arts of design can alone proceed; he works in connexion with one of our best living architects, Mr. Norman Shaw, and his own designs, which have been exhibited from time to time at ‘the Arts and Crafts,’ are a sufficient proof of this. With the historical, as with the practical, side of art he is equally concerned; and his book on the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, appears at this very moment, as it were, to remind us of his tastes and knowledge.”³ Indeed, Horne writes a glowing review of Lethaby’s book, noting that “[t]his book affords an instance, rare in England, of an architectural subject approached with the fine tastes of the artist, and with

² Horne, 1894f, p. 616. See appendix 28.

³ Ibid., p. 616.

the knowledge of the antiquary. ...But in the book now before us, its architecture is considered for the first time, from the point of view of a practical architect, who is neither a mere antiquary, nor a mere technician, but who regards his calling as a living art.”⁴ Horne, less impressed with Frampton, still acknowledges him as “no dilettante; he is a practical carver, his sculpture is known and he possesses those amiable qualities which are also necessary qualifications for the Associateship of the Royal Academy.”⁵

Horne was also attentive to texts and publications which were specifically geared toward students. Horne carefully combs through the works, noting and correcting factual errors when necessary, judging whether the works were successful based on their individual scope, and systematically comparing them to similar publications. In his December 1, 1894 book review of “Half-Timbered Houses and Carved Oak Furniture of the 16th and 17th centuries” Horne’s close scrutiny and strong language evidences his belief in books as didactic tools to transmit information and to shape the students’ discourse and knowledge. Horne described the author’s motives as “admirable” and “serious” because “among the reasons which induced him to venture upon its publication was this, that a former work of his ‘has been found useful in many of the newly founded Technical and Art Schools.’”⁶ But he was gravely disappointed with the book due to the subject and choice of the illustrations. Specifically, Horne criticizes the subject because it only had historic, but not artistic worth, and that the quality of the illustrations, which were drawings, lacked artistic value, refinement and proportion. Ultimately Horne deemed the book “may prove amusing to the collector of bric-a-brac” but that its “pretentious form”,

⁴ Horne, 1895c, p. 48. See appendix 33.

⁵ Horne, 1894e, p. 616. See appendix 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 604. See appendix 27.

lackluster topic, illustrations and misinformed data made it unfit for use in technical schools because its examples threatened to spur the creation of equally mediocre work.⁷

Horne is also wary of histories on art and architecture which were devised to provide a succinct and general overview of a subject to a general public. Although he commends the idea of easily accessible information and formats which would make the subjects less elite, he also warns that their terse language and limited information risk radically diminishing the complexity of the subject, ultimately confusing students. In his 1895 review of *A History of Painting*⁸ and his 1896 review of *A Text-book of the History of Architecture*,⁹ Horne warns that both texts are based on confused facts and chronologies and thus distort the readers’ sense of the development of art and architecture from a historic and artistic perspective. He also declared that the bland and uninspiring delivery which usually accompanies the texts risks dissuading students from pursuing a successful and meaningful career in the discussed material.

In Horne’s many reviews on exceptionally disparate collections and exhibits, the articles are united by a consistent interest in how the works of art shape the audience’s taste and knowledge of the mediums and they also indicate his interest in tradition and design. In his articles it is evident that Horne believes that museums are responsible for carefully curating a reservoir of paintings which teach artists and the public about great works of art. His most thorough article, “The State of the National Gallery” published in 1898 in the *Saturday Review*, discusses the previous three years of acquisitions and deaccessions made by the current and previous director. The exhaustive nature of the list and his examination “of each painting on its

⁷ Ibid., p. 604. See appendix 27.

⁸ Horne, 1895b, p. 19. See appendix 32.

⁹ Horne, 1896c, pp. 452 - 453. See appendix 43.

merits” evidences his determination to alert the public to the importance of the nation’s collections as examples of excellent works to educate artisans and the public. Based on what Horne believes is the fundamental scope of the museum, he is very critical of the directors who he charges with guiding and caring for the collection. Horne advises that the National Gallery would benefit from a director who was singularly focused on his position, or perhaps even two directors with different specialties in order to avoid the collecting mistakes he enumerated in his article.¹⁰

Horne also wrote prolifically on special exhibitions contending they are the best opportunities to learn about the direction and quality of contemporary art, and deserved extra attention because their novelty attracted and influenced especially large crowds. But, no matter the theme of the exhibit, he focused on the quality of the individual works to determine what qualifies, or disqualifies them, as examples of good contemporary art. Of particular interest, is how Horne consistently champions works that are innovative, but demonstrate a firm knowledge of tradition and design. In Horne’s 1900 review of the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy at the Burlington House, he disparages art which expends with traditional techniques and praises works that demonstrate a knowledge of it. He begins by questioning the merit of Sargent’s popular paintings. He writes that although Sargent’s work recalls Vélazquez or Franz Hals through a pose or “piece of bravura” he lacks “their power of finishing a picture, of giving a complete expression to a completely realised conception of a subject without loss of spontaneity or freshness.”¹¹ Horne continues, “...But can a way of painting which takes no count of the

¹⁰ Horne, 1898a, p. 275. See appendix 53.

¹¹ Horne, 1900m, p. 152. See appendix 68.

beauty, either of form, color, or handling, or of the fine draughtsmanship and subtle delineation of character, which are among the chief excellences of Vélazquez’s art — can a painting, however skillfully managed, which relies for its effect on the mere bravura of its execution and certain exaggerations of drawing and tone, be called anything but a brilliant trick?”¹² In the same article Horne lauds a small landscape named “*Part of the Ruins of the Cistercian Nunnery, North Berwick, N.B.*” for the artists’ “observation and selection, the color and handling...” celebrating that “there is a real sense of tradition here.”¹³ The comparison serves to warn readers against the lure of shining at the large exhibition hall, which entices artists to “dispense not merely with tradition, but often with sanity itself.”¹⁴

Horne’s deep concern with design is also evident in his newspaper articles. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Horne champions design as the most fundamental element for creating a work of art and architecture in his *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* articles, and this concept reappears in his newspaper articles. In his 1900 article about the Ferdinand Rothschild bequest to the British Museum, he writes “[a]lthough it would be hard to sufficiently applaud the munificence which has occasioned the gift of these splendid objects d’art to the Treasures of the British Museum, one cannot, at the same time, but regret that their collector was not guided in his choice of them by beauty of design and fineness of execution rather than by richness of workmanship and preciousness of material.”¹⁵ Horne’s perspective is clear: the use of precious

¹² Ibid., p. 152. See appendix 68.

¹³ Ibid., p. 153. See appendix 68.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 153. See appendix 68.

¹⁵ Horne, 1900i, p. 456. See appendix 64.

materials may be enticing, and elaborate craftsmanship is important, ultimately they are no substitute for good design and quality execution.

What emerges is a distinct debt to Pater and Mackmurdo and how his ideas were aligned with those that governed the South Kensington Museum, London, which above all other institutions sought to actively engage and educate artists and artisans and embrace a broad public audience.

The founding of the South Kensington Museum – a model for Horne

The impact of the Industrial Revolution, which transitioned the world from the cottage industry to new, mechanical processes, was on full display at the 1851 “Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of all Nations” held at the Crystal Palace, London. It was also widely noted that the British goods displayed, although well manufactured, lacked the same caliber of design as those manufactured by their Western European counterparts. In order to remedy the disparity and make the British goods competitive in the increasingly international market, Prince Albert began to consider how to educate designers and the public about design and taste – objectives with which Horne was intimately concerned.¹⁶ It was in this spirit that the South Kensington Museum, today known as the Victoria and Albert Museum, was founded as an arm of the Department of Education in 1852.¹⁷

¹⁶ von Plessen, 2011, p. 13.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

The South Kensington Museum was founded to raise the status of the decorative arts, improve the supply and demand of British manufacturers by educating and refining the taste of designers and the public taste. Although a specific didactic approach is not explicitly stated in the founding documents, the direction of the institution, the nature of its collection and the development of a library focused on topics relevant to the displayed objects demonstrate an earnest desire and effort to educate both artisans and a vast public.¹⁸

When the South Kensington Museum opened on May 19, 1852, it displayed designs by students of the Government School of Design and modern manufactured goods. In Anthony Burton’s 2011 essay “Collecting to Inspire: Early Museum Acquisitions, Displays and Design Reform”, he suggests that the student work was probably an expedient to fill the space.¹⁹ The modern works were a collection of about 480 objects that had been bought, as specimens of good contemporary design, at the 1851 exhibition. After “only seventeen days the new museum closed for a summer vacation, and when it reopened in September there had been two new developments: a new, short lived, exhibition intended to castigate bad taste in contemporary design, nicknamed ‘The Chamber of Horrors’, and the appearance of decorative art from the past.”²⁰ The addition of historical objects was unsurprising because of the widespread consensus that contemporary designers and manufacturers would naturally turn to the art of the past. Moreover, contemporary decorative art almost invariably made use of historical styles, so it

¹⁸ Built with the proceeds of the Great Exhibition, the museum was to be part of a larger complex called Albertopolis, named for Prince Albert. It was to be a complex of educational museums and schools which would include the Victoria and Albert Museum, Natural History Museum, Science Museum, Royal College of Art, Royal College of Music, and the Royal Albert Hall. Bryant, 2011b, p. 25.

¹⁹ Burton, 2011, p. 53.

²⁰ Burton, 1999, p. 53.

would have been difficult for anyone, whether artisan, manufacturer, art teacher or member of the public, to develop a critical perspective without studying historical decorative art. The quantity of historical objects, and the emphasis on their importance, radically increased under John Charles Robinson, the first curator of the Museum, who was appointed in 1853 and remained in various capacities until 1867. In fact, one of the museum’s greatest strengths, its gathering of Medieval and Renaissance masterpieces, is credited largely to Robinson.

But even after Robinson’s departure, purchasing and displaying historical works of art remained the emphasis of the institute. Burton writes, “[e]ach year the museum issued a printed list of acquisitions, and it would be possible to work out from these lists what proportion of acquisitions was contemporary, as against historical. A quick scrutiny suggests, that each year, while acquisitions of historical art could be counted in hundreds (often exceeding 1000), contemporary pieces could be counted in tens (rarely exceeding 100).”²¹ Burton continues, “[i]f the museum’s annual reports give only sparse coverage to contemporary acquisitions, they rejoice at greater length over acquisitions of historical art.”²² In fact, in 1880 all the ‘modern examples of Art manufacture’ were excluded from South Kensington and sent on a ‘temporary’ transfer, which became permanent, to the museums branch at Bethnal Green.”²³

The opening of the institute marked the first collection devoted to decorative, applied or industrial art (all terms then current) and the fine arts.²⁴ Opposing traditional galleries, which

²¹ Burton, 1999, p. 53.

²² Burton, 2011, p. 55.

²³ Ibid., p. 55.

²⁴ It contrasted strongly with the National Gallery, formed in 1823, which housed national treasures and was mostly geared toward connoisseurs, as well as The Royal Academy, founded in 1768, which taught high art consciously distinguishing itself the mechanical arts.

were geared toward connoisseurs and archives for antiquarians, the museum specifically strove to make the galleries available and appealing for artisans and a more diverse, working public. The institute was open six days, including three evenings until 10 pm and admission was free except on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. Furthermore, there was ensured access to the museum by public transportation and amenities like a cafe for snacks and meals.

In the earliest days, the museum published catalogs written in easily accessible language identifying which pieces were to be admired most and placed them in their historical, geographical and cultural context.²⁵ But this analytical approach was shortly abandoned for the belief that the display of objects would be sufficient to encourage dialogue, inspire and educate visitors.²⁶ The museum also provided a broad range of basic materials for visitors to encourage drawing in the galleries. The museum offered compasses, white chalk, set squares, and props like a solid cube, a skeleton wire cube, a sphere, a cone, a cylinder and a hexagonal prism; and instructional tools, such as a diagram of colors.²⁷ To further broaden public access to cultural resources, the first public art library was opened at the South Kensington Museum in 1852.²⁸ Also the first of its kind, in 1856 the museum began amassing an extensive photographic collection, both as a didactic tool, and because they believed it should be considered an art.²⁹ Starting in 1873, plaster casts of famous works of art and architecture were commissioned and

²⁵ Burton, 2011, p. 53.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 53.

²⁷ Owens, 2011, p. 78.

²⁸ von Plessen, 2011, p. 11.

²⁹ Owens, 2011, p. 78.

displayed in a gallery designed especially to hold the large-scale works for those who could not readily travel to learn from the originals.³⁰

From the museum’s outset, there was an enormous diversity of both fine and historic applied arts which were arranged by material. They included, but were not limited to, painting, textiles, metal work, ceramics, ivories, and woodwork. Within these broad categories, there was great diversification. For example, the painting collection aimed to show the full range of painting and its applications in particular, consistently maintaining that all manners of painting - watercolors, oil and miniatures - were equal in status. The metalwork collection includes commemorative medals, silver, jewelry, ironwork, scientific instruments, and brasswork. The textile techniques include woven, printed and embroidered textiles, lace, tapestries and carpets, while the drawing collection is unusually rich in academic drawings, designs for illustrations, as well as architectural presentation drawings and those used in the production of paintings, sculpture, architecture and applied arts.

The division of the collection by material reinforced the concept of the museum as an educational tool by facilitating the viewer’s understanding of the object from a production perspective and created interesting juxtapositions exhibiting how different artists used particular techniques to obtain aesthetically distinct results (fig. 12). The organization also challenged the long held notion that one art form was superior to another by placing objects together which were traditionally divided due to their consideration as fine or decorative arts. At the museum, the objects were often shuffled due to relocation and expansion, but this system was carried through as far as common sense and convenience permitted even when doubts about the

³⁰ Bryant, 2011, p. 197.

effectiveness and legitimacy of the curatorial choice were questioned by the director of the museums in Berlin, Wilhelm von Bode.³¹

The constant evolution of the museum, striving to update and effectively communicate with a broad public and artisans to influence and improve taste and design, must have been particularly appealing to Horne whose own intellectual and artistic output addressed these same concerns. As noted in the previous chapter, Horne was trained in the Arts and Crafts Guild which, like the South Kensington Museum, was a movement founded in reaction to what were perceived as adverse effects of industrialization and mechanization on artisans and the arts which were the same concerns that permeated Horne’s newspaper articles. When Horne began collecting objects in Florence, the South Kensington Museum was widely accepted as the most modern and best example of a collection and educational institute in Europe. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston as well as the Industrial Museum in Edinburgh had already adopted the museum’s mission as a model for their own museum initiatives.³² It follows that when Horne began collecting, he followed their avant-garde collecting which was in line with his own demonstrated interests as an architect, artisan, and critic. Consequently, it would be unsurprising to find a strong influence of the South Kensington Museum on the collection Horne amassed in Florence. However, we also have evidence from his own hand: Horne wrote to his friend Randall Davies in 1915 “Just a year ago I at last managed to buy an historic, little house here, built in 1490, by Giuliano da Sangallo. And all last year I have been busy restoring it. There is yet another year’s work to be done before it will be

³¹ Burton, 2011, p. 57.

³² von Plessen, 2011, p. 11.

finished. If I could only have pulled it through it would have been what the Italian part of the SKM set out to be and isn't.”³³

It should be noted that Horne referred to the museum as the South Kensington Museum despite the fact that it had already been renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899. Its educational mission was emulated internationally since its inception, but its material and technique based display had been criticized and veered away from as early as the end of the nineteenth century.³⁴ They remained steadfast in their choice because the display easily enabled artists to understand the properties and use of specific materials for diverse projects and better compare the end result. Horne, ever interested in the education of artists and artisans remained loyal to the museum's founding model, and its original name.

Collecting in the Likeness of the South Kensington Museum

In 1904 Horne moved to Florence where he would remain until his death in 1916. Among other activities, he amassed the collection of art that he is remembered for today. Because Horne did not live long enough to arrange the collection within his palazzo, it was curated by the first director, Conte Carlo Gamba. Following Gamba's curation and publications, the collection has been consistently interpreted and displayed as a museum of the Renaissance home. Accordingly, as will be discussed in detail in chapter four, the objects are displayed in a homelike environment which facilitates a comparison between diverse mediums which is at odds

³³ Davies, 1916, p. 11.

³⁴ For further reading see Curran, 2016.

with the material based arrangement of the South Kensington Museum whose display prompts inquiry into how the objects were designed and produced using the same materials. The exceptions to this interpretation have been the studies related to Horne’s collection of cutlery, furniture and works on paper in which they have been examined together.³⁵ However, the exhibitions focused on the works on paper were necessarily limited in quantity and thematic which obscured a focus on their materiality and didactic possibilities; while the studies into his furniture and cutlery clearly linked the collection to the theme of the home. The selective approach to the collection is understandable considering the great breadth and distinction of each of the objects within these categories, and the studies have attested to the high quality of the individual objects. But the examination within such traditional confines disconnected the objects from others made of the same material, and the collector who selected them individually. I contend, that this arrangement and interpretation has distorted Horne’s original vision and that an examination of the objects in his collection according to the ideas and material-based categories which guided the South Kensington Museum’s collecting and display reveals how closely he looked to the institution as a model. In the following pages, we will examine some of Horne’s collection according to the material-based organization of the South Kensington Museum, specifically focusing on his collections of woodwork, terracotta, works on paper, metalwork and painting. In order to understand why he included these objects we will explore what they teach us about the materials of which they are made.

The primary difference between Horne’s collection and that of the South Kensington Museum is the provenance of the objects. Initially established by Prince Albert, of German

³⁵ See Castelli and Gardin, 1990; Garofalo, 2000; Nardinocchi and Casati, 2009 and 2011, Paolini, 2002; Dami, 2000.

origin and education, The South Kensington Museum had a markedly international component and believed in the importance of providing a wealth of objects for study. The museum also benefitted from elite, well travelled donors, the availability of funds for staff to travel to purchase work, and the economic ability to dominate London auctions, which were currently the best market in the world for fine and applied arts. Although there are exceptions, Horne’s collection is predominantly Italian. Horne’s belief in the works of the Italian Renaissance as ideal models for contemporary work was established in the previous chapter, but an additional reason for this is that Horne purchased his objects in Italy where Italian work was largely available within his economic reach. Horne must have been aware that his financial and possible time constraint prohibited him from amassing a collection which was equal to that of the South Kensington Museum. As previously noted, Horne’s family was not wealthy and he earned his money as an architect, a critic and for some years as an advisor and dealer primarily for foreign collectors.³⁶ Horne was also already demonstrably ill with tuberculosis by the time he moved to Florence.³⁷ Nevertheless, Horne’s ability to find and purchase exceptional work has been noted. In 1920 Mary Berenson wrote to Frederick Mason Perkins, “Horne finds all sorts of wonderful & interesting things, invalid that he is, & not stirring from Florence. How does he do it? There must be a way, for he does not frequent the dealers to whom everybody goes.”³⁸

³⁶ Elam also suggested that despite Horne’s great intellectual promise, study beyond grammar school was not entertained and instead he pursued the practical trade of architecture. Horne’s involvement advising collectors is beyond the scope of this thesis, but his arrangement with Bernard Berenson selling pictures which began in 1899 has been noted in earlier scholarship. Elam 2009, p. 171. The most relevant article on the topic remains Strelke, 1990.

³⁷ As perviously noted by Elam in two undated letters to his mother conserved in the Horne archive which he wrote from his Fitzroy address in London (thus before 1892) he wrote about spitting up blood in the street. Elam, 2009, p. 195. Fletcher, notes, “[f]or most of his life Horne appears to have suffered from ill health. His letters are full of references to colds, influenza, and mysterious debilities.” Fletcher, 1990, p. 149.

³⁸ Mary Berenson to Frederick Mason Perkins, February 20, 1914. I would like to thank Fausto Nicolai for sending me the relevant portions of the letter found during his research into and reordering of the Mason archive, Assisi. Because the archive has not been fully organized, there is no precise citation for the letter.

Like the South Kensington Museum, Horne’s collection includes painting, textiles, metal work, ceramics, ivories, works on paper and woodwork. The more than 5,000 objects in the collection make it challenging to pare down a selection for close study, but its very diversity testifies to the strong influence of the South Kensington Museum which was unique due to its inclusion of fine and decorative arts in the collection. Horne’s collection of large and small scale paintings spans the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries and come from Siena, Florence, Lucca, Ferrara and Bologna. Horne’s collection of woodwork includes his pozzo chair, cassoni and small scale sculpture. His ceramic work includes small, in the round terracotta sculptures, as well as glazed ceramics of diverse origin which served distinct purposes. His collection of metalwork encompasses cutlery, scientific instruments, commemorative medals and religious objects. Horne also purchased over 900 works on paper which cover the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries and come from both England and Italy.

One collection of objects which demonstrates a clear parallel to the works of the South Kensington Museum is Horne’s collection of objects made from wood. Of particular quality and variety, it includes furniture, sculpture and decorative objects. Within this category, Horne’s collection of cassoni exemplifies how the different treatments of the material, which are characteristic of their chronological and geographical provenance, affect the aesthetic of the secular and religiously significant objects. As noted in Paolini’s *I Luoghi dell’intimità: La Camera da Letto nella Casa Fiorentina del Rinascimento*, “Non solo il forziere nuziale era il mobile principale della casa di questi secoli, ma, non essendo un mobile per così dire ‘specializzato’, era anche quello che, più facilmente, variando le proprie forme, poteva adattarsi

a nuove mode e consuetudini.”³⁹ Some of Horne’s chests exalt the medium of the chest through tones and sheen; others play visual games with the decorative medium by carving of the wood to recall textiles, or painting the wood to look like it is carved stone. Others emphasize the form of the object, or disguise and toy with it.

The majority of the cassoni Horne collected were highly decorative wedding cassoni. Originally commissioned for the event of marriage, they marked a significant rite of passage and publicly communicated a newly forged and empowering bond between two families. Later, their placement in the marital chamber served as a prominent reminder of the obligations and bond marriage created.⁴⁰ Although cassoni were richly decorated and costly items at the time of production, their association with marriage and their domestic utilitarian nature complicated their consideration as a high art as early as the sixteenth century.⁴¹ Indeed, even in the eighteenth century, when they were frequently purchased by the English on the Grand Tour, they were most frequently placed in homes as decorative objects which attested to the owners’ travels and culture. They were not found regularly in museums until the South Kensington Museum set an

³⁹ Paolini, 2004, p. 36.

⁴⁰ Before ca. 1450 they were predominantly commissioned by the bride’s family and used to transport her trousseau from her childhood home to her marital home in a public procession. After ca. 1450, the cassoni were commissioned by the bridegroom’s family and directly placed in the marital chamber.

⁴¹ Vasari discusses cassoni in his 1568 edition of *The Lives of the Artists* in the life of Dello Delli. He writes that they once popular and costly, but they had fallen out of fashion. Vasari, 1568 (eds. 1966 - 87), vol. 3, pp. 37 - 38.

example by affirming their historical and aesthetic significance through a rich display of geographically and chronologically diverse cassoni.⁴²

Horne’s wood cassoni demonstrate how diverse techniques can transform materials that were traditionally considered humble into examples of exceptional craftsmanship. For example, Horne purchased two fifteenth-century Tuscan cassoni that utilize inlaid wood to create patterns and designs with *trompe l’oeil* depth. One, purchased in 1910 (fig. 13), uses contrasting tones of walnut wood to create intricate geometric patterns on the large, slightly recessed front panel, and as a framing motif around the design and the chest as a whole. Five large and twelve small diamonds are duplicated and interlaced to devise complex, potentially infinite combinations, and are used to form the family crests that punctuate the ends of the front panel. The second chest (fig. 14), probably purchased in 1908, has a front panel which is divided into two recessed portions. Two light tones of wood are used to create smooth curvilinear patterns, which are framed by a simple geometric motif that introduces a third tone of wood. The whole chest is raised on a platform that utilizes a more sophisticated three tone geometric pattern and visually links the base to the main portion of the chest. This use of wood inlay to create a decorative motif is distinct from Horne’s sixteenth-century incised chest made of cypress. It is an example of a common decorative motif used in Northern Italy in which shallow carving creates intricate low relief figurative and vegetal designs. Although reduced in size prior to Horne’s purchase,

⁴² Horne advocated for the beauty and originality of well designed and crafted domestic objects. In his 1889 preface for *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* Horne defends domestic objects as worthy of consideration. Horne writes, “... but how many of us look upon the Decorative, or minor architectural arts, in any serious or worthy aspect? ...It is not, then, a trivial endeavor to insist upon their dignity, to render them the sphere no longer of the tradesman, but of the artist, of the man whose work, though it be but the making of household stuffs, of the common utensils of daily life, expresses the better part of himself, and of his hopes and thoughts. ...For these lesser arts, equally with the finer arts and the arts of literature, are capable of giving us infinite support and consolation, if we but approach and use them in a right spirit. In charming us into activity, they are able to cheat us of the weariness, the *ennui* of life; and in their unbounded capacity to take themselves our energies, they lessen the restlessness of life.” Horne, 1889, p. 7. See appendix 13.

enough of the pattern remains to indicate the artist’s effort to mimic luxurious textiles and small French Renaissance courtship caskets (fig. 15).⁴³ In 1909 Horne purchased a deeply carved walnut sarcophagus-style cassone (fig. 16), a style which quickly became popular during the course of the sixteenth century. The carved volutes and the female nudes which grow out of acanthus leaves on the corners, extend up toward the lid, transforming the boxy nature of cassoni through smooth and curvilinear forms. As the name indicates, the high relief carving and distinctive shape recalls ancient stone sarcophagi. Although the carving could be misconstrued as an attempt to imitate stone, the highly polished wood exalts the natural material rather than disguising it.

Horne’s collection of woodwork also includes fifteenth-century Strozzi chairs and his sixteenth-century *pozzo* chair whose distinct forms and finish create an interesting comparative opportunity. The three-legged Strozzi chairs have tall backs and a narrow profile, and delicately carved seat (fig. 17). The rounded symbol of the Strozzi family creates the curve of the top of the back of the chair and their signature half moons are carved around the top like a crown while a delicate inlay runs down the back of the chair. The strikingly elongated and elegant shape of the Strozzi stools contrast starkly with the more simple, and much more substantial *pozzo* chair which envelopes the sitter (fig. 18). The large high sides and back are created from seven flat panels, and its only decorative elements are a small platform under the chair and the coordinating ledge which hangs slightly over the back and sides mimicking a small entablature. The Strozzi chairs are also made of a dark wood polished to a high shine which creates a finely finished

⁴³ The aesthetically pleasing, but generic pattern also suggests that the cassoni was part of a serial production, indicating Horne’s knowledge/understanding that even serially produced objects could be well designed and executed.

object, and contrasts with the lighter wood with obvious grains of the pozzo chair which create a rustic sensibility.

Horne’s collection of woodwork is not limited to furniture, and includes impressive examples of sculpture and small domestic objects. Among other works, Horne’s collection includes a thirteenth-century statue of a woman seated in a throne (fig. 19), fifteenth-century gilt wooden candlestick holders shaped like angels (fig. 20), as well as a Venetian sixteenth-century small-scale sculpture of Venus (fig. 21). Like the cassoni and chairs, the design and treatment of the small-scale sculptures contrast with each other to demonstrate the variant possibilities of working with wood. The seated female sculpture, which once probably depicted a Virtù, sits rigidly upright facing the viewer without expression. The subtle low relief carving of her drapery and solidness of her legs and throne contribute markedly to a sense of stability and gravitas.⁴⁴ She contrasts starkly with the whimsical angels who each support a candle holder on their knees and whose full gilding and open wings imbue a sense of luxurious whimsy. Both of these sculptures contrast with the small scale sculpture of Venus that depicts the goddess nude, with a shield at her feet, holding a large towel draped over her partially broken arm, and looking up - seemingly caught in a private moment. Despite her exceptionally long limbs, her rounded forms and the highly polished wood create a sense of natural softness.

Horne’s myriad collection of terracotta sculpture shows a distinct debt to the South Kensington Museum, but also seems to have been amassed with an eye toward a didactic collection which illustrates the history of terracotta. Terracotta is an inexpensive and abundant material, used since Antiquity to make bricks, tiles, pottery, and ritual objects. In fifteenth-

⁴⁴ Originally thought to be a statue of the Madonna, her even arm positions suggest the figuration of a virtue.

century Italy, the humble medium was transformed into an important mode of artistic expression and creativity, and remained so until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In particular, in Florence during the fifteenth century it was used to create models which revolutionized the practice of sculpture. In brief, during Antiquity sculptors made sculptural models as a preparatory basis for their final works, however with the end of making large scale sculpture this practice was lost. When sculptors returned to making large scale sculpture in the eleventh century, it is thought that for most sculptures the standard practice was to make a drawing which was transferred to the face of the block, which was then carved back from the surface. The resulting sculpture tended to be blocky and planar with minimal undercutting, and was often stylistically conservative because of the fact that any errors are nearly irreversible. But, with the return to the use of models in the fifteenth century, the rate of change in sculpture increased dramatically. In his 2015 essay, Andrew Butterfield argues that the use and development of the clay and wax model developed over the course of three generations. He writes that it was first Lorenzo Ghiberti and then Donatello who most profoundly established the use of the model and explored the possibilities of using wax and clay models as guides to what could be achieved in other media. He continues that the second generation of sculptors, born between ca. 1430 - 1440, grew up learning to model as a standard element of their training and practice, and cites Andrea dell Verrocchio as a particularly integral to the emergence of the idea of sculpture as a two stage process: one in which the modeling is the fundamental and primary phase of creation, and the second is a more executive function of finishing which could be carried out by assistants. The third generation was characterized by the work of Jacopo Sansovino and Michelangelo, which was followed by Giambologna who built on both of their

distinct practices. Sansovino organized and ran an exceptionally productive workshop that Vasari characterized as a sculpting seminary, in which he made the models, and his assistants carried out the following phases of the project, and Michelangelo’s work was highly praised for their delicate and realistic modeling. It was Giambologna who merged these two ideas: he strove to emulate the complexity, sophistication and gracefulness of Michelangelo’s poses and compositions, but created a bustling workshop like Sansovino.⁴⁵

Since its inception, the South Kensington Museum had exceptionally impressive holdings of small terracotta sculpture, and in particular of Giambologna’s work because of the 1854 purchase of the Gherardini Collection of thirty terracotta and wax sculptural sketches. Indeed, when the collection was acquired *en bloc* from the Florentine family for the notable sum of £2,110 it was immediately exalted as a temporary individual exhibition before being assumed into the galleries.⁴⁶ The inclusion of Giambologna’s work, who was known as an assiduous maker of *bozzetti* in terracotta was an apt addition to their collection.⁴⁷ His terracotta work captures the spontaneity of his modeling technique, and the exploitation of the painterly quality of clay which was lost when the works were transformed into finely finished bronze and marble sculptures. His particular combination of artistry and large scale production must have been attractive to the museum whose primary interest was educating artisans and improving the industrial design and production of the nation. It should also be noted that a collection of

⁴⁵ Butterfield, Bernini and the Renaissance Model, 2015, pp. 2- 5. This article is unpublished, and was generously shared with me by Tony Sigel, conservator of the Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA.

⁴⁶ Museum of Ornamental Art, Catalogue of a collection of models in wax and terra cotta by various Italian masters known as the Gherardini collection: now being exhibited at the Museum of Ornamental Art at Marlborough House, London 1854.

⁴⁷ See Avery, 1887 for a discussion of the artists’ use of terracotta *bozzetti* instead of drawing to plan his work.

terracotta work was unusual for a museum and is particularly suggestive of Horne looking to the South Kensington Museum. In fact that Gherardini collection was passed over twice by the Italian and French Government as too expensive before being paid for by Queen Victoria. It was unprecedented to buy a collection of terracotta *bozzetti*, and especially for such a significant price.

Although Horne’s collection does not rival that of the South Kensington Museum, it is distinguished by how the style, sentiments, movement and composition of each work demonstrate the rich artistic possibilities which the material offers.⁴⁸ It also contains examples of the different generations and styles of sculpting in terracotta. Horne also owned two sculptures attributed to Giambologna (ca. 1560), the *Kneeling Venus* (fig. 22) and the *Virile Nude*, or *Atleta* from ca. 1572 (fig. 23) which he purchased respectively in 1908 and 1909 that were both based on well-known Classical sculptures. The Venus, which was presumably the model for a bronze version of the sculpture found in the Bargello, and similar to a bronze statue in the London based museum which was originally part of the Gherardini Collection.⁴⁹ Although the London statuette is differentiated from the Bargello and Horne’s *bozzetto* by the head band, and the arm positions, they are united by the kneeling, twisting nude female with a cloth in her hand seemingly interrupted in a private moment of bathing (fig. 24).⁵⁰ Even a cursory examination of the male torso indicates its close resemblance to the *Belvedere Torso* (ca. 200 BCE) which served

⁴⁸ Wainwright, 2002c, p. 51.

⁴⁹ Avery, 1998, p. 2.

⁵⁰ The terracotta sculpture which most closely resembles Horne’s Venus sculpture was described in the 1854 exhibition catalogue accompanying the exhibition of the Gherardini sculpture collection at the museum prior to its purchase. The third section of the exhibition is dedicated to the sculpture of Giambologna and the entry for “No. 14” describes the piece as “terracotta, 9” high. A nude figure of Diana in crouching position, in the act of drying herself as if just after bathing. A carefully finished model, which displays all the skill of that celebrated sculptor.” Museum of Ornamental Art, 1854, p. 8.

as great inspiration for Giambologna,⁵¹ and the South Kensington Museum has several male nude torsos by Giambologna which were often essential components of his sculptures.

In addition, Horne owned twelve other terracotta objects including a low relief *Madonna with Angels* by Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Saint Jerome* (fig. 25) with a debated attribution to the school of Verrocchio or Jacopo del Sellaio, a small equestrian group by Giovanni Francesco Rustici (fig. 26), an *Angel in Glory* by Bernini (fig. 27). Lorenzo Ghiberti's low relief *Madonna and Child* depicts a quiet, highly personal, and religious moment in low relief. The building up of the figures and strategic use of depth contributes to distinctly lifelike figures, but the rectangular frame simultaneously creates the sense of looking into a window and pious detachment from the sweet and highly personal moment created. Saint Jerome is represented in an act of penitence, clutching a book in his left hand and a stone in his right, set against a rocky background with a lion tucked into small niche, and a lizard crawling across the rocks. The intensity of the figure of Jerome is furthered by the use of the same smooth finish of the terracotta for his body and the rock which makes it seem as if he cannot be separated from the it. Jerome's quiet penitence contrasts strongly with the dramatic stomping of a man underfoot a horse commanded by a serene young man.⁵² Rustici uses the malleability and strength of the terracotta to create figures with powerful and exaggerated physical positions and facial expressions to convey a sense of emotional turmoil. Bernini's *Angel in Glory*, probably purchased in 1910 from the Torlonia collection in Rome, is a particularly tumultuous piece which continues the tradition of Giambologna's modeling and workshop practice. Although the subject, an angel and a cherub

⁵¹ Avery, 1987, p. 47.

⁵² It should also be noted that the collection includes Il Salvatore, a bust in terracotta which is attributed to Agnolo di Polo, a student of Verrocchio.

which turn toward each other while clasping their hands to their chests is a serene, subject, the modeling is exceptionally vigorous and probably executed in a single session - perhaps even in a couple of hours. Analysis of the sculpture for the 2012 exhibition, *Bernini Sculpting in Clay*, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, indicates that Bernini only used his fingers, a large oval-tp tool, and a large-tooth tool to create the work and there was no final smoothing with a brush or a cloth. One consequence of this approach is that his process - especially the use of his hands - is readily discernible on the surface. Finally, it should be noted the collection includes a sixteenth century work by the della Robbia school who transformed painted terracotta through their revolutionary glazing techniques. Although all figural representations, the variety of poses, textures and treatment of the terracotta make the group an excellent compendium for not only understanding the creative possibilities of working with the material over the course of several centuries.

Acutely aware of the multifaceted didactic function of works on paper, the South Kensington Museum began amassing their impressive collection upon inception. As previously noted, drawing was encouraged in the galleries, and was considered a foundational skill for becoming an artist, and a designer. Their collection includes many schools, and styles, and were often chosen with an eye to demonstrate their varied original purposes. Horne discussed the importance of drawing in his earliest articles in which he noted its fundamental role in the development of artistic and artisan training during the Florentine Renaissance as a skill to depict the natural world and to develop and communicate an idea.

Horne began purchasing drawings as early as 1890 and amassed his first collection of about 200 drawings in London. In 1904, he sold 128 drawings to Edward Marsh, but retained

the remainder of the collection which he brought with him to Florence.⁵³ On January 1, 1905, Horne began his “Catalogue of my Second Collection, Chiefly of Italian Drawings” which retroactively details his purchase of eighty-eight drawings between circa 1890 and 1904, as the title indicates the text, focused on Italian artists but also included others. From 1904 - 1916 Horne continued to collect other works on paper which culminated in his large donation that encompasses a vast temporal, geographic and stylistic arc. Horne’s collection of works on paper includes 929 drawings, 441 prints and engravings and thirty-four miniatures which span from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century and originate in Naples, Florence, Bologna, Holland, France, England and beyond.⁵⁴ Like the South Kensington Museum, Horne’s collection includes religious and secular subjects as well as landscapes, single, and group figures, and are executed in ink, washes, charcoal, graphite and watercolor on various supports.

The importance of Horne’s collection of drawings was first noted by Carlo Gamba in his 1921 catalog in which he states that Horne curated his collection of drawings and prints with particular care.⁵⁵ The most complete list of the works on paper appears in Rossi’s 1966 catalog and includes basic information about the works, but the list is also peppered with double entries and questionable attributions which were repeated from the first inventory in 1921 that followed transcriptions and notes found on the sheets and original mounts.⁵⁶ The most thorough studies of individual pieces in the collection have been in conjunction with focused exhibitions, though due

⁵³ Collobi Ragghianti, 1963, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Garofalo, 1998, p. I.

⁵⁵ Gamba writes, “Cure particolari egli dedicò alla raccolta di disegni e di stampe, diventa una delle più ragguardevoli d’Italia in possesso privato, e alla sua biblioteca, considerevole non soltanto per copia e rarità di pubblicazioni artistiche, ma anche per pregevoli edizioni antiche, incunaboli, libri decorati di miniature e d’incisioni e manoscritti, alla quale aggiunse la serie dei registri dell’Archivio di Santo Onofrio.” Gamba, 1921, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Collobi Ragghianti, 1963, p. 6.

to the sheer size of the collection and their individual scopes, only a small percentage of the drawings have been studied. In 1916, Randall Davies commemorated his friend Horne with an exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club which included works from his first collection sold to Edward Marsh. Nearly fifty years later, Licia Ragghianti Collobi curated an exhibition at the Strozzi, Florence which continued this thread. The hitherto largest show dedicated to Horne’s drawing collection, it evidenced the breadth of his English drawings and publicly announced how special the little noted collection was in Italy which included over 200 English drawings. In 2000, Cristiana Garofalo curated an exhibition entitled *Da Raffaello a Rubens, Disegni della Fondazione Horne* that included thirty-five drawings of largely unpublished drawings that demonstrated Horne’s acumen in the varied selection including Raphael, Pontormo, Ludovico Carracci, Pietro da Cortona as well as Peter Paul Rubens. In 2009, the Horne Museum held their first anthology exhibition focused on English landscapes called *Il Paesaggio Disegnato: John Constable e i Maestri Inglesi nella Raccolta Horne* which included thirty-two works.

Despite treating different portions of the collection, both Morozzi and Nardinocchi have remarked that the collection had not yet been treated as a whole, nor had it been sufficiently connected it to the figure of Horne.⁵⁷ In part this limitation was necessarily based on the size and the breadth of the collection, and in part because Horne’s biographies continually presented a similar and truncated profile: a talented polymath who was a passionate collector and connoisseur with limited financial resources who loved the Renaissance. The choice of small portions of the collection enabled a cohesive viewing experience and Horne’s eclectic profile rationalized the disparate topics. However, when the collection is considered in relation to his

⁵⁷ Morozzi acknowledges this fact, and Nardinocchi similarly states she is unsure of what governed Horne’s purchases. Morozzi, 1988, p. XII; Nardinocchi, 2011, p. 8.

whole intellectual and artistic development with an eye toward creating a study center, it is evident that the diversity does reflect Horne as a gifted connoisseur and diligent art historian, but also his commitment to providing a plethora of artistic and historically significant examples of work for artists and artisans.

The figural work in Horne’s collection includes studies, sketches and preparatory drawings for later creations which offer a vivid and intimate glimpse of the artist thinking creatively on paper. In *Caricature of two Cardinals, a Pope, Two People, an Elderly Woman and a Young Woman* (fig. 28)⁵⁸ the quick and secure lines with limited details humorously exaggerate the figures’ features and transform the heads into distinct caricatures, while their overlay and stacking connects them as if they are all in a crowd together. The study of perspective and anatomy gave the artist the confidence and ability to depict the faces from a variety of angles, and to provide the illusion of movement and a striking sense of individuality. The softness of the material allows them to easily cohabit the page and encourages the viewer to compare them. In contrast to these fast and comic caricatures is Domenico Fedeli’s (called Maggiotto) *Boy with a Lute* from ca. 1725 (fig. 29). Maggiotto’s extreme ability to utilize chiaroscuro depicts an idealized boy whose notable plasticity and volume dominate the page.⁵⁹ As Alessandra Nardi noted, the marked use of carbon creates realistic shadows to shape the figure, while white is sparingly used to highlight small points on the figure to create a soft, rounded profile and strong hands which hold up the lute. Nardi writes, “Il Maggiotto è riuscito a conferire al disegno un effetto veristico, che ben si accorda con lo stile delle contemporane pitture, in cui si rivela la sua

⁵⁸ Carlo Maratti, *Caricatura di due Cardinali, di un papa, di due personaggi, di Donna Anziana e di Testa Muliebri* (Fondazione Horne inv. 5928).

⁵⁹ Domenico Fedeli, detto il Maggiotto, *Giovinetto con Liuto* (Fondazione Horne inv. 5657).

naturale inclinazione per i soggetti narrativi e aneddotici.”⁶⁰ The drawings in Horne’s collection also aptly demonstrate an interest in the process of conceptualizing and experimenting with composition, shading, creating movement and emotion in the figures through gestures, facial expressions and body positions. In 1904, Horne purchased a self-portrait of Jacopo Carucci, known as Pontormo, whose soft and somber tone is expressed as much by the facial expression as the materials (fig. 30).⁶¹ Depicted in red chalk on red tinted paper, a mildly stooped Pontormo gazes past the viewer over his right shoulder with a forlorn gaze through hooded eyes. Due to the similar tones of the chalk and the paper (augmented by oxidation), the red chalk’s natural affinity to flesh tones, Pontormo looks as if he is being viewed from behind a fog which increases the sense of solitary melancholy. In 1903 Horne purchased a drawing of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Girolamo da Treviso il Giovane (fig. 31).⁶² In the center of the piece the Holy Family is seated under a small rustic structure with two lively groups of figures on both sides. On the left, a Magi kneels offering two gifts and is seemingly acknowledged by Joseph who is turned toward him. Behind him a pyramid of figures and large animals rise, stacked as if in stadium seats, and wave their arms - and an elephant’s trunk - in the direction of the Holy Family. To the right, two Magi offer Mary gifts in front of a group of figures controlling several horses. Despite the balanced and stable composition, the piece feels agitated and complex due to the figures’ movement, expression and drapery. This feeling is increased by the strategic use of the white highlights which are pulled from the white paper by using a kind of needle to expose the white paper underneath the dark drawing. The refined technique was used on the figures’ beards,

⁶⁰ Nardinocchi and Casati, 2011, p. 74.

⁶¹ Jacopo Carucci, detto il Pontormo, *Self-portrait* (Foundation Horne inv. 5542).

⁶² Girolamo da Treviso il Giovane (?), *Adoration of the Magi* (Foundation Horne inv. 5678).

hair and drapery to define the forms, but also expertly illuminates the otherwise dark drawing.⁶³ Finally, the collection testifies to the different practices and uses of drawings, as well as exemplifying how drawing in chalk, charcoal, ink, and different washes contribute to the overall feeling of a work which was essential for artists and artisans to understand before embarking on their own creations. In 1904 Horne purchased Albrecht Dürer’s pen on paper *Portrait of Philip Melantone* (1525) from Parson and Sons (fig. 32).⁶⁴ The first known portrait of Melantone, the professor of Classical Philosophy at Wittenberg is depicted in a half bust with an intense, absorbed look which is turned to the distance. The choice of a half bust recalls an Ancient iconographic tradition, and Dürer manages to convey a sense of his monumentality and realism by emphasizing the particularities of his face - his high forehead and his aquiline nose. The pen drawing feels realistic and spontaneous due to the freedom and velocity the medium concedes, while its small size and refined lines suggest that it was a final study for an engraving.

Horne’s collection of English work focuses on landscapes and is particularly distinguished for *en plein air* drawings from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. Horne’s collection includes twenty-four drawings by Johnathan Constable (1776 - 1837) of varying sizes, materials and kinds of views. A deeply English artist, Constable developed a unique style combining objective studies of nature with a personal vision of his beloved countryside that rejected the contemporary hierarchy of genres which ranked idealized landscapes that recounted historical or mythological tales above views of observed nature that are evident in each of these works. Horne’s works exalts Constable’s distinct use of diverse mediums: in a pencil and

⁶³ Garofalo, 2000, p. 42.

⁶⁴ Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of Philip Melantone* (Foundation Horne inv. 5701).

graphite drawing of a pair of cows (with two more outlined but unfinished) lay under around a solitary tree in which the individual branches and leaves are defined, but the softness of the material and the tonality imbue the tree with a sense of lush fullness (fig. 33).⁶⁵ The majestic and delicately drawn single tree dominates the central portion of the page, but is grounded and balanced by black and white cows lying down nearby. On the verso, the same scene is depicted from a distance and includes neighboring trees. The lines are sketchier, less full and angled from top right to the bottom left creating a sense of movement which contrasts starkly with the serenity of the recto.⁶⁶ Horne also owned watercolors by Constable, like *Trees and a House on a Small Lake* whose thick lines and tones suggest an overcast autumn day⁶⁷ and *Trees in the Countryside* viewed from the Riverbank whose thick, dark vegetation spreads across the middle of the page, swooping towards the viewer in the foreground and carrying their eye up in the background which creates space for a deep green field in the middle.⁶⁸ Constable’s distinct mood and speed in which he captured each scene is conveyed through the thickness and weight of the lines as well as the colors and tones chosen. Horne’s collection also includes John Hoppner’s *Valley with Farm House with Figures* (fig. 34). Although known primarily for his portraits, this drawing expertly depicts the softens, density and isolation of the English countryside rendering it idyllic. Horne’s continued interest in the great tradition of English landscape work is particularly instructive because of its obvious chronological and artistic

⁶⁵ John Constable, recto: Landscape with trees, pond and a cow (Foundation Horne inv. 5995)

⁶⁶ John Constable, recto: Landscape with trees and a cow, verso: Large tree and two cows (Foundation Horne inv. 5995).

⁶⁷ John Constable, *Trees and a House on Water* (Foundation Horne inv. 5996).

⁶⁸ John Constable, *Campagna alberata vista dalla riva di un fiume*, verso: *Schizzi di barche* (Fondazione Horne inv. n. 5987)

discrepancies with a Renaissance house. Indeed, it suggests that Horne, long cognizant of its merits, sought to leave a collection to be consulted for visiting artists, artisans and scholars who sought to depict landscapes.

Although the drawings have been subject to several exhibitions, Horne’s collection of prints has been largely overlooked thus far.⁶⁹ Long a popular instrument to study works that were difficult to access or have disappeared, it is probable that Horne’s collection served a similar purpose. Indeed, his collection includes seventy-one prints by Parmigianino which were probably instrumental for Horne’s planned but uncompleted study of the artist. The collection also includes geographically and chronologically diverse prints which documented the art form as creative and artistically significant. Among others, Horne’s collection included nineteen works by Ugo da Carpi, famed for his early practice of chiaroscuro and powerful wood carving techniques, twenty works by Whistler who emphasized clean lines in his early career later experimented with inking and the use of plate-tone are also well represented.

The collection of prints is of particular note in relation to the absence of photographs. Horne’s collection of works on paper did not include photographs which were an important component of the South Kensington Museum collection. They began amassing a significant collection since the museum’s inception in 1852. Displaying works which were mechanically produced but considered a fine art was aligned with the South Kensington Museum’s mission to encourage designers and artists to utilize modern industrial techniques to create and design objects for mass production of high artistic quality. A collection of photographs was also an increasingly common tool for connoisseurs and dealers. Berenson and Frederick Mason Perkins,

⁶⁹ Held in the Horne Foundation archive, there is insufficient staff to allow access to study them.

once a student of Berenson and a successful dealer, both left significant photographic archives whose collections and annotations furnish important information about their attributions and working methods.⁷⁰ But for Horne, who defined ‘Fine Art’ as everything that was not mechanical, photography had no place in his collection which focused on providing examples of objects which required hand skill for the public and artisans.⁷¹ Rather, Horne’s collection of works on paper reflects Horne as a connoisseur and an art historian with a deep rooted interest in providing models of excellent work and craftsmanship to contemporary artists and artisans.

Historically, metalwork was labor intensive and costly, but its strength and malleability made it an attractive option to create a wide variety of objects. During the Industrial Revolution the use of molds and economical metals radically increased the quantity and kinds of objects produced. Consequently, the South Kensington Museum consciously collected a wide variety of metal objects to inspire the designs of contemporary artisans and demonstrate the material’s versatility, and Horne’s collection demonstrates a similar interest. Like the South Kensington Museum, Horne’s collection of metal work was eclectic and includes bronze plaques and commemorative medals from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, chalices in gilt copper, scientific instruments and a variety of flatware. Horne’s metal objects have traditionally been difficult to assimilate into the display and interpretation of the museum as the recreation of the Renaissance home. Although the cutlery has been displayed in the kitchen area, the scientific

⁷⁰ For information regarding Berenson’s photography collection see: Giovanni Pagliarulo, Passions intertwined: Art and Photography at I Tatti in *The Bernard and Mary Berenson Collection of European Paintings at I Tatti*, pp. 71 - 85. For that of Perkins see: Nicolai, 2016. A second article by F. Nicolai which includes a discussion of Perkins’ use of photographs is pending publication in the *Journal of the History of Collections*, 2018. The Perkins’ archive, held in Assisi, was studied and reorganized by Fausto Nicolai with pending publications regarding its use and organization.

⁷¹ This is not to suggest that Horne did not consult photographs for study purposes, but he could have found them from the ever growing collection of Bernard Berenson, Frederick Mason Perkins or Charles Loeser if it was necessary.

instruments and religious objects are harder to reconcile with this interpretation of the collection. However, considering them as exemplars of the technical and aesthetic possibilities of working with metal reconciles the objects as a coherent part of the collection. Horne’s sixteenth-century gilt copper crucifix with a small figure of Christ resting on the cross and four quadrilobes at each end, each engraved with figures on both sides, is an exceptional example of metalwork (fig. 35).⁷² Within the crucifix a variety of elements were depicted, like vegetation, drapery, books, shadows and the human body, which required the skilled and deliberate use of different lengths of strokes, density and thickness of lines to create different textures and tonalities. The variety of lines make it an excellent example of metalwork techniques. Horne’s collection also includes metal scientific instruments, like a fifteenth-century astrolabe which has a personification of Fortune holding a sword, flanked by two putti standing in a landscape (fig. 36). Probably based on Fortune’s low rounded belly, extra long arms, thick wavy hair and facial structure this work has been attributed to the school of Baccio Baldini who engraved in the style of Botticelli.⁷³ The engraving is characterized by long swelling lines which are carved in an even depth rendering them visually akin to an ink drawing. Through the use of line, the two images convey distinct feelings and senses. The delicate and detailed lines rendered the figures and their attributes lifelike and easy to relate to while the astrolabe’s simple engraving served to embellish the object without distracting from its use. Horne’s collection of metal work also includes assorted pieces of flatware, some of which are inlaid with ivory, bone, stones, and engraved and sculpted (fig. 37). The collection demonstrates how good design transforms even the most utilitarian items

⁷² One depicts God, Mary, John and Mary Magdalene, and on the back are four different saints.

⁷³ Rossi, 1966, p. 158.

into works of art, and that the malleability of metal facilitated its combination with other materials to embellish and enrich the objects even further.

Horne’s collection of paintings spans the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries and originate from Siena, Florence, Lucca, Ferrara and Bologna. A brief analysis of Horne’s collection demonstrates that like the South Kensington Museum, which prioritized diversity of technique, Horne’s collection offers a wide range of painting styles and mediums. Horne’s collection, executed in oil and tempera on panel and canvas, and some watercolor on paper, includes works that were originally commissioned for both public and private consumption. There are single and multiple figures depicted in interior spaces, outdoors in the country and the city, and are both large and small scale. The subjects are religious and mythological, and were originally commissioned for a variety of purposes, including celebration, remembrance, religious contemplation, and spurring humanist discourse. A complete discussion of Horne’s painting collection is beyond the scope of this thesis, but there are exemplary pieces in his collection which clearly denote its diversity.⁷⁴ These examples include Dosso Dossi’s *Allegory of Music*, *St. Stephen* by Giotto, an Italian-Byzantine *Pietà*, Benozzo Gozzoli’s *Deposition* and painted cassoni panels.

In 1913 Horne purchased Dosso Dossi’s *The Allegory of Music* for 2000 Lire (fig. 38).⁷⁵ Like his patrons at the Este Court - Dukes Alfonso I and Ercole II - Dossi’s art is courtly and represents the expansive cultural ambitions and idiosyncratic personalities of the Ferrara court he inhabited. The *Allegory of Music* is considered one of Dosso’s most enigmatic paintings, but

⁷⁴ Rossi, 1966, remains the most complete discussion of Horne’s paintings.

⁷⁵ Bertani, 1990, p. 154.

scholars generally agree that it is a meditation on “the mythical origins and intellectual status of the art of music” which was highly valued at the Ferrara court.⁷⁶ Here, Dossi offers a penetrating interpretation of Giorgione’s pastoral vision, Raphael’s Classicism and his ability to depict a naturalistic landscape - for which he was famed - is on full display in the figure’s size and positions and their location to celebrate music. Additionally, his technique, use of color, and style were also an exaltation of the medium of painting itself. Dossi embarked on his career at a time of momentous change when artists began painting with oil on canvas and realized fundamental transformations of the creative process. Dossi, who painted directly on the canvas without creating preparatory drawings, was a particularly inventive oil and tempera painter on canvas, and he varied the consistency and application of the paint using its opacity, translucency and malleability for expressive possibilities.⁷⁷

Dossi’s work contrasts strikingly with Giotto’s *St. Stephen* (ca. 1320) tempera on panel painting (fig. 39), which Horne originally purchased in the early twentieth century at public auction for the meager sum of 9 sterlings and 5 shillings.⁷⁸ According to Frederick Mason Perkins, Carlo Gamba and Frank Jewett Mather, Horne retained the piece was an autograph work by Giotto and initially believed it could belong to the Baroncelli Polyptych, Santa Croce, and later retained it was linked to the lost Florentine Badia polyptych.⁷⁹ Although there was no

⁷⁶ Humfrey and Lucco, 1998, p. 154.

⁷⁷ Rothe and Carr write, “[p]erhaps more than any other factor, the development of oil painting enabled Dosso’s particular creative genius to find expression. In Northern Italy, oil had only recently supplanted tempera as the primary medium for making paint, and to fully understand Dosso’s achievement we should chiefly examine that evolution...Scientific media analysis has shown, for instance, that painters in Ferrara were using this kind of emulsion by at least 1460. Likewise, even long after oil had become the favored medium, egg and glue tempera were sometimes combined with it. While some practices were uniformly adopted, painters were individuals and found their own personal solutions to use in creating certain effects. Rothe and Carr, 1998, p. 72.

⁷⁸ Procacci, 1988, p. IX.

⁷⁹ For a full discussion see Boscovitz, 2000, pp. 182 - 187.

consensus in Horne’s lifetime regarding the work, it has since been widely accepted as autograph, but debate continues regarding its original placement.⁸⁰ The panel’s excellent state of conservation was recently affirmed by the technical analysis performed in conjunction with the 2013 exhibition at the Louvre. There are few losses of the original color and gold, and the examination revealed that the modeling of the figure is typical of Giotto’s mature period: “[a]vec un dessin sous-jacent pononcé (“undermodeling”), destine a mettre en place les volumes et le modelé, à base d’*acquerella d’inchiostro* ou “aquarelle d’encre” (pour utiliser le terme de Cennino Cennini), tels qu’on les retrouve dans un grand nombre d’oeuvres de l’époque, dont la *Vierge de San Giorgio alla Costa*, le polyptyque peut-être peint pour la chapelle Peruzzi a Santa Croce de Florence, aujourd’hui au North Carolina Museum of Art de Raleigh et la croix peinte d’Ognissanti.”⁸¹ Regardless of its original placement, the panel reflects a secure control over the figure’s form, an equilibrium of the colors and a perceptible tone of refined elegance. The full gold background and easily recognizable symbolism recall traditional Byzantine icon painting, while the delicate depiction and brilliant colors included in his dress and attention to the folds and embroidery exemplify Giotto’s creative and technical prowess. Horne’s Italian-Byzantine *Pietà* (fig. 40), stands out dramatically against both of the previously mentioned paintings. The simplicity of the work, minimal palate, its intimate size and Mary’s embrace of a Christ already inflicted with the wounds of crucifixion culminate in an intimate portrayal of the mother and son.

⁸⁰ The most recent and thorough discussion of Giotto’s panel and the other panels which comprise the polyptych that are dispersed in international museums see Schwarz, 2013, pp. 130 - 150.

⁸¹ Schwarz, 2014, p. 139.

The Italian-Byzantine icon painting stands in dramatic contrast to Benozzo Gozzoli’s oil on fabric *Deposition* which Horne purchased in 1907 (fig. 41).⁸² Although Gozzoli was appreciated by Ruskin and Burckhardt, in 1864 Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle disdained his work in *A New History of Painting in Italy*, deeming him a second rate painter.⁸³ This sentiment was echoed by John Addington Symonds and Berenson which marks Horne’s purchase of this painting clearly out of step with contemporary taste. Nevertheless, he purchased this monumental work which was probably created in the last months of Gozzoli’s life for one of the chapels in the Palazzo Vescovile in Pistoia.⁸⁴ Translated to a smaller scale and different medium, the dramatic composition, vast landscape settings and figure scale emerge from and recall those of the Camposanto frescoes which Horne visited during his first trip to Italy.⁸⁵ Here, the viewer enters the dramatic scene through a panoramic, rising landscape and the depth is enhanced by the foreshortening of the thieves’ crosses, the diagonals of which lead to distant mountains gradually giving way to verdant plains, hills, and the misty horizon. But it is the technique, which was without precedent in Gozzoli’s career, which renders this work particularly interesting. This, and Gozzoli’s *Raising of Lazarus* (National Gallery, Washington D.C.) are the only paintings by Benozzo known to have been executed in oil on canvas which documents his novel experimentation with the medium in the last months of his life and suggest a response to Netherlandish works that he must have seen in Florence like the *Portinari Altarpiece*. Diane Cole Ahl writes, “[h]ere the paint literally saturates the surface of the

⁸² Rossi, 1966, p. 140.

⁸³ For a critical summary of Benozzo Gozzoli’s career see Cole Ahl, 1996.

⁸⁴ Cole Ahl recognizes the hands of two assistants, but maintains that the conception of the work belongs to Gozzoli. Ahl, 1996, p. 196.

⁸⁵ Chaney and Hall, 2002, p. 90.

cloth so that its very weave is visible, conveying the depth and luminosity that would have been difficult for Benozzo to achieve in tempera alone. The cascading folds of the figures' robes are modeled up from dark to light in intensifying tonal gradations to convey their weight and plasticity. The direction of the brushstroke is visible as well, curvilinear and arc-like over the figure's faces and arms to suggest volume, and resolutely vertical in describing the stark wooden cross.”⁸⁶

These paintings focused on a single religious figure and event contrast strikingly with Horne's collection of painted cassoni which document the fifteenth-century practice of painting the full front panel of the chest. Preferred, in part, due to the pictorial freedom it granted, Horne has several of these chests which document this practice. Horne's early-fifteenth-century poplar chest, painted in tempera is an interesting use of painting the full front panel (fig. 42). The rounded chest has large-scale grotesques running horizontally across the front which are almost exclusively painted in *brunaille* with well-placed shadows that make the design look like a high relief wood carving. This visual play is only interrupted by the use of red highlights and the centrally placed joined set of crests. The crests are visually distinguished from the grotesques by the use of a limited, but bright palette, which projects the crests toward the viewer. In 1907, Horne purchased a pair of brightly painted convex Sienese cassoni which are also decorated with grotesques and coats of arms (fig. 43). But, the decorations are smaller and finer due to their placement within finely designed boxes which are marked by a dark border with a gilt geometric design and studs. The limited palate allows the eye to wander across the chest freely, while the crests on the red ground visually weight the motif, highlight the crests, and mark the length of

⁸⁶ Ahl, 1996, p. 197.

the object. It also visually brightens the yellow background behind the grotesques to project them. This feeling is heightened by the painted ledge which uses shadows to create a false sense of projecting the front panel to create the sense of a dynamically shaped chest.

Horne’s most discussed painted cassone is a convex, fully-painted fifteenth-century chest which he purchased in 1909 (fig. 44). Acquired in poor condition, the chest has been restored twice: once immediately after its purchase, and again between 2000 - 2001. The latest intervention revealed a very finely executed, high quality late fifteenth-century Tuscan chest. The ground of the chest is painted to imitate porphyry marble and is dominated by two *putti* that morph into swirling acanthus leaves. They hold up a wreath that surrounds a white, red and black coat of arms, and the end of the chest is wrapped in golden brown acanthus leaves that seem to grow out of the bottom of the chest. The *putti* and wreath are painted in grisaille, rendering them akin to a fine stone sculpture, while the golden tones of the acanthus leaves recalls a gilt sculpture.

Despite the brevity of this analysis, it is evident how rich, dynamic and coherent Horne’s collection is when viewed considering a material based taxonomy. When the works are disconnected from the collector’s intellectual and professional formation, as well as his interests, it is evident that the categories used dramatically limit the possibility of understanding the choice of the objects, and the collection as a whole. As demonstrated, it is through the lens of Horne’s ideas and values that his collection acquires increased meaning and the parallel with the South Kensington Museum is evident. Horne purchased a wide variety of objects from each of the categories which governed the novel display choices of the London museum, and they served to demonstrate the variety and breadth of objects which could be created with each material to

teach the viewers about the distinct possibilities that they each presented. That is, each category serves as a comprehensive lesson in the material to show how different techniques are used to create large-and small-scale works, religious and secular objects and the individual properties of each material.

Inspired by the South Kensington Museum, London, Horne formed a collection and purchased a fifteenth-century palazzo with the objective of creating a study center to furnish artisans and artists with information and models to inspire and inform their own work. Horne's unique intent differentiated his collection and palazzo from other contemporary house collections, public museums and private collectors marking it as an original contribution to the cultural and intellectual community in Florence.

As mentioned in chapter one, Horne's first trip to Italy was in 1889. He traveled throughout the central and northern portions of Italy looking for inspiration to create the Chapel of the Ascension, in Bayswater Road, London. His four travel journals from this period, held in the Horne Museum archive, indicate that he continued to travel to Italy frequently, and his explorations were mostly focused on the central and northern portions of the country.¹ Around 1904, Horne settled in Florence. He was no doubt attracted to the art and architecture produced in its most famed period, and he was invested in helping preserve its remaining architectural integrity. The city also offered a sense of being the last old city on the European continent, and

¹ A travel journal from November 12, 1897 - March 5, 1901 indicates Horne travelled extensively in Tuscany and Umbria. Horne visited the following cities: Florence, San Gimignano, Certaldo, Arezzo, Assisi, Perugia, Gubbio, Umbertide, Città di Castello, Borgo San Sepolcro, Urbino, Senigallia, Parma, Empoli. (Inv. 2588; segn. H II. 3). A manuscript of his travel notes from September 5 - October 9, 1898 indicates that he travelled throughout western Europe. Horne visited the following places: Lille, Brussels, Cologne, Hildesheim, Braunschweig, Berlin, Dresden, Altenberg, Weimar, Gotha, Meiningen, Kassel, Munich, Verona, Mantua, Carpi and Modena. (Inv. 2592; segn. H.II. 6). A 1898 travel journal indicates he continued to travel throughout Europe and visited the following places: Berlin, Dresden, Munich. (Inv. 2600/13; segn. G. XIV.2a). A manuscript of his travel notes (1899 - 1902) that was begun on October 21, 1899 and ended May 10, 1902 indicates that he visited the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum, and the Pinocoteca di Brera, Milan, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Savona, Genoa, Sazana, and Pisa. He also visited the National Gallery, the British Museum, South Kensington Museum in London, Paris, Dijon, Tours, Amboise, Bordeaux, Montauban, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Marsiglia. (Inv. 2590; segn. H.II.4). A travel journal from 1899 indicates that he visited the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum again. A manuscript of his travel notes indicates he visited the following cities: Mugello, Barbiano, Vicchio, Vespignano, Dicomano, San Francesco al Monte, Siena, Milan, Milan, Pavia, Creona, Mantova, Faenza, Modena, Orvieto, Narni, Spoleto, Foligno. (Inv. 2591. segn. H. II.5).

boasted great objects that could still be bought for a meager price for his clients and himself. Furthermore, it offered extraordinary archival resources for his research.

The primary reason Horne was attracted to Florence was the art produced during the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. In Horne's commencement address to the students of the Whitechapel Craft School in 1891 he writes that Art (which he capitalizes and specifies "to include Literature, Music, Painting, Architecture; in short, whatever Art is fine in its nature, in contradistinction to those, which are merely mechanical...") "demands Form and Style."² According to Horne, the form of a work results from the individual elements and guiding principles utilized, and the style, which distinguishes one work from another, derives from the combination of the elements and the infusion of individual personality of the artist or architect. In his 1889 article on Gibbs Horne writes, "To *live*, art must also have those other qualities, such as proportion, disposition, fitness, and all that goes to compose the classical order. When this "comely order" and this unusual beauty are held together in a nice balance, then we have supreme art." In fact, he critiques Elizabethan architecture because they had too much style, and the work of Gibbs' because it did not possess enough. Regarding St. Bartholomew's quadrangle designed by Gibbs Horne writes, "In this quadrangle of St. Bartholomew's, in his designs for private houses, and in the buildings I have just described, this limitation is acutely apparent. For dignity, for simplicity, for the complete observance of this "comely order," these works are quite admirable; and yet they are unattractive, they fail to charm us because there is in them too little of that 'Strangenesse in the Proportion,' without which there is no excellent beauty."³

² Horne, 1891e, p. 94. See appendix 22.

³ Horne, 1889c, p. 78. See appendix 15.

As noted in chapter one, Horne's writing and collection indicate an appreciation of art from diverse geographical regions and periods if they adhere to the rules of Classical forms and principles. But, as widely noted, the greatest concentration of artists and artisans who followed this set of principles lived in Florence from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. Florence has long held the reputation as the cradle of the Italian Renaissance - the epicenter of the rebirth of the Classical world due to the concentration of artists, patrons and humanists consciously referencing and using elements of Classical art and architecture in novel combinations to advance their contemporary decorative and propagandistic needs. Consequently, Horne exalts the art of the Florentine Renaissance and uses it as a barometer of greatness. In his 1886 article on Inigo Jones, Horne writes, "It is well to notice the manner in which the capitals have been thought of as masses, and the volutes and leaves as minor masses, and the superb art with which these masses are echoed along the frieze, in the wreaths and masks, exquisitely connecting capital after capital, weaving them into a decorative whole. This band of sculpture has a beauty and fitness akin to the best Florentine work, and equaled by no architectural carving that I know of in London..."⁴ Subsequently he writes, "...We have already noticed the felicity of the decoration on the frieze of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. As that for stone, so this for plaster is equally admirable: the design on the broad ribs of the ceiling of the drawing room is as fine and delicate as Florentine work. The upper wreath of the cupola over the staircase has all the forms and decorative placement of Luca della Robbia's bands of Italian fruits and flowers..."⁵

⁴ Horne, 1886b, p. 131. See appendix 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135. See appendix 2.

In part, Horne may have been motivated to choose Florence as the focal point for his collection and palazzo because of his fascination with, and concern for urban architectural integrity. As noted in the previous chapter, Horne's advocacy for the preservation of the buildings which contribute to London's architectural character is evidenced by his articles on Inigo Jones and James Gibbs. Florence's architecture was particularly threatened by the '*risanimento*' (1865 - 1895) and the modernizing effort made to update the city for its role as the capital of Italy.⁶ Horne's documentable interest in the preservation of Florentine architecture is evidenced by his joining of the Association for the Defense of Ancient Florence. Inspired by Vernon Lee's 1898 public letter addressed to the Florentine mayor published in the *London Times*,⁷ which decried the Florentine-commune sponsored proposal to destroy some of the most historically significant sites in the city as "self-mutilation" and "scandalous", Tommaso Corsini, a former Florentine mayor, formed the Association for the Defense of Ancient Florence in the same year. The Association's objective was to "become active when beautiful things are in danger" and "to arouse in the citizens an interest in, and a love for, the preservation and the custody of the old national memorials."⁸ In early 1899, Horne collected 11,000 signatures to protest the destruction of the city center, contributing to its ultimate success halting all demolition projects.⁹ The same year,

⁶ Florence became the second capital of Italy in 1865, but it only retained the title until 1871. For further reading see: Manetti and Morroli, 1989; Cresti, 1995, and Lasansky, 2004.

⁷ Lee, 1898, p. 7. The letter was subsequently translated into Italian and published in the "Bollettino della Associazione per la Difesa di Firenze Antica" (1889).

⁸ Lasansky, 2004, p. 34.

⁹ Carteggio Horne, Inv. 2600/38; segn. H.X.1.

Corsini sent Horne a letter, still conserved in his archive, which appointed him a “Corresponding Member” of the Association.¹⁰

Despite the destruction of portions of Florence's historic center and walls, enough of the city remained to evoke the sense of being the last island of Old Europe on the continent. The calm and historic sensation of the city must have been particularly heightened for Horne coming from London which was characterized by chaos, rapid population and industrial growth. Circa 1900, Florence had about 200,000 inhabitants, and still largely maintained the architectural character and feeling of a medieval city. There were no machines to be heard in the city, and automobiles were rare. Village farmers still used mules to carry goods to the urban markets, and horses remained the preferred means of transport, even pulling the *'tranvai'* (streetcars) that drove through the center. Florence was also home to a plethora of skilled *artigiani* who practiced their crafts in the traditional methods learned in the workshops that populated the *Oltrarno*. But, Florence, long accustomed to international visitors because it was considered an obligatory stop on the Grand Tour, also had some modern amenities and luxurious hotels which made it comfortable enough for expatriates. It was linked to national and international networks of communication, was illuminated by gas street lights, and even boasted a movie theater.¹¹ This unusual combination attracted an intellectual, artistic, and literary elite to Florence who comfortably sought inspiration and a relationship with the cultural center of the Italian Renaissance.¹²

¹⁰ Carteggio Horne. Inv. 26000/39; segn. H.X.2

¹¹ Roeck, 2014, p. 132.

¹² The rich and vibrant community has been previously discussed in scholarship and conferences and treated in various exhibitions. See: “The Lure of Italy”, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1992 and “Americans in Florence”, Foundation Palazzo Strozzi, 2012, “The Anglo-American Community in Florence”, Villa Balze International Conference, 1997. Each exhibition and study evidence the breadth and depth of the intellectuals and collectors who were fascinated by and studying various elements of Florence's history, artistic, and intellectual contributions.

Florence was also an ideal city for Horne to fulfill his vision because of the more accessible opportunities to purchase art objects than in London. In 1866, the State had forcibly confiscated the moveable and immovable assets of the clerical congregations and the conventual and monastic orders. Objects and places that were previously closed and well protected, often since their creation, were suddenly available to be viewed and sometimes purchased. Simultaneously, the Third War of Independence (1866) created a massive devaluation of the lira, and noble families in need of renewed financial stability sold works from their private collections. Although this situation impacted Florence long before Horne moved to the city, the combination — which was especially attractive for foreigners with a stronger monetary unit than the lira — still created an exciting opportunity for Horne. It was also a situation Horne knew well since he had an arrangement with Berenson since 1899 to advise foreign buyers who sought to create and augment their private collections with authentic masterpieces, and it presented an excellent opportunity to begin his own collection.¹³ Indeed, in an October 12, 1957 diary entry Berenson remembers that Horne spent “part of every day in sweeping through all the antique dealer’s shops in Florence.”¹⁴ The objects were also unprotected by Italian law and could easily exit the country. As Antonio Paolucci noted in his 2011 essay, “Italy — the country that had created the legal culture of tutelage with the 1604 decrees by the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, the 1773 provisions of the

¹³ Berenson wrote to Horne, “Florence, Jan. [sic] 9, 1899. Dear Horne, I agree to intrust to your care, for sale, various objects of art and I make the following terms. That I shall deliver the objects to you have in Florence. That you shall at your expense, send them to London, properly insrd [sic]. That you shall give me a script of each object as I deliver to you, in which script shall be stated the price the object has cost me, and the reserved price for sale. That we shall divide equally the difference between the piece of each object as stated in the script you deliver me for it, and the price for which you sell it, less Mr. Bessant ten-percent. Yours truly, Bernhard Berenson.” Carteggio Horne I.

There is a letter dated on the same day sent from Horne to Berenson which outlines the same commercial agreement. (Firenze, Villa I Tatti, Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance, Archivio Berenson, Herbert Horne.) For further discussion regarding their relationship see Strelhke, 1989/90.

¹⁴ Strelhke, 2015, p. 39.

Venetian Republic, and the papal edicts (the most famous being that of Camerlengo Bartolomeo Pacca in 1820) — found itself in a true legal vacuum that allowed it to be literally looted of its heritage. It would take the 1909 Rava-Rosadi Law (No. 364) and especially Law no. 1089 of 1939 by Mussolini's Minister Giuseppe Bottai before any legal limitations and appropriate tutelage procedures regarding the exportation of our heritage were implemented.”¹⁵ But, even when the objects were protected, the laws did not hinder Horne's private collecting because he had already moved permanently to Florence, first renting on the Lungarno Archibusieri and then buying his palazzo. In fact, by 1906 Horne had purchased so many objects that he noted to Roger Fry in a letter, “two of my three sitting rooms here are so bunged up with furniture and pictures as to be quite uninhabitable.”¹⁶

Finally, the city boasted significant archives which would have appealed to Horne who relied on archival research to substantiate his scholarship since his earliest work. Writing in memory of his friend Horne, Roger Fry noted, “...his published work represents probably only a tenth part of the material he accumulated. His passion for acquiring new facts about Florence in the quattrocento became so absorbing that he could not bear to waste precious hours of work in the archives on the labour of preparing his material for publication. It should be a pious task of future scholars to give to the world, in proper form, his stored-up wealth of knowledge, although it is certain that no one has quite the requisite familiarity with the period...”¹⁷ In his *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* articles Horne utilizes primary documents found in public and private British

¹⁵ Paolucci, 2011, p. 18. A selection of the most important laws can be found in Mariotti, 1892. For further discussion regarding the difficulty implementing the laws see Patrizia Cappellini, *Trading Old Masters in Florence 1890 - 1914*, pending publication with Brill Publishing.

¹⁶ Sutton, 1985a, p. 140.

¹⁷ Fry, 1916, p. 82.

libraries and archives to refute and clarify earlier writing, and substantiate his own position. His articles on the Italian Renaissance for *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* are defined by their use of archival discoveries which he interprets and expertly connects to his argument. Based on Horne's enthusiasm for Florentine Renaissance art and architecture and rigorous scholarship, it is logical that the formidable Florentine archive, which was then recently organized, afforded him the best opportunity to combine his interests.

The large and distinguished expatriate community in Florence present when Horne arrived indicates he was not alone in his interest in the unusual combination that Florence offered.¹⁸ However, he was unique in his grand vision of creating a study center which united connoisseurship and archival research to spur the creation of better contemporary art that was based on the model of the South Kensington Museum.

As discussed in detail in chapter two, the South Kensington Museum was founded as a pioneering attempt at vocational education.¹⁹ It believed that by providing "the most perfect illustrations and models" they could improve the designs of students and manufacturers creating decorative objects, and simultaneously prompt instruction, debate as well as refine the public's taste.²⁰ The museum also sought to raise the status of decorative art to combat the trend of students graduating from the state's design schools to become self-employed painters and sculptors instead of designing decorative objects for British manufacture.²¹ While the South Kensington

¹⁸ In 1904, the city counted art historian Bernard Berenson, collectors Hortense Mitchell Acton and her husband Harold Acton, the writer and intellectual Vernon Lee, Adolf von Hildebrand, Heinrich Brookenlin and Aby Warburg amongst its residents. The bibliography dedicated to the Anglo-American community is formidable. For further reading see Fantoni, 2000.

¹⁹ Baker and Richardson, 1997, p. 17.

²⁰ Bryant, 2011b, p. 25.

²¹ Baker and Richardson, 1997, p. 17.

Museum focused on influencing mass production, and Horne was dedicated to promoting quality artisan work, they are united by their fundamental concern with the beautiful design of objects and improving taste.

Yet despite the similarity of Horne's mission with the South Kensington Museum, there are three fundamental differences which should be addressed. The first is a question of scale; the latter two reflect Horne's formation. As was noted in chapter two, Horne did not have the financial – nor temporal – wherewithal to attempt to build a collection on the scale of the South Kensington Museum. However, his knowledge and appreciation of small, private, London museums would have assured Horne that he did not have to create a collection of equal size for it to be relevant, appreciated and useful. Horne's articles demonstrate a knowledge, use of and celebration of small private museums, which at the turn of the twentieth century were increasingly considered and protected as a valuable portion of the public's cultural patrimony. In his 1886 article on Inigo Jones Horne utilizes the Sir John Soane Museum's archive, and in 1900 he glowingly reviews the bequest of the Wallace Collection to the city of London.²² In 1833 the architect Sir John Soane bequeathed his collection of architectural fragments, paintings, sculpture, applied arts and a library which he carefully arranged in the house he designed and lived in with his family in central London to the country. Although we do not have specific information regarding Horne's opinion of the collection, the museum was an unusual addition to the city and the figure of Soane - as an architect and collector - must have resonated with Horne. In a 1900 article Horne wrote a glowing review of the Wallace Bequest, in which he praised it for both the quality of the individual paintings as well the house it was contained in. Horne writes, "[b]y the time

²² Horne, 1886b, p. 129, see appendix 2; Horne, 1900w, pp. 247 - 248, see appendix 77.

that this notice appears in print all London will have agreed with Lord Rosebery, that Lady Wallace's bequest is the greatest gift that has ever been given by an individual to our country; and half of London will have flocked to Hertford House to see this unparalleled piece of munificence for themselves." Horne continues, "...there is no doubt that the authorities in determining to transform Hertford House into a permanent museum for the Wallace collection did the very best thing in their power. In no building that was likely to be erected - another National Portrait Gallery, or even another Tate Gallery - would the contents of the collection have appeared to the same advantage."²³ There were also several Italian collections formed by individuals and families, like the Poldi Pezzoli Collection, Milan, that of Frederic Stibbert, and his friends' the Actons in Florence, which were viewed and appreciated like museums, some even when they were still in the hands of their owners. Created with exceptional resources according to deeply personal visions, the collections held precious works to be viewed in unique architectural circumstances which enriched the visitor's experience. Consequently, it can be deduced that Horne, recognizing that his collection and palazzo would have been smaller than the South Kensington Museum would have nonetheless been considered relevant contributions to the Florentine cultural landscape and bolstered by the palazzo which contained it. Indeed, in the same article Horne praises the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli as "delightful" because "pictures and furniture are seen as far as is possible in the surroundings for which they were intended."²⁴

This leaves us to consider two important differences between Horne's vision and the South Kensington Museum which can be traced to his intellectual formation. As previously es-

²³ Horne, 1900w, pp. 247 - 248. See appendix 77.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 247. See appendix 77.

tablished, Horne was focused on finely crafted objects which were created using Classical forms and ideas. At some time after 1903 Horne wrote about this idea clearly in his autobiographical notes:

...I hold that the best English Art (in contradistinction of our native, unsophisticated crafts) is essentially an illusive art in its nature, and at its most fortunate moments, has invariably [SIC] drawn its inspiration from Italy. This is evident in English letters from Chaucer to Rossetti; and in English Painting and Architecture from Dobson and Inigo Jones onwards, if not earlier, almost to the present day. And I am old fashioned enough to believe, that when English Art ceases to draw its inspiration from Italy, and through Italy, from the great tradition of Rome and Greece, it will deteriorate and lose its finer and more serious qualities.

On the other hand, the South Kensington Museum was amassing a comprehensive collection of art and design objects, in which a portion of the work were inspired by Classical forms and ideals.

Established and nurtured through donations, purchases and loans, the collection's extreme diversity challenged the early director, Henry Cole, and curator John Charles Robinson, who strove, sometimes vehemently disagreeing, to create cohesion through organizing work by material. Although working with much more limited funds, Horne's absolute control enabled him to create a collection united by a carefully developed philosophy and standard of craftsmanship which he repeatedly described as supreme in his articles.

Second, Horne considered the relationship between architecture and art as fundamentally important which was beyond the scope of the South Kensington Museum. Horne's primary and most rigorous training was as an architect, and he posited that architecture was the supreme art which informed the others and thus he could not overlook the connection between the building and objects in his own foundation. He first addressed the topic in his 1889 'preface' for *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*. Writing anonymously as the editor, Horne writes,

[m]ore than two years ago it was pointed out in this periodical, that it is not until we come to the study of Architecture that the conditions of the highest Art are unmistakably and irrefutably brought before us: for the greatest qualities of Art, as living expression of thought and emotion, are the result of the much discipline, upon which Vitruvius insists in the very first line of his treatise. Indeed the highest architecture is almost entirely dependent upon this discipline, the discipline of regarding the disposition of a work as a whole and relating, both as regards form and mass, every one part to every other part, mindful always of fitness and harmony, proportion, and symmetry...It is dominant in all Greek and Latin Art, in the work of a great age of the Italian Renaissance; and the final success of Sculpture and the Decorative arts is impossible without this architectural sense. ...In this connection lies the true unity of Art; and only under the influence of a unity of this kind, can the arts attain their perfection.²⁵

²⁵ Horne, 1889a, pp. 4 - 5. See appendix 13.

As Elam perceptively notes, "It is indeed the case that, despite the incomparable holdings of the V&A in Italian Renaissance sculpture and works of decorative art, there has never been a serious attempt there to address the all-important interrelationship between Renaissance architecture and the other arts of design or to recreate for the visitor any sense of a Renaissance interior..."²⁶

When the South Kensington Museum was opened, the collection was displayed in the historic Marlborough House designed by Sir Christopher Wren (1711). Although we have only a suggestion of how the earliest rooms at the Marlborough House were arranged, it is unlikely that a direct relationship between the objects and the architecture was created between the early-eighteenth-century building designed as a private home and the enormously diverse collection.²⁷ In 1857, the museum was folded into the newly opened South Kensington Museum, which was established on London's western edge in Brompton, in the first purpose-built structures to accommodate the constantly increasing collection and the expansive ideas of the museum's governing institution. When the South Kensington Museums were opened, they contained an enormous variety of smaller museums, and it would have been nearly impossible for the architect to consider creating a space which emphasized a relationship between the objects and the architecture.²⁸ Photographs and maps indicate that they were large cavernous buildings, with smaller more intimate environments created by partition walls and glass cases that were setup in

²⁶ Elam, 2009, p. 188.

²⁷ Baker writes, "[w]hile (to a large degree they were organized by material), we can assume, given Cole's introductory gallery of "Examples of False Principles in Decoration," that they also embraced teaching goals. Baker, 1997a, p. 25.

²⁸ Drew, 2014, p. 113.

the middle of the rooms that contained objects divided by material to allow for easy viewing and ambulation (fig. 45).²⁹

Although these smaller sections created a sense of intimacy and isolated the grouped objects to focus viewer's attention, no relationship between the objects and the architecture was attempted or created. Even within the smaller collection of the 'Art Museum', the extraordinary diversity of objects rendered it impossible to create a relationship between the objects and the architecture. In 1890, the British government decided to expand the museum, for which construction began in 1899 and required a decade to complete. The new galleries alternated long galleries and corridors with huge halls on either side of the main entrance which were devoted to European architecture and sculpture. Although the building designed by Aston Webb was more favorably received due to its architectural detail and use of stone, there was again no attempt to create a dialogue between the objects and the architecture. Instead, the vast spaces and plain walls served as neutral backdrops for the artfully arranged displays using the materials of the objects to indicate the relationships between them (fig. 46).

However, Horne's building and collection was unified by fundamental design ideals, and the Palazzo Corsi and the objects housed within its walls can be read as a visual argument for one of the guiding principles of Horne's interest in the unity of the arts. Both the building and the collection demonstrate novel uses of the fundamental concepts of Classical art and architec-

²⁹ Today the buildings are considered extraordinary testaments to Victorian London architecture, but upon completion their designs, construction and aesthetic were heavily criticized. The use of glass and iron garnered them the nickname 'Brompton's broilers' because they looked like steam boilers lying side by side, and they could not effectively regulate light and temperature. Burton, 1999, 48.

ture, a core tenet of Horne's beliefs, and the visual integration of these forms renders concrete the theories which Horne expounded throughout his career and used to guide his collection.³⁰

In absence of clear documentation, Palazzo Corsi has been attributed separately to two fifteenth-century architects, Giuliano da Sangallo and Simone del Pollaiuolo, called Il Cronaca. In a 1912 letter to Randall Davies, Horne attributed the building to Sangallo, but it is important to remember that his attribution is found in a letter, published posthumously, to a close friend and is not a substantiated published opinion.³¹ This attribution was most notably challenged by Adolfo Venturi in 1923 who attributed the building to Il Cronaca based on a comparison with Palazzo Guadagni.³² For the purposes of this study, the attribution of the palazzo is of little importance. Rather, it is worth noting that Horne's attribution of the small, elegant, albeit sober, Quattrocento building to Sangallo was based on stylistic analysis. Sangallo was famed for his 'archeological' study and accurate use of Ancient Roman art and architectural elements in novel combinations which met the needs of his contemporary patrons.³³ According to Rossi, Horne's

³⁰ It should be noted that this relationship would have been even stronger if Horne's original vision had been honored by Carlo Gamba and subsequent directors.

³¹ Davies, 1916, p. 11.

³² Horne's opinion was upheld by Gamba in his first two guides, and then changed to reflect Venturi's position which gave the building to Il Cronaca based on a comparison with the courtyard of palazzo Strozzi, the church of San Salvatore al Monte and Palazzo Guadagni. Venturi, 1923, p. 432. For a complete discussion regarding the attribution of the Palazzo Corsi-Horne see Mariano, 1997, pp. 17 - 20.

³³ Rossi writes, "Nel 1923 Adolfo Venturi, pubblicando il primo volume della sua *Architettura del Quattrocento*, escluse dalle opere di Giuliano il palagetto Horne e lo considero invece probabile opera di Simone del Pollaiuolo detto il Cronaca, l'architetto del cortile di palazzo Strozzi, della chiesa di San Salvatore al Monte e del palazzo Guadagni di piazza Santo Spirito. Il Venturi trovava affinità incontestabili tra il tipo di palazzo Guadagni (che peraltro e posteriore) e il palazzetto Horne, col suo robusto bugnato attorno alle finestre, a dentellatura come sulla facciata di San Salvatore, lungo gli angoli, più ampio alla base, graduato in spessore di piano in piano', pur rilevando che 'l'armonia e guasta, sulla facciata, dalla asimmetrica disposizione delle finestre ai lati della porta (dovuta invece al fatto che la parte destra corrisponde non ad ambienti, ma alla scale), e, sui fianchi del palazzo, dall'accostamento delle due finestre mediane'. Così il fregio a chiaroscuro (e non a graffito) che orna il cortile può ricordare l'esterno di palazzo Guadagni e i capitali del portico quelli dello stesso palazzo; mentre le 'proporzioni ampie, nella complicata e libera disposizione di aperture a centina o a squadro, nel vigore delle cornici lati' corrispondono ai caratteri del Cronaca." Rossi, 1966, pp. 12 - 13,

attribution “era basata non soltanto su molteplici analogie con elementi decorativi, in particolare del palazzo Gondi e della sacrestia di Santo Spirito, opere tutte sicure di Giuliano, ma anche sull’armonia delle proporzioni, la purezza delle sagome, la singolarità delle prospettive, e l’equilibrata distribuzione delle decorazione.”³⁴

The building has an *all’antica* style informed by the Classical building blocks and decorative elements used in a rational design to correspond to each other through visually proportional systems that define and exalt the structure (fig. 47). For example, the interior courtyard is punctuated by columns which evenly divide the space and guide the visitor through it. The *sgraffito* frieze in the central courtyard decoratively distinguishes the division of the floors, while the *pietra serena* pendants punctuate the walls at regular intervals to define and decorate the architecture. Additionally, the high quality of the design and craftsmanship of the pendants and capitals are exemplary arguments for the unity of the arts. Following tradition, the capitals are more detailed on the lower floors because of the public nature of the space which would have guaranteed more visitors and scrutiny, and the ground floor pendants and capitals have been noted by Gamba and Preyer for their delicate carving and highly individualized iconography. Like the other decorative elements, the pendants and capitals are used in service of the architecture, but Gamba described them as works of art in and of themselves even attributing them to Andrea Sansovino, writing that “questi del palazetto Corsi superano tutti gli altri per varietà e novità di concetti e per perfezione esecutiva.”³⁵ Consequently the elements demonstrably blur the lines between the long established, and yet limiting, departmentalization of the arts which Horne dis-

³⁴ Rossi, 1966, p. 13.

³⁵ Gamba, 1961, p. 7.

approved of. In this way, the building itself provides an argument for the unity of the arts in which Horne so strongly believed, and which would also have informed the selection and display of the objects in the collection.

The objects in Horne's collection range in provenance from the twelfth to nineteenth centuries and include fine and applied art, religious and secular objects, works intended for public and domestic use, finished objects and models, known masters' and anonymous artists work, all of which are made from distinct materials and on diverse scales with classical elements. As discussed in chapter two, the wide variety of objects directly contributed to the harmonious synthesis of those arts represented therein and brought them into dialog with one another within a stylistically appropriate structure. The dialog based on form, style and technique invited visitors to make comparisons and judgments, debating the relative place of the works within the overall collection to develop an awareness of taste and craftsmanship. By incorporating works based on the laws and principles Horne believed created good work, the traditional art of connoisseurship would teach visitors about good design and craftsmanship. Visitors were to learn how to appreciate and compare beautiful objects, and beautiful sets of objects, which Horne felt was important for everyone, but particularly artists and artisans, just as he recommended in his articles. Providing examples of excellent work would serve to teach visitors how to discern and appreciate exceptional work, as well as challenge preconceptions about the status of the decorative arts ultimately creating a demand and supply of better quality objects.

The knowledge and appreciation of these objects gleaned from visual analysis would have been reinforced through study, which Horne made available due to the inclusion of a library. Like the South Kensington Museum, Horne's foundation included an extensive library

which he intended remain open and available to the public.³⁶ Horne was a bibliophile and in his Autobiographical Memories he wrote, "The mere appearance of books has always possessed an attraction for me. Their decoration and still more the character and arrangement of their types are an endless source of delight and study. For me all *books that are books* are either books to be read or books to be looked at [...]. To turn over the pages of a finely printed book gives me as much pleasure as in it own was as to go through a portfolio of good drawings or a tray of early medals."³⁷ The library holds more than 5,000 books and is comprised of texts on art historical topics, classic English literature, catalogs, brochures and pamphlets, journals, sixty-five *incunaboli*, plus 144 manuscripts, Renaissance workshop ledgers, and miniature codexes.³⁸ His book collection and archival material complement the works in the collection to support and deepen the understanding of the insight gained through an experiential investigation.

The rich archival material is of particular note. Fully documented in Morrozzi's inventory, the variety of documents Horne purchased underlines his commitment to creating a study center. As previously noted, archival research had long been essential to Horne's studies and the purchase and inclusion of the material in his collection suggests his desire to encourage a methodological approach for future artists and scholars. In 1909 Horne paid 1,300 lire for one hundred volumes from the Università dei Tintori which document the inner workings of the organization from 1338 to the early nineteenth century. In the same year Horne paid 2,000 lire for two volumes of the copies of letters sent from Bianca Cappello which begin in 1586 and end less

³⁶ Since its inception in 1853, The South Kensington Museum included a library. Renamed The National Art Library in 1866, it was a key component of the pioneering museum. Bryant, 2011, p. 175.

³⁷ Memorie autobiografiche, Inv. 2600/31 segn. H.VI.4, p. 15.

³⁸ Procacci, 1988, p. IV.

than two weeks before her death and that of her husband Francesco de' Medici, the Grand Duke. Again in 1909, for 500 lire Horne purchased 7,000 archival sheets which belonged to Giovanni Baroni, who served as an archivist under the Grand Ducal government, the Diplomatic Archive as well as the State Archive in Florence.³⁹ The material is especially valuable for discussion of churches, convents, religious structures, hospitals, buildings, families, corporations, streets in Florence and the surrounding countryside.

The inclusion of these documents indicates Horne's interest in furnishing not only physical examples and manifestations of individual artists and workshops, but also the opportunity to understand their practices as well as their economic, historical and social context. Similarly, the manuscripts, *incunaboli*, and miniature codexes reflect Horne's interest in the history of books for their artistic value as well as their intellectual content. At a time when Horne's contemporaries like Berenson and Perkins were amassing photographic archives to easily and quickly facilitate their studies in connoisseurship and sales of works of art, Horne's collecting of primary documents further indicates his focus on facilitating a deeper and increasingly accurate understanding of the objects he believed should be inspiring contemporary art. His collection also includes notable seventeenth-century English literature which, based on the evidence of his early articles in *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, was important to him and is clearly related to his aforementioned collection of landscape drawings. Again, the visual scrutiny of works of art needed to be supported by further reading and understanding of primary documents and attested to the interconnectedness of the arts.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. IV - V

Horne's intentions were distinct from contemporary cultural institutions, and his foundation would have filled a void in Florence, much like the South Kensington Museum did in London. When the South Kensington Museum was created, it was widely recognized that English art and design industries commanded little respect in the world, and that the English museums and schools were not equipped to address the issue. The National Gallery, begun in 1824, was still a private preserve for picture connoisseurs, and it would not establish its reputation as an art museum until the third quarter of the century.⁴⁰ The British Museum had a decidedly academic orientation, limiting its collections beyond ancient art to objects of historical, scholarly or ethnographic interest.⁴¹ When Horne started collecting in Florence, there was a similar void in the cultural institutions and collections in the city. When Horne moved to Florence in 1904, the Uffizi Gallery, whose curation and care had already been under discussion since the second half of the Ottocento, was to be radically altered under the recently appointed Corrado Ricci.⁴² Ricci was faced with the significant task of securing the safety of the works of art, and reorganizing the institute to facilitate study and visits. When he was able, Ricci began to reorganize and augment the collection according to a rigorous selection of objects and a clear historical sequence with the goal of "ottenere una raccolta qualitativamente e storicamente completa che consentisse agli Uffizi di aspirare al ruolo della più importante galleria nazionale italiana, sul modello della Gemäldegalerie di Dresda."⁴³ Although it took many years, by ca. 1910 - 1915 photographs indicate that the galleries were organized with a limited number of works to facilitate easy, focused

⁴⁰ Contorti, 1997, p. 25

⁴¹ Baker and Richardson, 1997, p. 27.

⁴² Innocenti, 2003, p. 362.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 364.

viewing. The main focus of the gallery rooms rested entirely on paintings, and the sculpture and tapestries in the collection were allocated to the hallways, effectively negating the opportunity to cultivate an understanding of the relationship among the diverse mediums. In *Corrado Ricci e Gli Uffizi*, Perla Innocenti writes, “Ricci ebbe chiaro che lo sfollamento avrebbe conferito alle opere la dovuta dignità e avrebbe favorito la concentrazione analitica sull’opera d’arte, cercando tuttavia di trovare un equilibrio nella selezione delle opere, poiché dalla sovrapposizione di dipinti in più file derivava la rappresentatività stessa della collezione.”⁴⁴ The Accademia in Florence, although committed to the instruction of artists and the use of model works, focused exclusively on painting, sculpture, architecture and ‘Grottesco’ which was later changed to ornament and intaglio on copper. It neglected to include some of the more minor arts like book-binding, woodwork, ceramics and metalwork that Horne championed, practiced and represented in his collection. In Florence, the most similar institution was the Bargello, which had opened in 1865 in the “forma definitiva di museo della scultura e delle arti decorative (o congeneri” come si definivano allora), dal Medioevo alla fine del Rinascimento.”⁴⁵ But again, there was no dialogue created between all the arts because painting was not included in the collection, and the Medieval building had altered significantly since its thirteenth-century creation. Consequently, Horne’s museum would have distinguished itself from other Florentine institutions by addressing artists, artisans and a lay audience though the display of multimedia objects in a building in which they were formally connected.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 339.

⁴⁵ Strozzi, 2004, p. 29.

Returning the palazzo as closely as possible to its authentic Florentine Quattrocento state was fundamental to this objective, as it would have facilitated an understanding of the relationship between the objects and the architecture, and served as an example of best practices in restoring a historic building in the city. Horne's intention to do so was made clear by his research. Horne researched the Palazzo when it belonged to the Alberti who owned the palazzo in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and also later when it was purchased by members of the Corsi family. Horne assiduously researched the question of the Alberti at the site, assembling documents of many kinds, using tax records and following leads provided by the *Carte Dei* in the Archivio di Stato. Horne also found the 1490 court document from the *Podestà* authorizing transfer of what was then called the "Palagetto degli Alberti" to Simone and Luigi Corsi, and he also followed the building in the Corsi tax records until 1532. Although Horne did some research on Luigi Corsi, in comparison to his extensive research on the Alberti family, his interest was limited. Brenda Preyer writes, "[h]e always referred to the rebuilding as 'c. 1490,' and he never voiced an opinion as to whether it was done by the Alberti or by the Corsi.⁴⁶ ...Horne's point of reference for the restoration was the 'original' palace of 'c. 1490', the elements of which he sought to understand and usually to reconstruct; even though he tried to relate his restoration to just one period in the life of the palace, we shall see that he was attentive to both earlier construction that had been incorporated into the Corsi Palace, and to the dates of later changes and the reasons for them."⁴⁷ It was Horne's ability as an architect and interest in restoration which enabled him to restore Palazzo Corsi to its ideal Quattrocento state. Although the building had

⁴⁶ Preyer's research indicates that the transformation of the Palazzo Corsi-Horne into its present form was carried out by the Corsi between about 1495 and 1502. Preyer, 1993, pp. 40 - 44.

⁴⁷ Preyer, 2000, pp. 238 - 239.

been little discussed in literature on Florentine architecture, Horne systematically studied the layout of the rooms and spaces of the building, as well as its infrastructure - fireplaces and sinks - to gain a complete understanding of the Palazzo.⁴⁸ The palazzo is arguably the best example in the city of a noble home from the period. Horne's meticulous restoration journal, which has been amply discussed by Brenda Preyer in *Il Palazzo Corsi-Horne*, documents how Horne restored the palazzo beginning with the top floor to secure the structural integrity of the building, while making case-by-case decisions regarding how best to restore the building's structure, plan, decorative, and architectural elements to its late-Quattrocento construction. Horne exposed and cleaned the original ceilings, and removed the modern partitions in rooms to restore them to their original dimensions.⁴⁹ When possible, he purchased original decorative elements, like the Corsi family stem from Elia Volpi, and when he purchased the most period appropriate elements possible, like the *intarsia* doors which he purchased from another property and had them sized to fit, terracotta floor tiles which he cleaned and fit into the space, and he utilized the images of the wooden shutters painted on the outside of the building to make new ones for the main sala which faced Via de' Benci.⁵⁰

Horne's sensitivity to the historical construction and value of his palazzo is further evidenced in the drawings that illustrate his restoration journal. Preyer concludes that Horne's jour-

⁴⁸ There is a brief mention of Palazzo Corsi in the eleven volume *Die Architektur der Renaissance in Toscana* Carl von Stegmann and Heinrich von Geymuller (München F. Bruckmann) 1885 - 1908.

⁴⁹ In his restoration journal Horne writes, "14th Feb. Tuesday began work. Found in excellent condition, under the "stoja", the "soffitto" of the large "sala" on second floor, which had been divided up into an entrance passage & three small rooms. About 1/3 of this "soffitto", towards the Corso de' Tintori, had never been white-washed; & the wood-work was fresh & crisp as if made yesterday. Found, also, the "gola" of the "camino" & and the remains of the "acquaio". 15th Feb. Continued clearly great "sala", removing modern partition-walls, etc. Notice that all the steps to the windows had been renewed during the Fossi restoration, in the 19th cent." Preyer, 1993, p. 93.

⁵⁰ Preyer, 1993, p. 96.

nal is “an extraordinary document because of the range of issues he covered, the logic with which he approached problems, and the raw data presented about this one palace, which can serve as a point of reference for other buildings. The orderly exposition, the crafted language, and the numerous sketches lead one to imagine that Horne expected others to read the Journal, and to learn from it.”⁵¹ For example, there are three small, precisely measured and labeled drawings on a single sheet (dated September 27 and 28, 1911) which document his findings on the first floor between the large front room and the smaller room that faces Corso dei Tintori (fig. 48). Combined, they show how Horne's understanding of materials and construction helped him to identify which portions of the space dated to the original construction, and which to the later interventions. He also notes how the different phases impacted the building structurally and aesthetically. In his elevation of the wall in the “salone” he notes the placement of the original relief arch which was hidden by “in tonaco” [SIC], noting that the space was empty, and outlines the “apparent height of the cornice of the original acquaio”, but that the “recess of the original ‘acquaio’ [was] now filled up by solid masonry apparently of the 18th century.”⁵² His work making the fireplaces functional, cleaning out flutes, and putting in fireproof bases and backs, and his search to buy back the missing stone elements reveal his careful study and sympathy for both the aesthetic and functional aspects of the project. Horne's work resulted in a stylistically and historically coherent interior.

Horne was also careful regarding the building's exterior appearance and was sensitive to how it was naturally reabsorbed into the urban landscape. According to Horne's notes, when re-

⁵¹ Preyer, 2000, p. 248.

⁵² Preyer, 1993, p. 319.

searching his newly purchased building he studied the census of Florentine houses of 1561. It lists properties one next to another along the sides of every street in the city, and Horne copied out the entries for the houses on his own block and in the western portion of the block to the north. He plotted them out in drawing, which produced a clear picture of the housing all around the palace and revealing his knowledge of how his building was incorporated into those around him.⁵³ Through careful observation and study he was also able to accurately restore the building's exterior decoration. The four windows farthest from the corner on the upper floors of the facade on Via de'Benci had always been walled up because they could not be coordinated with the internal staircase, as were those on the Corso dei Tintori because one large window was apparently considered sufficient to light the moderately sized rooms next to the main rooms. The area within the window frames had been decorated as *finestre finte*, and Horne made careful drawings of the traces of the frescoed design in each (fig. 49), and he then repainted them accordingly (fig. 50).⁵⁴

Horne's dedication to restoring his palazzo to its late Quattrocento design and residing in a separate space, which distinguished him from other Anglo-Americans in Florence who often intervened in their architectural property in markedly personal ways.⁵⁵ Although Horne's contemporaries, like Acton, Berenson and Loeser, were arguably more sober in their restructuring of their Florentine residences in comparison to John Temple Leader, who restructured Villa Vincigliata, Fiesole, to reflect his Gothic dream, their homes were nevertheless romanticized ver-

⁵³ Preyer, 2000, p. 248.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 242.

⁵⁵ It should also be noted that Horne's careful restoration was also distinct from the restoration of the Palazzo dell'Arte di Lana (1905), La Casa di Dante (1910) which were characterized by a desire to recall their past, but was not steeped in research to accurately recreate the historical structures.

sions of the Renaissance which enabled them to live in harmony with the *genius loci* “per fondere sensazioni e immaginazione e scoprire l’anima più segreta del luogo nella sua condensazione storica e culturale.”⁵⁶

Charles Loeser, Arthur and Hortensia Acton, Bernard and Mary Berenson, as well as Frederick Stibbert all relied on architects and designers to convert their Florentine palazzi into comfortable homes. Loeser, the Actons, and the Berensons hired the British architect and garden designer Cecil Ross Pinsent to turn their historic buildings into homes to better and beautifully accommodate their contemporary lives and pursuits. Loeser hired Pinsent in 1907 to incorporate a thirteenth century tower into his home, but radically altered the remainder of the structure for his family’s daily lives and the private concerts that they regularly held.

Berenson purchased Villa I Tatti in 1905, and in 1909 radically enlarged the house and gardens under the supervision Pinsent with the assistance of Geoffrey Scott. Their plans included the construction of a monumental library to hold the Berensons’ growing collection of books and photographs. They hired the painter Rene Piot to fresco the lunettes of the library with scenes from Virgil’s *Georgics*. In 1911 and 1915, they added two more libraries; in the mid-1920s two more small rooms; and in 1948 further changes were made to provide room and unite the spaces based on the designs of Pinsent. Pinsent also designed the “French Library” on the ground floor.⁵⁷ Also employing Pinsent, the Actons purchased Villa Pyron in 1903 which was originally constructed in the fourteenth century, creating a house and garden, inspired by the original design, but altered to meet their contemporary needs. In fact, both the house and garden,

⁵⁶ Lamberini, 2000, p. 127.

⁵⁷ <http://itatti.harvard.edu/online-exhibitions> (Accessed June 15, 2016).

for which it is much famed, are characterized by original elements mixed with contemporary fashion to illustrate the popular eclectic taste of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Hiring Giovanni Poggi - who would later be famed for his work redesigning the city for its role as capital of Italy - Stibbert dramatically changed the property his mother purchased which "...era un'abitazione suburbana di impianto settecentesco a due piani, non grande, dalle forme compatte, costituita da due enfilade di stanze che correvano parallele, affacciate alternativamente una sul giardino ed una altra sulla strada, fin quando non s'incontravano nei due grandi saloni rispettivamente del piano terra e del primo piano" to accommodate his life and collection in the villa.⁵⁸ Stibbert's changes continued over the next decades to accommodate his collection and to provide a place for himself and ease everyday life in the complex. Eventually, with the purchase of a second building and additional property which were united with the original house, the primary structure became nearly unrecognizable. When he was finished, the palazzo had sixty-three exhibition spaces as well as private living space and servants quarters.⁵⁹

Horne's palazzo is also distinguished by its location in the historic center of the city. He purposefully sought an architecturally important building which is strategically located on the corner of Via de'Benci and Corso dei Tintori. This choice provides high visibility and nearly immediate connection to Ponte alle Grazie which crosses the Arno River to the neighborhood of San Niccolò – famed for its artisans – making it easy for them to consult his collection in close proximity to their own studios. The Palazzo is also in a prominent position close to tourist attractions. It is across the Arno from the remnants of the Trecento city walls in the neighborhood

⁵⁸ Becattini, 2014, p. 9.

⁵⁹ Di Marco, 2008, p. 106.

of Santa Croce, an area made famous by the Franciscan church of the same name which served as the site of great civic and artistic events. The Palazzo is also within walking distance to other major cultural and artistic institutions which would have been routinely visited by tourists, including the Uffizi, the Bargello, the Accademia, Palazzo Vecchio, and the Church of Santa Croce. This is also the primary route from the historical centre to Piazzale Michelangelo which would have been recently finished. Finally, his purchase and restoration of the Palazzo saved a building in the historic center which he had actively sought to protect as part of his work with the Association for the Defense of Ancient Florence.

The location of Horne's building in the historic center strongly contrasts with his contemporaries Stibbert, Berenson, Loeser and Acton, whose homes in harder to access country settings ensured idyllic privacy and space.⁶⁰ Indeed, although some Anglo-Americans chose to rent apartments in the city center, the vast majority opted for country homes which Daniela Lamberini defined as "un curioso ibrido fra il purismo neo-quattrocentista e un rinascimento stereotipato e/o tardo-manierista...con interventi puntuali, quanto discreti ed oculati, con aggiunte, ricostruzioni e abbellimenti, destinati questi ultimi soprattutto ai giardini, rigorosamente ridisegnati all'italiana pur nella massiccia intrusione di essenze, soprattutto floreali, legate al gusto inglese), allo scopo di ripristinare nelle forme architettoniche quello stile d'elezione che il paesaggio circostante sembra, per miracolo, non aver mai perduto."⁶¹ Although there has been an increased effort to scientifically quantify the number of Anglo-Americans in Florence at the turn of the century, the project is still on-going. But Daniela Lamberini's 2000 analysis, based on published

⁶⁰ For the purpose of this chapter, I am only comparing Horne to fellow Anglo-American immigrants, but there are other Florentines and Italians which could be included in the comparison like Stefano Bardini.

⁶¹ Lamberini, 2000, p. 128.

lists in English language publications, of Anglo-Americans living in Florence remains instructive. She writes that based on the 525 residents listed in "The Florence Directory" on January 10, 1909 (the year before Horne purchased his property), three percent lived in hotels (*pensioni*), 1.10 percent in prestigious palazzi and twenty-four percent lived in villas in the surrounding hillsides. In 1913, based on 434 residents, thirty-two percent lived in villas, 2.5 percent in hotels or *pensioni* and one and one tenth percent in prestigious buildings.⁶² Indeed, Berenson's Villa I Tatti is outside of Florence. He is very specific in his writing on the 'Future of I Tatti' that the seclusion created by the country setting is vitally important to creating an environment conducive to study.⁶³ Loeser's Villa Gattaia was nestled off the hill on Viuzzo di Gattaia near San Miniato, a neighborhood which was meagerly populated at the time. The Acton's gated property on Via Bolognese is beyond the last set of city walls, and the main house is even set back a considerable distance from the road. In 1849, when Giulia Stibbert purchased the property in Montughi in the parrocchia of San Martino, which Frederick would later assume, it was technically a suburb of Florence. Its out-of-the-way location and ample land was probably attractive to Frederick's mother at the time of purchase due to the privacy, quiet, and space it provided for raising her family.

Horne's collection, although rooted in his personal interests in artisan objects and art history, was not amassed for private enjoyment as were those of other private collectors. His building, like his collection, was not amassed or personal enjoyment. As previously discussed, Horne purchased the palazzo in 1911 and worked on it until 1916 with a team of Italian artisans "elimi-

⁶² Ibid., p. 138.

⁶³ Due to the recent initiative to study the history of Villa I Tatti, the Harvard University Center of the Study of the Italian Renaissance, this document is now available in full online: <http://itatti.harvard.edu/future-i-tatti>

nando tutti quei tramezzi, quelle superfetazioni e quelle tamponature effettuate nel corso dei secoli, per ridare leggibilità alla costruzione rinascimentale e dimostrando, da architetto quale era, un rigore critico e storico nell'operare di grande valenza e tale da non concedere nulla alle facili e fantasiose ricostruzioni false e fuorvianti del "ripristino" di quegli anni."⁶⁴ The critical and architectural rigor which marks Horne's restoration indicates his commitment to restoring the building as authentically as possible to its Quattrocento state, and that he was not focused on his contemporary personal needs during the work on the building that would also serve as his home. Procacci writes, "...quando finalmente nel giugno del 1914, portati a termine i lavori più importanti di restauro del suo palagetto, si decise ad andarvi a vivere, si accontento di ricavare delle soffitte per sua abitazione una modesta camera — quella stessa nella quale poi morì — perché non voleva togliere spazio alle opere d'arte da esporre e alla biblioteca..."⁶⁵ In fact, he reserved the first two stories of his fifteenth-century building for the objects, and the only space in which Horne did not entirely respect the Quattrocento construction of the building was the attic in which he created modest living quarters for himself. Horne, who only lived in his property six months before his death, had created a bedroom and bathroom behind the terrace on the top floor.⁶⁶ He installed stoves in both rooms, and painted the rooms by 1915. In letters written after his death, his sister referred to a clavichord and a harpsichord as well as Empire furniture which belonged to their mother and which had probably been left by her in Horne's quarters.⁶⁷ He also

⁶⁴ Paolini, 2002, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Morozzi, 1988, p. VI.

⁶⁶ There are references to the bedroom, and to the toilet and bath-room in Horne's restoration journal in Preyer, 1993, pp. 115, 125, 170.

⁶⁷ Carteggio Poggi, lettera H, 104 - 120; 20-12-1904/27-11-1917.

had arranged for his servant, Santina Messeri, and her two sons to live in the wing south of the court, where the kitchens and service area had been. Although he constructed one major element, the spiral staircase which connected the court with the kitchen and with the mezzanines above and below, it was so tastefully chosen and assumed so seamlessly that later critics believed that it was an original element. Although the subsequent changes made to this space to accommodate the building's later custodian renders it nearly impossible to understand the space which Horne briefly occupied, its top floor location and small size make it the least interesting and accommodating portion of the building for the general public and display of objects.⁶⁸

Horne's separate living arrangements from the main floors and collection suggests that Horne was collecting with a distinct, measured future purpose. The unusual nature of his choice is revealed through comparing him, again, with his friends and fellow collectors. Loeser, the Actons, the Berensons' and Frederick Stibbert amassed noteworthy collections which they used to decorate their private homes. Loeser's collection was comprised of more than 1,000 objects including Renaissance works, prints, drawings and furniture, as well as contemporary paintings that were displayed in his Florentine home in Villa Gattaia, near San Miniato al Monte and provided a highly curated backdrop for his frequent social gatherings and private concerts.⁶⁹ Berenson's collection, which consists of ca. 250 objects of both Asian and Western European art of diverse mediums, sizes, and functions was dispersed throughout his home, largely chosen to create a comfortable living environment. In 1945, Berenson wrote, "[t]hese art objects were not acquired first and foremost with an eye to making a collection, but almost exclusively to adorn my

⁶⁸ I would like thank the current residents of the apartment for their generous tour of the space.

⁶⁹ For a full discussion see Bardazzi, 2007.

abode. When that was completed some thirty years ago I stopped buying.”⁷⁰ Similarly, the Acton collection of more than 5,000 pieces, ranging in date from the Etruscan period to the twentieth century, varies greatly in size and medium and was displayed in their enormous refurbished villa. The Acton's rich photographic archive indicates that their collection served a decorative purpose for the villa, which was the primary residence in which they raised their family and lavishly entertained an international intellectual and social elite.⁷¹ Stibbert's collection adorned the abode that he shared with his mother and subsequently lived in alone. In his lifetime, some rooms were entirely dominated by his collection, like the entrance which houses his life-sized recreation of a calvary scene, but there were also other rooms, like his mother's bedroom and sitting room, in which objects and furniture were incorporated into the space and used on a daily basis. Stibbert's intimate interaction with his objects can also be evidenced by his dressing up in the textiles and clothing he collected, being photographed in them alone, with friends and family, and even his beloved horses.⁷² Consequently, although Stibbert offered tours of his home to select guests as if it were a museum,⁷³ he only referred to the residence as a museum for the first time in his will.⁷⁴

Davies' biographical essay on Horne tells us his career as hunter of objects and collector began in his youth. Horne's first acquisition which was included in his collection was a fragment

⁷⁰ <http://itatti.harvard.edu/art-collection>. Accessed September 1, 2017.

⁷¹ <http://lapietra.nyu.edu/section/collection/> Accessed September 1, 2017.

⁷² For several photos and discussion of Stibbert clad in diverse dress see Di Marco, 2008, 45 - 67.

⁷³ This information comes from a conversation held with the current vice-director of the Stibbert Museum, Simona Di Marco. I would like to thank her for her generous time discussing the Stibbert Museum and access to the archive.

⁷⁴ Archivio Stibbert, Ultimo mio testamento, Frederick Stibbert di Villa Stibbert a Montughi - Firenze - 28 Maggio 1905, redatto dal Notaro Fiordaliso Albizi.

of a cartoon by Giulio Romano for the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican purchased in 1890, and from that date until his death in 1916 he amassed over 5,000 pieces. He was so committed to growing his collection that many have commented that Horne lived a very frugal and almost parsimonious life, preferring that the vast majority of his resources were used for his collection. Ugo Procacci writes, "Viveva del resto in maniera molto semplice e frugale, perché diceva di voler usare il suo denaro, non per cose futili, ma per l'acquisto di opere d'arte; abitava perciò in un modesto alloggio nel lungarno degli Archibusieri, e in una modestissima trattoria del Via dei Neri consumava i suoi pasti..." Additionally, even at the very end of his life Horne continued to collect works. Rossi writes, "Già sul letto di morte volle acquistare *la Santa Caterina* del Signorelli."⁷⁵ The Signorelli piece, which most critics have agreed is a fragment from a *predella* created during the artist's mature period, ca. 1450 - 1523 depicts Saint Catherine sitting on the instrument of her martyrdom, reading a book in a mountain landscape.⁷⁶ Signorelli's fame for his excellent draughtsmanship, perspective, and daring foreshortening, as well as the studied anatomy of his figures makes him an important addition to Horne's collection. Similarly, Horne purchased a sixteenth-century walnut Tuscan *cassapanca* on January 19, 1916 "pochi mesi prima di morire - da Francesco Bordoni (lo stesso col quale tre anni prima era stata conclusa la trattativa per l'armadio inventariato con il n. 10) per la somma non indifferente di 650 lire." The *cassapanca*, which is raised on a small platform, with carved arm rests and back was an excellent addition to Horne's collection of *cassoni* (fig 51). It was the only one he purchased with a back and platform, and it is especially distinguished by the note it contains, written in fifteenth-centu-

⁷⁵ Rossi, 1966, p. 10.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

ry script, and glued to the inside. The paper reads: “Io Domenico Pacia [...] questo forziere compagno ad altro forziere [...] di darlo per mio riconoscimento e regalo, ad Angela [?] mia figlia di secondo letto, e non altrimenti sia dato, in conto di [...], così intendo, e vollo, et in fede 30 sett. [...]”⁷⁷ The inscription serves to contextualize the *cassapanca* within the social and cultural practices of commissioning furniture in celebration of marriage in the fifteenth century, and also reflects Horne's interest in the historical, as well artistic, value of an object which is often reflected in his scholarship.

Horne also worked on his palazzo and updated the restoration journal until the very end of his life. Preyer writes, “Quantunque il Diario termini con riferimenti ai lavori nel giugno 1914, le fatture conservate da Horne rivelano che questi erano proseguiti addirittura fino alla primavera del 1916 (egli morì in aprile)...” which suggests a desire to leave the project as complete as possible for posterity.⁷⁸

Finally, Horne's focus on the future is evidenced by the fact that he specifically left everything to the State, asking for the building to be opened as a public study center.⁷⁹ In Horne's final testament, written days before his death, he dedicates the first paragraph to the dispersal of his London property and assets to his two surviving siblings, Beatrice Ethel Horne, with whom he collaborated on various projects, and Horace Louis Horne, for whom he bound drawings and wrote to frequently. Leaving property to his siblings indicates that he did have family and friends to whom he left property and assets to, but that he chose to leave the palazzo and col-

⁷⁷ Paolini, 2002, pp. 90 - 91.

⁷⁸ Preyer, 1993, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Archivio Notarile Distrettuale, Sovraintendenza di Firenze. See Appendix 1 for a copy and transcription of Horne's will.

lection elsewhere. The remainder of the document discusses his Italian property, objects and assets which he specifically leaves to the Italian State to be used for the benefit of study, indicating that the entity should be called Foundation Horne. Horne writes, "Per quanto possiedo in Italia lascio il mio palazzo in Via de'Benci angolo Corso dei Tintori con tutto quanto in esso si contiene miei oggetti d'arte, mobili, disegni, biblioteca, nulla escluso o eccetto allo Stato Italiano con espressa condizione che lo Stato e tutte le cose che vi si contengono siano osservati a beneficio degli studi e esse possibile vengono cresciute le raccolte."⁸⁰ The specific bequeathment and language attests to Horne's explicit desire that his palazzo and objects were left open to the public for the purpose of study, with the specific intention of being viewed as a cohesive unit by the public.

The unusual nature of Horne's decision to leave his entire collection for public fruition can be determined, again, through a comparison with his closest peers in Florence. The Acton collection, which was carefully amassed over a lifetime, was bequeathed to their only surviving son Harold Acton, indicating it was a private collection which they intended would remain private, only opening to a select public when Harold bequeathed it to New York University upon his death in 1994. Charles Loeser, a long time friend and buying companion of Horne's, dispersed his collection upon his 1928 death among several distinct institutions and his daughter, which suggests that while Loeser believed the objects in his collection were didactic tools, he did not intend them to remain as a single entity, and did not include the donation of a library.⁸¹ Berenson left his property, including his collection and an impressive library of books and photographs to

⁸⁰ Horne's will is still held in the Archivio Notarile Distrettuale, Sovraintendenza, Florence. See appendix.

⁸¹ Loeser's dispersal of his works to very different cultural and intellectual entities suggests his belief that his collection could enrich and complement others, but that it was a highly personal collection in his lifetime.

his alma mater, Harvard University. In his 1956 letter, "On the Future of I Tatti", Berenson is very specific about the didactic function of his donation, but it was also destined for a very limited audience of advanced scholars to ensure the integrity of his mission.

The last phase of Horne's career was dedicated to the realization of an ambitious and original dream. Guided by his now well-developed intellectual beliefs, and inspired by the example of the South Kensington Museum in London, Horne set out to create a study center which furnished artists and artisans with models of works of art and design. There are no direct parallels for Horne's vision, least of all in Florence where his contemporaries in the Anglo-Saxon community were engaged in similar activities but with demonstrably different motivations. While his beliefs and intentions are clearly expressed in multiple forms, both implicit and explicit, they are nevertheless notably personal to his own perspective. It is perhaps for this reason that, when Horne died before completing his project, it was curated radically differently than his intellectual and artistic career suggested was his intention – a state of affairs that began with the interpretation and display of the collection by its first curator, Carlo Gamba, and which has continued to the present day.

Horne died before he could complete the study center he envisioned, and subsequent directors put their own interpretation and stamp on his collection and palazzo. Far from the study center that Horne imagined, his donation morphed into an institute for viewing objects, evident even in its name, Museo Horne, which used display methods popularized by William von Bode at the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. The museum served to bolster and celebrate Florence's Renaissance past, by filling the void of a Renaissance home available to the public which was left by the closing of Palazzo Davanzati in 1921. The transformation largely happened through the writing and curation of the space by its first director, Count Carlo Gamba Ghiselli (1870 - 1965). Subsequent directors did little to question Gamba's legacy.

Carlo Gamba Ghiselli's enduring interpretation

Horne died in 1916 and his donation, along with that of the Baron Giorgio Franchetti to Venice, was publicly announced shortly thereafter in the *Marzocco*. As the first director for his foundation, Horne chose his friend and intellectual cohort, Carlo Gamba. Gamba was born in Florence on December 25, 1870 to Counts Paolo and Eufrosine Damiani Caselli. Although little is known of his early education, probably undertaken in Ravenna, it seems Gamba began developing his connoisseurship skills at an early age. As previously noted by Rosella Todros in her biography of Gamba, his mother, who was described as a fine connoisseur with a refined sense of beauty in Giovanni Gabardi's *Firenze Elegante* (1886), seems to have been especially influential on Gamba's life choices. She took him on his first trips throughout Italy and abroad to see "lavori nascosti e di chiese sperdute", and he donated a tender Madonna and child Quattrocento

relief sculpture to the Horne Foundation in her memory.¹ Although a direct link between Gamba and the highly influential developer of a method of connoisseurship Giovanni Morrelli is assumed, it is not documented. However, Gamba does assert in his 1926 guide that Enrico Costa, a student of Morelli, was his teacher, thus inserting Gamba into the group of Florentine connoisseurs in the second half of the Ottocento.²

Although Horne and Gamba's friendship is not well documented, Gamba refers to Horne as his 'friend' in his articles, and letters from Gamba to Corrado Ricci indicate that Gamba enjoyed trips to Lucca and its environs with Horne, Charles Loeser and Arthur Acton. The commonalities in their careers and the strong parallels in their publications and intellectual trajectories made Gamba a logical choice for Horne. The publications of both men indicate an interest in the development of individual artists' style as well as their place within the canon, and Gamba was explicit about his indebtedness to Horne. In Gamba's publication on Botticelli, he acknowledges Horne's immense contribution to the study of the artist, and notes how discoveries since its publication have impacted the understanding of the artist, disclosing Horne's unrealized intention to write a second volume. Utilizing a similar methodology to Horne, Gamba discusses the placement of recently discovered works in Botticelli's *oeuvre*. Gamba also used a similar methodological approach in his famed writing on Pontormo. In his 1921 book on Pontormo, Gamba writes a brief biography of the artist's personal life, and subsequently focuses on the development of his intensely unique style and the psychological portrayal of his figures. Noting

¹ Todros, 1989, p. 10.

² In Gamba's discussion of "Sala C" on the ground floor he writes that later two panels by Niccolo Giolfino (Verona, 1476 - 1555) will be included. Gamba writes, "Appartenevano a Enrico Costa, uno dei più fini intenditori d'arte tra i seguaci del Morelli, che però non ha lasciato alcuna opera scritta. Donata da lui a Carlo Gamba suo affezionato discepolo, e da questi legati in sua memoria alla Fondazione Horne." Gamba, 1926, p. 9.

that many of Pontormo's works were lost, he uses the extant drawings to discuss the influence of his early master Andrea del Sarto and later Michelangelo while emphasizing the importance of Pontormo's original contribution.³ Together, the writings of Horne and Gamba not only made fundamentally important contributions to our understanding of the artists they addressed; they also began to rethink, challenge and expand the definition of a Renaissance artist.

Although Gamba, like Horne, had a clear predilection for Florentine painters, his scholarship indicates a strong interest in other artists, as well as a variety of mediums. This can be evidenced by the disparate topics that he wrote on for the *Rassegna d'arte* starting in 1903, the *Rivista d'arte*, *L'arte* starting in 1904 and the *Marzocco* starting in 1909 which includes articles on Botticelli, Pontormo, Leonardo and Venetian artists. Additionally, his 1956 donation of more than 15,000 images of *figurine di moda* to the Marucelliana Library indicates his interest in prints and fashion. Although the collection of carefully illustrated prints, which largely derive from French publications and illustrate fashionable dress, was amassed by his mother, his *en bloc* donation indicates he understood the value of the social and cultural information they provided regarding the cultivation and projection of self from the early 1800s to the early 1900s.⁴

Gamba's interest in curation, display, and Florentine museums also made him a logical choice for director since Horne left his collection uninstalled. Starting around 1890 Gamba is consistently documented in Florence, assisting the most dynamic art historical communities and

³ Although the essay provides an excellent overview of Pontormo's *oeuvre*, his essay on the artist offers a more interesting meditation on the artist's place in the development of art history. Gamba's careful analysis serves to remove Pontormo's label as a mannerist (attached by Vasari), and inserts him as a Renaissance artist. Gamba, 1921, pp. 1 - 16.

⁴ According to Enrico Giannini, the figures also "copre un periodo tra i più interessanti per quanto riguarda l'evoluzione delle tecniche di riproduzione dell'immagine. In questo arco di tempo nascono nuovi procedimenti come la litografia e si sperimentano le prime applicazioni della fotografia nella preparazione delle matrici da stampa." This suggests that the figures value also derived from the way in which they were printed and depicted indicating a further affinity with Horne's interests and value of all of arts. Giannini, 1989 p. 57.

cultural institutions in the curation of permanent galleries and significant temporary exhibitions. In 1903 he joined Corrado Ricci, then recently appointed to the directorship of the Uffizi Gallery, as part of a dedicated group of art historians that spent three years reorganizing the galleries and purchasing important pieces for the collection.⁵

In 1911, Gamba worked alongside Ugo Ojetti to curate the monumental exhibition “la Mostra del Ritratto Italiano 1600 - 1861” held in Palazzo Vecchio. Collected from private and public collections in Italy and throughout Europe, 775 portraits from more than 300 artists were distributed in the thirty rooms that comprise the apartments of Cosimo I, Leo X, Elenor of Toledo and the Prior in Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 52). Following in the footsteps of similar exhibits in France and England, the portraits strategically celebrated Italian history through its citizens, through the overlooked genre of portrait painting. As justly observed in *Dietro le Mostre: Allestimenti Fiorentini dei Primi del Novecento*, it was also an opportunity to “rivalutare secoli in cui la tradizione italiana era stata grande, ma anche di fornire un insegnamento all’arte contemporanea, allora alla ricerca, in Italia come nel resto di Europa, di radici su cui fondare un’espressione moderna in grado di opporsi al caotico disorientamento e all’impoverimento in cui la stavano precipitando le pretese dell’avanguardia.”⁶ The author continues, “[n]elle sale di Palazzo Vecchio i visitatori avevano potuto riconoscere e ammirare i protagonisti della storia nazionale, non solo, ma anche entrare in confidenze con artisti e opere poco note, accrescendo così il proprio sentimento di appartenenza a un patrimonio comune di arte e di storia: ancora una volta, in nome di identificazione del sentimento della patria con la grande tradizione artistica...”⁷ The

⁵ Todros, 1989, p. 10.

⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷ Tamassia, 2005, p. 17.

extremely successful exhibit's⁸ multifaceted scope and curatorial decisions which incorporated the portraits among preexisting tapestries, frescoes and other works of art through a variety of shaped rooms to walk the visitor through the exhibit - beginning with the Ottocento⁹ would have been particularly appealing to Horne, whose collection included many anonymous and less famous works and mediums then underrepresented in museums and which would later be installed in his restored historic building.¹⁰ Furthermore, Gamba's collaboration curating with Ojetti must have been appealing to Horne. Ojetti, a noted and articulate cultural journalist, author and collector who transitioned into a member of the soprintendenza, who was an ardent defender of Florence's historical architecture, artisan tradition and minor arts, and concerned with exhibitions and museum curation. Nevertheless, like Horne, Ojetti was also committed to supporting the rebirth of a modern classical art which sought to a balance between imitation and expression which created a continuity with tradition yet followed modern inspiration and language through his writing and acquisitions for his private collection and public museums.

Gamba's letters and articles also indicate that he, like Horne, passionately followed the purchase of new objects and restoration projects, and that he travelled extensively to see and document works of art. Additionally, Gamba maintained friendships with noted Anglo-American connoisseurs, collectors and scholars like Charles Loeser and Bernard Berenson who both lived in Florence. These relationships are significant because they evidence that he worked equally

⁸ The exhibit garnered 170,000 visitors from March to October and received glowing reviews. Piccone et al., 1988, pp. 128 - 130. For specific reviews see Tamassia, 2005, pp. 9 - 13.

⁹ Casini, 2102, p. 410.

¹⁰ Gamba continued to work closely with Ugo Ojetti on the following exhibits: *Pittura del Seicento e Settecento* (1922), *Mostra del Tesoro di Firenze Sacra* (1933) and *La Casa Italiana nei Secoli* (1948) They were multifaceted monumental exhibitions which testify to his interest and capability of curating complex multimedia exhibits.

well with the Anglo-American and Italian communities which sometimes found themselves on the opposite side of sensitive issues like the deportation of Italian masterpieces.

Gamba began his duties as director of the Horne collection when he returned to Florence in 1918 flanked by Giovanni Poggi, a mutual friend of Gamba and Horne. Poggi was a noted architect and scholar, greatly knowledgeable about the Florentine archives, and served as the director of both the Bargello and the Uffizi during his career. The two men were aptly prepared to carry out Horne's vision as described in his will. However, when the institution opened in 1921, it demonstrates a very different turn than Horne had envisioned. World War I had significantly impacted the British and Italian economies, as well as the cultural and intellectual landscape. The foundation's endowment was greatly diminished, impairing Gamba's ability to immediately curate, restore, and add to the collection.¹¹ Additionally, the newly increased interest in Florence's historical identity, autograph works, and masterpieces was out of sync with Horne's intention to inspire contemporary artisans' work through the creation of a study center as well as the desire to augment the beauty of objects of daily use.¹²

However, the niche of a house museum that celebrated the contributions of the Renaissance to furniture design, objects and civilization was important to Florence as a celebration of secular domestic Renaissance life and the city's contribution to modernity. This had gained in-

¹¹ Rossi writes, "[n]on appena cessato lo stato di guerra, il Consiglio di amministrazione della Fondazione, composto secondo le designazioni fatte dal testatore stesso, provide alla sistemazione delle raccolte in modo da renderne facile la visita. Successivamente, nel periodo fra le due guerre, la Fondazione poté entrare in possesso del suo patrimonio per la cessazione del vincolo di usufrutto, ma l'obbligo statutario del suo investimento in titoli nominativi di valori di Stato garantiti dallo Stato italiano, attraverso le successive svalutazioni della moneta, ha reso talmente irrisorio tale patrimonio, da renderlo del tutto insufficiente non soltanto ad acquisti che aumentino la consistenza delle collezioni, come era la volontà del testatore, ma addirittura di gran lunga inferiore alle spese stesse di manutenzione dell'immobile e di quant'altro attiene alla Fondazione, e a quelle di custodia e amministrazione. Questo stato di cose è venuto quindi a frustrare le nobilissime intenzioni del testatore, che pensava ad una vita attiva dell'Istituto attraverso l'interesse degli studiosi per le opere d'arte, l'aggiornamento della biblioteca e la pubblicazione delle importanti notizie di storia e d'arte, tuttora inedite, da lui raccolte." Rossi, 1966, p. 5,

¹² Preyer, 1993, p. 174.

creased significance with the rise of nationalism in the 1830s under the leadership of Giuseppe Mazzini, and was again celebrated when Florence briefly became the capital of the newly unified nation from 1864 - 1871. Exhibitions of art and material culture were one of the key ways in which the state celebrated the collective and individual identities of the new nation to favor cohesion and “far conoscere la situazione economica del paese, consentendo una prima statistica nazionale.”¹³ Held in Florence (1861, 1911), Rome (1911), Turin (1884, 1898, 1902, 1911), Milan (1881, 1894, 1906) and Palermo (1891 - 1892) the national Italian identity was celebrated, but the diverse exhibition locations and exhibitors from throughout the peninsula encouraged visitors to learn about individual region’s historic, artistic and architectural identities. Upon the country’s fiftieth anniversary a concerted effort “[a]ttraverso gli itinerari artistici e di costume, economici e monumentali, dalle esposizioni di Roma, Torino e Firenze” was made to celebrate the country and its citizens with special exhibits and celebrations to publicly put them on par with other European capitals¹⁴ and served as a political coagulant by touting a national identity and ideals. This idea resounded in the large scale exhibitions as well as the previously noted theme of the “La Mostra del Ritratto”. Thus it is logical that Gamba would focus on an aspect of Florence’s history that was so widely celebrated, but was not currently represented in a museum due the inconsistent use of Palazzo Davanzati since 1917, and its closure in 1921.

The year that Horne left his Foundation to the city, the only other private museum celebrating the Renaissance, Palazzo Davanzati, had just held a major auction, emptying out its contents. Palazzo Davanzati, purchased and restored by Elia Volpi, was opened as a museum that

¹³ Petrusa, 1988, p. 17.

¹⁴ Casini, 2102, p. 407.

celebrated “Ancient” Florence in 1910 (fig. 53). As Roberta Ferrazza has demonstrated in her scholarship, Palazzo Davanzati was popular with foreigners and locals alike due to its unique celebration of the decorative objects and furniture of the Florentine Renaissance in an architecturally appropriate setting. Although Volpi opened Palazzo Davanzati with the intention to create a museum¹⁵ - evidenced by the plaque on the interior and the lecture series he created for visitors - it could never fully overcome its reputation as an elaborate inspirational model for newly wealthy Americans purchasing similar works to decorate their own homes.¹⁶ With the advent of World War I, the trade in art entered into crisis and Volpi was probably forced to sell the museum’s furnishings, as well as those of Villa Pia, his residence in the hills outside Florence. He declared in a written statement that accompanied the sale of the contents of Palazzo Davanzati, that he sold his collection to pay his taxes and that he offered the Italian government the right of first refusal. Subsequently he organized two public auctions in New York – one in 1916, followed by a second in early 1918. In early 1920 he refurnished Palazzo Davanzati to rent out the space and sell its contents *en bloc* four years later. Gamba presumably began to considering and plan its the Horne Museum’s curation when Volpi’s project was in a confused state and Gamba realized his potential to fill the void left by Palazzo Davanzati.¹⁷

Gamba was certainly cognizant of the importance of Horne’s palazzo to Florence. As Gamba noted in his 1922 article, the architecture of Horne’s building was ideally suited to fulfill the niche of a Renaissance house museum. Gamba writes, “[i]l carattere di questo edificio è di

¹⁵ Ferrazza, 1993, p. 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁷ In 1926 he sold them the property and all of the works it contained. Until 1934 Palazzo Davanzati remained open as a private museum to the public and retained Volpi’s objects and display, but it primarily functioned as a commercial space for the established dealers Vitale and Leopoldo Bengujat who made more scenographic, less historically accurate, arrangements and architectural decisions.

essere stato un prototipo perfetto d'abitazione privata del rinascimento."¹⁸ Palazzo Corsi's rational organization of the space was complemented by sculpted details that contributed to the beauty of the building, making it an ideal representation of the merging of aesthetics and rational planning that characterized late Quattrocento architecture. To the contrary, Palazzo Davanzati was restored to reflect a late Trecento building, which, although an important time in the history of Florence, was not considered the apex of its artistic and cultural contribution due to its emphasis on work and defense - not the incredibly intellectually and artistically vibrant time that Florentines prefer to associate themselves with. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter three, Horne's restoration of the building was carried out with extraordinary rigor and meticulous documentation which allows for his work to be followed and substantiated. The restoration of Palazzo Davanzati, on the other hand, is less well understood. There are no extant documents that clearly delineate Volpi's work or methods, or indeed the state of the palazzo prior to his interventions, thus making the historical accuracy of the project less clear.¹⁹ At a time when scholars and museum officials were increasingly interested in autograph work and the ordering of Italian art and architectural history, Horne's accuracy and transparency made Palazzo Corsi a valuable contribution to the city.

However, as has been established, Horne's collecting interests were varied and at no time indicated an express interest in documenting a Renaissance home. As a result, Gamba was not left with all the necessary objects to recreate a Quattrocento domestic interior. Gamba would have been particularly aware of the objects missing to recreate an accurate Renaissance home

¹⁸ Gamba, 1922, p. 2.

¹⁹ Regarding the debate around Palazzo Davanzati's restoration see Ferrazza, 1993, pp. 38 - 40.

based on the example set by Palazzo Davanzati, paintings of interiors from the Quattro and Cinquecento, as well as the 1908 publication of Attilio Schiaparelli's *La Casa Fiorentina e i Suoi Arredi nei Secoli XIV e XV*. The latter was a well known and highly valuable resource for understanding the interior and exterior of Florentine homes. It was the first publication to systematically study the Florentine home which "toccando in breve delle sue parti meglio note, fermandomi più a lungo su quelle che si conoscono meno o non si conoscono affatto"²⁰ and was further distinguished by the breadth and depth of his archival research which included "cronache, novelle, lettere, trattati e opere letterarie in genere, provisioni e statuti del Comune e delle Arti, atti giudiziari, libri d'amministrazione, di ricordanze...agl'inventari cioè di masserizie domestiche" found in the Archivio di Stato.²¹

According to Brenda Preyer's 1993 analysis in "Il Palazzo Corsi-Horne", when Gamba became director of the foundation the structure of the building was sound, and although Horne had knowingly modernized some portions of the building, such as his private quarters, he had restored the architectural and sculptural details to their Quattrocento state where possible. Unfortunately, little photographic evidence of the space exists before Gamba's 1921 installation to specifically indicate where Horne had left the objects. In ex-director Licia Bertani's 1990 guide to the museum, she writes that Horne had only organized the library, and not the collection, in the various rooms before his unexpected death.²² Indeed, a photograph of the main *sala* on the second floor from 1920 shows objects stacked and leaning against walls indicating they were not displayed according to any rational plan (fig. 54). Another 1920 photograph indicates that the

²⁰ Schiaparelli, 1908, p. I.

²¹ Ibid., p. X.

²² Bertani, 1990, p. 3.

books were organized on the built in bookshelves which were designed by Horne and created in 1915 by Angelo Marinari, and two tables, a three legged stool, and Horne's famous pozzo chair were displayed in the library (fig. 55). However, in *Il Mobile del Rinascimento: la Collezione Herbert Percy Horne* Claudio Paolini writes, "I mobili che arredano lo spazio (probabilmente sistemati nella sala in funzione della campagna fotografica di quell'anno) troveranno poco dopo una diversa sistemazione lungo il percorso espositivo...."²³ indicating the furniture may have only been arranged in the room for the photograph, but not by Horne.

As director, Gamba began to shape the institute's identity to fill the niche that Palazzo Davanzati left through publications that announced the opening of the museum, its purpose, and his mission as director and curator of the space. Gamba's 1921 guide, which was translated into English in 1926, is called "Catalogo Illustrato della Fondazione Horne". As the title clearly indicates, Gamba called the institution "The Foundation Horne" as Horne requested in his will, and the emphasis of the publication is the catalogue of the objects. One year later, in an article in the *Marzocco*, "La Fondazione Horne e la Casa Fiorentina del Rinascimento", Gamba describes the goal of the recently established Foundation Horne as that of recreating a Renaissance Home, indicating he defined this direction for the museum. In the 1961 guide, Gamba seems to be confident in his curation and interpretation entitling the guide "The Museo Horne a Firenze" and the essay presents the institute as a museum of the Renaissance house. Gamba writes, "[c]ol tempo H. Horne andò restringendo i propri acquisti verso uno scopo particolare; quello cioè di raccogliere oggetti antichi d'uso domestico, se non sempre degni di un grande museo, tali tuttavia da rivelare il senso pratico e nello stesso tempo il gusto decorativo della stirpe, oggetti insomma

²³ Paolini, 2002, p. 22.

che potevano aver fatto parte dell'arredo tradizionale di una casa dell'antica borghesia fiorentina.”²⁴ Gamba continues, “cercando d'interpretare le intenzioni del defunto benefattore, il Consiglio d'Amministrazione della Fondazione Horne ha proceduto alla sistemazione delle raccolte annesse in modo da renderne facile la visita.”²⁵

A second way that Gamba shaped the identity of the collection to evoke a sense of the Quattrocento home was through the artfully arranged, balanced displays which created coherence among seemingly disparate objects and the architecture. The 1921 photographs of the Foundation Horne suggest that Gamba's curatorial ideas were inspired by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (today the Bode Museum). Opened in 1904 – Gamba visited in 1909 – its curation was highly influential in museums in the early 1900s.²⁶

With the opening of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in 1904, the director and curator Wilhelm von Bode's concept of harmonious multimedia displays intended to evoke period styles were on full display.²⁷ But, they were not designed as period rooms in the sense that they were used to show works of a single period arranged as they might have been at the time, rather Bode's displays masked any underlying disjunction between original setting and the place of the decontextualized works in the museum and amplified the stylistic and technical commonalities

²⁴ Gamba, 1921, p. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁶ Ginori, 1979, p. 110.

²⁷ Bode had used various new openings and renovations at the Alten Museum where he served as the assistant curator since 1872 and then director from 1890, as well as a few special exhibitions, to test this integrated presentation of works from different genres. Bode's integrated exhibition of paintings, sculptures, and craft objects differed significantly from the practices of the generations before him. For example, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Gustav Friedrich Waagen, had organized the paintings in the Alten Museum by schools and hung them as far as possible in chronological order. His intention was to convey the new art historical scholarship of his time — knowledge of schools, styles, and stages of development.

between objects.²⁸ This mode of presentation integrated chronologically and geographically diverse paintings and sculptures with furnishings, wall tapestries, and smaller decorative pieces in well-spaced symmetrical arrangements to emphasize the central masterpiece. The individual rooms and wall arrangements were marked by a largely symmetrical order, with the larger paintings placed in the middle, surrounded by smaller works, often arranged in two rows and sometimes grouped by color (fig. 56). Bode tended to accentuate a sculptural masterpiece by isolating it at the end of a significant space, or placing a velvet wall hanging behind an object to complement it and increase its prominence. To further emphasize a painting, Bode would often place a sideboard or chest under it. Thus, pieces of furniture are presented in these rooms, not as domestic objects to be used, but as accompaniments to the paintings and sculpture, their applied nature rendering them subsidiary. The mixed media allowed for easy comparisons and Bode believed it relaxed the eye encouraging a more visitor friendly - and less fatiguing - experience. These exhibition rooms were further fitted out with various installations like original door frames, fireplaces and wooden ceilings. While the primary goal of Bode's design was to highlight the fine arts, nevertheless the inclusion of domestic objects and details contributed to the home-like atmosphere of the museum. This sense of entering into a house was furthered by his decision to not include labels with the objects which would have broken the spell created by the other design choices, including his decision to maintain an arrangement which did not follow a strict sequence, but recognized the visitor's freedom of movement.

It must be noted that Bode was not the first to incorporate multimedia objects into a single display utilizing a home environment to enrich the visitor's experience. Since "1830 - 1840,

²⁸ Bode clearly discusses his curatorial methods in Bode, 1891, pp. 506-515.

il Romanticismo Storico aveva letteralmente messo in scena, in teatro e all'opera, ma anche nelle abitazioni e nei giardini, edifici di vari stili, scelti ognuno per esemplificare, nel modo ritenuto adatto, una particolare funzione."²⁹ On March 17, 1844 the highly influential Cluny Museum Paris was inaugurated in Paris which displayed Medieval and Renaissance objects in a Medieval building; in 1856 the Villa Demidoff, Pratolino, was opened to the public which was a sort of compendium of eclecticism arranged in thematic rooms; plus the Wallace Collection and the Soane Museum in London were mixed displays in architecturally significant spaces. But these collections, tightly packed in their surroundings, were deeply personal visions of the owners left open to the public. Gamba's displays were more closely aligned with Bode's careful arrangements that created a visual network between objects through layering and placement, but also highlighted their individual properties.

Gamba probably looked to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum displays because the commonalities of their respective collections and art historical interests rendered it an excellent model to curate the Foundation Horne. Although the Horne Foundation had smaller holdings than the massive Kaiser-Friedrich collection, and it held more chronologically and geographically diverse materials than its German counterpart of largely fifteenth century Italian objects, the collections were united in their display of painting, sculpture and decorative arts in a space embellished with architectural elements from the Italian Renaissance. The display offered a great compromise because the aesthetically pleasing arrangements incorporated diverse mediums and masked historical inaccuracies to evoke a sense of a Renaissance space, a period room. The model allowed Gamba to strategically incorporate furniture and domestic objects which he did not consider

²⁹ Mazzi, 2005, p. 212.

“degni di un museo” in a way that highlighted the higher forms of art and created coherence among a collection of diverse objects in a Quattrocento domestic palazzo.³⁰ The technique also enabled Gamba to respect Horne’s collection by displaying the majority of the objects that Horne bequeathed, while evoking the sense of a Renaissance home even if Gamba was missing symbolically and historically significant objects, thus filling the niche that Palazzo Davanzati left. Finally, utilizing the technique popularized by the large and influential German museum, he introduced these innovative curatorial techniques to a Florentine Museum ensuring that the city was on par with the culturally and intellectually influential city of Berlin.³¹

Photographs of Gamba’s initial 1921 arrangement of the third room on the first floor demonstrate the inspiration of Bode’s central display strategies (fig. 57). For example, in the center of the room a carpet dominates the space and a seventeenth-century Central Italian table with extraordinary curved vase like legs is centrally placed with a careful arrangement resting on top. Giovanni Rustici’s small terracotta equestrian sculpture group is elevated on an original gilt wood inlay platform and an incised and inlaid wooden box in the middle of the table. Directly in front of the box is a rectangular block with the same proportions as the wooden box, traditionally used for stamping, which unites the height disparity between the base of the table and the top of the sculpture to better fuse the display. The central arrangement is flanked by a pair of nineteenth-century wooden reliquary boxes embellished with ivory inlay placed on top of sixteenth-century brocades (with contemporary embroidery added). Although difficult to discern from the photograph, it seems like there are objects inside the boxes which call attention to their original

³⁰ Gamba, 1921, p. 3.

³¹ Baker, 1996b, p. 143 - 153.

use as sacred containers. The layering and juxtaposition of the objects further encourages scrutiny of the diverse objects and comparison of materials, colors, textures, and scale. The symmetrical arrangement of the mixed media objects on the table recalls Bode's display techniques to create a sense of harmony among the otherwise disparate objects and mediums, and to focus the viewer's attention on the central masterpiece. Rustici's sculpture is the only autograph piece on the table, and is the most elaborate work which, as noted by Charles Loeser, is especially unusual because of the stylistic affinity to Leonardo's famed equestrian monument for Francesco Sforza veering from his usual tendency to recall Leonardo's *Battle of Anghiari*.

In the same room, Gamba's display against the far wall again recalls Bode's display techniques. Here, Gamba displayed three busts on a fifteenth-century walnut Sieneese sacristy cabinet with intricate inlay. The two larger busts, placed on opposing ends, are fifteenth-century polychromed and gilt terracotta busts of women and a smaller bust attributed to the school of Donatello. In the center of the chest between the busts is a small display cabinet with gilt columns with a single shelf which is displayed over a textile. It contains miniature objects that are difficult to determine based on the photograph, but which are evenly distributed and provided pride of place in their elaborate cabinet. Small-scale objects are placed between them in a seemingly casual manner but their arrangement fills the space and carries the eye across the table which is punctuated by the evenly spaced similarly sized busts and box. Using a characteristic technique of Bode, an extremely rare fifteenth-century Florentine wool rug is hung on the wall behind the display cabinet to highlight and unify the small and disparate objects. Raising the textile from the floor to the wall also displays the work like a painting, consequently elevating its status.

Like Bode, Gamba incorporated the architectural elements as Horne had left them and furniture in the room to create coherence within the display. Gamba visually included the delicately carved *pietra serena* mantel by using it as a ledge for two fifteenth-century candle holders and a centrally placed marble relief roundel, attributed to Desiderio da Settignano. The placement of the sculpture on the mantel provides an easy comparison between the diverse materials and carving techniques creating an opportunity to consider the hierarchy of sculpture. It also incorporates the mantel into the room by utilizing the ledge as a display space, a common household practice rendering the display more homelike. Similarly, the *pietra serena* arch doorway frame is flanked by two chairs, and surrounded by three paintings. The arrangement uses the doorway in the display to highlight its form and craftsmanship, but also uses the shape and placement of it to visually join the three stylistically and chronologically distinct panel paintings. The chairs fill the space between the mantel and the door, and the door and the sacristy, easily carrying the eye along the walls and suggests the space is to be inhabited. Although the three dimensional objects are notable for their craftsmanship and materials, they are ultimately used under objects as either display spaces, or to highlight and complement the works displayed above.

In the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum there were also rooms almost exclusively dedicated to a single medium, such as the Old Dutch Cabinet or the Donatello Hall. Similarly, in the second room on the first floor, Gamba displayed small metal objects with an emphasis on those “che abbiano rapporto colla mensa. Sulla tavola, pressa una meravigliosa anfora di terra Orvietana o Senese con ogni sorta di tipi di posate, specialmente forchette, dal tempo etrusco al settecento. Entro gli armadi, piatti, brocche, tazze di maiolica antica di ogni fabbrica, con alcuni begli esem-

pi d Faenza e di Urbino...”³² Displaying like objects together created a relationship between them, and the presence of a German stove in the room provided a sense of connection and place for the objects. The placement of the objects together in the side room also served to sequester them from the painting and sculpture which Gamba considered to be higher art forms, while still managing to display almost all the works that Horne left.

From 1928 - 1962 Gamba obtained additional objects for the museum through the purchase, donation and negotiation of objects on loan from other Florentine museums. Gamba writes in both the 1921 guide and 1922 catalogues that when the Foundation possessed the endowment left by Horne, the incomplete collection would grow to correspond to the “concetto della Istituzione circa l’arredamento della casa fiorentina.”³³ In particular, Gamba notes that he hoped to extend the collection to the ground floor. In his 1922 article Gamba specifies that he hoped to fill the rooms with either works in deposit from other Florentine institutions or that another like minded collector would bequeath their objects to the Horne Foundation to be displayed in the space.³⁴ In this way, Gamba enriched the collection, displays and identity of the museum at minimal expense. The lack of labels and inventory numbers, which clearly denote what collection the objects belong to, is also significant because it contributed to the total immersion of the works into the collection named for Horne, making them seem as if they were part of his original collection.

The objects Gamba obtained through purchases and donations were incorporated into the main rooms to enhance the previously established curatorial scheme. For example, in 1934

³² Gamba, 1961, p. 33.

³³ Gamba, 1921, p. 7.

³⁴ Gamba, 1922, p. 8.

Gamba purchased a large sacristy cabinet which was in excellent condition in Montevarchi and which he placed in the center of the main sala on the second floor and adorned with a small display of sculptures.³⁵ According to receipts, in 1935 Gamba purchased a fifteenth-century Florentine walnut intarsia stipo from a pieve of San Martino a Gangalandi, and a sixteenth-century walnut Florentine credenza and ca. 1922 Gamba bought a fifteenth-century Sienese intarsia sacristy armoire from the church of Sant' Ambrogio in Florence which were all dispersed throughout the main rooms against walls under paintings to focus the viewer's eye on the panels. Despite their original purpose, their lack of clearly recognizable iconography and placement in the palazzo allowed for their seamless integration into the rooms and display. Purchased paintings and sculpture were also integrated into the collection following the previously established curatorial model. Gamba donated several works to the collection, including a fragment of a statue of the Madonna which has been attributed to the workshop of Matteo Civitali in 1958, the previously mentioned Jacopo Sansovino sculpture of the *Madonna with Child on her Lap*, another glazed terracotta sculpture which he attributed to Antonio Begarelli of the *Madonna, Christ, and Saint John* which Gamba purchased in 1945, and Domenico Beccafumi's panel painting of the *Holy Family*, which were all placed throughout the palazzo on walls and on display cabinets.

Gamba also purchased objects and furniture to be used throughout the palazzo by staff and visitors to complete the full curation of the palazzo and emphasize the domesticity of the building. For example, in 1928, Gamba purchased seven late-seventeenth-century turned walnut Tuscan chairs from the parish of San Lorenzo in Vigliano which he dispersed throughout the of-

³⁵ Paolini, 2002, p. 61.

lices and library for employees and visiting scholars.³⁶ Subsequently, two clothes racks were purchased, and used for their original purpose of hanging outer wear.³⁷ In 1934, he acquired two long benches at auction (one Florentine from the turn of the seventeenth century, and the other Sieneese from the late seventeenth century) which were placed on the ground floor to accommodate visitors.³⁸ It was also Gamba who purchased the fifteenth-century *lettuccio* in 1935³⁹ and the sixteenth-century crib from the Palazzo Davanzati sale in 1934⁴⁰ which contribute significantly to the idea of the Museum Horne as a Renaissance house.

Gamba also ensured the return of the original *pietra serena* frieze which capped the portals in the area of the ground floor which had been acquired by Stefano Bardini prior to Horne's purchase of the building.⁴¹ The restitution was not only in line with Horne's effort to restore the original character of the building, balancing the delicately carved capitals in the entry, but it was also in line with the Bode's technique of utilizing sculptural and architectural elements to create cohesion of the space and the objects.

As Gamba stated in his guide book, he placed objects on loan on the ground floor to consciously distinguish them from the Foundation's collection.⁴² Like the works present in the collection, they are geographically and chronologically diverse and are both large and small scale

³⁶ Paolini, 2002, p. 118.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 108.

³⁸ Paolini, 2002, p. 122 - 123.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 70.

⁴⁰ Paolini, 2002, p. 89.

⁴¹ Gamba, 1921, p. 5.

⁴² Gamba, 1961, p. 9.

and the extension of the rich and multilayered display to the ground floor rendered the entire palazzo accessible to visitors and unified it under a single vision.

Gamba's interest in ensuring architecturally and historically significant buildings and the collections held within remained *in loco* is also evidenced from his involvement with the Baron Giorgio Franchetti's donation of the Ca'd'Oro.⁴³ In 1916 while Gamba was assigned to the Veneto region as a functionary of the "Ministero per la salvaguardia del patrimonio", he was instrumental in securing the donation of the palazzo and collection to the state. The Ca'd'Oro, situated on the Grand Canal, was characterized by exceptional architecture and a location which made it one of the city's prized monuments. Purchased in 1894 by Franchetti, he shortly thereafter began a philological restoration of the palazzo. He patiently consulted archival materials to knowledgeably remove later additions and hunted for period appropriate materials at Antiquarian markets to accurately reconstruct what he could. Additionally, Franchetti had a collection which included panel paintings, bronzes, Chinese sculptures, Byzantine decorative relief sculptures and a gilt ceiling. Despite Franchetti's devotion of resources and time to the project, by 1916 the scope of the project was seemingly insurmountable and coincided with a period of increased uncertainty regarding the city's cultural patrimony. In early April of 1916 aided by Gamba, Franchetti began the process for donating his palazzo and collection to the state. According to a letter from Corrado Ricci, then serving as the Direttore Generale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, to Gamba, the news of the pending donation elated him. Ricci writes,

⁴³ Thank you to Giulia Zacchariotto for allowing me to read her paper "Dalla Donazione allo Stato del 1916 all'Inaugurazione della Galleria nel 1927. I Primi Allestimenti" presented at the conference La Ca' d'Oro di Giorgio Franchetti: Collezionismo e Museografia", Venice, Italy, January 30 - 31, 2015.

Caro Gamba, uscendo oggi di casa ho trovata in portineria la sua del 27; l'ho aperta e cominciata a leggere camminando. Alle prime righe, la notizia delle intenzioni del barone Franchetti mi ha data tale emozione che non mi sono sentito in grado di continuare d'un fiato la lettura. Mi sono messa la lettera in tasca, camminando nel sole con un vero senso d'ebrezza. Le giuro caro Gamba, che questa è la pura verità! Preso respiro, ho letto un altro poco della sua lettera, e poi il resto, sempre centellinando la coppa della felicità portata a Lei e a me dal Barone Franchetti. Ecco tutto! Direi quasi che la risposta ch'ella e il barone chiedono, è tutta qui. Perché mai dono più bello, più poetico, più gradito lo Stato non ha ricevuto. La Ca d'Oro, anche a parte le opere d'arte, è la Ca d'Oro; è un ambiente di sogno, una visione di bellezza senza pari!⁴⁴

Gamba, along with Ricci and another witness, accompanied Franchetti to the notary in 1916 to secure the donation of the cherished palazzo and collection for the city. In the same article in which Gamba announced the donation of the Horne Foundation, he celebrated that of the Franchetti collection. As noted in the article, the donations entrusted two historically and architecturally significant Renaissance homes and their respective collections to the state.⁴⁵

Although the idea of a palazzo curated to integrate multimedia objects in a home-like environment is hardly considered revolutionary today, it should be recognized that Gamba's sensi-

⁴⁴ Letter dated April 29, 1916. This letter was cited in Giulia Zacchariotto's paper.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that Gamba returned to the theme of the home, furniture and domestic objects when he aided in the curation of the 1948 exhibit "La Casa Italiana nei Secoli: Mostra delle Arti Decorativi in Italia dal Trecento al Ottocento." Held at Palazzo Strozzi, a notable historic home it focused on the artistic quality and form of domestic objects and also familiarized a broad audience with the history of the Italian home.

tive curation was remarkable in the historical and geographical context of that period. Gamba's curatorial choices not only managed to render the palazzo and collection harmonious, they also made it intellectually accessible to a broad public. Contemporary museums in Florence and Venice were either curated nineteenth-century gallery style (like Palazzo Pitti) with so many works crowded into a room it was difficult - if not impossible - for the average visitor to parse out which were masterpieces; or (like the newly hung Uffizi Gallery), highlighted fewer works in a room to emphasize their unique status in the history of art. Private collections which were donated to the city and state were often crowded and cramped. Gamba, however, harnessed and highlighted the building's past as a home and in so doing created a space and experience that was familiar to all visitors and consequently, intelligible as well. Even the library in the Horne Foundation, which Horne specified in his will should be open to scholars and artisans, was curated with period appropriate furniture which included the space visually and thematically into the rest of the museum. Although the bookshelves designed by Horne were not faithful to an accurate Renaissance *studiolo*, it was appropriate with the theme of a Renaissance house and permitted Gamba to make even this more reserved space comprehensible to the public. However, the specificity of the books and the isolated space ensured that the institute and library could be utilized comfortably by scholars without alienating a more general audience.

Gamba's concern for curating the Foundation for a general audience was in line with curatorial ideas which emerged and were circulating in early twentieth century Italy proposed by Ricci – with whom Gamba had worked closely at the Uffizi – and Federico Hermanin. As Silvia Cecchini notes in “Musei e Mostre d'Arte negli Anni Trenta: L'Italia e la Cooperazione Intellettuale,” the museology they proposed was a “segno di un cruciale cambiamento nella missione

che si attribuisce al museo, non più solo luogo di studio, ma spazio in cui si documenta la storia di una città e di una nazione, in cui si costruisce una cultura identitaria collettiva. E' la strada per stabilire un dialogo tra la disciplina storico-artistica e la contemporaneità, una strada ancora del tutto minoritaria, ma fertile di cruciali sviluppi nel ventennio successivo.”⁴⁶ Ricci and Her-
manin’s ideas increased in relevance when the cultural, societal and political consequences of World War I were evaluated. In 1919, the international group Société des Nations (SDN) was founded in response to the catastrophes caused by ethnic, political and ideological rivalries. The common objective of the group was to “prevenire nuovi conflitti e riprendere le file del clima cosmopolita e dell’anelito all’unificazione nel nome di un’idea d’Europa che aveva già animato Mazzini assieme ad altri pensatori del primo decennio del Novecento.”⁴⁷

As the director of the Horne Museum, Gamba was in a unique position to realize these ideas through his interpretation and curation because of the aforementioned combination of an architecturally significant Quattrocento building and a collection boasting a diversity of objects. Furthermore, the Horne Foundation was donated to the state as a private entity and it was thus not under the direction of the *Soprintendenza*, providing Gamba ample creative and intellectual autonomy. Indeed, it was not until nearly ten years later, in the 1930s, that Italian and European museum officials started making specific curatorial choices to ensure museums were approachable and intelligible for a general public. Cecchini writes, “[g]li anni 30 del Novecento rappresentano uno spartiacque per la storia della museologia. Mutano le priorità rispetto al ruolo e alle funzioni che il museo è chiamato ad assolvere, ed è per questa ragione che il criterio classificato-

⁴⁶ Cecchini, 2013, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

rio settecentesco di radice linneiana - su cui fino a quel momento si basavano gran parte degli allestimenti, in un museo concepito come luogo di studio e ricerca storica, teoricamente aperto a tutti ma di fatto frequentato soprattutto da specialisti - non viene più ritenuto adeguato.”⁴⁸

In 1962, after forty-one years, Gamba stepped down as director of the Foundation Horne. By the time he left the Foundation he had opened the collection to the public, curated the objects that Horne left, augmented the collection through purchases, donations and works in deposit, and published the first three guides (two in Italian and one in English) which provided the direction that the subsequent directors would follow.

Steering the museum after Gamba

The second director, Filippo Rossi, was responsible for the 1966 catalogue *Il Museo Horne a Firenze*. The catalogue, published as part of a series dedicated to smaller Florentine museums, still provides the most comprehensive history of the foundation and its collection, and included a complete list of the Museum’s drawings which had been in deposit in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi since 1962. The addition of the drawings fundamentally changed the idea of the collection because it underlined the extent of Horne’s interests in graphic art. Unfortunately, in the same year that Rossi’s catalogue was published, the Arno flooded, filling the Palazzo Corsi-Horne up to the vaults on the ground floor, and severely damaging furniture and objects on that floor. The museum was forced to close for a restoration of the palazzo and objects which took nine years and absorbed the majority of Rossi’s focus as director.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

In 1974 Ugo Procacci became the third director of the museum, and Professor Luciano Bellosi was given the responsibility of the post-flood restoration and reordering. What is of particular interest regarding his tenure is his clear recognition of the impact of Gamba's interpretation on the museum. In a 1975 *Prospettiva* article, and in a talk later published by the *Atti della Società Leonardo da Vinci*, Bellosi discusses the two factors which guided his curatorial choices. As a preventative measure from possible future harm, Bellosi displayed the more robust furniture, metal medallions and plaques, and marble objects on the ground floor. Fragile items were taken from the ground floor and integrated into the second floor, consequently altering Gamba's initial display significantly. However, Bellosi also clearly articulates his interest in respecting the character the museum had assumed under Gamba. Bellosi writes: the museum "sembra nato prima dei tempi moderni, completamente tradizionale, in cui le simmetrie sono sacre, in cui tutto è disposto rispondendo alla domanda: ci sta bene o ci sta male? Un museo che nel mondo di oggi vorrebbe riproporsi come la riconquista di una misura umana. E speriamo di essere riusciti nello scopo."⁴⁹

For example, in the central room, Bellosi placed the Montevarchi sacristy bancone in the center of the large sala and arranged the large fifteenth-century *desco* in the center, flanked by two small sixteenth-century Lombard figural sculptures (fig. 58). The central placement of the objects allows them to be examined in the round, highlighting both the fine intarsia work on the bancone, as well as the details of the sculpture and double sided painting on the desco. Following Gamba and Bode, the remainder of the furniture is placed against the walls with objects on top of them and paintings surrounding them. The second room's furniture is similarly integrated

⁴⁹ Bellosi, 1975b, p. 240.

into the room with objects displayed on top of tables and cabinets to create a sense of balance. Like in the room on the first floor curated by Gamba, a seventeenth-century walnut table is in the center of the room with a small nineteenth-century *cofanetto* displayed on top, anchoring the room and creating a natural path for the visitor to ambulate through.

In 1982, Franca Falletti was appointed director and remained until 1989. Falletti simultaneously covered the role of director for the Galleria dell'Academia which absorbed most of her energy and attention, leaving little for the Horne Museum. During her directorship she did not alter the galleries significantly, nor create any special exhibits with the collection. Her most notable contribution was an article in *Prospettiva*, "La Casa di Herbert Horne", in which she called for renewed attention to the collection based on its unique contribution to the city.

The second most influential director, after Carlo Gamba, was Licia Bertani who was appointed in 1989 and remained until 2001. Bertani was the first director to create temporary exhibitions which showed at the Foundation Horne and abroad, and her efforts saved the institution from closure. When Bertani was appointed director her main scholarly interest was the miniature codexes of Jacopo di Casentino, and she was highly excited about Horne's extensive collection of works on paper. Unfortunately, she quickly realized the Horne Museum was in grave economic peril. Consequently, she focused on exhibits highlighting the exceptional quality of the collection, gaining the museum national and international recognition.⁵⁰

Since the Foundation had an established reputation as a monument to the Florentine house and had been artfully arranged by Gamba and Bellosi, Bertani did not make significant changes to the display of the museum. This decision is reflected in her 1991 general catalogue

⁵⁰ The information regarding Licia Bertani and her decisions results from interviews held in person at her current post at the Curia di Firenze.

for the museum, *The Horne Museum: a Florentine House Museum*, in which she emphasized institute's identity as a Renaissance home. Her title is explicit regarding the purpose of the institute as a museum dedicated to the recreation of a Renaissance Home, and her introductory essay emphasizes its unique place in the city and cultural landscape.

Bertani's first major accomplishment was to coordinate the return of the majority of the works on paper to the Horne Museum which had been held in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi since 1962.⁵¹ Her publications and work indicate a special interest in the works on paper: in 1990 Bertani created an exhibit and wrote an accompanying catalogue on the miniature codexes in the collection, entitled *I Codici Miniati della Fondazione Horne*. In 2000 she also coordinated an exhibit held at the Foundation Horne dedicated to his works on paper called "Da Raffaello a Rubens: Disegni della Fondazione Horne", curated by Cristiana Garofalo. The second exhibit and catalogue examine thirty-five of Horne's 929 drawings which span the early Cinquecento to the early Seicento.⁵² Although Garofalo addressed a very small percentage of Horne's collection, her inclusion of previously unpublished works highlighted the quality and variety of Horne's collecting and aided Bertani's mission to increase the museum's visibility.

To further the institute's renown and ensure it remained open, Bertani worked with The Dixon Gallery and Gardens in Memphis and the Georgia Museum of Art, to coordinate an exhibit called *Artists and Artisans of Florence: Works from the Horne Museum*.⁵³ The exhibition in-

⁵¹ The works on paper had been in deposit since 1962 until 1989 when the Horne Museum could guarantee safe conservation conditions and open consultation to scholars.

⁵² The exhibition and catalogue was based on Cristiana Garofalo's thesis for her Specializzazione in Art History (1997 - 1998) from the Università degli Studi di Siena which catalogued fifty drawings from the Horne collection. Garofalo's 2007 doctoral thesis discussed the oldest portion of the drawing collection (works from the XVI and XVII centuries).

⁵³ The exhibition was first held at The Dixon Gallery and Gardens, Memphis, Tennessee from May 8 - July 5, 1992, and subsequently at the Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, Athens, September 15 - November 22, 1992.

cluded thirty-five drawings, fourteen prints, six paintings on panel, thirteen sculptures and plaquettes, twenty-one illuminated manuscripts and five paintings on canvas. Photographs of the exhibition indicate that Italian Renaissance furniture and photographs of the Horne Museum were integrated into the galleries recalling how these works were displayed in Florence.⁵⁴ The exhibition catalogue includes a biography by Julie F. Codell in which Horne is described as a multifaceted intellectual whose varied “collection, like his writing, reflects scholarly sophistication and an attitude that led him to reconstruct the Italian Renaissance and live in its world within its palazzo.”⁵⁵

The current director, Elisabetta Nardinochi, was appointed in 2001. Nardinochi has not made any significant changes to the display of the collection, maintaining the museum’s identity as a house museum, evident in her 2001 guide which echoes earlier guides’ characterization of the museum. Instead, following Bertani’s example, she concentrated on facilitating a temporary exhibition on Horne’s English drawings which was held in 2009 - 2010, called “Il paesaggio disegnato: John Constable e i Maestri Inglesi nella Raccolta Horne”. The exhibit examined thirty-two of Horne’s 237 English drawings which spanned the Settecento to the Novecento.⁵⁶ The introductory essay and catalogue entries by Matilde Casati emphasized how the choice of landscape or naturalistic works revealed Horne’s often overlooked interest in England and English art. She also organized an exhibit called “Horne and his Friends: Firenze un Sogno da Salvare”

⁵⁴ Additionally, the exhibit served to call much needed international attention to the value of the Horne Museum which was currently suffering economically and fending off closure.

⁵⁵ Codell, 1992, p. 2.

⁵⁶ The exhibit was held at the Horne Museum from October 24, 2009 - January 30, 2010.

which presents Horne's biography and follows Gamba's assertion that Horne sought to recreate a Renaissance home.⁵⁷

It becomes clear that, although named for Herbert Horne, the museum experienced by the contemporary visitor largely reflects Gamba's interpretation. His curation of the collection and building, paired with his guides and articles, strongly shaped the work of the following directors and thus the understanding and experience of the contemporary visitor. Although Gamba and Horne shared fundamental interests, their backgrounds and the kind of museums each envisioned differed distinctly. As established in the first two chapters, Horne was a late Victorian polymath, greatly influenced by the writing and culture of Walter Pater and by his training as an architect and designer during the Arts and Crafts Movement, which emphasized the importance of Classical form. From a middle class family and educated by apprenticeship for a practical trade, Horne believed learning how to define, recognize, and create beautiful objects was fundamentally important, yet not an innate skill. The South Kensington Museum, London, an influential and avant-garde institute which aimed to educate artists and laymen about styles and excellent craftsmanship was particularly appealing to Horne as a model for his own collecting and museum. The South Kensington Museum is a space for English education and artists and they are looking outward for a model for their national production with a focus on improving their manufacturing and becoming more viable competitors in the world market. Horne, recognizes and applauds this trend even stating how it is essential to the survival of English art. He lauds English architecture and ornament that looks to Italian models. Horne's concern is couched in contemporary art and improving it through the recognition and study of fine examples, but being

⁵⁷ The exhibit was originally scheduled to be open from May 27 - December 7, 2013 but has since become a permanent installation on the ground floor of the Horne Museum.

concerned with the state of art in general and an expatriate living in Italy, he is unconcerned with the celebration of a nation, or a cultural identity. Horne is addressing artists and artisans, and like the SKM, is advising them to look toward particular to Italian models because of their unique ability to merge style and form. He saw the opportunity to improve on the South Kensington concept with objects and architecture available in Florence for a community renown for its artisans and interest in learning about and defining beauty.

Gamba, born into a wealthy noble Italian family, was a connoisseur interested in the quality of Italian art, as well as Italy's artistic, historical and cultural identity. He was also left at the helm of the Horne Museum in a drastically different cultural, political and historical moment. After such a tumultuous period, European nations, and Italy among them, were looking inward and backward in their own cultural and artistic history to conjure a sense of pride and national identity and reaffirm the possibility of progress. Consequently, when he was responsible for the interpretation of Horne's foundation, his curatorial choices resonated with his and contemporary Italy's interests.

Although Horne's name remained attached to the Museum, the curation strayed from his preferred British model and material based display to educate artisans and veered toward a mode which met the cultural and social needs of the city and bolstered their recently fragmented political and cultural identity through the celebration of Florence's illustrious artistic and intellectual identity. Gamba did this by utilizing display elements of the highly influential Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum's novel curatorial practices which connected the building to the objects and the viewer to the whole by creating an environment that was easy to connect to through its familiarity, but the novelty and beauty of the objects demanded close scrutiny. Thus the coherent house-like set-

ting that Gamba created ensured that Florence was on par with the reigning European museum and newly rising American institutions - a phenomena that the art market had attested to at the turn of the twentieth century. This curatorial approach also emphasized style and highlighted masterpieces which was in line with Gamba's interest in connoisseurship, and included what he considered to be more minor pieces which respected Horne's desires. Finally, as requested by Horne, Gamba continued to add to the collection, enriching Gamba's interpretation and consequently his impact on the museum. Later, because the museum was heavily damaged by the flood, and then faced an uncertain future, subsequent directors focused on individual works within the collection and keeping the doors open, leaving Gamba's displays, and thus his impact, largely untouched.

It is worth noting that Gamba's novel curatorial work merits further investigation. When Gamba was given the directorship of the Horne Museum his careful survey of the cultural, political and museological landscape resulted in a sensitive and erudite arrangement that acknowledged, respected and formed the city and nation's cultural identity and self knowledge. This use of art, architecture and museums as more than an aesthetic investigation into objects was essential to the discipline and his directorship of a museum which merit a focused study.

Since the opening of the Horne museum, scholarship has consistently cited the diverse collection of objects and the careful restoration of Herbert P. Horne's late Quattrocento palazzo as evidence that the museum is an accurate reflection of his desire to recreate a Florentine Renaissance home. This thesis has challenged this long held notion by examining the collection and the palazzo as tied to the collector's intellectual and artistic development. It argues that, far from desiring to create a Florentine-home museum, Horne was inspired by the South Kensington Museum, London, to create a study center which aimed to improve the design of contemporary art and architecture by providing models of objects made from diverse materials and methods. Yet, it also recognizes that the public life of the collection and museum has been lived under this interpretation, the result of Conte Carlo Gamba's scholarship and choices as the museum's first director. As a result, it argues that the Horne Museum should be considered as much a reflection of Gamba as Horne.

The thesis began by reexamining the theoretical and practical influence of Walter Pater and Arthur Heygate Mackmurdo on Horne, which shaped him as a scholar, critic, architect, and designer. Pater's revolutionary philosophy and perspective on art impressed on Horne a value for art of all periods, including a belief in the superiority of the Italian Renaissance which provides the foundation of his artistic and intellectual endeavors. Pater's philosophy also instilled in Horne a sense of the importance of close and discerning examination which translated into valuable connoisseurship skills, essential for his career as a scholar, critic and collector. Alongside Mackmurdo, Horne developed practical skills in drawing, and designing buildings and a variety of objects in a style based on the principles of Classical art and architecture. This experience as a

practitioner armed Horne with technical knowledge about the arts, but also served to keep him rooted in the importance of contemporary art and architecture.

The second chapter discusses Horne's career as a freelance art critic in which he predominantly reviews contemporary exhibitions and publications on art and architecture. These articles reveal his predilection for contemporary art which demonstrates a knowledge and creative use of the principles of classical art and architecture, as well as rigorous inspiring scholarship. These ideas were also aligned with the newly created South Kensington Museum, the first institute dedicated to improving the quality of design and public taste through the display of examples of excellent works of art and architecture. Examining Horne's collection according to the material based taxonomies of the South Kensington Museum, the affinity between the two collections and thus Horne's original intention is clear.

Through a discussion of Horne's collection in relation to the palazzo and a comparison to contemporary Florentine collections, the third chapter demonstrates how Horne's intended study center would have completed what he believed the South Kensington Museum lacked, and would have contributed an original educational and cultural institute to the city.

The final chapter addresses the collection after Horne's 1916 death, and the interpretation of the collection by the first director, Conte Carlo Gamba. I argue that Gamba, faced with dramatically different economic, political, and social conditions than Horne, arranged the collection to recall a Renaissance home and published articles and catalogues reinforcing his interpretation. Through a discussion of subsequent directors' exhibitions and curation it is evident that Gamba's initial interpretation was the guiding beacon of their efforts.

This four-part study makes an original contribution to the study of the Horne Museum by connecting the collection to its founder through a study of his formation and multifaceted career. Prior to this dissertation, the majority of brief biographies on Horne were distinct from discussions of the collection and the palazzo, thus not explicitly tying them to his intellectual and artistic interests. Those that did acknowledge his career in connection to the foundation referenced only his writings after he moved to Florence, thus effectively eclipsing his valuable formative years in England and his most active years of writing. The only essay to consciously veer from this approach was Caroline Elam's 2009 essay and this dissertation follows in line with her assertion that he desired to create a South Kensington Museum in Florence but ran out of time.

This study is distinguished from previous studies by attention to Horne's publications, and the emphasis placed on him as deeply committed to the production of contemporary art and architecture, consequently refuting the characterization of Horne as a solitary scholar interested in recreating a Florentine Renaissance home. Since few of Horne's personal papers are extant, his articles are the most complete way to understand his interests and concerns.¹ In the first chapter, the articles and poetry that Horne was publishing by the age of twenty-two in the elite journal, which he also edited, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse*, are discussed. They are noteworthy for ambitious archival research, deft consideration of the development of style, his knowledge of works in private collections, and the breadth of his interests. In the articles, Horne encourages his contemporaries to look closely at art and architecture, preserve architecture that is

¹ Few of Horne's travel journals are available for consultation in the Horne Foundation, his personal papers were sent to his childhood friend, Randal Davies, to be destroyed, but two of his journals, one dedicated to the restoration of his palazzo, and one from his first trip to Italy, were published. The restoration journal is: Preyer, Brenda. *Il Palazzo Corsi-Horne: dal Diario di Restauro di H.P. Horne*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato Libreria dello Stato, 1993. The journal of Horne's first trip to Italy is: Chaney, Edward and Jane Hall. "Herbert Horne's 1889 Diary of his First Visit to Italy." *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 2002: 69-125.

stylistically and historically meaningful, but also to enhance their lives by admiring and creating objects which are equally significant. The second phase of Horne's writing began in 1894 when he embarked on a career as a freelance art critic. Perhaps due to the audience and limited space, Horne's articles are explicit and direct in their language and judgements. His criticism of exhibitions, museums and publications indicate his deep commitment to contemporary art, but also an increased concern with the education of artists, artisans, and the general public. One of the ways Horne's concern is evident is in his critique of the leadership of the National Gallery which he believes is not fulfilling its mission to create a reservoir of examples of excellent art for artists and the public. He scrutinizes London's popular exhibitions carefully because of how they evidence what is happening with contemporary painting, and their ability to influence the public due to their popularity. Horne is equally attentive to publications on art and architectural history, critiquing them carefully for their content and delivery, and insisting on their fundamental role in shaping public taste and knowledge. Horne's third and most discussed phase of writing coincides with his move to Florence in 1904. His articles published in *The Burlington Magazine of Connoisseurs* maintain the linguistic clarity of his newspaper articles, and remedy the methodological issues, poor research, and lack of connoisseurship skills he criticized in his earlier newspaper articles.

This study is further distinguished from past scholarship by the analysis of Gamba's interpretation and display including the effort to distinguish which objects he added during his tenure. It was fundamental in determining how Gamba respected Horne's desire to add to the collection, as well as how the objects purchased and obtained through loans also serviced Gamba's own vision for the institute. They aligned the display to the model of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Mu-

seum, and contributed significantly to the interpretation of the foundation as a recreation of a Renaissance house museum.

However, this research establishes that Horne begins to amass his collection, inspired by the South Kensington Museum, seeking to present excellent examples of work to inspire other artists and the public. As documented by exhibitions and catalogues, Horne's collection of highly diverse objects is of exceptional quality, which attests to how inclusive his definition of art was, as well as his connoisseurship skills. Although Horne did not live to install the collection, his philosophical alignment with the South Kensington Museum suggests he would have favored displaying his work by material. His selection of objects would have made evident the various techniques used working with diverse mediums and the resulting aesthetic. Comprehensively, the collection – united by its use of classical forms and ideals – would have also highlighted how distinct and novel the resulting work could be. The imagined institute would have filled an important niche in the city known for its historical and contemporary artisan community. Horne was concerned about the city's cultural and historical reputation, and the museum would have served to modernize the city's cultural institutes while respecting its historical character.

As envisioned, Horne's projected contribution to Florence would have offered a novel opportunity for artisans and the public. However, between Horne's death in 1916 and the opening of the institute in 1921, Gamba faced a dramatically different social, intellectual and economic reality. He responded by interpreting the collection accordingly, using the most influential display methods created by Wilhelm von Bode for the Kaiser Friedrich Museum to create an institute which displayed the work to recall a Florentine Renaissance home. His arrangements

grouped diverse objects into balanced cohesive schemes and utilized the Quattrocento architecture of the palazzo to create the sense of home.

Both Horne and Gamba's concepts of display depended on juxtaposing diverse objects to provide provocative comparisons for viewers which encouraged visual analysis, and both utilized the architecture as an integral part of the display. However, Gamba's interpretation of the palazzo and collection as the recreation of the Renaissance home not only conditioned how the museum is seen and experienced, but also how Horne himself is viewed. The use of the objects included both fine and applied arts, but the division between them remained prominent, which opposed Horne's belief in equality and unity of the arts. Gamba's installations also contributed significantly to characterizing Horne as a collector who sought to transform his Quattrocento palazzo into a kind of experiential time travel. However, neither Horne's objects nor his writings indicate this desire. Horne, like Pater, encouraged full engagement with contemporary life, and like Mackmurdo, the improvement of contemporary art and architecture.

The current research and findings could be furthered through the complete consultation of Horne's six travel journals and his four personal diaries held in the archive of the Foundation Horne.² The six travel journals may provide further information regarding Horne's opinion on the curation and display in other European collections, while the four personal diaries may pro-

² According to "Le carte archivistiche della Fondazione Herbert P. Horne" edited by Luisa Morozzi the Foundation has Horne's travel journals from 1897 - 1901, September 5 to October 9, 1899, 1898, 1899 - 1902, 1899, as well as 1904 - 1908. Morozzi's brief descriptions of the individual journals indicate that Horne traveled extensively in central and Northern Italy, Germany and central France, and that he made notes on his trips to London museums. Morozzi's descriptions indicate that Horne largely took focused notes on individual works of art, but it would be helpful to read the entries to know if he also commented on the museums, display and curation of the spaces.

vide helpful information regarding Horne's relationship with Mackmurdo.³ Additionally, further research could be conducted on the relationship between Horne's collection and other private collections the Florentine cultural landscape. In a city like Florence, in which the majority of collections are public and under the tutelage of city officials, private collections offer a noteworthy opportunity to understand the interests of individual collectors who were free of the bureaucracy of large institutions.

³ One dates from 1884 begins in the spring and ends in December of 1884, but according to Morozzi's inventory also contains a list of books that Horne read between 1884 and 1886. Because Horne did not attend university, it is possible that this list could provide fundamental information to further help facilitate an understanding of his interests and intellectual formation. There are two diaries which record his daily life in 1886 - 1887. Finally, there is a notebook (15 x 18 cm) of fifty-eight pages which contain his "memorie autobiografiche". Morozzi writes that they include information about artists Horne knew including Ernest Dowson, Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde, John Henry Shorthouse, Simeon Solomon, Frederic and Shields. Perhaps the diary could provide further insight into Horne's relationship with Walter Pater.



Figure 1:
Portrait of Herbert Percy Horne
M. Harris Brown
1908
oil on canvas
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 2:
Palazzo Corsi Horne
Simone del Pollaiuolo (Il Cronaca)
Late fifteenth century
Via de Benci, Florence



Figure 3abc:
Examples of Ex-libris and initial letters deigned
by H.P Horne

Figure 3a:
Initial letter
H.P. Horne
The Century Guild Hobby Horse, 1886



Figure 3b:
Ex-libris designed by H.P. Horne for his friend
Charles Loeser.



Figure 3c:
Ex-libris H.P. Horne designed for personal use.

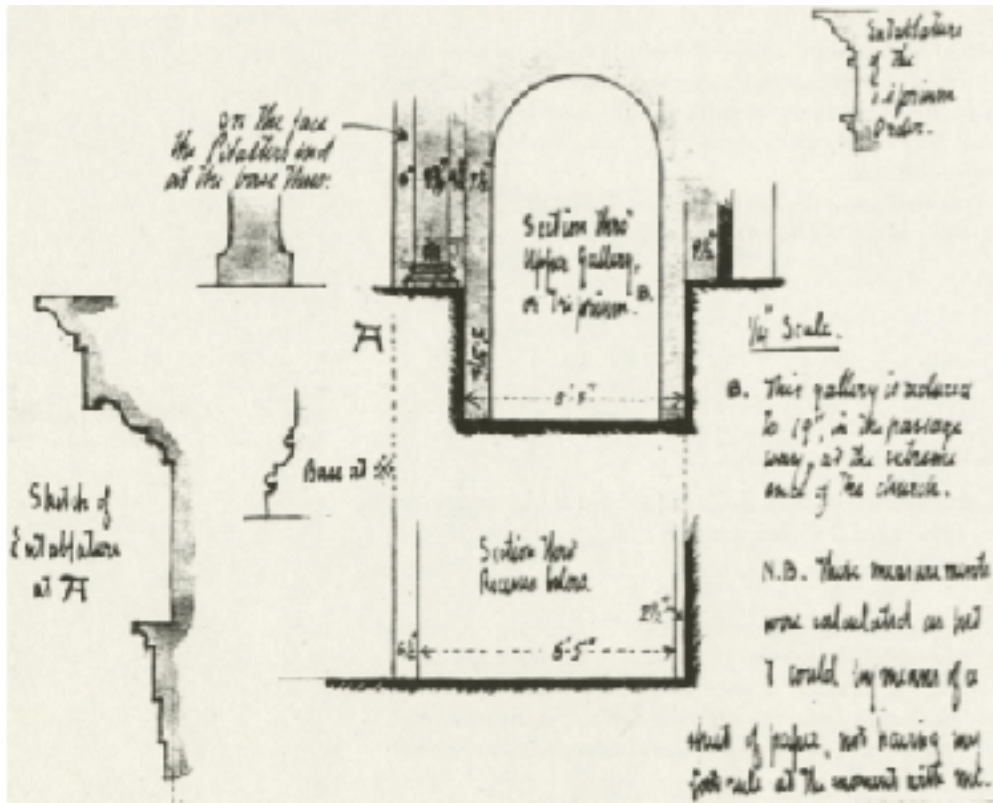


Figure 4:
 S. Maurizio, Milan
 H. P. Horne
 September 11, 1889
 Ink on paper
 1889 Travel Diary, Folio 9r

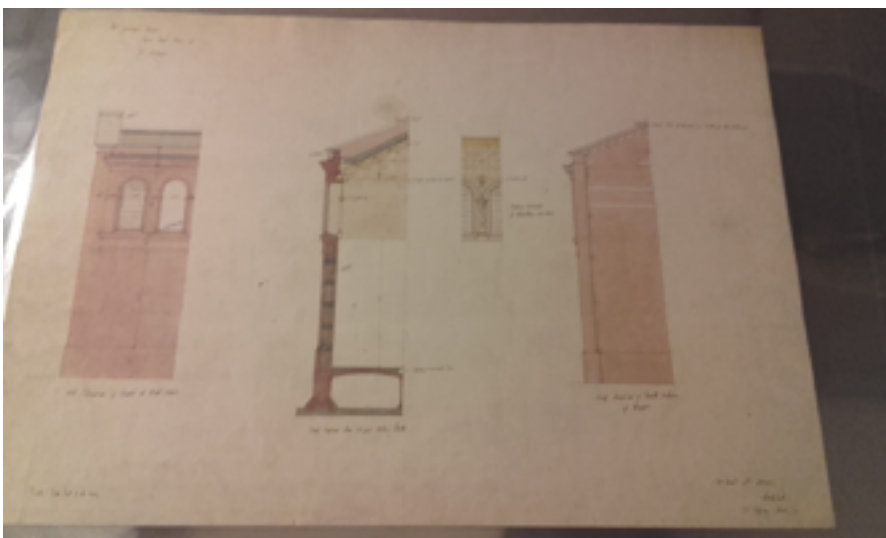
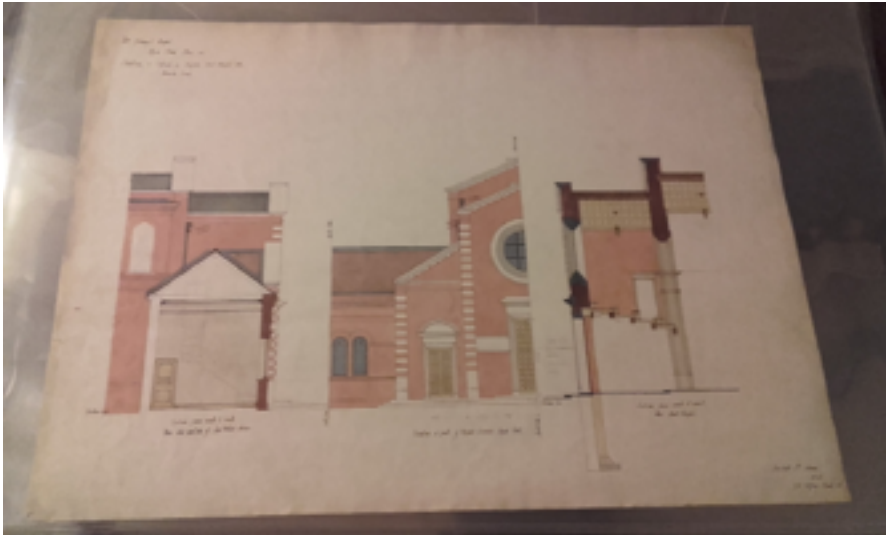


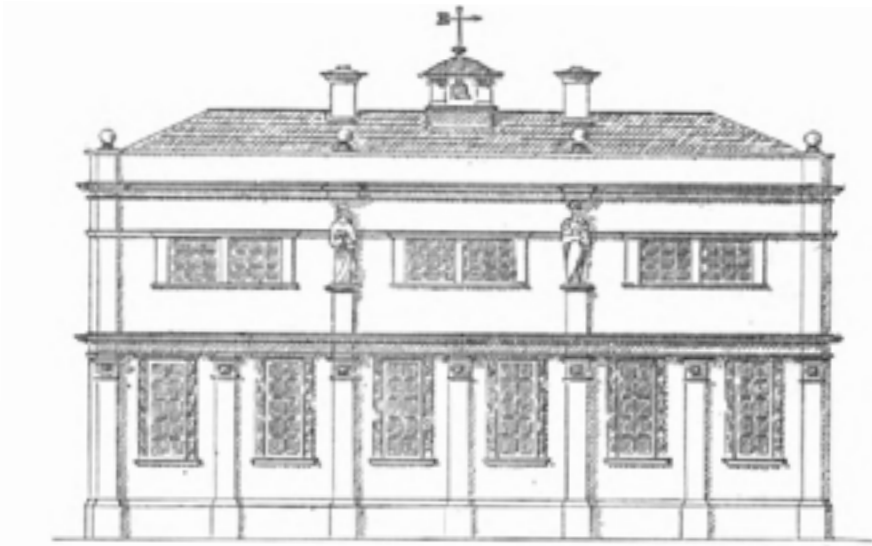
Figure 5:
 Design for the Chapel of the Ascension
 H. P. Horne
 ca. 1890
 Ink and watercolor on paper
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London



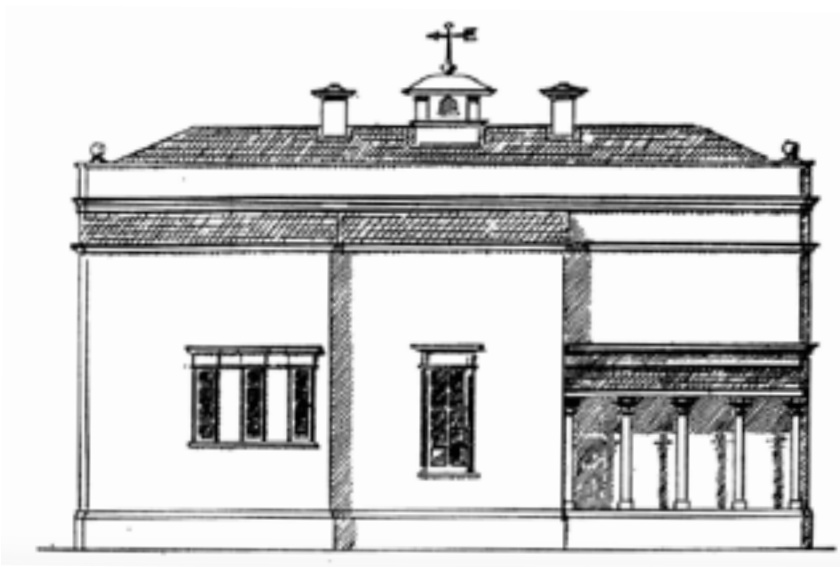
Figure 6a:
Chapel of the Ascension
H.P. Horne
Completed in 1910, bombed in
1944 during the Blitz of World
War II and demolished in 1969
Bayswater Road, London



Figure 6b:
Interior of the Chapel of the
Ascension.



front elevation



back elevation

Figure 7:
Drawing of a house designed by the Century
Guild and advertised for sale in "The Century
Guild Hobby Horse", 1887.



Figure 8:
 The Century Guild exhibition booth
 The Century Guild
 1887
 Manchester, UK



Detail:
 H.P. Horne
 Praise of the Soul (The Angel with the Trumpet)
 ca. 1883
 Block print on cotton fabric
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Figure 9:

Settle

The Century Guild

1886

Satinwood with panels of marquetrie and brass, upholstery on printed cotton

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

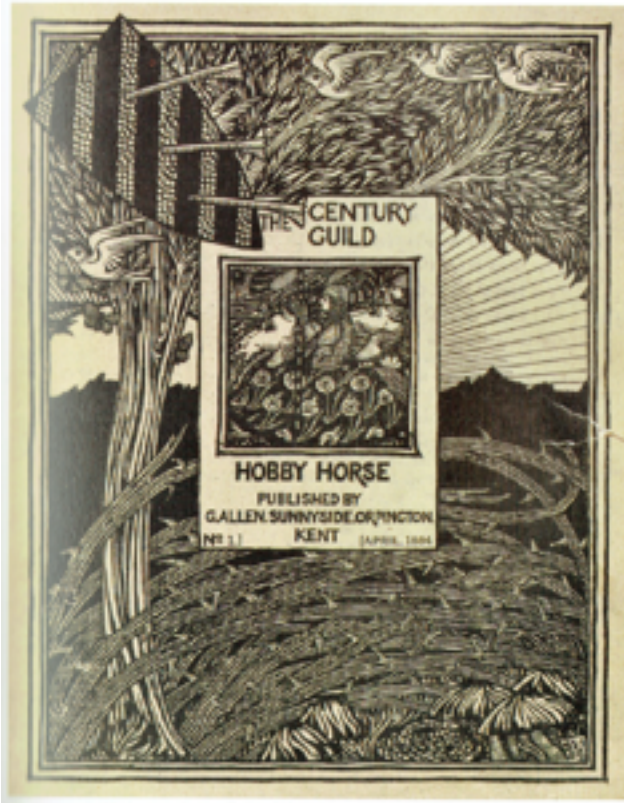


Figure 10:
 “The Century Guild Hobby Horse” frontispiece
 Sewlyn Image
 1884
 ink on paper



Figure 11:
 “The Century Guild Hobby Horse” frontispiece
 H.P. Horne
 1893
 ink on paper



a. Ceramic Gallery
ca. 1890.

Figure 12 a & b:

The photographs provide a point of access into the museum's early taxonomies. Since its inception, the museum had favored the groupings of objects by material. The arrangements were primarily felt to be useful to artisans and manufacturers as it was believed that they would know where to find the material relevant to their trade and study more precise details of techniques through appropriate examples.



c. Interior court showing metal work
ca. 1900.



Figure 13:
Tuscan cassone,
fifteenth and nineteenth century
walnut
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 14:
Tuscan cassone
late fifteenth century
walnut intarsia
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 15:
Northern Italian
fifteenth century
cypress wood
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 16:
Sarcophagus style cassone
late sixteenth century
walnut wood
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 17:
Strozzi stool
Sixteenth Century
incised and inlaid wood
Horne Museum, Florence.



Figure 18:
Pozzo chair
Central Italy (Perugia?)
early sixteenth century
pine and walnut wood
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 19:
Unknown virtue
thirteenth century
wood
Horne Museum, Florence.



Figure 20:
Angel candleholders
Fifteenth Century
Gilt wood
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 21:
Venus
sixteenth century
wood
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 22:
Giambologna,
Venus, terracotta,
ca. 1560
Horne Museum, Florence.

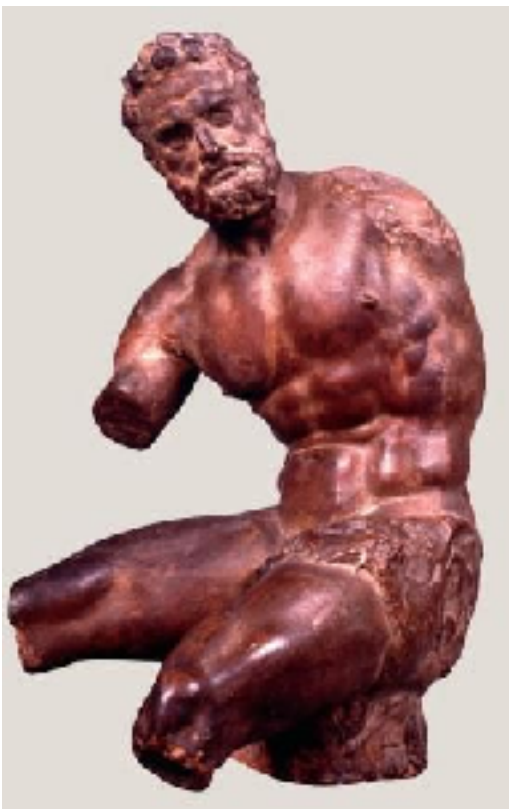


Figure 23:
Nude male
Giambologna
ca. 1572
terracotta
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 24:

A woman bathing
 Giambologna (designer)
 19th century
 bronze
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London

A 19th century cast of a famous statuette by Giambologna (Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. 69 B), one of his most popular compositions, it has been constantly reproduced, even up to the 20th century. This one was ascribed to the Gherardini Collection.



Figure 25:
 Penitent Saint Jerome
 School of Verrocchio (?)
 ca. 1506 - 1510
 terracotta
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 26:
Equestrian group
Giovanni Francesco Rustici
ca. 1506 - 1510
terracotta with traces of gilding
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 27
 Model of an Angel and Cherub in Glory
 Gian Lorenzo Bernini
 ca. 1663
 terracotta
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 28:
 Mixed caricatures
 Carlo Maratti
 Red chalk
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 29:
Boy with a Lute
Domenico Fedeli (called Maggiotto)
ca. 1725
Black and white chalk, charcoal on paper
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 30:
Self-portrait
Jacopo Carucci (called Pontormo),
ca. 1530 - 1532
red chalk on red tinted paper
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 31:
Adoration of the Magi
Girolamo da Treviso
ca. 1525 - 29
chalk, pen, watercolor on brown
tinted paper
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 32:
Portrait of Phillip Melantone
Albercht Dürer
1525
Pen on white paper
Horne Museum, Florence

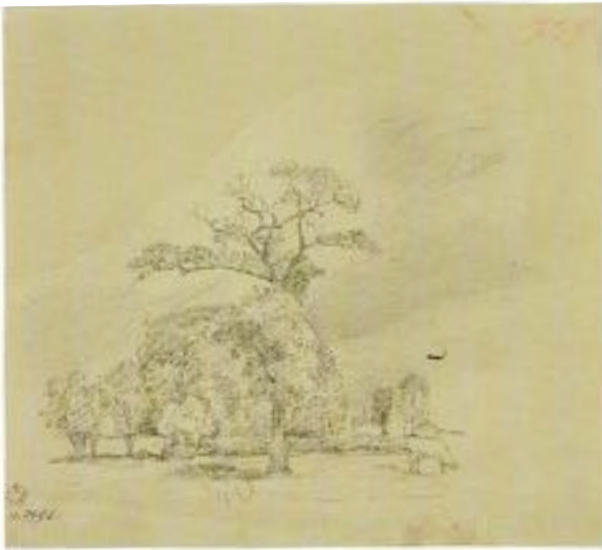


Figure 33a:
 Recto: Landscape with a tree and a cow
 Johnathan Constable
 1817?
 black chalk
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 33b:
 Verso: Large tree with two cows
 Johnathan Constable
 1817?
 black and white chalk
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 34:
 Valley with a Farm House
 John Hoppner
 before 1810
 watercolor, tempera, black chalk,
 traces of black and brown ink.
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 35:
 Crucifix
 Florentine
 fifteenth century
 Gilt copper
 Horne Museum, Florence.



Figure 36:
 Astrolabe
 Baccio Baldini (manner of?)
 1436 - 1487
 metal
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 37:
Assorted cutlery
Italian
fifteenth - seventeenth century
mixed materials
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 38:
The Allegory of Music
Dosso Dossi
ca. 1522
Medium
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 39:
Saint Stephen
Giotto di Bondone
ca. 1320 - 1325
tempera on panel
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 40:
Madonna and Christ (Pietà)
late fourteenth century
tempera on panel
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 41:
Deposition
Benozzo Gozzoli
1497
oil on canvas
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 42:
 Tuscan cassone
 sixteenth century
 tempera on poplar wood
 Horne Museum, Florence.



Figure 43:
 Siense cassone
 early sixteenth century
 tempera on poplar wood
 Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 44:
 Florentine cassone
 late fifteenth century
 tempera on poplar wood
 Horne Museum, Florence.



Figure 45:

This image from *The Illustrated London News* (December 6, 1862) depicts visitors looking at “The Loan Collection of Works at the South Kensington Museum. The large cavernous space is evident as are the smaller more intimate environments created by partition walls and glass cases that were setup in the middle of the rooms that contained objects divided by material to allow for easy viewing and ambulation.



Figure 46: here, one of the ceramic galleries, photographed in 1909, indicates the vast spaces and plain walls served as neutral backdrops for the artfully arranged displays using the materials of the objects to indicate the relationships between them.



Figure 47:
Ground floor interior courtyard of
Palazzo Corsi-Horne.

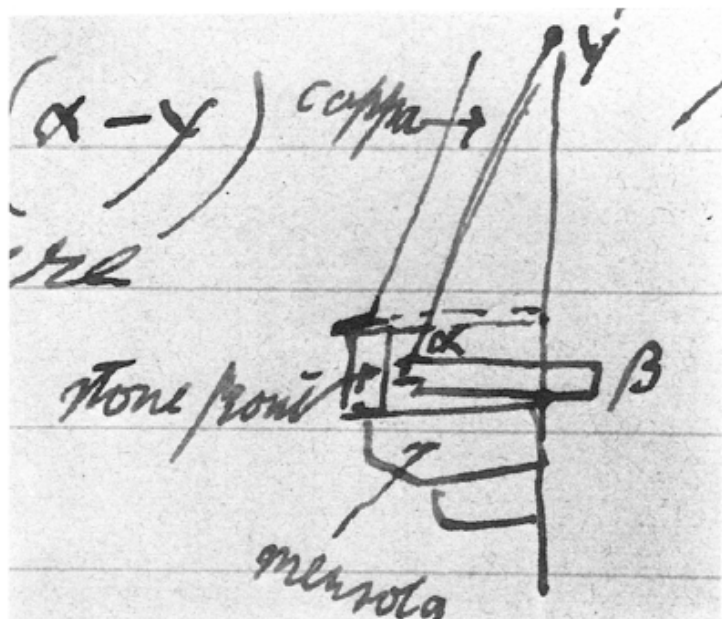


Figure 48a &b:
September 27 and 28 drawings in Horne's
restoration journal.

Figure 48a
Drawing of the second floor kitchen showing the
stabilization of fireplace.

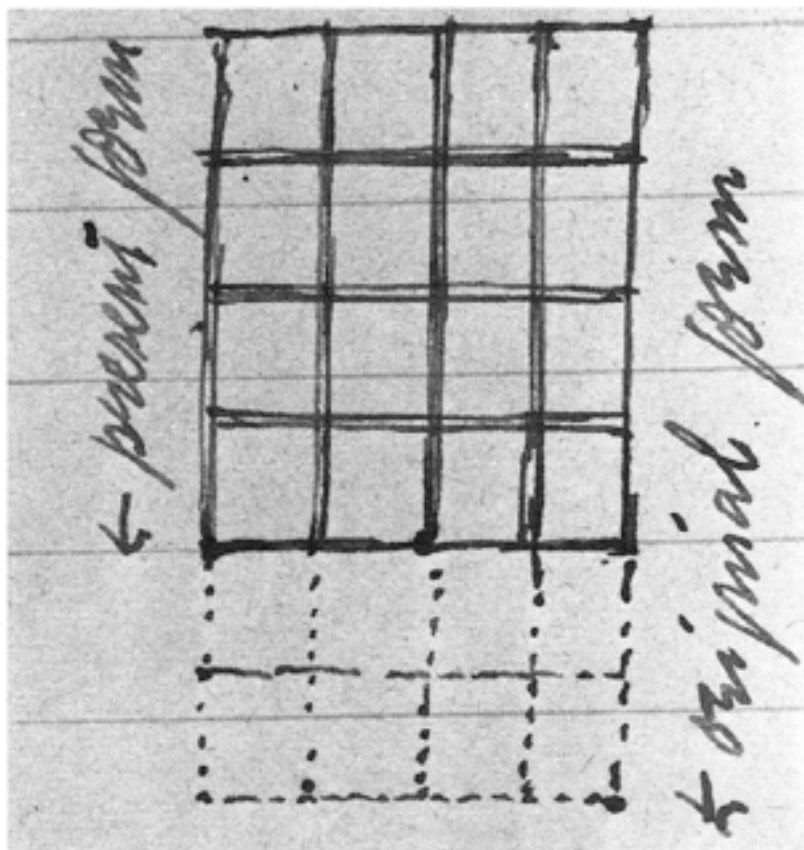


Figure 48b:
Landing between the ground floor and
the first floor. The drawing shows
how Horne found a window, and his
design proposal around the original
form.

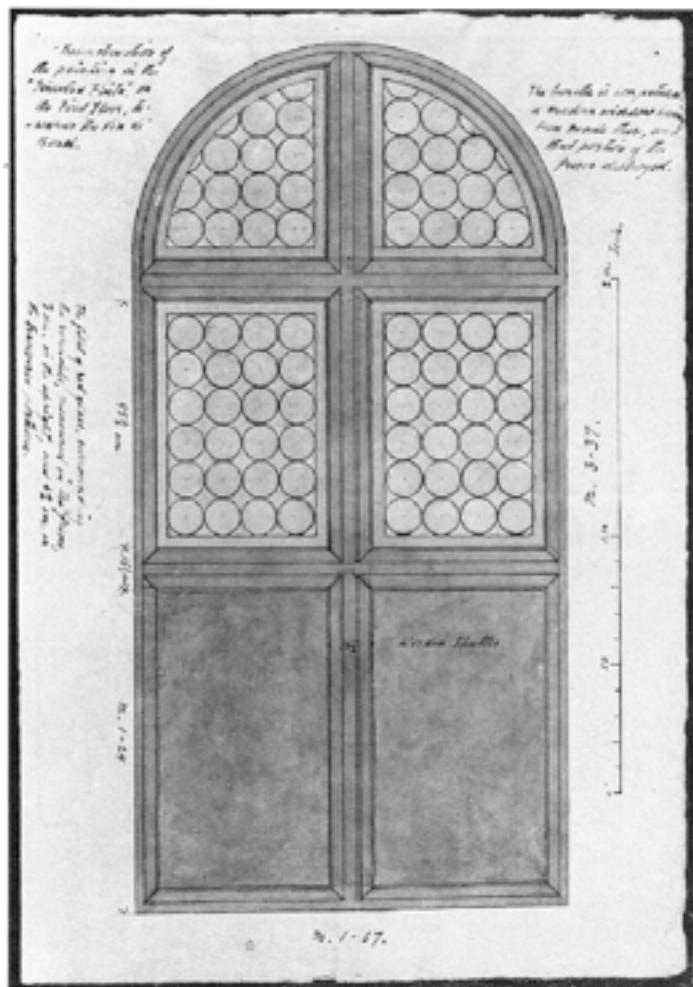


Figure 49:
H.P. Horne
Drawing of *fenêtre finte* for the facade of Palazzo Corsi-Horne.



Figure 50: Building before 1921 showing the windows that inspired his drawing. Due to the current conditions of the building's exterior they are difficult to discern.



Figure 51:
North central Italy
sixteenth century
Walnut
Horne Museum, Florence



Figure 52:
Room in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, curated for the 1911 exhibit, Mostra del
Ritratto italiano dalla fine del sec. XVI all'anno 1861.



Figure 53:
 Palazzo Davanzati, Florence
 a. exterior after Elia Volpi's restoration, ca. 1910.
 b. Kitchen, year unknown. Ca. 1910?
 c. second floor bedroom ca. 1910 - 1916.





Figure 54:
The main room on the second floor before its interpretation and display, ca. 1920.



Figure 55:
Library, ca. 1920,
Horne Museum, Florence.
According to Claudio Paolini, the furniture was probably placed here for the photograph, but did not remain placed here.



Figure 56a: Room 31, first floor, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, ca. 1920.



Figure 56b: A second view of room 31 circa 1920, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, ca. 1920.



Figure 56c:
Room 34, first floor, Kaiser Friedrich Museum,
Berlin, ca. 1920.



Figure 57a:
Room three, first floor,
showing Gamba's display, ca.
1921.
Horne Museum, Florence.



Figure 57b:
Main sala, first floor, showing
Gamba's display ca. 1921.
Horne Museum, Florence.

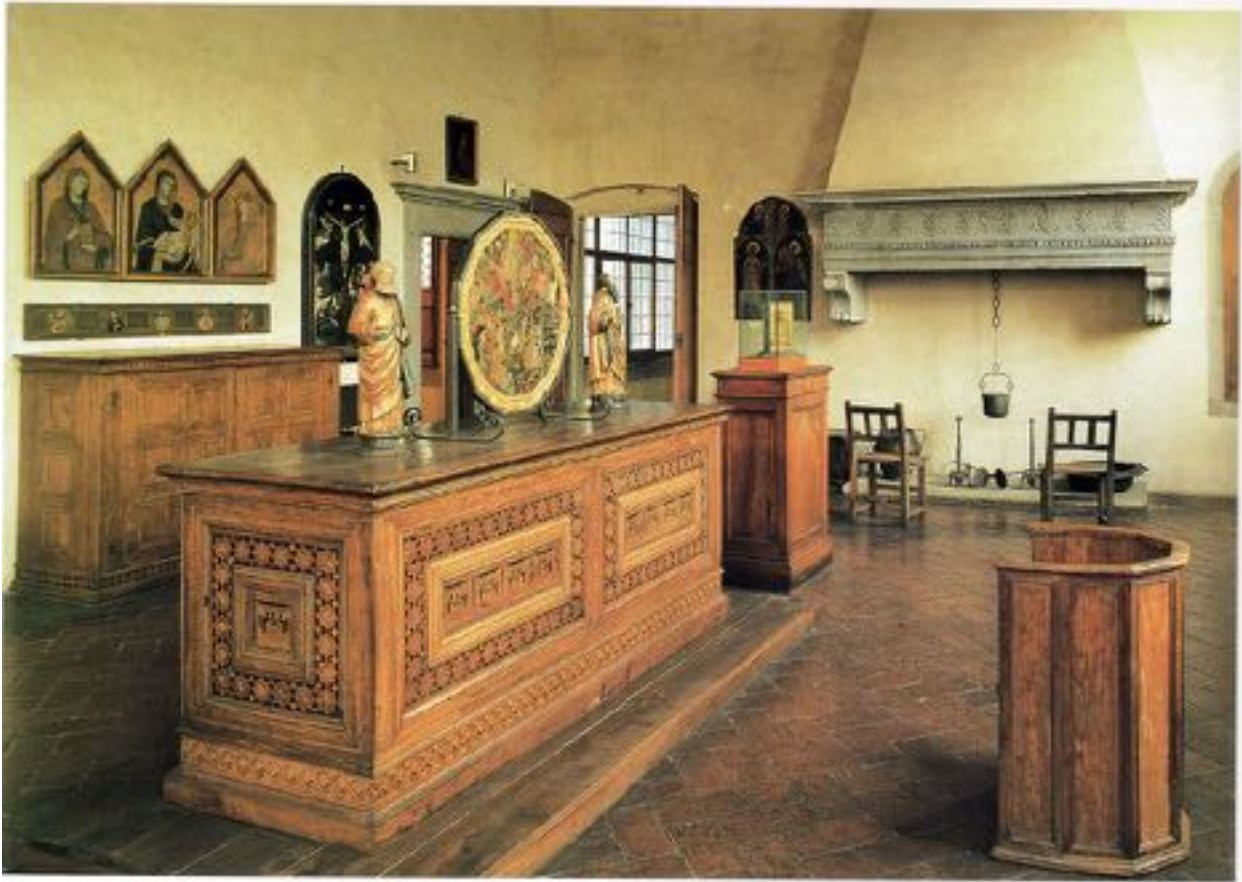


Figure 58: Sala on the second floor arranged by Luciano Bellosi ca. 1975.

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April 11, 1916, three days before his death, Herbert P. Horne authored his final will and testament. It is reproduced here, with the permission of the Archivio Notarile, Florence, and a transcription follows.

N.º 21043

B 70

La mia disposizione testamentaria

Il mio unico erede nel rimanente della vita che possiedo in Inghilterra, la mia sorella Beatrice Ethel St. Andrew Horne London e il mio fratello Horace Louis Stone London e la loro vedova e la loro erede sarà costituito in tutti i termini della loro vita.

Per quanto possiedo in Italia lascio il mio palazzo in Piazza della Banca lungo via dei Turchi con tutto quanto in esso si contiene di oggetti di arte, libri, biblicoteche, mobili ed utensili eccellenti allo Stato Italiano con la stessa condizione che lo Stato e tutte le cose che vi si contengono siano conservati a beneficio degli studi e se possibile in nessun caso di alienazione.

La mia volontà è che venga nominata una commissione di Signori Randall Davis, C. Clingman e altri conosciuti.

Voglio che lo Stato Italiano si incarichi separatamente in Francia un ente autonomo sotto il titolo fondazione Horne con un consiglio di tre membri eguali fra i due nominati nelle persone dei Signori Conte Carlo Jambon, G. Giovanni Poggi ed avvocato Raimondo Orsini e in caso di loro impedimento o rinuncia la loro sostituzione verrà fatta con nomina dal Prefetto della Provincia di Trapani e detto ente presenterà dagli altri due consiglieri, alla morte della mia sorella e del mio fratello le somme e le disposizioni a Londra saranno devolte a favore della fondazione Horne.


La mia fondazione Horne manterrà al meglio il nome di mia sorella e di mio fratello e della quale dovrà sempre corrispondersi una pensione mensile di Lire Traduzione equivalente per tutta la sua vita.

Di Signori avvocato Raimondo Orsini e G. Giovanni Poggi conferisco la facoltà e il mandato di ritirare la somma di Lire Traduzione quindici mila circa da me depositata al Monte dei Paschi e di ritirare alla cassa il danaro contenuto in essa, sempre in attesa di mia spesa della pensione e al pagamento dei relativi costi.

Firenze 11 Aprile 1916

Herbert Percy Horne

Avvocato Francesco Orsini
 Avvocato Raimondo Orsini
 Avvocato Giovanni Poggi
 Avvocato Raimondo Orsini



Transcription of H.P. Horne's Last will and testament:

Mie disposizione testamentarie

Nomino miei eredi nel godimento della sostanza che possiedo in Inghilterra, la mia sorella Beatrice Ethel, St. Andrew's House, London e il mio fratello Horace Louis, Stowe House. ... a ... della legge Inglesi sarà sostituito interesse durante la loro vita.

Per quanto possiedo in Italia lascio il mio palazzo in Via dei Benci angolo Corso dei Tintori con tutto quanto in esso si contiene di oggetti d'arte mobili disegni, biblioteca, nulla escluso o eccettuato allo Stato Italiano con espressa condizione che lo Stabile e tutte le cose che vi si contengono siano osservati a beneficio degli studi e se possibile che vengono accresciute le raccolte.

La mia corrispondenza privata sarà consegnata al Signor Randal Davies. 6 Cheyne Walk, London.

Voglio che lo Stato Italiano istituisca perpetuamente in Firenze un ente autonomo sotto il titolo Fondazione Horne con un consiglio di tre membri i quali fin da ora nomino nelle persone dei Signori Conte Carlo Gamba... Giovanni Poggi ed avvocato Maurizio ... e in caso di loro impedimento o rinuncia la sostituzione verra fatta con nomina dal prefetto della provincia di Firenze e dietro ... presentata agli altri due consiglieri. Alle morte della mia sorella ed mio fratello le ... e mie repositate a Londra saranno devolte a favore della Fondazione Horne.

L'ente o Fondazione Horne manterrà al servizio di custode la mia fedele sovra scrittura ... alla quale dovrà sempre corrispondersi una pensione mensile di lire italiane cinquanta per tutta la sua vita.

Ai signori avvocato Maurizio ... e il Dr. Giovanni Poggi conferisco la facolta e il mandato di ritirare la somma di lire italiane quindici mila circa la mia depositata al Monte dei Paschi e di ritirare altresì il denaro custodito in cassa per far fronte al mia spesa della successione e al pagamento dei relativi conti.

Firenze 11 April 1916

Between ca. 1894 – 1904, Horne fashioned a living for himself as a freelance art critic for a variety of London weekly papers. Horne wrote for the Saturday Review from 1894 - 1900, The Review of the Week in 1899 and 1900, The Londoner in 1900, and The Morning Leader 1900 - 1904. These previously unexamined newspaper articles, the majority of which were published anonymously, represent his most prolific period of writing. Gathered for the first time, the following transcription of Horne's articles allows for unfettered access to his early opinions and ideas.

1. *Nescio quae mugarum: No. I at the charterhouse.*¹

Lately having read much about the great improvements to be effected at the Charterhouse, and being of the humour that delights to realize, as far as possible, the advancements of the age, I thought a visit to the Hospital of King James—that “sacrifice without salt”—not so ill-timed. I had heard there was an old Hall there, “a beautiful specimen of the architecture of James's time; an old Hall? many old Halls; old staircases, old passages, old chambers, decorated with old portraits, walking in the midst of which we walk as it were in the early seventeenth century:” but I found more than this; for, as I passed beneath the Gatehouse, I might have been looking upon a bit of Oxford, only it seemed entirely deserted.

The whole place had the odour of Virgil and Horace. The very echoes of one's footsteps in the quiet courts sounded like a strange reiteration of profound sentences out of Seneca, long laid by and forgotten. And these curious voices followed me from court to cloister, and then down a narrow passage; when suddenly I found myself standing in the monastery of the austere Carthusians. On one of the walls was the very Calvary Cross of the monks. Here was the church of the perpetual requiem for the “unhousel'd” of the Black Death.

But we are going by too long a road to the improvements. Let it be sufficient, then, that here were educated Thackeray, Addison, and Steele. Here Thomas Burnet, author of that philosophical romance, “The Sacred Theory of the Earth,” was master; and earlier, Francis Beaumont, cousin to him of “restraining judgment.”

¹ H.P. Horne, *Nescio quae mugarum: No. I at the charterhouse*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 2, 1886, p. 77.

Here also was taught to delight in “laborious days” the beautiful soul of Richard Crashaw—he “in whom Goodnesse joy’d to see Learning learne Humility”— and the friend of Nicholas Ferrar. It was to these sober walls that his thoughts returned to linger over his school times spent with that “most cultured man,” Dr. Brook, then lately dead. It was within these walls that he asked, in the epitaph for his tutor, that exulting question of his, “Et hunc mori credis?” But away with these;—these are but dreams. We are living in a practical age—an age of science, an age of commerce. A new street is to pass over the graves of the thousands of Pardon Churchyard, and the peaceful spot where departed the spirit of him “whose heart was that of a little child” is to grow vexed with ceaseless traffic; even the “Codds” graveyard is not to be spared. Poor Elkanah Settle! Great offices and warehouses are to rise up magically, as in a night, and sweep away much and mar the rest of this builded record of Saints and Poets. What the fumbling Art of the monks took so many years to carry out, Science will do in as many weeks, three times more skilfully, three times more spaciously, — three times more cheaply. Wake, Crashaw! say, is not this nineteenth century before all centuries? “Et hanc (ætatem) mori credis”!

2. *A study of Inigo Jones.*²

“In the name of God, Amen. The 2 of January, 1614, I being in Rome, compared these desines following with the Ruines themsealves. Inigo Jones.” Such is one of the many and thickly written notes in his copy of Palladio, the folio of 1601, preserved in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford. It appears to have been considered unworthy of the selection of these entries printed in the 1742 edition of Palladio; Leoni probably counting it merely fantastical and superstitious, and revealing Jones rather as an antiquary than an architect. Yet, I think, when remembered in connection with a study of his works, it is one of the most remarkable sentences he has left us, in that he instinctively, yet unconsciously, lays bare to us what are the conditions of Art and what is the temper – “Beyond this Pie corner,” wrote John Stow in 1598, “lyeth west Smithfielde, compassed about with buildinges, as first on the south side following the right hand, standeth the fayre parish church and large Hospitall of Saint Bartilmew, founded by Rahere, the first Prior of Saint Bartilmewes thereto neare adioyning.” It was in this parish church of St.

² H.P. Horne, *A study of Inigo Jones*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 1, 1886, pp. 123 - 139.

Bartholomew the Less, as recorded by the register, that “Enego Jones, the sonne of Enego Jones, was expened (christened) the xixth day of July, 1573,” three or four days, in all probability, after his birth. Of his mother we know nothing, except that she died before 1597, the year of her husband's death, who seems to have been in confined circumstances, and who calls himself in his will, “Clothworker of the parish of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf.” He directs that he should be buried by the side of his wife, in the chancel of St. Bennet's church, and leaves his property equally to his only surviving son, Inigo, and his three daughters; two girls and a younger son, Philip, having died in their infancy.

Inigo Jones, says his first biographer, “was early distinguish'd by his Inclination to Drawing or Designing, and was particularly taken notice of for his Skill in the Practice of Landskip-Painting. 'Twas his Progress in these more curious Arts, that recommended him to the Favour of that great Patron of all liberal Sciences, William Earl of Pembroke. At his Expence he travell'd over Italy, and the politer Parts of Europe.” Other writers would have it that the “great lord at Court” was the Earl of Arundel. It is certain, however, that he was skilled “in the Practice of Landskip-Painting,” for Walpole mentions “a small piece preserved at Chiswick:” it is certain also that he went early into Italy, but not that he went aided by any so reputed for the liberal Arts. His own words seem to imply that this Italian journey was made entirely by his personal efforts; and it is well to determine this, for it would reveal to us the nature of his early surroundings, whether he was the son merely of a poor clothworker, or the lucky choice of Maecenas himself. His words are these: “Being naturally inclined in my younger years to study the Arts of Designe, I passed into forrain parts to converse with the great Masters thereof in Italy; where I applied myself to search out the ruines of those ancient Buildings, which in despite of Time itself, and violence of Barbarians are yet remaining.” More than this it seems now impossible to know, neither have I had the fortune to come across a single relic of this period that might have shown the manner of his studies there: all the Italian notes and drawings, that still exist, belong to the second and later journey of 1613.

From Italy he passed into Denmark, as Webb tells us: —“Christianus the fourth, King of Denmark first engross'd Him to Himself, sending for Him out of Italy, where especially at Venice, He had many years resided.” His stay in Denmark, though long enough to enable him to

direct the building of a portion of the palace of the Fredericksborg, could not have extended over many years: for on Twelfth-night, 1605-6, was "Personated at the court at Whitehall the Queen's Masque of Blackness." The "invention" was Ben Jonson's, but the "bodily part" was "of Master Ynigo Jones his design and act." From this time till 1613 he was chiefly engaged, for the most part in conjunction with Jonson, on these Masks and Entertainments, and with such success "that for variety of Sceans, Machines, Habits, and well ordering of them, in the judgement of all forraign Embassadors and strangers, they exceeded whatever of that kind were presented in any other Court of Christendom besides." To this period of Interludes we may ascribe, with Walpole, those fine, but overloaded, examples of Jones's work which he calls "King James' Bastard Gothic," as the inner court of St. John's College at Oxford.

Henry, Prince of Wales, died on the 6th of November, 1612: and, at his death, the office of Surveyor of the Works to his Household, which Jones had held since 1610, ceased. Finding, perhaps, that a new appointment was not immediately forthcoming, in the Spring, probably, of the following year he made his second and last journey into Italy. It was during this visit that a large number of the notes in the Palladio at Worcester College were made; and at Rome, where he bought pictures for the Earl of Arundel, he filled the little sketch book in the parchment cover with the green strings, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, with notes and sketches, the work apparently of a few days in January, 1614. Here we find a most careful analysis of antique draperies and costume, as is made for future use in the Masks: also anatomical studies, studies of the proportions of figures, and studies of statues and of pictures amongst which are certain inscribed, "Rafael," "M. Angelo" and "parmegano." A great many of the drawings in the book are of heads, one of great beauty, such that, having seen it we can understand the words of Vandyck when he said of Jones that "in designing with his pen" he was "not to be equalled by whatsoever great masters of his time, for boldness, softness, sweetness, and sureness of his touches."

In 1615, on the death of Simon Basil, being appointed the King's Surveyor of Works, he returned to England. It was on this occasion that he bore that witness of his devotion to his art "which exceeds all Examples, and may for ever be a President unto the servants of Great Princes." For the Office of His Majesty's Works having, in the time of his predecessor, contracted

a great debt; “He was sent for to the Lords. of His Majesties most Honorable Privy Counsel, to give them His opinion, what course might be taken to ease His Majesty of it, the Exchequer War, although at the first the Court Masks continued with their former magnificence, it is his work as an Architect, work that changed the whole fashion of English Architecture, which makes this the most remarkable period to us of his life, and a chief time of English Art. Chapman, in his dedication to Jones of his translation of Musæus, 1616, penetrating, like Blake, all things to their most secret heart, touches upon the innovations of Jones very acutely. “Ancient Poesy, and ancient Architecture,” he says, “requiring to their excellence a like creating and proportionable rapture, and being alike overtopt by the monstrous Babels of our modern barbarism, their unjust obscurity letting no glance of their truth and dignity appear but to passing few, to passing few is their least appearance to be presented. Yourself then being a chief of that few by whom both are apprehended, and their beams worthily measured and valued, this little light of the one I could not but object, and publish to your choice apprehension; especially for your most ingenuous love to all Works in which the ancient Greek Souls have appeared to you.” This term of Chapman's, “The Monstrous Babels of our modern barbarism,” is scarcely too strong a censure of much Elizabethan work; whilst “your choice apprehension of the ancient Greek Souls” very justly expresses Jones’ love of severity and simplicity. He had found Architecture extravagant with faults akin to the worst excesses of the Euphuists; he left it restrained by the most perfect culture the world could give him, and filled with his own enchanting soul. Though much of Gothic detail and ways of building remained in the early part of King James' reign, mingled with strange distortions of Classic forms; the spirit of Gothic had for ever passed away. The Elizabethans were perpetually striving to regain this departed temper, and re-create the old Gothic under the semblance of Ionic pilasters being empty, and the Workmen clamorous. When He of His own accord voluntarily offered, not to receive one penny of His own Entertainment, in what kind soever due, until the debt was fully discharged.”

From the date of his appointment till the outbreak of the Civil and egregious arabesques. That was impossible; for Gothic was as much the unconscious expression of the Middle Ages as were the temples of Athens of the Ancient Greek souls. Jones instinctively knew this. He knew also that architecture to him must ever be the effort of an individual, not the outcome of an age,

and his art must therefore be eminently traditional or Classic. Now the great law of Classic, or traditional architecture, is the predominance of the horizontal over the vertical lines; while that of Gothic, or spontaneous architecture, is the ascendancy of the vertical over the horizontal: for Classic, with its lines stretching over the earth, was the architecture of enjoyment; Gothic, with its spires and thousand pinnacles, the architecture of aspiration. But men, nor was Jones excepted of them, had lost the zest of Medieval days, and had found that, with all its vices, there was still something in the philosophy of Epicurus that was just and worthy. No example, I think, of his work shows Jones' acceptance of these things more clearly than the Church of St. Catherine Cree in Leadenhall Street. The old church, where Holbein was buried, and which seemed "to bee a very olde thing, since the building whereof the high streete hath beene so often rayed by pauementes, that now men are faine to descende into the saide Church by diuers steppes, seuen in number," was, it is said, pulled down in 1628, and the present Church finished in 1630. But there are many things which incline me to place the rebuilding several years earlier, perhaps anterior even to 1613; especially the three circular pediments and the fantastical parapet that originally surmounted the south front, and which were replaced by the present plain parapet between 1733 and 1838. At the same time a square turret, which Jones had designed, and the old Perpendicular windows, were destroyed, and the present bell-cot and belfry windows worked into the Gothic tower of 1504. A plain parapet also, in all parts of the church, took the place of Jones' strange device, of which a mere fragment may yet be traced on the West Front, between the tower and the end of the Nave. Inigo Jones, in rebuilding this church, though he retains the general arrangement of the Gothic architects, their arcade and clerestory, together with much of their detail, as their vaulting, their cusps, and their mullions, yet nowhere does he violate the Classic spirit, nowhere are the horizontal lines broken, because he felt that his life was not spent in reaching after the aspirations of Mediævalism, but after a new morality, the sensuous discipline of Art: therefore thus much he took from the Gothic builders, thus much and no more. But to turn from the reasons of his perfected work to the work itself. Of this there is, perhaps, no finer example than the Banqueting House at Whitehall, now the Chapel Royal, so long as we remember these two things:—that the plinths in the balustrade were to have carried statues, and that the present building is, comparatively speaking, but an insignificant portion of the palace as

first planned by Jones, one of the two side blocks, in fact, separated from each other by a central and larger block exceeding them in height by another story; the three forming together the east side of the great central court, which measured 740 by 378 feet. Of the whole palace, there are the drawings on rollers at Worcester College, probably by Webb, the unsatisfactory plates of Kent, and the still more unsatisfactory series of Colin Campbell, together with some few odd drawings in the Soane Museum and elsewhere. But as all these designs contain errors of taste which any real study of the portion erected would not allow us for a moment to ascribe to Jones, I am inclined to think, with Walpole, that these various plates and drawings are a cento from his sketches, and done from no finished design. Much, however, remains to us of the palace that would have exceeded all palaces, even the Escorial, the building that might have held the Titians, the Mantegnas, the Rafaels, and all the pictures and sculpture of Charles; its front of a thousand feet of columns and statues, its seven courts, chief amongst which was the surprising circular or Persian court, with its many orders and caryatides crowned with a crown of statues. But let us not search too nearly into this unsubstantial fabric; rather let it be

“A wilderness of building, sinking far, And self-withdrawn into a wondrous depth,”

divining it, perchance, in our minds, as at times haply one might dare to call back from the Ivory Gate visions of the tomb of Julius or of the unwritten soul of Keats.

The present Banqueting House was commenced in 1619, six months after the old building had been destroyed by fire, and it was finished within two years; the Master Mason being Nicholas Stone, the sculptor of the shrouded figure of Donne in the choir of St. Paul's.

From a “base of rustique” rises the first order, which is Ionic, the capitals and entablature of which first tell of the growing richness of the order above, which the architect intended to close magnificently in the statues of the gods standing against the heavens. In the second, or “compound order,” an entasis in the columns and pilasters, fuller than that of the lower order, brings additional life into the work and leads the eye up, through the band of ornament in the frieze and capitals, to the pedestals for the statues, each statue repeating a capital beneath it; while the growth of the whole is aided throughout by most subtle relations of proportion both of

the chief parts and of the details. The gradually increased richness of this elevation is as organic and reasonable as the growth of a plant whose lines become less restrained until they at length burst into a crown of flowers; and yet, with all its luxuriance, it is as broad and simple as the most classic of buildings, and the reason is simple, for none of the surfaces are broken, and all the ornament is, theoretically, in shadow.

It is well also to notice the manner in which the capitals have been thought of as masses, and the volutes and leaves as minor masses; and the superb art with which these masses are echoed along the frieze, in the wreaths and masks, exquisitely connecting capital after capital, weaving them into a decorative whole. This band of sculpture has a beauty and fitness akin to the best Florentine work, and equalled by no architectural carving that I know of in London. Certainly it is above all comparison with the florid wreaths that Wren finely placed on his halls and churches.

Here, lastly, as in everything he did, is particularly marked Jones's orthodox use of the classic orders, the result of his long study of Palladio and Vitruvius. In contrast to this palace of Whitehall, before we pass on to something more nearly connected with it, let us stop to see how our master treated an ordinary street of houses. The whole of the south side of Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, was originally built from the designs of Jones, tradition says, at the expense of the Jesuits, and was to have formed one side of a square which, like the greater part of his essays in architecture, was never completed: and as the north side was not built until nearly a century later, this tradition may not unreasonably be accepted. Of this series of houses, only two, Nos. 55 and 56, or what is more probable, one house divided into two, remains. The character of the cut brick work between the first and second floor windows of No. 55 would seem to date it anterior to his second visit to Italy, and also that form of capital so peculiar to him, and which is presently made perfect at Whitehall, is here exaggerated in a manner suggestive of an early period. But how prodigal of effect is the cornice, broad, delicate, and yet so bold:—broad in its treatment, exquisitely delicate in its mouldings, and bold, beyond imitation, in the light and shade thrown by the eaves. With what advantage might the builders of our new London study this little example of our master's art; for this could unerringly show them, if indeed anything were able, that coarseness is not boldness, neither is meanness delicacy.

Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, had at length, in 1622, given up York House in the Strand to George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham. Villiers was assassinated in 1628. It was during this interval of six years that he borrowed the stone collected for the repairs at Old St. Paul's, and employed Jones to design the Water Gate still remaining on the Thames Embankment near Charing Cross, as a first step towards the rebuilding of York House. Campbell says it was erected in 1626, and there is no reason to suppose this is incorrect. In Hollar's drawing in the Pepysian Library, the river surrounds, on the three sides, a plain plinth supporting the gate, which plinth extends in front of the bases of the columns so as to form a platform, from which a broad flight of steps, equal in width to the space between the two outer columns of the river front, leads to the water. We now not only look down upon it, as it stands in a hole away from the river, but the plinth and steps, if they still exist, are completely buried; so that we see it shorn of its proper height and deprived of the reason of its existence. The felicity of its proportions has long been praised; not so its simplicity and the largeness of scale on which it is conceived: yet the quality which here is most worthy of our study is, I think, the sense of fitness which it reveals.

Of the palace that Jones had hoped to raise behind it, all that a diligent search could discover was a drawing at Oxford for an enriched and panelled ceiling, decorated with gold and blue, and bearing the motto of Buckingham, "FIDEI CORTICVLA CRVX," inscribed on the frieze. There is nothing on the drawing definitely to tell us that it was intended for York House, but as the same motto is cut on the frieze at the back of the water-gate, this seems sufficient ground for the supposition. Dallaway speaks of a painted ceiling like that at Whitehall, though I can find no other mention of such. But this comparatively slight relic is sufficient to show us the palatial character of building to which this grand rugged gate was intended as a foil. Magnificently would the fine sense of texture obtained by the contrast of the severe Tuscan pillars and the strange elongated keystones with the great masses of rusticated work have told against the delicate breadth and richness of a frontispiece, like that of the Banqueting House. Here, too, as at Whitehall, we find his accustomed concentration and reserved use of ornament; the decorative placing of the scallop shells finely preparing the eye for the masterly masses of carved work above. Nor must we forget that the low side walls yet mark the original height of the walls of the garden terrace up to which the river once flowed. In those days who would might

have rowed quietly up to the gate, and standing on the steps have seen through its repeated archway John of Bologna's Cain and Abel in the garden beyond; and would not have been surprised if, having passed into that enchanted plot, he should have found Francis Bacon walking there.

Yet these are but exterior examples: of his interiors, however, not so large a number have escaped the hand of the last two centuries. Somerset House, Shaftesbury House, Physicians College, "my lo Matrauers his house at loatsbury," Sr Peter Killigrew's "in y black fryers," no longer exist; whilst the houses in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden have been too frequently patched and altered, especially inside, to give any adequate idea of their first state. But Ashburnham House remains, hemmed in by the cloisters and conventual buildings of the canons of Westminster. Here is the same restraint, the same breadth with boldness, the same simplicity with richness, but altered to the new conditions of light, and coupled with a certain picturesqueness proper to interior effects; a picturesqueness, however, very different from that unreasonable bringing together of what is wholly unlooked for which characterizes our modern houses. That is the picturesqueness of fashion which passes, this is the picturesqueness of mind which endures: for throughout the continued change of effect which is seen by ascending its largely planned staircase, everywhere beneath the apparent confusion are the order and repetition which are the first part of architecture. But the relief-work with which our master here enchants his ceilings, cornices and walls, chiefly attracts the eye by its difference from the ornament which our modern architects scatter over their buildings. We have already noticed the felicity of the decoration on the frieze of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. As that for stone, so this for plaster is equally admirable: the design on the broad ribs of the ceiling of the drawing room is as fine and delicate as Florentine work. The upper wreath of the cupola over the staircase has all the forms and decorative placement of Luca della Robbia's bands of Italian fruits and flowers; while the lower wreath, with the same charm of light and shade, might have been gathered from our own English gardens. But besides this Italian exquisiteness, they have a strength and directness which is altogether of England, yet without a taint of her vulgarity or her coarseness; and upon the whole is set the seal of the times of Charles the First.

There is yet another little work of his, weather worn, mutilated and forgotten, still remaining within a few yards of the busiest part of Tottenham Court Road, which is worthy of a brief notice. In 1634 had died his “ancient poor friend,” George Chapman, “silently glanced that, like a thunder-bolt, looked to have shook and struck the firmament.” He died on the twelfth day of May, and was buried in the yard on the south side of the church of St. Giles in the Fields, that was presently to hold the ashes of Andrew Marvell. “Soon after,” says Anthony a Wood, “was a monument erected over his grave, built after the way of the old Romans by the care and charge of his most beloved friend Inigo Jones; whereon is this engraven, Georgius Chapmannus, poeta Homericus, Philosophus verus (etsi Christianus poeta) plusquam celebris, Etc.” The little monument still stands on the south side of the modern church of St. Giles; but a new slab has been let into it, bearing a different inscription from that which Wood gives.

St. Paul's, Covent Garden, though commenced in 1631, was not finished till 1638, being consecrated by Juxon on the 27th September in that year. It seems to have been the last of his works, certainly the last of any importance. But meanwhile the troubles of the king had accumulated; and in 1642 his standard was raised at Nottingham.

For two years, from August 1643 to October 1645, Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, had held out Basing, in Hampshire, against all the Parliamentary forces; saying “that if the king had no more ground in England but Basing-house, he would adventure it as he She demands Form and Style: and form and style, as Goethe tells us, are only to be obtained by a study of the antique. But he that had lain dead nearly a century before Goethe was born, had in his younger years divined this, and “passed into forrain parts to search out the ruines of those ancient Buildings, which in despight of Time itself and violence of Barbarians are yet remaining.” He has been commonly accused of studying these buildings for the sake of archæology: he studied them because he knew they would give him Form and Style; and the causes of them, Selection, Composition, Concentration, and Subordination. These make Art, Art; and the possession of them are her essential conditions. Thus it was when in after years, having become fully convinced of the truth of his early instincts, he compared the designs in Palladio with the ruins themselves that he felt the event proper to be noted in the serious manner we have seen, solemnly sealing it with his name. And through this study he was led to an orthodox use of the old orders,

almost surprising for so original a mind; at no time suggesting even, as we have seen in our survey of his work, anything of the imaginative piling together of parts with which his successor, Sir Christopher Wren, distinguished his inventions.

Inigo Jones, unlike the architects of recent times, did not clamour perpetually after an architectural style of his own, because he knew that locked in the “hushèd casket” of his soul was the magic secret of all architectural style, charm and distinction; not the charm that holds the passing hour of fashion, but that which enchants all time, and the distinction of which the world is impatient, chafing against it, railing at it, insulting it, hating it, and ending by receiving its influence and undergoing its law. These two ways of speech, through which his spirit might speak to men, were sufficient for him, and the into a new architectural style, as different from all that the world has yet seen, as the style of the Renaissance is from the style of the Greeks.

This, then, is the conclusion of the matter; it is of little importance what we do, but it is of all importance how we do it. And this perhaps might be worthily commended to those who are continually building around the fragments of Jones' work, to our modern architects. Estimable company of tradesmen, so diligent of your construction, your sanitation, your economy; so triumphant in your expedition, so glorious in the quantity of your labours; all of which are so admirable and so necessary. Have you not been like Inigo Jones, nay, infinitely more than he, studious of the past; not of the classic only, but also of all the Renaissance and all the Gothic buildings which in despite of Time itself are still remaining; in the hope that you might make for yourselves an architectural style? And yet who cares for the acres of your labours; who stays to listen and worship? And so you think to redeem your failure by the wonder of your appliances. Perchance, unhappily, one day it will dawn upon you, that yours is no failure of not understanding building, but of not understanding life. This Inigo Jones assuredly understood; living the life, not perhaps according to the pattern of Paul, but after the pattern of the Muse, certainly. Everything he laid his hand upon bears witness to the “fear and trembling” which William Blake thought so necessary to great art, and shows how he worked in the faith of a higher purpose than the mind can conceive, and in the hope of a more perfect beauty than the eye can see; or as he himself loved to express it, “In the name of God, Amen.”

HERBERT P. HORNE.

3. *The life mask of William Blake.*³

Whoever has studied with somewhat more than usual attention the only two considerable portraits (For I cannot account as considerable that little sketch of himself which you will find in Gilchrist's *Life*, nor that other sketch by his wife, drawn in profile and with his hair flaming, which it is now my fortune to possess) of William Blake which his times have left us, I mean that painting of Philips and the miniature of Linnell, must have concluded with himself somewhat in this way, that, setting aside the variant manners of their painters, and the different ages at which they were done, if they are true records of the man, they are records of contrary moods, and that the facts of the face recorded in each are those only that express and insist upon their several tempers. Though we are justly careless of the aspect of most men, yet some we desire to know for a prohibition, others for an example. But of whom, seeing we are not so happy as to possess the *Veronica*, would we ask a likeness rather than of those priests of men on whom were laid the very hands of God, and whose lives are the seals of their ordination, of those to whom it is said, "Thy whole body is full of light?" For the light of the body is in the eye, and the face is, as it were, but the shadow of the mind.

And though at the first we may be repelled by his limitations, yet ultimately, I think, William Blake must be counted of the number of these silent priests; and of him then a true likeness will be asked. But it is hard to reconcile the only two portraits that we have of him. We are in need of impartial witness to the truth of either, or, if it may be so, of both. Such witness, so far as it relates to the moods expressed in them, we already have in his writings and inventions and in the record of his life. But where shall we find such a witness to the truth of the facts of his face, of the outward "show of things?" Happily it is preserved to us in the *Life Mask* of which we are enabled, through the kindness of Mr. George Richmond, to give the accompanying photogravure. It was taken by Deville the Phrenologist when Blake was about fifty years of age. Much of the forced expression of the nostrils, and more particularly of the mouth, is due to the discomfiture which the taking of the cast involved; many of Blake's hairs adhering to the plaster until quite recently.

³ H.P. Horne, *The life mask of William Blake*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 2, 1887, pp. 29 - 38.

It is with such considerations as these, that I would have the student of Blake approach his Life Mask. I have purposely avoided going into the conclusions to which these considerations would lead; yet I will add one word more about portrait painting in general.

To paint a great portrait is not merely to select "the chief lines and master-strokes of a face." Portraiture is the criticism of painting.

Not criticism as it is commonly understood, but rather a faint, though sweet and harmonious echo of that first and most merciful of acts, "Fiat lux." That opening page of the Jerusalem where the old man is taking a star, the sun of a planet like ours, but of greater magnitude and of a keener brightness, to search into the inscrutable caverns of the mind is a happy figure of it. More is required of the painter of a great portrait than the power to express himself with a brush and pigments on canvas. He must descend into the wells of the being of him whom he would deliver living to all time. He must make the master-strokes of his mind shine through the chief lines of his face, that thereby we may know him: for "he whose face gives no light shall never become a star."

HERBERT P. HORNE

4. *Nescio quae mugarum: No. IV. Carols from the coal-fields and other songs and ballads by Joseph Skipsey.*⁴

Of the many volumes of verse lately published, one of the few worthy of regard is that containing Mr. Skipsey's collected poems. As yet he certainly has not gained the attention which he deserves; for he is a true poet, and all true work, great or small, demands the most conscientious and discriminating study that we are able to give it. In the present instance we must be pre-eminently discriminating, for we cannot read a dozen pages of his book and not recall to mind what our most discriminating living critic said of Wordsworth:—"Work altogether inferior, Work quite uninspired, flat and dull, is produced by him with evident unconsciousness of its defects, and he presents it to us with the same faith and seriousness as his best work." And

⁴ H.P. Horne, *Nescio quae mugarum: no. IV. Carols from the coal-fields and other songs and ballads by Joseph Skipsey*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 2, 1887, p. 76.

not only quite uninspired, but quite lamentable work does Mr. Skipsey present to us with the same faith and seriousness as his best work. We read this poem and are delighted:—

*“The wind comes from the west to-night;
So sweetly down the lane he bloweth
Upon my lips, with pure delight,
From head to foot my body gloweth.
“Where did the wind, the magic find
To charm me thus?
say, heart that knoweth!
‘Within a rose on which he blows
Before upon thy lips he bloweth!’”*

And then, turning the leaf, we come upon this:—

*“She snapt her fingers, on her heel,
Her sweet boot-heel—”*

have this empty influence over him. Every poet, and the greater he is the greater seems the necessity to him, must work his deliverance through whatever man he takes for his classic. Someone he must use for his deliverance, but as a guise of verity behind which to screen himself he must not use him; for a poet, above all men, must be true to himself; not that I would suggest for a moment that Mr. Skipsey is knowingly untrue to himself; but to be true to ourselves we must first fulfil the old command "Nosce Teipsum;" and this Mr. Skipsey has not perfectly fulfilled, else he would have seen that such deliverance as Blake could give him was not to be found in the Songs of Innocence. If we turn to the biographical notice of him at the end of the book, we shall at once discover why he invariably fails in certain subjects, and succeeds only in certain others. Here we read "Joseph Skipsey has passed the greater part of his life in coal-mines; he comes of a mining race At seven years of age he was sent into the coal-pits at Percy Main, near North Shields. Young as he was, he had to work from twelve to sixteen hours in the day,

generally in the pitch-dark; and in the dreary winter months he only saw the blessed sun upon Sundays ... But he had a brave heart ... He taught himself to write, his paper being the trap door, which it was his duty to open and shut as the waggons passed through, and his pen a bit of chalk." Who would wish such a man to succeed in "Psychic Poems," or in "Song Sequences," or in "Historical Ballads"? Had he perfectly fulfilled the old command it would have withheld him from such attempts. But he has not perfectly fulfilled it. Hence it is that he often uses Blake, and Burns on occasion, as a guise of verity behind which to screen himself, or, in short, he is led merely to imitate them as in the poems called "My Merry Bird," and "Polly and Harry;" and the result is an entire absence of style. And should we not expect this? for what is style but the setting free of whatever personality we may have by saying that which we desire to say in the simplest manner we are master of. This, and nothing more than this, produced the inimitable style of Burns and Blake. And so it is with Mr. Skipsey. When he is true to himself, how individual and delicate is his style. Take this of his :-

THE DEWDROP.

*"Ah, be not vain. In yon flower-bell,
 As rare a pearl, did I appear,
 As cover grew in ocean shell,
 To dangle at a Helen's ear.

 "So was I till a cruel blast
 Arase and swept me to the ground,
 When, in the jewel of the past,
 Earth but a drop of water found.*

Here is his "affinity" to Blake. Here, as in the poems, "The Hartley Calamity," "Uncle Bob," "Get up !" "Alas!" he reveals his most precious talent, his profound sense of the pathetic mystery that fills all things in heaven and earth; what Blake sought to express in the figure:—

*"Weeping o'er,
 I hear the Father of ancient men."*

and Virgil in the line:—

“Sunt lacrymae rerum; et mentem mortalia tangunt.”

It is his sense of the reality and seriousness of life, his lust of its joys and sorrows, in short, his sincerity that we shall chiefly value in his verse; not a little possession to be lord over for like men, the art that has not this leaven must presently be known for a tinkling cymbal.

If I have spoken of his faults, at greater length than I have spoken of his excellences, it is only because I have a large and sincere admiration of his finer pieces, and am fearful lest his inferior work should obscure the work of his more inspired moments. It is to be hoped that a further edition of his poems will shortly be needed, and that Mr. Skipsey will unhesitatingly regret not a little of the present volume. His technique is of the simplest, and his vocabulary limited, so that they would show best in a small compass. An unflinching hand and a sure judgment would have a book of few pages, but of significant value. And this is much to be desired, “*Quod si scandalizaverit te manus tua, abscinde illam: bonum est tibi debilem introire in vitam, quam duas manus habentem ire in gehennam, io ignem inextinguibilem.*”

5. *Nescio quae mugarum: no. VI. St. Mary-le-Strand*⁵

A portion of the cornice of the church of Saint Mary-le-Strand having fallen down, the church has been pronounced unsafe, and a movement is abroad for its demolition. This is no reason for its removal, it is only an excuse. The present lust to annihilate the masterpieces of Gibbs, witness the portico of Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, as well as the masterpieces of Wren, is one of the surest revelations of the real state of the architecture of to-day. It is the natural thing for the age that could build—let us say for example Northumberland Avenue, to wipe out of existence the work of men the greatness of whose art was only the expression of the sincerity of their lives.

Northumberland Avenue is apparently a street of the most imposing architectural buildings, but really, with perhaps one exception, it consists of vast erections in which there is

⁵ H.P. Horne, *Nescio quae mugarum: no. VI. St. Mary-le-Strand*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 2, 1887, p. 160.

not the slightest trace of any feeling for art, or the least presence of any, one architectural quality. Simplicity, proportion, composition, and subordination of parts are wholly wanting in these buildings; much less do we find in them any taste, delicacy, depth of feeling, or distinction; neither are they in any way related to—No, no! they are very admirably related to the times.

One's first impulse in a matter of this sort is to write an elaborate appeal for the church of St. Mary-le-Strand; to point out that in some ways it is finer than the more celebrated church of St. Martin; to plead also for St. Olave, Jewry; for the faultless tower of St. Mary Magdalene, Knight-riding Street; to point out that Wren and Gibbs had each of them an architectural style as real and distinct as the style of Palladio is from the style of Bernini: but what a farce this would be. The question whether these buildings are to stand or not, appears to rest entirely with men to whom there seems less chance of the qualities and worth of fine architecture dawning upon them, than there is of the other side of the moon revealing itself to future astronomers.

HERBERT P. HORNE

6. *Note upon Blake's Sibylline Leaf on Homer and Virgil.*⁶

Owing to the demands on our space this quarter, I shall not be able to write as full a note upon the Sibylline Leaf, of which we give a facsimile, as I should otherwise have done.

As to the date of the Leaf, although the water-mark in the original from which our facsimile was made, is dated 1821, yet, I think, the plate itself must have been made many years previously to this. The Sibylline Leaf entitled "The Ghost of Abel" was etched in 1788.

Perhaps the chief source of difficulty in understanding Blake's literary pieces arises from his persistent and entirely indefensible use of common words in a limited and special sense of his own. So when in the present note on Virgil he says: "Grecian is Mathematic form. Mathematic form is eternal in the reasoning memory. Living form is eternal existence, Gothic is living form," he is opposing the words "Greek" and "Gothic" in a limited and special sense of his own. He held that Jupiter "begot on Mnemosyne or Memory the great Muses, which are not inspiration, as

⁶ H.P. Horne, *Note upon Blake's Sibylline Leaf on Homer and Virgil*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 2, 1887, pp. 115 - 116.

the Bible is;” and therefore to him all classic art was formed by the daughters of Memory, that is, produced by the head, while Gothic is "surrounded by the daughters of Inspiration,” that is, begotten of the heart. To what extent he carried this special use of the word “Gothic” may be seen from the inscription on his engraving after an old Italian drawing attributed to Michael Angelo, of “Joseph of Arimathæa among the Rocks of Albion.” “This,” he adds, “is one of the Gothic Artists who built the Cathedrals in what we call the Dark Ages.” In this sense of the word the Bible, equally with his own works, are essentially “Gothic.” As nothing, in so short a space, can throw so much light upon the leaf in question as the Preface to the Book of Milton, I cannot do better than give it entire. “The stolen and perverted writings of Homer and Ovid, of Plato and Cicero, which all men ought to condemn, are set up by artifice against the sublime of the Bible; but when the New Age is at leisure to pronounce, all will be set right, and those grand works of the more ancient and consciously and professedly inspired men, will hold their proper rank; and the daughters of memory shall become the daughters of inspiration. Shakespeare and Milton were both curbed by the general malady and infection from the silly Greek and Latin slaves of the sword. Rouse up, O young men of the New Age! set your foreheads against the ignorant hirelings! For we have hirelings in the camp, the court, and the university; who would, if they could, for ever depress mental, and prolong corporeal war. Painters! on you I call! Sculptors! Architects! suffer not the fashionable fools to depress your powers by the prices they pretend to give for contemptible works or the expensive advertising boasts that they make of such works: believe Christ and His Apostles, that there is a class of men whose whole delight is in destroying. We do not want either Greek or Roman models if we are but just and true to our own imaginations, those worlds of eternity in which we shall live for ever, in Jesus our Lord.” Though much of this is but a revolt against the dead classicism of the last century, yet, as Mr. Swinburne points out, it is, in the spirit of it, certainty and truth for all time, notwithstanding in the letter it may read like foolishness.

*7. Potentia Silentii: being a selection of passages from the letters and papers of James Smethan.*⁷

⁷ H.P. Horne, *Potentia Silentii: being a selection of passages from the letters and papers of James Smethan*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 2, 1887, pp. 123 - 134.

If we except a passing reference and a reprinted essay, both of which are to be found in the second edition of Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, the name of James Smetham is one which signifies little or nothing to the world, although he was known to a select circle as a painter of poetic and scriptural subjects, and amongst a large number of intimate friends as a thinker of no ordinary powers. It was therefore with unusual pleasure, being aware of his genius, that I accepted the proposal of Mr. Frederic Shields that he should prevail upon the possessors of James Smetham's letters and papers to place the more important of them in our hands, in order that portions might be selected for publication in this magazine.

Though all the pieces which we shall give in these articles were hastily thrown off in letters, yet they were not entirely written without some thought of being afterwards published, for when we came to read through a long series of papers addressed to his friend, Mr. Wm. Davies, the author of "The Pilgrimage of the Tiber," we found in one of them dated April 24th, 1858, a somewhat lengthy scheme for "a mutual book" "By management," he writes, "I think life might be diverted into a useful channel in the form of a book. I could draw fifty designs on wood, large and small, and get them cut from time to time, storing them up. Our poetry would do something; our letters past, present, and to come, would do more ; and longer essays on our own subjects might be written. As to mode, a good thought has occurred. Of course it must be fragmentary. 'Friends in council' would give some limit as to plan ; and the vignettes, etc., would give it a relish' which, we flatter ourselves, few authors of moderate abilities could give. But what I mean is, that the whole affair when published should affect not to be published; no preface, but fragments of letters about our plan for a book, with innocent remarks about the various pieces in it, and concluding with a hope that one day we shall publish it, having a serio-comic conclusion that our MSS. and pictures had been stolen, and surreptitiously sent out into the world. As to the serious part of the book, without which I could not be content to do it, we might safely preserve our individuality; I my Methodism and dogged adherence to a narrow line, you your free-thinking and horror of 'replies.' We might now and then pelt one another, and do good by eliciting truth that way. The jokey parts should never be so broad as to make the most serious religious utterances seem incongruous; and yet, I think we have a vein of fun which would make us readable."

In an earlier letter of November, 1855, the title with which I have headed this article was accepted. "I like," he says, "The Power of Silence. I don't think it would be better for further motto." And in a humorous sketch appended to the same letter, the scroll of their intended labours is inscribed with it in Latin.

So far as it is now possible, we hope to realize James Smetham's portion of the book in the short series of articles of which, we trust, this may be the first. In a future number we hope to represent the humour, and by reproductions of some of his drawings, the pictorial part of it; but for the present we must content ourselves by giving a selection of literary criticisms taken almost entirely from the series of letters mentioned above as being addressed to Mr. Davies. To me it seems so surely upon these fragments is set the seal and assurance of genius, that any words of commendation of mine, or even of those more fitted to speak than myself, could not well be pertinent here. I shall, therefore, append to these selected pieces only such introductory remarks as are absolutely needed for the proper understanding of them.

In this first fragment, dated April, 1857, the one point that seems to require any explanation is the name "Augustus," which occurs twice towards the close. "Augustus" is an imaginary personage who frequently figures in these letters addressed to Mr. Davies as well as in the many sketches they contain. By it James Smetham would seem to intend a playful over-emphasization by certain traits in his own character; but we hope to illustrate this more fully later on.

"If a traveller passing in a 'dark summer dawn' over a lofty mountain track across moorlands very wide and waste were to see, as the amber of the east revealed the world to him, a strange looking image at a distance among the heather, dark against the purple horizon and the yellow daybreak 'in a bed of daffodil sky,' and coming near to it were to discern unmistakable evidence that a huge granite rock had been carved into the rude images of two human beings; if wondering, he were to examine its base and find that neither by name, nor by style, could he tell whether it had been carved two or ten centuries ago.—To his eye it seems as if Michael Angelo, striding in his sleep across the wild, had been trying to realize a human nightmare which would not let him rest in his bed; and yet, though there is the colossal aim, there is not the science of Angelo. "Two human forms are locked in an embrace strong and stern as death. The woman strains her arms round the man, but the man—or, as he looks, is it the fiend ?—fings one arm and

one clenched hand, outwards and upwards, as if in imprecation. The faces gaze at each other with portentous passion. The features—as he strives to study them, he sees that there are no features, but lichen and moss and obscure trenches of grey storm-battered stone-glimmer into expression only while he is not searching them. He doubts whether it is an unheard of freak of nature; and yet there is design, and unity, and simplicity, and meaning, and unutterable passion, with pathos which rends the heart. ‘Who did it? and when? and why? and what does it mean? and why have not I heard of it before?’

“The shapeless base springs out of ruddy, clustering heath; a wild rose or two has found its way there. The bleat of a yearning lamb cries out of the deep bloom of the heather. Overhead a lapwing gleams and wails. Dew lies and sparkles all about. He cannot tear himself away; he dare not stay, for he begins to think curious thoughts better for him not to indulge ; and coming some days after into the town, his friends think him silent and 'queer'; and in answer to his story about the granite figures, they look silently at one another; and as he cannot tell the whereabouts, and no one has ever heard of them before or since, they conclude that he only set out on his pedestrian tour after the strains of publishing his last volume.

“The general and lasting reasonableness of his conversation on all other topics will never persuade them that incipient fever has not something to do with Augustus' story of ‘The granite figures.’ And to this day they are always observably peculiar in their manners when stranger or friend incidentally grows curious about that summer trip which he persists in saying was the pleasantest he ever took in his life. “The place, though, where he saw them was ‘Wuthering Heights,’ and the granite figures were Heathcliff and his lover Catherine; so that Augustus was by no means feverish, nor though he can render no account of the whereabouts, does it much matter.

“The above rhapsody is my ‘impression’ of Ellis Bell's work, and I think I feel it to be great; but whether it comes from my own or another mind, such a mode of using the grand and glorious faculties of the mind demands continual protest; and I feel as I grow older, and I trust wiser, more disposed to denounce and renounce all such action of the intellect and heart. At twenty I should have gloried in it; at thirty-five I as heartily despise it both in myself and others. The intellect is not the foundation of glory and grandeur. That which the ploughman has in

common with Sir Isaac Newton, is the vast base of the pyramid of human glory and the simplicity of the Gospel.' That is the crown of life, the perfection of beauty."

In an earlier letter, dated December, 1855, he gives his impressions on first reading "Wuthering Heights:!"—"I can't find it in my heart to criticise the book. If I were walking with you over those empurpled fells for an autumn day, startling the moor sheep and the lapwing with passionate talk, I could not criticise what you said or I said. It would become sacred. The remembrance would make my soul swell, and the tears come to my eyes in the midst of the stern hard life of the city.

"And yet if I could see it to be a duty, I should greatly enjoy shutting up in a lone farmhouse for three days in the winter, to write a criticism on it. It is a wild, wailing, moorland wind full of that unutterable love, and anguish, and mystery, and passion, which form the substratum of high natures. Turner has a landscape which is it. It is those wild hills, and a storm is wuthering over them, and the molten lightening is licking the heather, and nobody knows it but the one solitary soul which he has not put there, who is watching it from a window in the waste.

"But there is a very solemn and peaceful perception of a truth most powerful just now to my mind, even while I am giving inwardly a full unrestrained tribute of sympathy and admiration to this book and the mind that conceived it, namely, that the real eternal, the true, the abiding, does not lie in these grandeurs and swelling emotions and entrancing passions in any measure. They are indeed noble lineaments of our nature but that by which we live is different

... "Heathcliff is quite impossible, and therefore so far feeble. He is no bogie to me at all. Catherine is far more fearful because quite possible. Heathcliff is an impalpable nightmare, and I put him beside that man who followed me in a dream with a loaded horsepistol among the rafters of Lincoln Cathedral holding a dark lantern."

In a series of passages collected by Mrs. Smetham we find this yet further allusion to Wuthering Heights, which seems to make still more clear the purpose of the preceding criticisms on it.

Take an instance of wrong work of the imagination, and its deadly effects. A line of poetry sometimes pierces me like an arrow, and for some years past two lines from 'Wuthering Heights' (quoted there) have given me acute pain :-

'It was late in the night, and the bairries grat
The mother beneath the mools, heard that.'

If ever those two lines came across my mind I used to feel them sting. I heard the wail of the children, and saw the dusky corpse lift itself in the darkness—when the 'four handed mole' was scraping, incapable of helping—with the heart quick and beating, and the sudden tear starting to the decaying eye and running down the phosphorescent cheek. Mine seemed to be a pain of human tenderness, till one day I thought to myself, "that's a lying dream and clear contrary to all imaginative truth, poisonous because it stings you to no purpose. Let anyone write of the wail of a starving mother, and your imagination wakens your sympathy. And when you see a pale appealing face in the rain, you have the line ringing in your ears, and you give a penny you would not have given, and you come nearer and nearer to going up garret stairs, which you will some day if your heart goes with your imagination on healthful journeys. All hail! to Thomas Hood for the 'Song of the Shirt' with the muffled thunder, and smothered lightning of its wild numbers. There imagination is healthy and deep."

This last fragment, a little essay on poetry, is taken from a letter to Mr. Davies, entirely devoted to verse serious and humorous, dated May, 1855 :—

"Writing poetry should be a very serious business where it is published, so never mind how much you chip and hew; a man is very weak if his second thoughts are not his best. I will not say anything about Cardinal Bembo's fortieth revise, but generally three or four will serve a strong man's purpose. If a man has not very generally, when body and mind are fresh, his imagination at command he 'hasn't got none,' and these rules have no respect to that man. But thought is like the block of Isaiah's idolater; part he burneth in the fire (destroys), with part he roasteth the roast (feeds himself), and saith 'Aha! I am warm,' (enjoys his own ingenuity and comforts himself with it), and with the rest he makes a god; and then the Shelleys and the Byrons fall down and worship the work of their own hands: but the righteous man dedicates and adorns them that they may become cherubim whose outspread golden wings gleam under the carven palms and pomegranates of the Temple; and Hiram, the widow's son of Tyre, is anointed with the spirit of wisdom and understanding, so that his dreams are filled with the pendant lily-work and

the fair wreathings of the Sanctuary, catching, while the veil is drawn aside, a glimmer of the Shekinah.”

For the present this must suffice, but in the following number we hope to give further examples of these remarkable criticisms, and on subjects no less interesting. In conclusion, we must acknowledge our entire indebtedness to Mrs. Smetham and Mr. Davies, without whose generosity we should not have been able to enrich these pages in the way we have done.

THE EDITOR

8. *Thoughts towards a criticism of the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti.*⁸

The latest biographer of Rossetti, if indeed this poet can be said to have had a biographer as yet, speaking of “The Blessed Damozel,” remarks: “Nothing in the descriptions recalls any preceding work. In Protestant literature, at least, it is a thing unheard of in a poem in a sense religious, to find no trace of biblical phraseology.” We must needs, I think, have some misgiving as we read the first of these two sentences, whether the originality of the poem really does lie in the descriptions, and whether after all the descriptions do not recall to mention only one name, Coleridge. But when we come to the words, “In Protestant literature,” we are indeed fairly taken aback, and ask ourselves if this writer has made any effort to understand the poem he is trying to analyze. And yet this is no unfair specimen of the sort of criticism that Rossetti has, for the most part, hitherto received. But I must rather be obliged, than otherwise, to Mr. Knight, for he could not have given me an initiative fuller of suggestion: “In Protestant literature,” and this too of “The Blessed Damozel.”

As I was turning over a short time since the thin leaves, with their heavy seventeenth-century type, of the Hesperides and thinking where in English art, till we come to the art of Rossetti, can we find a parallel to Herrick's surprising resource of pictorial detail, where but in Rossetti's pictures is such a profusion of sweet sights and scents as in this old poet, with his April, May, his June and July flowers, his lutes of amber, his harps and viols, his wealth of colour, from the vermilion that the Lady of the Nuptial Song trod upon, to the green silk cord

⁸ H.P. Horne, *Thoughts towards a criticism of the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 2, 1887, pp. 91 - 102.

with which the silver bow of the girl in “The Vision” was strung, mixt, as they are, with the odour of spikenard, musk, amber, and those other smells sweet as the vestry of the oracles and “set about” his many dainty mistresses, –as these and a hundred such idle thoughts crowded into my brain, I came upon a poem I seemed previously not to have noticed, a poem that made me exclaim, “Here is ‘The Blessed Damozel’ of Protestant literature!” But pardon me, Herrick, that I even for a moment should have wronged you thus. How could you, most delightful of Pagans, have held any but the Catholic faith, the one inheritor of Paganism? Happily, moreover, it is against the nature of art for any true artist to lend a word, much less a poem, to a protestant cause. I should have said, “Here is ‘The Blessed Damozel’ of Catholic literature.”

I will give the poem exactly as I found it at page 373 (London, 1648), of the works both human and divine of Robert Herrick.

COMFORT TO A YOUTH THAT HAD LOST HIS LOVE.

What needs complaints,
 When she a place
 Has with the race
 of Saints?
 In endlesse nurth,
 She thinks not on
 What's said or done
 In earth: She sees no teares,
 Or any tone of thy deep grone
 She heares :
 Nor do's she minde,
 Or think on't now,
 That ever thou
 Wast kind.
 But chang'd above,
 She likes not there,
 As she did here,

Thy Love.
 Forbear therefore,
 And Lull asleepe
 Thy woes and weep
 No more.

It is not for any difference of treatment or style that I place this poem side by side with "The Blessed Damozel." Much less do I wish to compare Herrick to Rossetti. It is for one difference, and one alone, that I have taken the trouble to transcribe the lyric, the difference of the opposite attitudes, as shown in these two poems, of the girl in heaven towards her lover on earth. Set the last verse but one of Herrick's "Comfort" against this twenty-second verse of "The Blessed Damozel," and you have my meaning. The Damozel herself is speaking:—

"There will I ask of Christ the Lord
 Thus much for him and me :—
 Only to live as once on earth
 With Love, —only to be,
 As them awhile, for ever now
 Together, I and he."

But of these what shall we say? Of Herrick's Song we can say but one thing, that its ideas are the natural, the only possible ideas proper to the situation of a man nourished in the old faith, the faith of the Church. But of this new belief of Rossetti? This is a question, a question which, as far so I am aware, no writer has yet answered, or even touched upon; a question which I saw at once could only be sufficiently answered by one who had intimately known him. And so, for a time, I went about perplexed and unsatisfied, till a chance passage in a letter from one of Rossetti's earliest friends laid bare to me the meaning of the riddle. It was this: "One of the most startling and inexplicable features in D. G. R.'s mental character, and one underlying all his poetry, is the materialistic nature of his religion in relation to love. This first appears in 'The

Blessed Damozel,' who in heaven is only anxious for the advent of her lover, without whom she has no happiness, and with whom, if he would only die and come, she would enjoy herself. When he painted for Mr. Graham the picture from the poem, he made the background of the melancholy Damozel literally filled with young people kissing each other. Read 'The Song of the Bower,' one of the very best things he did in point of metre and beauty of lines, and you will find it to mean this :—How is it now in the bower where I missed my opportunity, and I may never have another chance; and yet when this life is over shall we not meet, and shall I not get her in my arms

'One day when all days are one day to me,' —

a lovely line. I often before his later period argued with him about this singular Islamite doctrine, but it was useless," etc.

This at first sight is, as the writer says, not only inexplicable, but startling. That Rossetti should have used this view of love merely as a symbol would not have been surprising; but that he should have believed in it as an actual faith, as a further passage which I have omitted confirms, is certainly somewhat inscrutable. Yet if you will look with me into this strange belief still more deeply, much of its inscrutability will wear away, certainly we shall find in it nothing which we need regard with suspicion. Let me begin by dissenting from the writer of the letter in calling this an Islamite doctrine. Truly it differs from the Islamite doctrine but by a very little, yet this very little is the leaven to which the Kingdom of Heaven was likened. It saves that into which it enters.

If we turn to the Koran and read the description of the garden prepared for the Faithful, wherein is heard neither any vain discourse, nor any charge of sin, but only the salutation "Peace! Peace!" we shall find that the devout of Mahomed look not in heaven for the women they loved on earth but for other and strange women, damsels of Paradise by a peculiar creation, made not of clay, as mortal women are, but formed out of pure musk, —unearthly creatures of lust whose beauty shall neither satisfy nor abate the desire of the dwellers in the garden. But how different is this to the creed of Rossetti which holds that hereafter he shall dwell with the very woman he loved on earth, she whose body Love knew not from her soul and in whom Beauty

was Genius. 'Tis but the natural sequence of that faith of Blake's, developed out of Swedenborg, which held that man has no soul apart from his body. It is surprising, if you please, but beautiful to the uttermost;—a little while and Dante shall meet Beatrice in heaven and so see fulfilled through eternity all the dreams of the Vita Nuova.

Since it is impossible as yet to determine the “master-current” of the literature of which Rossetti's was a part, we being in the very midst of the stream in which he himself moved, we must content ourselves in endeavouring to discover the master-current of the man. And to such an end I have followed out, at this length, my analysis of “The Blessed Damozel,” because it seems to me at once to show not only what this master-current was, but what is still more valuable, the peculiar temper of it and this too at the very beginning of his life, for excepting “My Sister's Sleep,” “The Blessed Damozel” is the earliest poem of his that we are in possession of. His “dominant turn,” he being, as his brother says, “in intellect and in temperament a leader,” his devotion to his mother, his power of friendship, for the Rossetti of the later period is not to be judged as we would judge him before he became subject to the influence of chloral, the medieval glamour of his earlier and the Italian atmosphere of his later work, his extreme sumptuousness, his imposing personality, all these are minor currents and not the central power of his life. It was that same biographer of Rossetti from whom I quoted at the beginning of this notice who, being of the number of those that care not “to rake the bowels of Potosi and the regions towards the centre,” would have called “The House of Life” the House of Love. Had he been speaking of a poet with the catholicity of thought and sympathy of Chaucer or Milton, this would have been true enough. But with Rossetti it was otherwise. To him there was but one spirit that filled the House of Life, it was the passion of Love. estimate of Rossetti, but only to touch upon those things which seem to me most fundamental to an adequate criticism of him, I will now take the recent collected edition of his works and notice such things as I feel necessary to my end. The first thing that must strike whoever opens these volumes is the admirable taste with which they have been edited. In the memoir, in the notes, in the selection of the new matter, this is always present. Indeed so excellently has the book been done, that there is but one thing which suggests itself for the better. This is, if instead of the arbitrary division of the poems under the present heads of “Principal Poems,” “Miscellaneous Poems,” etc., Mr. W. M. Rossetti had arranged

them, great and small, according to what he believes to be their chronological order, the result would have been a distinct gain to the student of Rossetti. The same arrangement might be suggested in regard to the prose. But one is loth to make suggestions even of this kind, for the book and especially the memoir, coming as they do after volumes not only inadequate but misleading, are assuredly to be accepted as perhaps the most staple and worthy contributions that the literature of Rossetti has yet received. I say especially the Memoir, for unlike certain biographies of him that have appeared, it is restricted to such only of the outward facts of Rossetti's life as are necessary to the complete understanding of his works; nor would it have us believe, as some former writers would persuade us, that these outward facts are the vital facts of his life. Let us not deceive ourselves. If there is any truth in what I have surmised to be the master-current of his existence, then its vital facts must needs be those which lie beyond the veil; and until the cloud of the veil may break a little and allow us to make out the chief lines of the great figure beneath, till then let us most fervently trust that we may have no more entirely.

This then was the master-current of Rossetti's life and work. And now that we have his literary pieces, to all purposes, finally collected, by following the course of this current we shall alone find the way that will lead us to a true understanding of them.

As my intention in the present notice is not to attempt any final estimate of Rossetti, but only to touch upon those things which seem to me most fundamental to an adequate criticism of him, I will now take the recent collected edition of his works and notice such things as I feel necessary to my end. The first thing that must strike whoever opens these volumes is the admirable taste with which they have been edited. In the memoir, in the notes, in the selection of the new matter, this is always present. Indeed so excellently has the book been done, that there is but one thing which suggests itself for the better. This is, if instead of the arbitrary division of the poems under the present heads of "Principal Poems," "Miscellaneous Poems," etc., Mr. W. M. Rossetti had arranged them, great and small, according to what he believes to be their chronological order, the result would have been a distinct gain to the student of Rossetti. The same arrangement might be suggested in regard to the prose. But one is loth to make suggestions even of this kind, for the book and especially the memoir, coming as they do after volumes not only inadequate but misleading, are assuredly to be accepted as perhaps the most staple and

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But before speaking of the poems themselves, there is yet another point suggested by the Memoir. Among these outward facts of Rossetti's life, the most remarkable and seemingly least possible of analysis was his enormous personality. For us who only know him through his works, this personality has a magic greater than that of any other man of his time. He had the fascination proper to one who is to lead other men, a power of friendship given to few, and above all he had in abundance God's chiefest gift, distinction. All these played great parts in his individuality, and yet they will not account for it. But may we not find some clue in the fact that though he was English by education, his nature was really that of an Italian? I mean in this way:—he was the first, at least since Inigo Jones, to fuse naturally together in one individual the great characters of Italian and English art. I can imagine something of this fusion in Vandyck of Italian and Flemish characteristics contributed not a little to his being spoken of by his contemporaries as the “glory of the world” and such lavishments. It gave to him a glamour and a semblance of more complete originality than he really possessed. This is no longer an added lustre, but rather something to be sought out and understood by an effort. The people of the time of Charles I. saw Vandyck only through this glamour, and he appeared to them greater than he really was; but to us it is different, and we see him as he is. And so I think it will be with Rossetti. But to pass on to the poems.

“By a general consensus of opinion,” we are told, “‘The House of Life’ has been pronounced Rossetti's greatest literary work.” As the sonnets of Rossetti have alone, of all his verse, been imitated to any considerable extent, I suppose we must accept this statement. However, for my part I have not the slightest hesitation in differing from this opinion of the vox populi. Assuredly some few of the sonnets are among the very finest things that he wrote; but just now I wish to consider “The House of Life” as Rossetti himself wished it to be considered; that is, as a poem written in sonnets of which any single sonnet is no more a whole poem than is any single stanza of any other of his poems. Both in the editions of 1870 and 1881, and in his retort “The Stealthy School of Criticism,” he insists on the unity of his poem as a “Sonnet-sequence.” But the mere fact that no fewer than six sonnets printed separately in the edition of 1870, as having no connection with “The House of Life,” were afterwards, without any material alteration, bodily worked into that series of sonnets, on its completion in 1881, would make us doubt the possibility of their being so. To which let me add this further sentence from the same series of letters from which I have already quoted. “To me who knew how miscellaneous they were and how occasional and accidental their composition was, they are no more a sequence than a basket of apples is a sequence of that fruit.” This, coming from one who, not only from his knowledge of Rossetti, but also from his own critical power, has a right to speak, seems conclusive. However, 'tis but a shallow reading which discloses that “The House of Life” has no such continuous thread of thought by which these sonnets could be rightly said to be strung together into a sequence.

Again, their over-elaboration renders not a few almost incomprehensible, and when we have made our way through this bewilderment of expression, the thought beneath is often entirely unworthy of the pains. But I would have you distinguish this difficulty of expression from his Italian use of words which is quite another thing, and when used moderately has a peculiar charm and fascination.

But by far the most serious defect I have to bring against this poem is one which applies more or less to all his later work, and one which, I fear, will prove more fatal to their final acceptance than anything else. When Emerson said that the reason why Americans would not enjoy Rossetti's poems was because they were “exotic,” he was speaking of the 1870 volume, the

greater portion of which was written before 1862, and the marked difference between the poetry written before that date and the poetry written in 1869 and onward did not become fully apparent till the volume of 1881 was published. "Exotic" admirably and with precision expresses the warm Italian air, so different from the keen fresh atmosphere of our northern life, that fills the earlier work of Rossetti, both in poetry and painting. It is exotic, but all the same natural and healthy; it is still

"The breath of Heavn fresh blowing, pure and sweet."

But in the poetry of 1869 and onward we feel that we are no longer under the open sky, although it was that of an Italian summer, but we are come into a room where the air is imprisoned, and the place choked with the fumes of some frightful narcotic. We rise up from reading these later poems with a distressing sense of weariness and oppression. I know that such Ballads as "The White Ship" and "The King's Tragedy" will be brought forward as a palpable refutation of this opinion; but even in these, I feel, as time goes on and we get farther and farther away from them, this want of true healthiness will become more and more a barrier against their acceptance into the body of that literature which may be truly said to live. Moreover, in these poems, as in the pictures of this later period, his limitations of thought and sympathy become apparent; and we see the mannerisms of his verse correspond to the distressing colour of his flesh painting, the want of proper care in the drawing, and the entirely conventional form of the hands, lips, and necks in his pictures. A comparison of the "Pandora" of 1871, with the "Bocca Baciata" of 1859, shows from what a height of perfection, from its own point of view, the art of Rossetti had fallen.

And perhaps I must now give my reasons for having thus pointed out even the decadence of a man to whom we owe as much, possibly, as to any other poet of his time. Rossetti is entirely to be read, digested, and admired,—read, digested and admired with discernment; but never to be taken as a model, never to be followed as a master. His Italian nature precludes that we, who are of Northern blood, may do more than imitate him, and imitation invariably means an exaggeration of the worst faults of the original. His best work in its extreme elation and richness

of thought and expression often strained the capacity of his art to the utmost; and his later work but too frequently topples over into obscurity. A more dangerous model we could not have, and yet there is a growing tendency among our younger writers not only to imitate him, but to imitate him in his least sound work, his Sonnets.

But if we can look on Rossetti with sober eyes and distinguish his best work from work which is morbid and over-wrought, what a living well of freshness shall we find there; indeed a water poured forth! He did not give us any new thought, or any new criticism of life, or, as Blake, any new attitude towards religion; but he brought a new temper more exalted and more sumptuous, than had been known before, to the passions of men. In a word, he made a selection of the ideals of Dante, and idealized them. For this we cannot be too thankful, for poems like "Jenny," like "The Blessed Damozel," like a few of his early Songs, and for pictures like "Monna Vanna," and the "Beata Beatrix." But why stay to laud him thus? He is not likely to be wronged by insufficient praise, but rather by too much praise, praise that is indiscriminate.

HERBERT P. HORNE

9. *A brief note upon The Winter's Tale.*⁹

It was long a matter I could not reconcile with my own mind, that the last, for so it would seem, of the plays written entirely by Shakespeare, the play following "The Tempest," that most faultless of all the master's efforts, should lay itself open to such criticism as Schlegel's when he says, it divides itself in some degree into two plays; for what is this objection but the most radical that can be urged against a work of art, an absence of unity?

Even if we except those few confessedly unactable plays of Shakespeare, it is not always that we would choose to see a drama of his upon the stage. But "The Winter's Tale" is not one, I think, which we care only to read. Read through by itself, those many breaks and lapses of time assuredly seem to disjoint it; and it was not until I saw this comedy acted some little while ago, that I altogether realized what now appears to me the method employed in its construction, by which the old limits of time, place, and action, are to a certain extent replaced by a studied unity

⁹ H.P. Horne, *A brief note upon The Winter's Tale*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 3, 1888, pp. 109 - 115.

of temper, of intention, and of ideas. Indeed the very carelessness of the play, carelessness, it is true, which only a master bent on high things can beget, when set against the fine equality of "The Tempest," almost suggests the thought that Shakespeare himself felt that the story of "The Winter's Tale" rendered it a play for acting; whereas in the other play, with its Ariel and its Miranda, he had divined that men would come to read it, sooner than rest content with any bodily presentment of ideas so transcendent, and bestowed therefore upon it the ultimate touch.

It was, as I have said, in the acting, in the gradual unfolding of the story, part by part, that the true sequence of the piece seemed to suggest itself; and by approaching the play rather as one, now for the first time come to see it performed, and as yet unhampered by any prejudice. I felt more and more as the play proceeded, that Shakespeare did not merely call it "The Winter's Tale" because it is "a wild story, calculated to interest a circle round a fireside," but rather because it is a tale "of sprites and goblins," of unlaid fancies of the mind; the tale, that is, which Mamillius would have whispered to his mother in the beginning of the second act: for it is in this little incident that I find the whole method of the play foreshadowed. But bear with me a little, and you shall have my meaning to the full. Let us turn to the passage between Hermione and her child:

HER.

What wisdom stirs amongst you?

Come, sir, now

I am for you again: pray you, sit by us,

And tells a talk.

MAM. Memy or sad shall't be!

HER. As merry as you will.

MAM. A sad tale's best for winter: I have one

Of sprites and goblins.

HER. Let's have that, good sir.

Come on, sit down: come on, and do your best

To fright me with your sprites ; you're powerful at it.

MAM. There was a man—

HER. Nay, come, sit down ; them on.

MAM. Dwelt by a churchyard: I will tell it softly

Yond crickets shall not hear it.

HER. Come on, then,

And givet me in mine ear.

Thus are we prevented from hearing the story we looked to have heard; the sad tale, which is best for winter, is suddenly broken off, and we know not what came of this dwelling by a churchyard. But the dominant of the piece has been struck, and before we are aware, Leontes, his blind jealousy eyed with falsehood and driving him to very madness, snatches the child from its mother, and hurries Hermione to prison. This rude and sudden intrusion sharply enough emphasizes the unlooked-for ending of Mamillius' story; and as with the story, we are in possession of nothing by which we can divine how this tale of "sprites and goblins" of Leontes' heart will fall out. It is the first of those vivid changes of colour that are to follow one upon another, until the story of the play lies before us, like the expanse of the Weald seen from the Kentish hills, on an April morning, when deep shadows interchanged with great breadths of sunlight fly over the land; and rains, and brilliant hues, and the pallor of the shade, rapidly alternate.

Already with the second scene of the second act, the classical limits of time have been exceeded; and at the close of this act, we are told that twenty-three days have gone by, since Leontes had sent Cleomines and Dion to the oracle at Delphos, that the truth about this matter of his wife might appear. But mark how these breaks of time come as a forewarning of those severer breaks, in the next act, that shall disjoint, as it were, the outward sequence of the piece. I mean the sharp news of the death of Mamillius, so hastily followed by those over-passionate tears of Paulina for the dead Hermione. The thread of the story would seem to be snapped; and this apparent breaking up of all possible issues insisted upon, by the remainder of the act merely presenting what we had already heard commanded by the king, and what we might well have supposed had before been enacted. Nothing appears left to Leontes but to seek out the chapel

where his wife and child lie, and shed tears there. "So long as nature will bear up with this exercise," he will use it, for there is no other way. And we remember the story of the man who dwelt by a churchyard, the story which was withheld from us, and committed only to the ear of Hermione.

That objection of Coleridge's, that it seemed "a mere indolence of the great bard not to have provided in the oracular response some ground for Hermione's seeming death and fifteen years' voluntary concealment," cannot hold, if I rightly divine the motive of the master: for had he done so, he would have destroyed the sense he gives us, that in this play we have indeed stumbled upon the mystery of life, that the instant hour alone we can know certainly; hitherto we may come and no farther, but must needs abide to the end, walled in by the inscrutable hereafter. Again comes the blank, the lapsed period, and with Time as Chorus, the wide gap of sixteen years is passed over. The melancholy reiteration of the sorrows that have gone by, in the opening scene between Polixenes and Camillo, makes but the more intense the vividness of the change which at once comes over the play, a change so entire as to leave nothing of former things. The shearing feast, with its country-folk and its music; Autolycus, delightful with his rogueries and his songs; the dance of the Satyrs; and, above all, Perdita with her flowers; how fresh, how enchanting! Now are we, indeed, come into a different world from that of the first three acts; and we are conscious moreover that the master is employing a method very different from the accustomed classical method, with its' severe unities. For the moment, we are almost willing to think that he has exchanged the method of art, with its order and its selection, for the hazard of life, with its chaos and its bewildering variety: and how like Life the play is, Life with its blind future, and ever-present sense of the inexorable destinies.

But to insist upon the change of things is the temper of the play, and so the loves of Perdita and Florizel are broken into, even as the more heroic love of Hermione was. In the device of Camillo to bring all to Sicilia, ending with the announcement that Polixenes himself treads hard upon the heels of the fugitives, we might be led to suppose that in some vicissitude of this newer love the comedy would find its ending. But what, in the whole play, strikes most strangely, is that this incident should be all at once passed over in a by-scene between Autolycus and some gentlemen of the court, who, after relating the discovery of the lost daughter of Hermione and

Leontes in Perdita, and of the consequent reconciliation of her and Forizel to Polixenes, suddenly centre the interest upon an incident apparently trivial, and altogether unlooked for, the approaching display of the statue which Paulina has had cut of Hermione, “and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano.” And with this sudden conclusion of all immediate issues, with this last and most unlooked-for of changes, the closing scene of the play opens.

And what is the extreme issue that we await? for in his art has the master touched upon all life, and now, in the last entire play he shall write, than this he has nothing worthier to show us. Already has Leontes heavily reproached himself, “All mine own folly,” he has acknowledged; and now with the mystery of the awakening music, the truth comes upon him, that through no folly of his can be moved the fixed purpose of the Gods above. In the touch of the outstretched hand of Hermione, and in his cry “Oh, she's warm!” whatever in the play has been crooked, or wounded, or dissevered, is suddenly made straight, and healed, and gathered together; and all this tangle of vicissitudes immediately transformed, and, as it were, by the fire of the moment, cast like molten metal into one complete and unblemished form. At last has it been shown him that despite all the blindness, the uncertainty of the past, whatever desirable in life is his, comes of the repeated bounty of the Gods, for of himself, he had cast it from him. And does it not dawn upon us, growing older, as upon Leontes, that much of this life of our's is a winter's tale, a tale of pain and grief that we ourselves have made, a tale of “sprites and goblins,” of unlaid fancies of the mind upon which we have blindly wrecked so much of our happiness?

HERBERT P. HORNE

10. *Potentia Silentii: being a further selection of passages from the letters and papers of James Smethan.*¹⁰

The last of the short series of critical fragments from James Smetham's papers, published in the previous number of this magazine, was a little essay on Poetry. In the same letter occurs the following poem, dated August, 1855. It recalls some of the poems of Mr. Matthew Arnold in so remarkable and beautiful a manner that I trust it will not be thought out of place to give it here

¹⁰ H.P. Horne, *Potentia Silentii: being a further selection of passages from the letters and papers of James Smethan*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 3, 1888, pp. 8 - 14.

with his criticisms and his “rhapsody” on Emily Brontë. In a previous letter, bearing the postmark of the 14th of the same month in which this poem was written, he advises his friend to get Mr. Arnold's poems, adding, “they are worth reading, and have a capital preface.”

I.

Servant, cease thy labour!
Thou hast borne thy burden,
Thou hast done thy task!

2.

In the violent morning,
When the blast was bitter,
And thy fellows sleeping,
Thou wast out and doing,
With thy stubborn ploughshare
Riving up the hill side
Get thee home and rest!

3.

In the sweltering noonday,
When thy mates were lying
By the purling runnel In the pleasant shadow,
Thou, with arm wide sweeping
And with trenchant sickle,
Filledst thy broad bosom
With the tossing corn.

4.

While from highest heaven
To the western sea-rim
Slowly wheeled the great sun
White, and fierce, and cloudless,
Every blazing moment,

Eager and unresting,
Didst thou clasp the harvest—
Haste thee now to Rest!

5.

While the west grew ruddy
And the birds were chanting
Softly, softly, “Cease ye,
Cease your toil ye mortals,”
Stook on stook behind thee
Didst thou leave to ripen.
But thy arm is drooping,
And thine eye is heavy,
Thou shalt work no longer;
Get thee home and slumber,
Get thee to thy Rest!

6.

Cross the lengthening shadows
Of the peaceful fir-groves,
Cross the quiet churchyard,
Where the mossy hillocks
With their folded daisies
And their sleeping lambkins
All say “requiescat,
Lay thee down beside them
Till the bells chime to thee,
Simple bells that tell thee,
“Rest thee, rest thee, rest thee,”
Till they bring thee rest.

7.

While the huge moon rises,
And the large white planets
Wheel and glow above thee,
 Till the cottage tapers
Swallowed by the darkness
Leave no human symbol
 Underneath the sky;

8.

Sleep a dreamless slumber,
For thine eyes shall never
See the gates of morning
Lift their awful shadows,
Nor the gold and amber
Of the heavenly dayspring
Sparkle on the heather
Of the purple moorland.

9.

Thou shalt wake no more!

But to turn to more direct criticism. The next fragment on “The Newcomes” is taken from a letter dated October 9, 1856, and was written while the writer was still reading Thackeray's novel. “I read with a strangely mixed pleasure and pain. There is immense artistic skill, great taste and self possession, less real misanthropy than I should have judged by a casual glance, on the whole a sympathy with what is right morally. I do not even see opposition to religion, in which he evidently believes, only he believes in it rather dictatorially. He does not believe all that Christ taught his disciples about it. He hates cant, he hates hypocrisy (what sensible, right-minded person does not?) and with these bug-bears he would stop, for the most part, the mouths of those who are quite sincere. He holds up his finger and says, ‘Hush I don't mention it. Very sacred subject that; don't enter on that subject. Hast thou faith? Have it to thyself before God.’ I

feel persuaded that he would be able to put down any one who wished to speak of religion in a personal way, as a matter of personal concernment. He would find an inferior motive for every utterance, and would make the most sincere man who longed to utter his thoughts, and joys, and fears, that others might share them, feel as if he were insincere. And yet he would admire a holy life, a man who was unselfish, and benevolent, and humble. But again who would not? What would he be who hated these things?"

In a later letter, dated the 24th of the same month, he writes that he has finished "The Newcomes" some days ago. "While I read it its characters were often in my head. I looked at things and thought of them under the influence of Thackeray. But now it is faded down to 'an ashen-grey delight,' faded like the large, grand chestnut leaves which hang few and yellow 'upon those boughs that shake against the cold' opposite our window. The world is not Newcomian now.

"How careful should we be in forming all judgments whatsoever. A mind heated with a present subject, and a mind out of which the fires have faded, are in a bad condition for fair judgment.

"It is the Truth that lives. This evening, going round the fields and lanes on my old steps of thirteen years ago, the same grey twilight, sharp air and passive, gold-purple sunset over Highgate, my heart glowed within me as I thought how my life has been changed by the belief of a few simple things since those old days. I thanked God aloud. I said some plain expressions of praise upwards to the heavens where I saw one white star in the grey, tender, blue eastward,—such expressions as I could scarcely repeat, so unlike me to say aloud were they, but I could not help it. My heart was glowing silently like that star in the heavens. A star is ever the same. All that we know of it was known by the shepherds of the East, by us as children; but it is for ever there. The leaves are tossing on the grass or perishing in the pool, but the star is simple and the same. The leaf is not so simple to us as the star, it is not so grand, it is not so ineffable.

"I find the Truth to be like that. I know no more intellectually of it than when I first believed; but what a result comes from its abiding. A deeper, deeper happiness absorbs the heart and pervades the soul, a deepening calm rules and assimilates the faculties and compels them into action,—not excitement, but definite and proper action.

“The Peace of God which passes all understanding, which baffles analysis, which has an infinitude of depth about it, as you cannot understand remote stars, nor the overhanging vault which you cannot at all explore but can only feel as you feel your life, so you cannot touch this Peace of God with your understanding. It is round you like an atmosphere, it dwells in you like a fragrance, it goes from you like a subtle elixir vitæ.”

The only other passage which I have been able to find among these letters to Mr. Davies, of a similar nature with the foregoing and worthy of attention, is this one on Lord Tennyson’s “Maud,” written in August, 1855, shortly after the publication of that poem:—“ It must live, like all exquisite art, and as art it is exquisite, —an episode of life with the commonest romance plot, and the paltriest moral, but wrought out with the lyrical changefulness of the life of this our time, a very complete story told with flying hints and musical echoes as though Ariel had piped it in the little wild island of the Tempest. The poetic power which can swallow newspapers full of business, bankruptcy courts, sanitary commissions, wars, murders, and medical reports on the adulteration of food, and then reproduce them as the conjuror brings out his coloured horn from his mouth after a meal of shavings, is poetic power.”

With this I must conclude, acknowledging my indebtedness to the same source for these passages as for those already published. James Smetham's art and his thoughts on other matters we hope to illustrate in a further article.

THE EDITOR

11. *New reredoes at Saint Paul's, considered in relation to the whole design of that cathedral.*¹¹

Perhaps the one element of the art of Sir Christopher Wren, which abides with us above any other of the many and admirable traits in the art of that master, the one element in all his designs which, study we them never so often, occurs and reoccurs to us with new wonder and unfailing delight, is his unparalleled command over scale: I mean that felicity of his in so relating the proportions of the masses and lines of what is far away to what is near the eye, that the whole composition appears vaster and more sublime than it really is. The precise quality of this aspect

¹¹ H.P. Horne, *New reredoes at Saint Paul's, considered in relation to the whole design of that cathedral*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 3, 1888, pp. 72 - 82.

of his art is of a nature so subtle and evasive, that it is to be suggested rather than defined however delicately. Indeed it is better that it should be sought out every man for himself, than that I or any other writer should attempt to give in words, what can only be completely expressed in Architecture, and is proper to that art alone. I will therefore make but one attempt to convey to you my sense. St. Paul's is to our hand, and we can wish for no better example than the western front: so let us endeavour to stand apart from the traffic under the low archway of Doctors' Commons, and watch whoever may chance to pass on the opposite pavement: or perhaps we may be more fortunate, and find a man leaning against the south-western angle of the cathedral. His height, as he leans there against the plinth, will give us a certain unit of measurement by which we shall be enabled to form a lively sense of the height of that member. In like manner, knowing the invariable proportion of the plinth to the pilasters and entablature, we gain the same sense of the entire order, and so of the second or superimposed order. Only observe that I say a lively sense, not an exact knowledge, a sense that the dimension of this or that order is so many times the height of a man, not a knowledge that it is so many feet high, which tells us no more than any other mathematical conclusion. But I am digressing, and have carried you no farther than the upper order, while my thoughts lie with the colossal statues which stand about the bases of the campanili. We know but too well that these figures are colossal, and yet are but too well content, if so far the spirit of Wren has taken hold on us, to think of them as figures of men only a little above the life. We may see in it the 'ultima manus,' or if we are people entirely of this century, a mere trick; but in the transition to these statues from the endeavour to estimate the upper order the eye is given unwittingly a new unit of measurement, and beholds in the campanili a visionary grandeur, which, had the figures been of another height, it would not have divined in them. In this indefinable relation, effected by these statues, between the western steeples and the men and women moving about the portico, Wren evinces one of the finest touches of his genius in its mastery over scale.

It is doubtless a desirable and noble endeavour to make the cathedral of St. Paul's a more beautiful house for the offices of the Church, and therefore, because of this added beauty, more winning to the people, that they should elect to worship there. In the reredos lately completed we have the first attempt of any significance to bring such an aim to pass; and in this it is worthy of

all commendation. Yet if we have any care for Wren's work as a piece of art admirable in itself, the beauty of which is rather to be increased than out-done and set on one side, we must before all things observe the principles that he observed, the subtlest of which I have sought to point out to you in the foregoing passage. We must relate to the whole building whatever sculpture or decoration we may bring into the church, in precisely the same manner as he related his statues on the west front to the dome and the campanili, and, indeed, all parts to the grand idea of his composition as a whole; for if we once break this harmony of subordination which runs through the entire fabric, there must needs follow as pitiful a result, as if the hand of the painter had erred in touching a mouth or an eye, or the finger of the musician in the midst of one of the fugues of Bach had faltered upon the clavichord.

The matter then, which I propose to myself, is to inquire how far the method and temper of the designer of this new reredos is in accordance with the method and temper evinced by Wren in composing his cathedral; to which end I shall first consider the plan of the reredos, and then pass on to the elevation. In the plan the main idea is that of a central altar piece upon an oblong base, with a curved wing on either side. These in the elevation produce an effect as of one curved surface; and placed immediately in front of the semicircular apse, the impression of the east end is that of curve against curve. But the unvarying practice of Wren, and indeed of all the masters of Renaissance art, is to counteract every curved form by a rectangular form, and every rectangular form by a curve either of a circular or other nature. His was too keen an instinct not to show him in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, that curve balanced only by curve, or line by line, produces a weak impression: and I think it requires very little discernment to perceive how feeble and unscholarly the effect of the apse has been rendered by the introduction of these curves in the plan of the reredos. But to appreciate this distinction more clearly let us turn to the "Parentalia," and learn Wren's own intention in the matter. He had conceived, we are told, "a Design of an altar-piece consisting of four Pillars wreathed, of the richest Greek marble, supporting a canopy hemispherical with proper decorations of architecture and sculpture." In such a design, the rectangular form of the entablature, as it rested upon the columns of Greek marble, would have given the necessary foil to the apse; while the hemispherical roof would have connected these two forms, and so have brought the east end of the church into a harmony;

and I cannot conceive of any other form of altar-piece, save that of a Baldachino, which would have exactly fulfilled the conditions necessary to produce such an effect.

It has been noticed that in Gothic architecture the horizontal lines are always subordinated to those that are upright, but that in the Classic styles the contrary principle is observed. One might refine this criticism still further by pointing out that though in the true surprising height and spirituality of temper; for the old orders of Vitruvius had been informed with a new spirit, the spirit of movement and aspiration. If we would come to examine this sense of movement and see how it is attained, we should find that such an analysis is only to a certain extent permitted us, for the true secret of its nature doubtless is one with that of the inscrutable presentation of spirit understood in Literature, but misunderstood in Architecture, as style.

So far, however, as it is possible, I will endeavour to trace how Wren effected this. In the nave of St. Paul's, as indeed in the choir and transepts of the church, the main pilasters, rising directly from low bases, are carried up without any break to the great height of the main entablature. The loftiness of these pilasters is insisted upon chiefly by two things, the omittance of any plinth, and the immediate imposition of the vaulting upon the attic of the great order; yet in the subtle management of these simple elements Wren obtains much of the sense of movement in that part of the cathedral. But I am wrong in saying that he entirely avoided the use of a plinth, for he has carried along the walls of the aisles, and between the pilasters of the arcade, a band of ornament at that height from the ground, which would properly have determined the height of the plinth of the great order. Wren has not, however, as an architect of to-day would have done, ruled this band of ornament wherever it could reasonably be drawn on his elevation, but he has used it here and there only as he instinctively felt it was needed: and yet by this band of ornament he gives us all the advantages of a plinth, such as the sense of a solid base upon which the fabric rests, or the sense of a unit of measurement whereby we can scale the building, without any of the disadvantages which would follow in this instance from an interference with the essential idea of the upward movement of the great pilasters, consequent on the received employment of such a member.

If entering by the west door we should chance for the first time to see the new reredos on a fair day, the, impression of the whole, after the eye has become a little accustomed to the

brilliance of the gold on the white marble, is that of a confusion of many columns and much sculpture resting Antique, as well as in the Renaissance buildings, the upright lines were never allowed to break the horizontal lines, yet in the later work, following, as it did, the Gothic spirit, and especially in the work of Wren, the total impression is no longer that of the horizontal lines lying grandly upon the earth as in the finest of the Roman theatres and temples, but eminently and essentially that of the Medieval churches rising with surprising height and spirituality of temper; for the old orders of Vitruvius had been informed with a new spirit, the spirit of movement and aspiration. If we would come to examine this sense of movement and see how it is attained, we should find that such an analysis is only to a certain extent permitted us, for the true secret of its nature doubtless is one with that of the inscrutable presentation of spirit understood in Literature, but misunderstood in Architecture, as style.

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If entering by the west door we should chance for the first time to see the new reredos on a fair day, the, impression of the whole, after the eye has become a little accustomed to the brilliance of the gold on the white marble, is that of a confusion of many columns and much sculpture resting upon a double plinth. Nor is the designer content with introducing a double plinth into a building of an acknowledged master, where this member is only suggested, and that with the most subtle and delicate art, but he must insist on their horizontal lines by introducing bands of dark coloured marble which stand out with astonishing significance, inlaid as they are in the crystalline splendour of the white marble. The result is an effect contrary to that which Wren has striven to obtain; and instead of movement and sublimity we receive a painful sense of a deadness and lateral spread.

I spoke a few lines since of the confusion of many columns and much sculpture; to make my meaning clear, let us walk to either side of the dome so that we can see the wood-work of the choir-stalls. Here also is much ornament and of a most florid kind, the naturalistic, carving of Grinling Gibbons. Technically it is very, wonderful; but wonderful only as that pot of flowers by him, which shook surprisingly with the motion of the coaches passing by in the street below, was wonderful. Yet in this wood-work is neither confusion nor restlessness, because this wealth of ornament is never allowed to break or interfere with the chief lines, which are always of the simplest and severest nature. Indeed this florid ornament is subordinated to these simple and severe lines in the same manner as the lines themselves are subordinated, both in their kind and proportions, to the chief lines of the building. But in the reredos all these principles have been passed over; the chief lines are wanting in simplicity; the sculpture and ornament are neither subordinated to these chief lines nor in themselves finely disposed; and lastly, the design of the reredos as a whole is not related to the design of the cathedral so as to become a part of it, as the choir-stalls and the screens of the side chapels are a part of it.

The chief lines are wanting in simplicity. If we consider the lesser order of the colonnade in relation to the wreathed order of the altar-piece proper, we miss that perfect sense of union between the two orders which is distinctive of the finest work; but if we pass on to the consideration of the lesser order of the wings in relation to the double plinth, we are distressed by a most unpleasing disproportion, an entire want of harmony; and without true harmony it is

impossible to obtain true simplicity, else were baldness simplicity. But, moreover, there is a want of simplicity in a more definite sense; for a double plinth and a double order has been used, where in such instances Wren has employed but a single order with the usual plinth.

The sculpture and ornament are neither subordinated to these chief lines, nor in themselves finely disposed. I must confess I have been unable to discover what we are to understand by the term "Greek marble," of which Wren intended to fashion the four wreathed columns of the Baldachino: but from being spoken of as "the richest," it would seem to have been of a deep colour, and not the marble of Pentelicus, or some other of an ivory sort. However, I am certain it was of such a kind, that viewed from a distance it would have appeared of a uniform tone: for a marble of a very pronounced figure would ill agree with the elaborate lines of this form of column. But the architect of the reredos has not only overlooked this nicety, but he has garlanded his columns with gilt leafage work; so that when we look at them from a distance the outline of the columns is lost in the sheen of the gilding and the mottling of the marble, and we do not receive from them that impression, which is the first thing to be demanded of a column, the sense of support. This is but one instance of a want of due subordination in the ornament to the chief lines of the design. But touching the disposition of the sculpture; let us consider the central subject, the Crucifixion, as a mere arrangement of white masses against a dark background, and then turn to a fine example of the Florentine art it would emulate, such as that altar-piece by Andrea della Robbia in the cathedral at Arezzo, and how insipid an imitation does it appear by the contrast! What variety is there obtained by the simple balance of the crucified Christ against the two kneeling figures! With what delicacy are the three groups of angels on either side of the cross given their right degree of prominence; with what mastery are the winged heads disposed!

But here there is neither variety, nor a musical arrangement of the masses.

Lastly, the design of the reredos as a whole is not related to the design of the cathedral so as to become a part of it, want of harmony; and without true harmony it is impossible to obtain true simplicity, else were baldness simplicity. But, moreover, there is a want of simplicity in a more definite sense; for a double plinth and a double order has been used, where in such instances Wren has employed but a single order with the usual plinth.

The sculpture and ornament are neither subordinated to these chief lines, nor in themselves finely disposed. I must confess I have been unable to discover what we are to understand by the term "Greek marble," of which Wren intended to fashion the four wreathed columns of the Baldachino: but from being spoken of as "the richest," it would seem to have been of a deep colour, and not the marble of Pentelicus, or some other of an ivory sort. However, I am certain it was of such a kind, that viewed from a distance it would have appeared of a uniform tone: for a marble of a very pronounced figure would ill agree with the elaborate lines of this form of column. But the architect of the reredos has not only overlooked this nicety, but he has garlanded his columns with gilt leafage work.; so that when we look at them from a distance the outline of the columns is lost in the sheen of the gilding and the mottling of the marble, and we do not receive from them that impression, which is the first thing to be demanded of a column, the sense of support. This is but one instance of a want of due subordination in the ornament to the chief lines of the design. But touching the disposition of the sculpture ; let us consider the central subject, the Crucifixion, as a mere arrangement of white masses against a dark background, and then turn to a fine example of the Florentine art it would emulate, such as that altar-piece by Andrea della Robbia in the cathedral at Arezzo, and how insipid an imitation does it appear by the contrast! What variety is there obtained by the simple balance of the as the choir-stalls and the screens of the side chapels are a part of it. By placing the lesser order of the wings upon the double plinth, the highest member of its cornice is brought on a level with the corresponding member of the cornice of the pilasters that support the arcade; by this device not only is Wren's practice in the use of a diminutive order inverted, but the whole effect of the arcade of the choir is dwarfed, and all the finest touches of his art to give that essential impression of movement and sublimity rendered of no avail. And this brings me to the consideration of the most serious defect of the whole design, its excessive height. Seen from the nave of the cathedral, we have in the apse an echo of the lines of the dome, and a beautiful close of the many lines of the building. It was desirable to hide as little of this by an altar-piece as possible, and so for this reason the form of a Baldachino especially commended itself. But now the apse is practically cut off from the rest of the church, and the reredos, from its great height and extent, becomes a portion of the structure, instead of the design of the cathedral.

It would seem to me, so far as I have been able to discover, that the architect of the new reredos has endeavoured to produce an effect of light and shade upon the white marble columns and golden capitals as they mingle with the perspective of the apse beyond, an effect akin in temper, though but superficially, to the temper of Gothic tabernacle-work with its want of restraint and its freedom from premeditation. But the mysterious effects of Wren were very differently produced. A critic, perhaps the subtlest of our age, has observed of Leonardo da Vinci that he was always desirous of beauty, "but desired it always in such definite and precise forms, as hands or flowers or hair." And so it was with Wren, who was always so desirous of mysterious beauty, of vast sublimity, but desired it not only in the definite and precise forms of the architecture of that time, but in these forms used so logically that we can say why each is used as it is, and not otherwise: indeed, there is no whit of his detail which he has not argued out to its last conclusion. Of these mere externals of his art we can speak with precision, as one might gather up in one's hands the abundance of a woman's hair; yet the inscrutable spirit of the thing evades us, and we cannot divine, even in our crucified Christ against the two kneeling figures! With what delicacy are the three groups of angels on either side of the cross given their right degree of prominence; with what mastery are the winged heads disposed! But here there is neither variety, nor a musical arrangement of the masses.

Lastly, the design of the reredos as a whole is not related to the design of the cathedral so as to become a part of it, as the choir-stalls and the screens of the side chapels are a part of it. By placing the lesser order of the wings upon the double plinth, the highest member of its cornice is brought on a level with the corresponding member of the cornice of the pilasters that support the arcade; by this device not only is Wren's practice in the use of a diminutive order inverted, but the whole effect of the arcade of the choir is dwarfed, and all the finest touches of his art to give that essential impression of movement and sublimity rendered of no avail. And this brings me to the consideration of the most serious defect of the whole design, its excessive height. Seen from the nave of the cathedral, we have in the apse an echo of the lines of the dome, and a beautiful close of the many lines of the building. It was desirable to hide as little of this by an altar-piece as possible, and so for this reason the form of a Baldachino especially commended itself. But

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The day is almost too late to put forth any suggestions concerning the decoration of St. Paul's: besides my remarks are likely to be the most unpopular in this age of extravagances; but this, by the way, is a reason why I should hazard them. Excepting, perhaps, some of the mosaics in the spandril of the dome, any attempt as yet by way of decoration, has been far from satisfactory. The gilding of the stonework makes but a tawdry show and is little in keeping with the solid magnificence of the masonry; and yet the problem is to tone down the cold effect of the interior, as we see it at present. If the stonework is to be left untouched, this can only be effected by the introduction of colour in the glazing of the windows; but here, again, we are met by another difficulty: for stained glass is essentially medieval in sentiment, and the substitution of the irregular leading of the modern windows for the square panes of Wren's clear glazing is in result so unhappy, that the mellow light thus gained in no way balances the loss of the original paning, the effect of which was so finely calculated by Wren. There is in the three little eastern

windows of the crypt, some painted glass which, I am told, has been designed and executed, within the last few years, by Mr. Westlake. Here the square panes are more or less preserved, and the design is freely drawn in a dark, reddish-brown colour, regardless in a certain sense of the lead lines; and no colour is introduced excepting the occasional use, here and there, of a simple yellow stain. Windows such as these, if we will only make clear to ourselves the difference between painted and stained glass, and the necessary conditions proper to the production of each, may be made as fine and legitimate examples of art as the Jesse window at York, or the windows of some of the French cathedrals. They would be sufficient to mellow the cold masses of the stone work; they would partake of the temper of the building; and, above all things, the regular paning of Wren, which is so essential to complete the full beauty of the whole composition, could be exactly preserved in them.

One word concerning the mosaics and then I have done. In spite of all that has been urged against Sir James Thornhill's paintings in the dome, however unworthy they may be as paintings, yet considered purely from an architectural stand-point there is much in them that is eminently satisfactory. It is easy to say that it was from no wish of Wren's that their execution was entrusted to Thornhill, that the faults of perspective in them are unpardonable, and that Wren himself desired that the dome should be covered with mosaics. Despite even these objections, I cannot but think that their architectural lines were founded on the suggestions of Wren, and that any new design which is to replace them by mosaics must be based upon some variation of their constructional lines, if it is to be permanently admired. To me, that extraordinary sense of vastness, which we now feel on looking up into the dome, is due in no slight measure to the absence of colour; for the sombre tones of the grissaile work mingle with that cloud of grey atmosphere which so often hovers beneath the cupola, obscuring all, until we actually seem to fancy an apprehension of something beyond the dome. Cover this retired space with the brilliance of many colours, and from being far off and uncertain, its field will become distinct, and so appear nearer the eye than it does at present. But, after all, do not spaces that are nearer the eyes, such as the vaults under the balconies in the dome, at the junction of the aisles of the transepts with those of the nave and choir, first demand to be filled? Let these, then, be covered with mosaics of a low and mellow tone, where neither gold nor vivid hues have too marked a

prominence; for nothing is farther from the intention of Wren than this wealth of sumptuous marbles, this prodigal blaze of colour, who much as he delighted in the beauty of porphyry and jasper, and in the richness of splendid mosaics, spared yet to "interpose them oft," and was not unwise. He loved these things, indeed, but he used them seldom, that thereby they might appear the more precious. We err if we think that Wren conceived of his cathedral as ultimately to be filled with all the exuberance of the Roman art of his time; it was conceived in the same temper as that in which Milton conceived the "Samson Agonistes"; with the same severe restraint, possible only to the greatest spirits, as of one working in perpetual awe of the imminent presence of God; with the same simplicity and "plain heroic magnitude of mind."

HERBERT P. HORNE

12. *Notes on the 'Quadriregio' of Federico Frezzi, by Richard Garnett, to which are prefixed some remarks upon the principles of wood-cutting.*¹²

The frontispiece to our last number consisted of a wood-cut done from a design by Mr. Selwyn Image. Our chief aim in publishing this, apart from whatever worth we may consider it to possess in itself, was to protest against the false standard of art which to-day entirely perverts the efforts of the wood-engraver. Several friends who criticised this illustration, although allowing us the best of intentions, were forced to confess it signified nothing to them but what was wayward and unintelligible. If they were right in expecting in a wood-cut merely a certain naturalistic representation of the subject proposed, then I am only too willing to confess that our illustration was entirely inadequate. But if, on the other hand, the treatment of a wood-cut, apart from its conception, consists in a simple, broad, decorative arrangement of lines and masses in black and white, so drawn that they can be cut with such labour only as is proportionate to the labour spent in making the drawing, then I must submit that whatever faults Mr. Image's design has, and we are very conscious of these faults, yet, as a wood-cut, it is from its mere treatment and style, not to be entirely passed over by those who would see this art lifted to a place comparable to that which it had among the early Italians, and in the hands of the first of the

¹² H.P. Horne, *Notes on the 'Quadriregio' of Federico Frezzi, by Richard Garnett, to which are prefixed some remarks upon the principles of wood-cutting*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 3, 1888, pp. 34 - 39.

German masters. This much in Mr. Image's wood-cut, at least, should be acknowledged, that it strove to use the limitations of the art to its own advantage, and did not affect by a series of tricks to seemingly master that which is not to be overcome.

But in the art of to-day as generally understood by its innumerable aspirants, this would be deemed the least of virtues, or rather the most foolish of vices. The one object of that great body of artists would seem to be an endeavour to make their several arts express that which can be rightfully expressed only by another means. Those various qualities peculiar to each art are now ignored, which in other times than ours were their strength and their beauty, and the delight of the masters who practised them. In water-colours, for instance, the charm of the transparent blotted pigment on the white paper is passed over in the attempt to emulate by means of body-colour painting in oils as it is known at the Exhibitions. And what is this painting in oils as it is known at the Exhibitions? An attempt, shall we say, to vie with the Venetians, to make the subtle greys of the solid painting gleam through the rich colour of the glazes, such as Titian was master of? Not altogether, I fear. In sculpture, again, the treatment of eyes or hair is the preferred problem, matters entirely beside the - true office of the art. So in wood-cutting the great attempt is to imitate a wash drawing. Indeed, anything is aimed at but a delight in the precious quality it possesses, the vigour of the white and black. But enough of such protest. Let us rather turn to the better part and endeavour to see of what this wood-cutting with its vigour of black and white consists. Let us, in other words, try and understand something about it as a decorative art, for it is essentially a decorative art, and the decorative quality must largely enter into any attempt in it which is to be made with success.

If we analyse the various ways of treatment which the many differing schools of wood-engravers have from time to time legitimately employed, we shall find that they resolve themselves into two distinct methods. Of these, the one more usually met with might be called the draughtsman's method. Nearly all the early woodcuts are examples of this manner of treatment, as for instance the illustrations to the "Hypnerotomachia" of Poliphilo, Venice, 1499, or the Bible cuts of Hans Holbein, or the three sheets of the Fortunes, fol. A to A 2, in Sigismondo Fanti's "Triompho di Fortuna," 1527. In this method the draughtsman treats the surface of the block, which really represents one even, black mass, as if it were a sheet of white

paper and draws his design in black and white upon it, in fact makes a pen and ink drawing; the engraver then proceeding to cut away those parts of the surface of the block that have not been covered by the ink lines. The second method, which is a complete reversal of the first, and the one natural to a woodcutter, might be called the engraver's method. Here the block is treated as the mass of unrelieved black which it really is, and out of it the white lights are cut straight away by the graver. Among the early examples of this method I do not know any finer, so far as the design and treatment are concerned, than the more delicately cut of the illustrations, in the Florentine edition of 1508, to the "Quadriregio" of Federico Frezzi, of which a selection is given in facsimile with this number. But these beautiful cuts, as I shall show later on, were not engraved by the artist who designed them, and consequently have not that complete directness of method and economy of labour which we find in some of the early German cuts on metal, and in a few other rare examples on wood. But we must turn to more recent times if we want a really accessible instance, to William Blake's illustrations to the Pastorals of Virgil, and to the cuts of Thomas Bewick, who carried the powers of this method for minute and delicate expression as far as they legitimately could be.

The reason why the woodcuts which have been done by this second or engraver's method are comparatively so few in number is, I think, because there have been but few engravers who designed their own cuts. We know certainly, for instance, that Albert Dürer did not himself engrave his designs for the "Little Passion;" and could the truth be known, I am inclined to believe it would be found that all the early cuts by manifest Italian and German masters, not treated according to this second method, were cut by men other than those who designed them. For is it in accordance with what we know of these men, that they should spend many days in cutting a pen and ink drawing which only took them as many hours to make, when by the process natural to the engraver an effect in every way as satisfactory, could be obtained by a tithe of the labour? In more recent times, whenever a man with the instincts of a master cuts his own blocks, as was the case with Blake and Bewick, we find him employing the engraver's method.

It is exceedingly to be regretted that we have no accomplished draughtsman, with a sense of style and design, who could adorn our books with cuts executed in this manner, for it possesses an artistic charm arising from its mere technical process which the other method

cannot give us. It is the charm arising from its mere technical process which the other method cannot give us. It is the charm which results from any effect being produced by only such expense of labour as is altogether necessary to its production. It is the charm of the brush-work of Veronese and of the pen work of Raphael, and like all such artistic qualities cannot be put at a value. But perhaps my meaning would be more plain were I to give an example. Let me take the cross-hatching which we find in the woodcuts of Albert Dürer. This, although drawn with the utmost ease with a pen, could only be cut by an amount of labour truly surprising when we consider the state of the art at that time, the face of the block being cut parallel, and not as now at right angles, to the grain of the wood, and a knife in shape somewhat like a lancet being used in lieu of our graver.

The four wood-cuts from the Florence, 1508, edition of the "Quadriregio," of which facsimiles are given with the present number, form part of a series of an hundred and twenty-six illustrations, though of this number several are but repetitions of the same cut, one being repeated as many as three times, and several twice. Nothing is known as to who designed them, except that the cut on the first page of the poem, which is one of these repeated cuts, bears the initials L V: and although they have been attributed to Signorelli, both Mr. Fairfax Murray who made the suggestion, as well as Mr. Colvin, are now inclined to think the whole matter undecidable. From internal evidence it would appear that the artist who designed these illustrations did not engrave them himself, since at least four distinct hands are traceable, perhaps five. Unfortunately, eighty-seven out of the entire hundred and twenty-six blocks, have been so angularly cut by two of these engravers, and with so little feeling for the original drawing, as to be almost ruined. All the cuts in quires A to E, except the five cuts on leaves C3 to C5, and perhaps that on leaf C, have been engraved by these two hands. Of the more delicately engraved blocks, the greater number are to be found together at the end of the volume. There are two copies of the book in the British Museum.

Perhaps there is no other wood-cut in the series so entirely satisfactory in its execution as the two cuts occurring on leaves M5 and M6 of the original, which are reproduced as a frontispiece to the present number. The foreground throughout seems to have been left to the skill of the engraver to treat as he best could; and in these two cuts only is its tone, in relation to

the rest of the design, quite admirably managed. There is, also, in them a finer sense for the drawing, and a truer artistic feeling than elsewhere in the book. The other two cuts given at the commencement of this article, from leaves C5 verso and O4 verso of the original, show a somewhat too heavy hand in the foreground, but otherwise the engraver seems to have caught the charm of the original drawing. In all these four cuts the one dominant quality is that decorative element to which all else in them has been made subservient. The raising of the dark foreground so that the figures may stand out against it, the treatment of the trees with their white trunks, and the simple border surrounding the whole, are full of instruction for whoever has the interests of true wood-engraving at heart. In the last cut, "the Presentation to Mars," the effective use of the dark, architectural panels should prove a valuable suggestion as to what might be done this way. It recalls the singular employment of the black masses in Hans Burgkmair's Triumph of Maximilian.

HERBERT P. HORNE

13. *A preface.*¹³

A PREFACE THE ISSUE OF THIS PERIODICAL BY THE PROPRIETORS DIRECTLY FROM THE CHISWICK PRESS, SO THAT THEY MAY MORE NEARLY CARRY OUT THEIR ORIGINAL INTENTION, SEEMS TO PRESENT A FITTING OCCASION ON WHICH TO SUM UP AND MAKE CLEAR, WHAT, AS YET, LIES SCATTERED THROUGH THE SUCCESSIVE NUMBERS OF THE PAPER, NAMELY, ITS PRECISE AIMS AND THE VIEW OF ART SET FORTH IN IT. BRIEFLY, THEN, AS FAR AS SO WIDE-REACHING A SUBJECT CAN BE THUS TREATED IN THE SPACE OF A FEW PAGES, THESE CHIEFLY ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF WHAT WE HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO SAY AND DO, IN THE THREE YEARS DURING WHICH THIS PERIODICAL HAS BEEN PUBLISHED.

Here is but one centre of absorbing interest, common to all men, and pre-eminent at all times, the conduct of life; and in proportion as all other matters approach it, so also do they become filled with interest. At any one moment in the life of a nation the need of morality may

¹³ H.P. Horne, *A preface*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 4, 1889, pp. 1 - 10.

seem to be paramount; but a study of its 'continued history will show that it has other needs of equal importance. Of these at the present time we popularly admit but one, the need of knowledge; while the need of manners and of beauty are acknowledged only by the few. Had the sense, so widely prevalent in the reign of Charles I., of the necessity of beauty, now alone associated with the unjust exactions of a political party, withstood the overwhelming and sterile endeavour after a state of life wholly dependent upon morality; had this sense of the necessity of beauty survived, and had it permeated the people, it would have been impossible for the present deadly state of society to have come about.

Certainly the greatest Art is that which interests itself most deeply in the conduct of life, which, while it is striving to satisfy our need of beauty, its chief matter of concern, is mindful also of our other needs; not, as so much of our Art has been, sedulous of our need of morality alone, but careful, also, of our need of knowledge and manners. For this end, therefore, Art must exist for its own sake, as an expression and ornament of life. The moment it is approached merely as a means of making a livelihood, and much more with any ambitious interests of a "commercial" kind, it ceases to be Art. There is, perhaps, nothing more wonderful among human things, than the extreme expressiveness which the most unyielding of materials assumes during the process of an art. The clay in the brick-field, the wool in the loom, the colour upon the canvas, suddenly become sensitive as the human touch itself, laying bare with appalling certainty, in what spirit the workman has used them, *ad gloriam Dei aut mammonae*, whether in desire of beauty, or of mere getting and spending.

To take delight in work, to lose all sense of toil in the effort to make beautifully, that is what an age of Art gives to her craftsmen; and how much of the work of this life is of the nature of a craft. But for us there is no such age; for into the common things of the household use of to-day this element of beauty, of taking delight in production, does not enter. Art in its highest sense, in the sense in which it was understood in the great ages of Greece and Italy, is at this present time an exotic in the hands of a few men. The bulk, one might almost say the entirety, of what passes for Art in our public buildings, our houses, and our books, the work of our great popular school, is not Art: it is too influenced by commercial interests, too dependent upon the political eminence of our country to be that. "It is not the arts that follow and attend upon empire,

but empire that attends upon and follows the arts. ...Commerce is so far from being beneficial to arts or to empires that it is destructive of both, as all their history shows. ...Empires flourish till they too become commercial, and then they are scattered abroad to the four winds.”

But there is another school in England, influenced chiefly by the modes of Art and Literature prevalent at the present time in France, of which it can neither be said that they are guided by commercial interests, nor that they do not take pleasure in their work. On the contrary, the exponents of this school are to their own ideals truly devoted; still the tendency of these ideals, a tendency of a purely scientific nature, threatens to be deeply injurious to Art. But here, it may be well to draw some distinction between the temper of Art, and the temper of Science. Essentially the distinction is this, that while the function of Science is to submit the mind to things, the endeavour of Art is, on the contrary, to submit things to the mind. “Quare,”—as Francis Bacon said of Poesy,—“Quare et merito etiam divinitatis cujuspiam particeps videri possit; quia animum erigit et in sublime rapit, rerum simulacra ad animi desideria accommodando, non animum rebus (quod ratio facit et historia) submittendo.” And it is precisely this scientific effort to submit the mind to things, which is every day becoming more and more characteristic of our painters, sculptors, and of our writers. Indeed, in the practice of the pictorial arts, its influence would seem to be of no passing nature; and it has already reduced exhibition after exhibition of pictures to a mere series of studies from the model. For the most part, the skill and dexterity with which these pictures are done is unquestionable; still, they remain merely studies from the model. But if we would appreciate fully the evils of this tendency, we must go back to its chief source in France. In reply to certain questions put some time ago by the correspondent of the “Daily Telegraph” to M. Zola on the subject of marriage, that famous exponent of Naturalism said, amongst other things: “... it is not my province to provide remedies. I and my friends are Artists, Romanciers, Realists, or “Naturalists,” whatever term you like, and we paint things as we see them in all their hideous ugliness and filth. We minutely describe the social ulcers and odours, and we leave to the legislator the task of sweeping them away.” In short, then, according to M. Zola, disinterest is the aim of Art. But let us turn back to the Art which has lived through many ages, which still lives, and set it against this view. In the successive histories of Greece, Rome, mediaeval Europe, and of more recent times, how

differing Art has been both in regard to its ideals and temper, how various in its methods of thought and work, and yet one quality constantly recurs, the endeavour after *fine interest*.

It is neither practical, nor necessary, here to point out that this term of " fine interest" is at once catholic, yet exclusive"; that it embraces the art of Catullus, Dante, Leonardo, equally with that of Jan Steen, Watteau, or Robert Browning; and yet is altogether intolerant of any unscholarly, gross, or vulgar trait. To touch upon every quality which is included in this term, would be to speak of whatever is admirable in Art: still it may be well to digress a little into particulars as regards a certain quality, or rather a whole sequence of qualities, now too rarely found in our work. I mean the inner culture, the refining away of all that hinders in us the spiritual faculty. How seldom do we find in the work of men who have sprung up during the last ten or fifteen years, that " impressibility to the sacredness of time, of life and its events"; that power, as Blake has put it, of seeing, not with, but through the eye, of discovering in the commonest things around us " the vision of God."

"To see a world in a grain of sand,
And heaven in a wild flower;
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
And eternity in an hour."

Here is the highest exercise of the spiritual faculty, the faculty by which the actual and sensible things of our everyday experience are made to express, and in a definite and absolute way, the illusive thoughts and shapes which haunt the creative mind. Very different is this from the vague uncertain dreaming which too often passes for true imagination. For this is never uncertain, never vague; and what is most characteristic of it at its highest, is the delicate balance between the matter to be expressed and the manner of expressing it, of which Virgil was so great a master, and of which we have a famous instance in his "Sunt lacrymae rerum." "To express new and profound ideas in a perfectly sound and classical style," to walk unharmed in the fire, that is the problem. The various arts, after all, are only various modes of expression; and nothing without thoughts and ideas worthy of such expression. Among our younger painters especially,

the aim is to be able to paint, and beyond this they have no ambition. Yet how can a man learn to paint unless he has first learned to live? But this brings us back to our former conclusion, that Art becomes great only in proportion as it interests itself in the conduct of life.

More than two years ago it was pointed out in this periodical, that it is not until we come to a study of Architecture, that the conditions of the highest Art are unmistakably and irrefutably brought before us: for the greatest qualities of Art, as a living expression of thought and emotion, are the result of the much discipline, upon which Vitruvius insists in the very first line of his treatise. Indeed the highest architecture is almost entirely dependent upon this discipline, the discipline of regarding the disposition of a work as a whole, and relating, both as regards form and mass, every one part to every other part, mindful always of fitness, harmony, proportion, and symmetry. It is the presence of the power and charm resulting from this discipline, which so distinguishes the *Samson Agonistes* of Milton, or a fugue of Bach's, from our contemporary literature and music, which, though they have other qualities, equally admirable, of their own, have not this quality. It is dominant in all Greek and Latin Art, in the work of the great age of the Italian Renaissance; and the final success of Sculpture and the Decorative arts is impossible without this architectural sense. Even in the setting of type we find its influence, separating the earlier Venetian books from the later Dutch impressions. In this connection lies the true unity of Art; and only under the influence of a unity of this kind, can the arts attain their perfection. Now the present condition of the Art of this country is largely the result of the deplorable state of our architecture, and of the manner in which our Painting, Sculpture, and the Decorative arts are carried on without reference to this fundamental art, which bears the same relation to them as does the frame to the picture. Were we candidly to set forth our estimate of the Architecture of to-day, we should certainly pass for persons endued with more prejudice than criticism. Of some matters it is not always possible to speak. But we may to a certain extent illustrate our position towards Architecture by an example in Sculpture, the Gordon monument lately erected in Trafalgar Square. This public monument is the work of one of our most accomplished living sculptors, an artist who, in lesser efforts, invariably gives us very sensitive and scholarly work. The sculptor, we are told, and in this he is unlike the great Italians, consulted an eminent architect with regard to the design of the pedestal, thus admitting some question of the

sufficiency of his own architectural sense. Certainly the result is such as might be expected from this combination, for not only has the architect failed him, and the proportions of the pedestal are altogether unpleasant, but the mass of the pedestal is in no way related to the mass of the statue. Yet in the accomplishment of these things lies the architectural sense, and the first conditions to be fulfilled in monumental art. The effectual sense of mass in antique and Italian sculpture can only be traced to their authors having mastered the greater difficulties of mass in architecture. When such reference to Architecture ceases in Sculpture, this effectual sense of mass dies out; and we have the George IV. of Chantrey, instead of the Colleoni of Verrocchio.

To re-create the architectural sense, how many fine and desirable issues are involved in that aim! But this, it will be objected, under the present conditions of society is impossible. It is not, indeed, possible for us to produce architecture which shall be effectual; but to prepare the way for an age of effectual architecture, to distinguish and seize upon the abiding qualities and principles in the architecture of the past, and not to mistake dead externals for living essentials, that is a quite possible end for individual effort. And in the effort and genius of individuals lies the success of any future Art.

It is of individuals, not of schools, or societies, that Art is in need: and it was the hope of this periodical to provide a quiet place in which men, who were at one in their fundamental ideas about Art, might give free expression to their individual thoughts and sentiments, might assert that individuality of conception and of treatment, which is so interesting, which is so important, which is not in the very least incompatible with a clear apprehension of what are the immutable principles which underlie all Art, everywhere and for ever. "De gustibus non est disputandum," that is, as we find it translated in "Tristram Shandy," there is no disputing about Hobby Horses. This is the precise title of our Periodical, and the significance of it will be evident in the light of what has just been said. Only, be it remembered, it is not in the matter of the fundamental, immutable principles of Art, but in the matter of their individual expression, that what we playfully call "men's hobbies" have their place. And in this spirit it has been our aim to touch upon all the arts in their relation to one another, especially in their architectural relation; and to insist upon them as the most living and lasting expression of life. We are used thus to regard the fine arts; but how many of us look upon the Decorative, or minor architectural arts, in any

serious or worthy aspect? We are content that their productions should recall to us the “interests” of the manufacturer, or the vulgarity of the shopkeeper, never guessing, in our contempt for them, how very real is their power to add largely to the resources and pleasures of life. It is not, then, a trivial endeavour to insist upon their dignity, to render them the sphere no longer of the tradesman, but of the artist, of the man whose work, though it be but the making of household stuffs, or of the common utensils of daily life, expresses the better part of himself, and of his hopes and thoughts. And so by continually asserting the most honourable titles of such work of the hands, it may perchance be our good fortune to win to the cause and pursuit of such Art men of culture and delicate sensibilities, whose lives might otherwise be ineffectually passed amid the sterile aims and restraints of the present state of society. For these lesser arts, equally with the finer arts and the arts of literature, are capable of giving us infinite support and consolation, if we but approach and use them in a right spirit. In charming us into activity, they are able to cheat us of the weariness, the ennui of life; and in their unbounded capacity to take to themselves our energies, they lessen the restlessness of life. Who, then, would not endeavour to labour for this end, looking forward to no Utopia, but to the day when Art, neither severed, nor degraded, shall steadily burn as with one flame, and assuredly be counted among the number of the divine consolatories?

Thus much for the ideal which we have set before us. But the conditions of the age in which we live are of such a nature, that the utmost which can possibly result from our efforts can prove but a very partial success. The sum of these efforts, after all, is only to gain the point where creative activity really begins. Were we living in the age of Michelangelo, all this had been superfluous. In such an age can Art alone be said truly to live: “there is the promised land towards which criticism can only beckon. That promised land it will not be ours to enter, and we shall die in the wilderness: but to have desired to enter it, to have saluted it from afar, is already, perhaps, the best distinction among contemporaries; it will certainly be the best title to esteem with posterity.”

THE EDITOR

14. *Some account of the life and public works of James Gibbs, architect.*¹⁴

I. Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum Artes.—HOR.

If we consider the material to his hand, its abundance and its accessibility, there is in the “Anecdotes” of Walpole no notice so singularly inadequate as the notice of Gibbs. The article upon Wren is confessedly but a critical sketch, for the history had already been given at length in the “Parentalia”; but with that of Gibbs there was not this excuse. He mentions but a few of his works, yet attributes to him that vagary in Gothic of Hawkesmoor's, the quadrangle of All Souls, and afterwards acknowledges his mistake. In the critical passages he shows an unbecoming prejudice, and cannot speak even of the Radcliffe Library without an objection. Not that I would deny everything that he says, for Gibbs had great limitations; yet with all these was the most significant architect, in a time that presumed to architecture as being one of the most liberal of the Arts, the most polite of studies. Lately we have heard much of certain proposals to demolish or mutilate two of Gibbs' finest buildings in London, the churches of St. Mary le Strand and St. Martin in the Fields; and so I thought it not out of time to make a choice of such material as I could collect for a notice of him, casting it into as pleasing a relation as the staidness of the subject would admit.

It is in that dreary repository of forgotten lore and brief celebrity, the “Scots Magazine,” that the only account of the early life of Gibbs occurs, which, as far as I am aware, has hitherto been known to his biographers. This little notice, dated from Aberdeen, Aug. 1760, is written, after the manner of that time, under the “disguised name” of Palladio; but though replete with events of the first interest, yet in several important matters it fails to satisfy us. I have, however, chanced to find, among the manuscripts in the Soane Museum, a second account of the early part of his life. It occurs at the end of a volume containing a fair draught of certain memoranda by Gibbs of buildings chiefly in Rome and other parts of Italy; and must have been written by someone conversant with Gibbs' works on architecture, and with the incidents attending their erection; from which I am led to suggest that it was done by John Borlach, his draughtsman. But be this as it may, it reveals to us the two facts of his life, with which, of those hitherto unknown,

¹⁴ H.P. Horne, *Some account of the life and public works of James Gibbs, architect*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 4, 1889, pp. 29 - 36.

we should most desire to be acquainted, the date of his birth, and the name of the master under whom he studied at Rome. This manuscript I have chiefly followed, except in my account of those years of his life spent at Aberdeen and in Holland. During this period, I have preferred the little biography in the "Scots Magazine," as being the more circumstantial and particular, and as appearing to – have been gathered from such as remembered him during those earlier years passed in the city of his birth. But in following these authorities I have been forced to rely upon my own judgment, since there are several discrepancies between them, of which it would be impossible here to speak.

James Gibbs, the son of Peter Gibbs, a Roman Catholic merchant, and Isabel Farquhar, his second wife, was born 26th Dec. 1682, at his father's house of Footdeesmire in the links of Aberdeen. Of the other children of Peter Gibbs, all died young except William, a son by his first wife. James was educated at the grammar school and the Marischal College of Aberdeen, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. His father and mother both dying, he lived some time with his aunt, Elspeth Farquhar, and her husband, Peter Morison, a merchant in Aberdeen, prosecuting his studies there.

"Mr. Gibbs having no stock, and but few friends, resolved to seek his fortune abroad. ... As he had always discovered a strong inclination to the mathematics, he spent some years in the service of an architect and master builder in Holland. The Earl of Mar happening to be in that country ... Mr. Gibbs was introduced to him." Lord Mar was himself inclined to the pursuit of architecture, "and finding his countryman Mr. Gibbs to be a man of genius, he not only favoured him with his countenance and advice, but generously assisted him with money and recommendatory letters, in order, by travelling, to complete himself as an architect." Thus furnished, after journeying through Switzerland and Germany, Gibbs passed into Italy. "He was highly pleased with the fine Buildings, Pictures, and Statues he saw in the great towns of Italy, in his way to Rome, but when He gott to that famous City, it surpassed all the rest in magnificence and grandeur." There applying himself to the study of architecture, he "got recomended to Cavalier Carolo Fontana, surveyour general to Pope Clement the eleventh, and architect to St. Peeters Church, and studied in his school some years, wher he was taught Architectur, geometry, and perspective." This Fontana, not to be confounded with the earlier architect, Domenico

Fontana, was born in 1634, and, becoming a pupil of Bernini, lived chiefly in Rome, and died there in 1714. Through him, therefore, Gibbs would immediately receive the best influences of the later Italian Renaissance; and upon such instruction naturally form that Roman manner which afterwards contributed so markedly to the distinguishing style of his work. Allan Cunningham, a superficial enquirer, tells us that at Rome, Gibbs “studied several years under Garroli, a sculptor and architect of considerable note”; but does not give his authority for the statement. I find that PierFrancesco Garoli was a painter of architecture, born at Turin in 1638, who went to Rome, and died in 1716; but that he practised architecture I have not yet read. It is, therefore, not without reason to infer that Gibbs may have acquired from Garoli a knowledge of architectural drawing. Of his other studies at this time we have some record in the memoranda contained in the Soane manuscript, of which I have already spoken. It is entitled: “A few Short Cursory Remarks on some of the finest Ancient and modern Buildings in Rome, and other parts of Italy, by Mr. Gibbs while he was Studying Architecture there, being Memorandums for his own use. 1707—and not intended to be made public being imperfect.” A pen has been drawn through the date 1707, and in a certain sense rightly, for these notes could not have been cast into their present form until after 1725, since a book published in that year is mentioned in it. But there is little or nothing in them to detain us, saving they show that all the chief cities of Italy were known to him.

“He loved to live at Rome and would have stayed longer, But having received letters from his friends that his brother was in a very bad state of health and desireing him to come home, he was obliged to leave Italy, and came to London in 1709, where he heard his brother had ben dead some time, so after he had settled his affaires in Scotland, he was employed in his profession by several Noblemen and gentlemen.” The Earl of Mar was now a member of the Privy Council, and his lordship being convinced that Gibbs was worthy of the countenance he had shown him, introduced him to his friends as a man of great knowledge in his profession; and among those from whom he received his first encouragement, was John, 2nd Duke of Argyll. In 1713, Lord Mar was appointed one of the secretaries of state for Great Britain.

Beyond Arundel House in the Strand, says Stow, "on the street side, was sometime a fair Cemitorie (or Churchyard) and in the same a parish Church, called of the natiuitie of our Ladie,

and the innocents at the Strand, and of some, by meane of a brotherhood kept there, called of S. Vrsula at the Strand.” This church, together with certain “inns” and tenements, was “by commandement of Edward Duke of Sommerset vncle to Edward the sixth, and Lord Protector, pulled downe, and made leuell ground, in the yeare 1549. In this place whereof he builded that large and goodly house, now called Somerset house.” For more than a hundred and fifty years the inhabitants of St. Mary le Strand continued without a church of their own, being forced to worship in those of the neighbouring parishes. Towards the end of February, however, in the year 1711, an address from Convocation was presented to Parliament, “in relation to the extreme want of churches” in London; and on the 28th of May following, the Bill granting to Her Majesty several duties upon coals, for building fifty new churches in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and the suburbs thereof, passed the Commons. It was resolved by the Commissioners under this Act, that the parish of St. Mary le Strand should be amongst those in which these new churches were to be built. The present site, at that time “a vacant peece of ground near the may pole in the Strand,” was accordingly purchased, and Gibbs' designs for the new building were chosen. It was, he tells us, “the first publick Building I was employed in after my arrival from Italy; which being situated in a very publick place, the Comissioners ... spar’d no cost to beautify it.” The first stone was laid 15th Feb., 1714, after an earlier design more capacious than that now built had been laid aside, since it exceeded the dimensions of the ground allowed by Act of Parliament for that building.

“There was at first,” Gibbs relates, “no Steeple design'd for that church, only a small Campanile, or Turret for a Bell, was to have been over the West End of it: But at the distance of 80 feet from the West Front there was a Column, 250 feet high, intended to be erected in Honour of Queen Anne, on the top of which her Statue was to be placed.”— I read elsewhere that this “large brass figure was ordered to be cast by Soldani of Florence,” and that it was made, and partly paid for— My Design for the Column was approved by the Commissioners, and a great quantity of Stone was brought to the place for laying the Foundation of it; but the thoughts of erecting that monument being laid aside upon the Queen's Death, I was ordered to erect a Steeple instead of the Campanile first propos'd.” That part of the building, upon which this Bell Turret was originally to have rested, “being then advanced 20 feet above ground, and therefore

admitting of no alteration from East to West, which was only 14 feet, I was obliged to spread it [i.e. the new Steeple] from South to North, which makes the Plan oblong, which otherwise should have been square.”

It would be tedious to speak of the many objections which have been urged against the exterior of this church, nor do I think it would be profitable. To me, they seem but the various expressions of critics who have been unable to appreciate the aims and difficulties of the architect, and unable, therefore, to estimate the success of his design. The limitations arising from the narrowness of the site were, of necessity, considerable; and it may be that Gibbs sought to escape from them, when he placed before the Commissioners that earlier design, afterwards laid aside, “since it exceeded the dimensions of the Ground allowed by Act of Parliament.” There is, however, one very serious defect, not to be referred to this cause. It is the unpleasing shallowness of the steeple, consequent upon its oblong plan, when seen from the north or south side; but the reason of this defect has already been explained in a preceding passage, a defect which Gibbs was powerless to avoid. Indeed, the entire steeple, in no way a part of the original design, is in a sense to be deplored. A lofty and intricate super-structure of this kind, which carries the eye away from the body of the building, demands that those portions of the elevation which are below it, should be subordinated to itself, and not, as in this case, of an equal richness. Had there been but the campanile as first designed, this richness of parts, amounting, as some have thought, almost to an over-elaboration, would have composed itself, and the common outcry of its detractors had been wanting. But to turn to the inside of the building, where we may well put away all critical niceties, for the interior of this church far surpasses any other of his works. It consists of a single aisle, the eastern end of which is apsidal in plan, and over the west door is a singing gallery of great beauty. This interior is lighted from above, for the windows are set in the upper order, the wall of the lower “being solid to keep out Noises from the Street.” The effect of light thus obtained adds not a little to the quiet dignity of an interior altogether admirable. Accept what its author has to give, and how fine is the gift notwithstanding its limitations! What rhythm of design, what solemnity, how much of that inscrutable quality we call style! Truly, in this place we have touched the hem of his garment and the virtue is gone out from him, perhaps never again to proceed with so gentle an influence. But it is deplorable that this

beautiful church should be defaced, as it is at present, by foolish glass and unmeaning decoration; especially true is this of the nave windows, which are all the more offensive from having a certain pretence to what is fine and restrained.

Owing to the extreme oxidation of the iron used in the clamps and dowels of this building, the stonework is becoming so shattered, that some means or other to stay such a course of things is now entirely necessary. May all repairs be done with judgment, and with as little change of the fabric as possible. May we also hear no more proposals for the demolition of a church which is, perhaps, the choicest piece of regular art that has been given us since Wren gave us his own transcendent inventions.

It was a fancy of mine which pleased me, that Gibbs coming from Italy to London, and as yet unacquainted with the works of Wren, produced this, the earliest of his buildings, under a first admiration of the Art of that great master; for there is, underlying its Roman air and liberality of ornament, a certain plain singleness of intention, a certain English temper, which no other building of Gibbs' possesses. It was, therefore, with uncommon pleasure that I came upon the following passage in the Soane manuscript, already mentioned, since it bears out the conjecture as fully as I could have looked for any contemporary account of him to do: "Sir Christopher Wren was much his friend who having seen some of Mr. Gibbs drawings was much pleased with them, he was then finishing St. Pauls Church"; this would be about 1710, for the last stone of the cathedral was laid that year. And so, as I judge, this building is not truly characteristic of its author. The whole fabric is generous with a delicate beauty, to which a second time Gibbs would appear never to have attained. Upon him, coming flushed with the exuberant Art of Italy, the sublime, though chastened, spirit of Wren, caught here for a moment, worked but a passing mood, and the master presently assumes that dry stateliness of manner, which became with him almost academical.

These, then, are the recorded influences that went to determine the fashion of his genius; but of these one is pre-eminent, for it abided with him. It is the influence of Rome; Rome, the imperishable mother of infinite tradition, not only in this art of architecture, but in the whole rule of life, at once most admirable and most deadly. Consider her practice in building, whose art is yet the art of the Dorians, refined and enriched by the after-genius of Greece; and whose science,

even of to-day, is of the royal times, of the ages that were before the Tarquins. The immemorial conception of the Greek order, with the still more remote invention of the arch, seem to us at this present to have sprung up in the midst of a people, that looked behind to no forerunners, to whom the temper of repeated tradition was unknown. Through the recess of Time, such priceless beginnings of the art appear to have come into as sudden an existence as the seemingly elemental water which gushes from the fruitful earth, the patient mother of all things, a perfected creature, pure and without stain. It was these effectual, though early, productions, which were instinctively absorbed by the austere, laborious Roman nature; and what in Greece might have proved changeable or transitory, grew fixed and eternal upon the Italian soil. Beneath the changing lights of Time,—the glamour of the imperial luxury, the morning light of the Middle Age,—their same tradition lived on to be re-inspired by the genius of the Renaissance, to grow passive among the later academic observances; and like Rome herself continues yet, splendid, sensuous, pagan, and at the heart unalterable. And who shall resist a succession so glorious, a succession almost hieratic? Alas! it is not our master alone that has been willing to forego the distinctions of an individual, and to abstain from what little of his own he might have added to the yet increasing store of beauty and imagination, committed to us through the ages, if by that, he might become an almost undiscernible portion of this tide of tradition, and participate in its authority.

The catholicism of his father, or it may be of his fathers, and that it had run in their blood, a natural trait, since St. Margaret had conformed her people to the faith; the catholicism in which his childhood had been passed, and which seemed the more full of colour by reason of the hard, cold setting of Presbyterianism by which it was surrounded, had to him unconsciously proved a true education, indeed bringing him forth out of the wilderness. By no straight and direct way, but through many opposite and conflicting interests she led him, deviously it might seem, but surely as it fell out. And were we to attempt to discover what in the art of Wren had been attractive to him, we might stumble upon the influences of Bernini, and so be brought once more to the gates of the Eternal City. "Quid melius Roma?" For him at least, her service was sufficient. He had submitted himself to all the fascinations of traditional art, and acknowledged its excellence. "He loved to live at Rome, and would have stayed longer." (To be concluded.)

HERBERT P. HORNE

15. *Some account of the life and public works of James Gibbs, architect, (continued).*¹⁵

II. O fortunati, quorum jam moenia surgunt!—VIRG.

From the time our master returned to this country from Italy, until the distress of his last disorder prevented him in his art, the history of his life contains little more than the record of the buildings he was engaged upon, and the books which he published. And so, until we are come to a general estimate of his genius, there remains for us only to collect such few particulars, as are necessary for the full understanding of the more significant of these works, and to pause for those criticisms only, which are severally peculiar to them.

It is scarcely probable that the failure of Lord Mar's attempt, in 1715, to recover the cause of the Pretender, and the consequent attainder of the earl in the following year, involved at all the fortunes of Gibbs; yet I can find him doing no important work until 1719, when he added the steeple and the two upper stages to the tower of St. Clement's Danes, in the Strand. In the large view engraved by Kip of this church, as originally completed from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, an empanelled parapet, connecting pinnacles at the angles, rested upon the cornice which we now see immediately below the clock-stage; the whole being crowned by a low, octagonal campanile. Since Wren had, with reason, divided his tower, being of no great height, into many stages, Gibbs was forced to observe the same proportions in those which he added; and thus we now have a lofty tower divided into some six stages, which, had the whole been designed at one time, would, properly, have been broken up into fewer and loftier stories. The unity of the original work has been lost; and in its place, the confusion of two distinct conceptions, the low, dome-like church of Wren with the steepled additions of Gibbs, destroys the perfect enjoyment of the art of either master. All Gibbs could here do, he has done; which was to combine skilfully what could never be truly harmonious. But to turn to a lesser defect, and one which lay within his control. When seen immediately from below, the angles of the cornice in the second stage of the steeple have an excessive sharpness, which is unpleasant; and are of a form not the best designed for stone. From the river, or some other distant point of view

¹⁵ H.P. Horne, *Some account of the life and public works of James Gibbs, architect, (continued)*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 4, 1889, pp. 71 - 82.

where only the upper part of the steeple is visible, these defects are no longer apparent; and we find that Gibbs has carried out with great delicacy, what he proposed to himself as the most necessary principles to be observed in buildings of this kind. "Steeple is indeed of a Gothick Extraction; but they have their Beauties, when their Parts are well dispos'd, and when the Plans of the several Degrees and Orders of which they are compos'd gradually diminish, and pass from one Form to another without confusion, and where every part has the appearance of a proper Bearing." "Indeed of a Gothick Extraction," he says, in a tone a little depreciatory, though not without reason; for whatever came of a northern stock could never truly recommend itself to his genius. In this, as in the other steeples he designed, there is nothing of that upward, soaring movement, which essentially distinguishes a Gothic spire, and which is so peculiarly expressive of the religious temper of the Middle Ages, so unlike the spirit which prompted the Roman architects. To have commingled these diverse tempers, to have made these pagan, long-meditated modes of architectural expression allusive to the impulsive, emotional piety of the Middle Ages, that was the singular achievement of the architect who conceived the spires of St. Martin's at Ludgate, Bow Church, and the churches of St. Magnus and St. Vedast. But Gibbs, even if his genius had apprehended this conjunction, might have counted it, so mindful he was of the inexorable voice of tradition, a little over-passionate for stone, when set against the canon of the Latin builders.

His next work comes to us as a kind of discovery; for the church of St. Peter's, Vere Street, is so entirely associated with the name of Frederick Denison Maurice, that it seems strange to have to seek here the "Marybone Chapell" of Gibbs, begun in August, 1721, by Harley, Earl of Oxford, for the accommodation of the inhabitants of his Manor, in which it is situated. Yet so it is, and the building continues to this day almost as first designed. This characteristic example of his art was probably planned at the same time he was making the drawings for the church of St. Martin in the Fields. The disposition of the east end is the same in both buildings; indeed this chapel of St. Peter is, in its arrangement, only a simplified version of the design for the larger church. But to hasten to the consideration of St. Martin's itself, where may be best summed up all I would say of these earlier buildings of our master.

He designed, about this time, the monument erected, in the south transept of Westminster Abbey, to Matthew Prior, who died the 18th of September, 1721. I read in the Soane manuscript, that "Mr. Prior the Poet ordered by his Will 5oolib to be laid out upon a Monument for himself in Westminster Abby, which he used to call his last piece of Vanity, and desired Mr. Gibbs to make a drawing of one to shew him, but he dyed soone after and never saw it, yet the Earl of Oxford ordered the monument to be made and put up amongst y poets in Westminster Abby." The bust, Gibbs tells us, "was done at Paris by M. Cozivaux, sculptor to the King of France"; the rest by Rysbrack. What memorials of Gibbs' friendship with Prior may still exist, I have had little opportunity to discover; such as I have been able to find are slight, and relate to the very close of the poet's life. In the "Book of Architecture," there is "A Draught made for Matthew Prior, Esq; to have been built at Down Hall in Essex," but his death prevented its erection. Again, among the witnesses of his will, dated the 9th of August, 1721, the first of the three names is that of James Gibbs.

In the following year was commenced the most famous of his buildings, St. Martin's in the Fields. The old church "being much decayed and in danger of falling, the Parishioners obtain'd an Act of Parliament for Rebuilding it at their own charges." Gibbs prepared "several Plans of different Forms," and, among them, "two Designs made for a Round church, which were approved by the Commissioners, but were laid aside on account of the expensiveness of executing them; tho' they were more capacious and convenient than what they pitch'd upon." The first stone was laid on the 19th of March, 1722; and the church finished and consecrated in 1726. Here first do we see, fully developed, "that particularity," to speak in his own phrase, which distinguishes his work from that of the other masters of the age. Like so many of his buildings, it is a work of fine discernment rather than of genuine invention. But to say, as some critics have said of the portico, that it is merely imitative, is to fail of a just appreciation. It is more than this; it is the work of a curious judgment and a precise ability, selecting all that is most noble and refined in the antique Roman Porticos, and adapting it, without loss, to his own uses. To Wren, the modes of classical architecture were as some esoteric language, some choice means of expression, by which he might give utterance to his own thoughts and emotions; and it is the genius of his work, that he has so infused his own spirit into the Vitruvian orders, that they

almost participate in a northern temper. To Gibbs, these same modes were in themselves sufficient, and the desirable end. He desired only to approach the ancient excellence of the masters, who were before him; to observe their ideals, without adding any "admixtures" of his own to show his invention. This was the whole proposition of his art. He denied himself much, but he attained to one quality, which no English architect has since been able to realise, the largeness and breadth of ancient work; a quality, in some aspects, akin to that power of Michelangelo, expressing the stature of the giants in the little space of a hand. As a whole, one feature, at least, of the church is not well considered; for a steeple, rising up from the midst of a roof, always bears with it a sense of insufficient support. Again, the mouldings have not, invariably, that last refinement, nor the projections that perfect relation to one another, which we find in the best work: for example, the projections of the sills of the lower windows on the north and south sides, are wanting in harmonious relation to those of the interchanged pilasters. We must not seek here for the felicity of consummate art; that, rarest of gifts, is granted to few. Yet this one quality of great value his work eminently possesses: a quality, in these days, entirely lost to our art, but which, if we love and study him, he brings to us, yet alive, out of the chill recess of Time, the antique excellence of breadth and largeness.

On entering the building one immediately recalls what Gibbs said of another church of his, that it was "the more beautiful for having no Galleries, which, as well as Pews, clog up and spoil the Inside of Churches, and take away from that right Proportion which they otherwise would have": and the abrupt way in which the gallery rests against the nave columns would almost suggest the idea, were it not for the arrangement of the aisle windows, that Gibbs had first designed this interior without galleries. But the real interest of the interior centres itself in the arrangement of the east end, with its balconies, and its Roman air. Here, at least, we may surely discern the source of his art; seeing how it is, beyond any other of his works, redolent of the city of Carlo Fontana.

That same year, Gibbs was chosen to direct the building of an Academic Theatre and Library at Cambridge. According to the plan and elevation in his "Book of Architecture," this building was originally intended to form three sides of a quadrangle, facing the church of St. Mary the Great. Of this, the north side, consisting of the present Senate House, was alone

completed; while a building similar in elevation, on the south side, was to have contained “the Consistory and Register office.” On the west side, connecting these two blocks of buildings, was the Royal Library, placed immediately in front of the School's quadrangle. The foundation-stone of the Senate House was laid the 22nd of June, 1722; and certain houses were acquired to enable the erection of the rest of the proposed building. According to the Soane manuscript, “the foundation of the Library and other buildings wer Carried up ground high, but the University had not money to finish them.” The Senate House, however, was opened with the ceremonies of a Public Commencement, on the 6th of July, 1730; the exterior of the west end being still left unfinished, in the expectation that the scheme of the library and other buildings would finally be carried out. But on the completion of Stephen Wright's façade of the library in its stead, the unfinished end was at length, in 1767, made to agree with the other elevations.

Gibbs' next building was the church of Allhallows in Derby, begun in 1723 and finished in 1725. The fifteenth-century tower, being firm, was allowed to stand, and the new church made plain, in order to render it more suitable to the old work. In the same year, 1723, was put up that very sumptuous monument to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. It was executed by Francis Bird; and is, of all the many monuments designed by Gibbs, the most interesting to us. Its very size thus renders it; in that considerations of a purely architectural character predominate, of necessity, over the unmeaning allegories and ornament, of which his other designs of this kind were for the most part composed.

Touching this matter of tombs, I may add that he designed the monument erected, in 1723, by James, Marquis of Annandale to his mother and younger brother; as, also, those to John Smith, 1718, and Mrs. Katherina Bovey, 1727, both of which were executed by Rysbrack. These three monuments are all in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey; and you will find them engraved in his “Book of Architecture,” together with that tablet of his to Ben Jonson, in Poets' Corner. I find another in the south aisle attributed to him, that to John Freind, M.D., 1728; as also the monument erected by the Duke of Buckingham to Dryden in 1720. Of this nothing remains but the pedestal, the original bust having been replaced by the present one by Scheemakers, and the rest of the monument removed by Dean Buckland. But I doubt whether my authority, the Soane manuscript, is here correct, since it is not given in his book of designs. But be this as it may, the

cenotaph to Robert Stuart, in the north aisle of St. Margaret's, Westminster, is certainly by his hand.

King's College was another of Gibbs' designs commenced about this time at Cambridge, only to be partially carried out. Nicholas Hawkesmore had previously prepared drawings which were approved by Sir Christopher Wren; but Gibbs, for reasons now undiscoverable, was presently chosen Surveyor of that work, to the exclusion of Hawkesmore. The only completed portion of Gibbs' design is the building forming the western side of the present quadrangle, running at right angles to the chapel, at the south-west corner of it; but his own description, of what he originally intended, is as concise as may be: "This College, as design'd, will consist of Four Sides, (viz.) the Chapell, a beautiful Building of the Gothick Taste, but the finest I ever saw; opposite to which is propos'd the Hall, with a Portico. On one side of the Hall is to be the Provost's lodge, with proper Apartments: on the other side are the Buttry, Kitchin and Cellars, with Rooms over them for Servitors. In the West Side, fronting the River, now built, are 24 Apartments, each consisting of three Rooms and a vaulted Cellar. The East Side is to contain the like number of Apartments." This West Side was commenced in 1724, but owing to the want of funds, it was not until April, 1731, that the wainscoting, etc., was ordered. From this same cause, the poverty of the College, the complete execution of Gibbs' scheme was finally abandoned; the screen and buildings of Wilkins now standing where Gibbs had proposed to erect the south and east sides of his quadrangle.

In 1728, was published "A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments. By James Gibbs," and dedicated to the Duke of Argyll. A second edition appeared in 1739. In it are to be found full drawings of those buildings already noticed; together with the alternative designs for St. Mary le Strand, St. Martin in the Fields, and the steeple of St. Clement's Danes. After these follow many designs for houses, but in most cases we are not told where, or for whom, they were carried out. The rest of the book is taken up with designs for "Pavillions," gates, chimney-pieces, monuments, vases, dials, etc.

His next public work brings us again to London. The Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, says Maitland, "judging it convenient to enlarge the same, caus'd the ancient Cloister thereof (then beautifully inrich'd with Milliners, and other Shops, which yielded a very

considerable Income) to make way for the present stately and magnificent Structure.” Gibbs, who for many years was one of the governors, designed the new quadrangle, and “gave all his drawings, time, and attendance gratis to this Hospitall out of Charity to y poor”; the first stone being laid on the 9th of June, 1730. “It is not,” he had very justly observed, “the Bulk of a Fabrick, the Richness and Quantity of the Materials, the Multiplicity of Lines, nor the Gaudiness of the Finishing, that give the Grace or Beauty and Grandeur to a Building; but the Proportion of the Parts to one another and to the Whole, whether entirely plain, or enriched with a few Ornaments properly disposed.” Such considerations, assuredly, are the first part of fine architecture; yet all art of pre-eminent worth contains, also, in itself, what may per haps be called the converse of this discipline, an element of surprise. “There is no Excellent Beauty,” says Bacon, “that hath not some Strangenesse in the Proportion.” This element of strangeness, of what is removed from the commonplace, and therefore of surprise to the first beholders, is the quality we chiefly demand in the productions of contemporary art; and it is reasonable to suppose, that the Augustan age saw in the poems of Catullus a parallel to the unusual beauty, which delights us in the work of Rossetti. To live, art must also have those other qualities, such as proportion, disposition, fitness, and all that goes to compose the classic order. When this “comely order” and this unusual beauty are held together in a nice balance, then we have supreme art. The age of Elizabeth, as happens in ages and men of great strength, inclined too much to this “Strangenesse in the Proportion,” fastening not only on what was fantastic, but often on what was monstrous. On the contrary, the age in which Gibbs lived and worked was too little desirous of this element of surprise. “What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd”: that was Pope's ideal in poetry. Art, in the best minds of that age, was almost confined to modes of expression, to the regard for the classic order, which, as the greatest of our living critics has observed, “impresses some minds to the exclusion of everything else in them.” If these modes could be brought to some nearer degree of perfection, it was of little moment that the subject was not uncommon. And so with Gibbs, this “comely order” impressed his mind to the exclusion of all else in it; so that in these later works, his art was nearly reduced to the single consideration of “the Proportion of the Parts to one another and to the whole.” In this quadrangle of St. Bartholomew's, in his designs for private houses, and in the buildings I have just described, this limitation is acutely apparent. For

dignity, for simplicity, for the complete observance of this "comely order," these works are quite admirable; and yet they are unattractive, they fail to charm us, because there is in them too little of that "Strangenesse in the Proportion," without which there is no excellent beauty.

In 1732, Gibbs published his "Rules for Drawing the several Parts of Architecture in a more exact and easy manner than has been heretofore practised, by which all Fractions, in dividing the principal Members and their Parts, are avoided." It is dedicated to Edward, 2nd Earl of Oxford; and a second edition appeared in 1738.

On the 16th of June, 1737, was laid the foundation-stone of the greatest and most original work of our master, the Radcliffe Library at Oxford. Though Dr. Radcliffe had died in 1714, the building of this library, for which he left £40,000, could not be proceeded with until after the death of his sisters, on account of their being possessed of certain life-interests in the moneys left for its foundation. Meanwhile, Nicholas Hawkesmore had made more than one design for the building, in which he had severally joined it to the Schools, and to his own quadrangle of All Souls. In one drawing he had raised it upon a vaulted and open undercroft, which he designated "The Forum." His death, it would seem, in 1736, prevented him directing the work, which is not to be deplored, seeing how inferior these designs are to that finally carried out. Gibbs, also, had prepared alternative drawings. Two of these designs were rectangular in plan, and recall the quadrangle of St. Bartholomew, by reason of the sparing use of ornament in them; certainly, they were not more excellent. It is not in the treatment or the detail, but in its conception as a whole, and in its relation to its surrounding buildings, that Gibbs surpasses all his previous efforts. To relate the design to the natural conditions of the site, or whatever buildings may already adjoin it, is the care of the master; and the observance could not be better regarded than it is in the design of the Radcliffe Library. In extending the curve of the domical roof, by means of the buttresses of the cupola, to the outer wall of the rotunda, Gibbs evinces a touch of supreme art. By this device, a comparatively small dome, when caught encircled by the spires and towers of Oxford, in a distant view of the city, conveys an impression of greater mass than it actually possesses. But when seen immediately from below, these buttresses lose their significance, being almost screened by the balustrade of the outer wall of the rotunda; and what at a distance appeared united, is now resolved into the distinct elements of the cupola and rotunda. Thus the library

harmonises with the low Gothic buildings which surround it, where a greater dome would have dwarfed the whole effect of the square. Admirable as the earlier work in Oxford is, the want of some grand, central mass, in the distant view of the towers and spires of the city, had impressed itself on his mind, his genius divining that this could only be obtained by a building of a domical form. In such a building he conceived and carried out an effective, central point of interest, about which he has gathered up, into a kind of harmonious whole, all the delightful confusion of mediæval Oxford. The library was completed in 1747, and in the same year was published: "Bibliotheca Radcliviana: or a short description of the Radcliffe Library, at Oxford. By James Gibbs, Architect, Fellow of the Royal Society, etc."

Towards the end of his life, Gibbs was "afflicted with the gravel and stone, and went to Spa in 1749." It was probably to wile away the tedium of this malady, that he made the translation of the "De rebus Emmanuelis," of Osorio da Fonseca, published in 1752, and entitled :—" The History of the Portuguese, During the Reign of Emmanuel. Written originally in Latin by Jerome Osorio, Bishop of Sylves. Now first translated into English By James Gibbs." The book is dedicated to Sir George, afterwards Lord, Lyttleton; while the translation itself is very characteristic of him, being written in simple, vigorous English.

His last architectural work was, in all probability, the church of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen. Some years before his death, he sent to the Magistrates of Aberdeen, as a testimony of his regard for the place of his nativity, a plan for the new fabric of St. Nicholas, which was begun in May, 1752. This church was still unfinished when he died, "full of days and of honour." He was buried, according to the wish expressed in his will, within the old church, now the parish chapel, of Marylebone; situated in the High Street, immediately at the back of the new church; where on the north wall, below the gallery, is yet to be seen a plain, marble tablet, bearing this inscription: "Underneath lye the Remains of JAMES GIBBS Esq." whose Skill in Architecture appears by his Printed Works as well as the Buildings directed by him. Among other Legacys and Charitys He left One Hundred Pounds towards Enlarging this Church. He died Aug. 5th. 1754. Aged 71." (To be concluded.)

16. *Some account of the life and public works of James Gibbs, architect, (concluded).*¹⁶

III. Deus, auribus nostris audivimus, patresque nostri annuntiaverunt nobis, opus quod operatus es in diebus eorum, et in diebus antiquis.—AD USUM EBOR.

At the beginning of the year in which he died, Gibbs had drawn up his will, writing it with his own hand, and signing on it the ninth of May. "As he was a bachelor, and had but few relations, and was unknown even to these, he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune, amounting to about 14, or 15,000l. Sterling, to those he esteemed his friends." In the opening clause of this will, he makes a last and generous acknowledgment of his indebtedness to his early patron. To the Rt. Hon. the Lord Erskine, "in gratitude for favours received from his father, the late Earl of Marr," he leaves three houses in the parish of Marylebone, the rents being 100l. 80l. & 90l. per annum; likewise 1000l. in money, and all his plate. He next bequeathes certain legacies to Robert Pringle of Clifton; William Morehead; and Dr. William King, of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford. To John Borlach, many years his draughtsman, he leaves £400: "to Mr. Cosmo Alexander, painter, my house I live in, with all its furniture as it stands, with pictures, bustoes, &c." Then follow three several bequests of £100 to the Foundling Hospital, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and "towards the enlarging of the parish church of Saint Mary le Bon." And lastly, after appointing "Mr. John Ker, wine-merchant in Greek St. Soho," his residuary legatee, he bequeathes to the Trustees of John Radcliffe, "all my printed books, books of architecture, books of prints and drawings, books of Maps, and a pair of Globes with leather covers, to be placed and remain in the library ... of which I was architect; ... the librarian of the Radcliffe Library to receive them, and put them up, in order, in the presses there, and that they may be placed next to my Bustoe." "These books and drawings are now preserved in the Museum at Oxford, having been removed from the Camera, when that building was given over to the uses of the Bodleian Library. The whole forms but a small collection, contained, as Dallaway computed it, before its removal, in about five hundred volumes. Among these, I find the following books and portfolios of drawings. Three volumes in large folio, similarly bound. The first volume is inscribed: "Original Drawings for the Plates of Mr. Gibb's Book of Designs and Ornament, and for his Book of Rules for

¹⁶ H.P. Horne, *Some account of the life and public works of James Gibbs, architect, (concluded)*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 4, 1889, pp. 110 - 118.

Drawing etc., as likewise for the Radcliff Library.” Besides these drawings for his published works, there are, also, in this volume, amongst others not so used, the alternative designs for the Radcliffe Library. The second volume contains drawings for “Churches, Houses, Chimney-peeces, Ceilings, Monuments, and other things.” These, for the most part, are designs for great houses; but, as in the “Book of Architecture,” there is seldom any note to show, for whom they were made. Yet, should anyone be so studious of the genius of Gibbs, as to seek out those many works of his, described at the end of the Soane manuscript already alluded to, he would, I think, not only be able to remedy this defect, but, also, might easily come at sufficient materials for a particular account of such works, which have here been passed over, being of a private nature. This same volume also contains a design for the Mansion House, a work executed by the elder Dance; together with a plan, signed on the back, as approved for “the intended church in great George street near Hannover square.” St. George's, Hanover Square, was from the designs of John James of Greenwich; and it is remarkable that the following passage should occur in the Soane manuscript, attributing another work, by John James, to our master: “James Duke of Chandos Ordered Mr. Gibbs to rebuild his House and Chapel at Cannons, which was done at a Vast Expence, the Appartments highly finished, The Chapel was reckoned the finest in England both as to its design and Ornaments, but upon the death of that Nobleman, both House and Chapel were demolished and the Materials sold for what they could get for them, to help to pay some debts, and altho the House, Chapel, and other buildings cost a vast sum, yet the Materials did not sell for the tenth part of the money they cost at first, the carriage being so expencive, having no water carriage within ten miles of the place.” Had this passage occurred by itself, I should have passed it over, as an error; but taken in conjunction with the plan for St. George's, it would seem to point to some intercourse between Gibbs and John James, of which, further than this, I can learn nothing. In the third volume are many architectural studies done in Italy, but there is neither note, nor inscription, on them, to show they are by Gibbs. Here are, also, the drawings of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen; and the design of a bridge, for Lord Bolingbroke. Besides these three volumes, the remaining drawings are comprised in the following items. A book containing “Several designs for St. Martins Church.” Another containing plans for “Wiston House the seat of Sr. Robert Fagg Barronet.” Another containing drawings for “the new Building

of Hamstade marishal the seat of the Rt. Honble The Lord Craven 1739.” A large folio book of designs: in this volume is an alternative design for the Senate House at Cambridge, together with Hawkesmoor's drawings for the Radcliffe Library. There is, also, a portfolio of drawings done in Rome and Florence; besides several books of prints, and a very interesting volume of drawings by “Jean Heriot,” variously dated from 1637 to 1640.

Of the printed books, it is hardly necessary to speak at length. The greater portion of those which relate to architecture, were published at Rome, or Paris, during the latter half of the seventeenth century; and were the works most in esteem, during the time Gibbs was studying abroad. There are, however, several earlier architectural works, such as the treatises of Leonbatista Alberti, Florence, 1550, and Pietro Cataneo, “Aldus in Venegia,” 1554; a copy of the Venice, 1601, edition of Palladio, and the first edition of Scamozzi's “L'idea della Architettura Universale.” Among the remaining books, not relating to the Arts, are a great many editions of the classical authors; Greek and Latin. It is much to be regretted, that the collection has been moved from the Radcliffe Library, seeing that the intention of Gibbs in bequeathing them to Dr. Radcliffe's Trustees was, obviously, that his designs and drawings might always be kept within the building, which he rightly accounted his secular master-piece. Altogether, this library forms the best portrait of his mind, which we have, apart from his buildings and published works. It may be taken as a type of what the libraries, gathered together by the great architects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, consisted; in that it is the collection of a man, not narrowly interested in his own particular pursuit, but studious of whatever, in the entire art of the past, appears to him of fine and human interest, and careful, above all things, of true scholarship.

But to collect, so far as I am able, the scattered fragments of a more intimate nature, relative to him, which may variously exist. Of Gibbs' private life we know very little: he was never married; nor does he seem to have made any remarkable friendship. Some slight relics of his acquaintance with Matthew Prior, I have already given; and these are the most considerable memorials of this nature, which remain. Hogarth painted his portrait; and Richard Savage extolled him in “The Wanderer.” Among his clients, the name of Lord Bolingbroke has already occurred; and the writer of the Soane manuscript records, that “He made additions to Mr. Popes Villa at Twickenham.” Gibbs was among the first, in this country, to recognise the genius of

Rysbrack, the sculptor. Walpole, who is ever ready to speak in disparagement-of our master, says, that Gibbs “was sensible of the young man's merit, but turned it to his own account, contracting for the figures with the persons who bespoke the tombs, and gaining the chief benefit from the execution.” Be this as it may, it is, however, more certain that “for directing and supervising ye building of ye Radcliffe Library & drawing all plans that shall be necessary for compleating that work & corresponding with ye builders, and going down four times in every year to see ye building,” he was content to receive no greater sum than one hundred pounds a year. Here, at least, Gibbs cannot be reproached with preferring gain before his art. More than this, we have only that character of him, by the writer in the "Scots Magazine": “His religious principles were the same with those of his father; but he was justly esteemed by good men of all persuasions, being courteous in his behaviour, moderate with regard to those who differed from him, humane & charitable.”

Of Gibbs' personal appearance, we possess a more satisfactory record, in the many contemporary portraits and busts of him, which remain. The painting by Hogarth, besides being engraved by B. Baron, for the “Bibliotheca Radcliviana,” was scraped by McArdell, in an oval, with an engraved border. There is, also, another mezzotint of him, by McArdell, after a painting by J. Williams, which now hangs on the stairs of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford. All these three prints are inscribed: “Jacobus Gibbs, Architectus, A.M. & F.R.S.” In addition to these, there is a portrait in mezzotint of him, as a younger man, by P. Pelham after H. Huyssing. The original of this print was probably painted at the time Gibbs was engaged upon the church of St. Mary le Strand, as he is represented holding, what would seem to be the plan of that building. Walpole mentions a fifth print from a picture by "Schryder, a Swiss, who was afterwards painter to the king of Sweden.” Of this plate I have been unable to see any impression; nor have I been more fortunate with regard to the portrait, which Malcolm saw “in the waitingroom” of St. Martin's in the fields. There is, also, in private possession, a miniature in enamel, by C. F. Zincke, said to be of Gibbs. Of the two busts of him by Rysbrack, one is still at the west end of St. Martin's in the Fields, with the motto, “Nisi Dominus,” cut on the pedestal; the other was “over the door of one of the galleries in the Ratcliffe library." A third bust, by what sculptor I cannot say, is on the staircase of the same building. This, before all other representations of him, gives the impression

of a head possessed of a certain imaginative power, due, in a great measure, to the form of the brow and nostrils; which last are a little clenched, a peculiarity before observed, in one greater than Gibbs, as lending to a face an expression of unusual intellectual energy. The print after Huyssing and the miniature by Zincke have greater dignity, both of bearing, and of feature; yet, if we would see him, as he was in the life, we must turn, I think, to the heads by Rysbrack and Hogarth, in which not only the ability of their authors, but the near resemblance of the one to the other, argue their veracity. The eyes somewhat prominent, the nose not large, nor, indeed the rest of the features, the fashion of the head compact and solid; he remains to us a man of ability, thoughtful, controlled, rather than of any great passions, or considerable power of imagination.

His was not the sureness of the supreme masters, either in the science, or the art, of building. The present condition of the church of St. Mary le Strand, consequent upon the use of iron in the clamps and dowels of the stonework, has already been touched upon; nor is this the only instance of incomplete construction, among his chief works. Before the year 1737, a settlement of the spire of St. Martin's in the Fields, had taken place, with such effect upon the ceiling of the portico, "that the stucco cracked, and the whole seemed to threaten an immediate fall." Again, the steeple of the same church, being so placed, as to convey the impression of its rising directly from the roof of the building, is a principal error against fitness, and a lapse of the finer instinct for a truly harmonious relation of the parts, one to another. Nor does this unsureness occur only in matters requiring skill or judgment. Certainly his imagination was not of an equable force and current. Two, only, of his works described in these papers, the earliest and most beautiful of his designs, St. Mary le Strand, and the later and more severe building of the Radcliffe Library, can be said to show invention of the finest and rarest kind. Both these buildings possess certain original traits, hardly to be found in other designs by him, though of equal repute: while, on the other hand, not a few of his draughts for private houses might almost admit the reproach, that he was "regularly heavy." Yet these, in every instance, are but deficiencies in degree: entirely, he never fails. His designs always attain a certain level of excellence; they are invariably interesting. He never lapsed into absurdity, as did so many of his contemporaries; he was never led into vagaries, such as Nicholas Hawkesmoor's steeples of St. John's, Horsleydown, or St. George's, Bloomsbury, under the impression that such things were

imaginative works, vieing with a campanile like that of St. Magnus; nor did he, at any time, attempt the Gothic. In this sense, he was sure. But if, to understand precisely such a trait in him, we endeavour to consider him in a more intimate aspect, how little it is we find, that we know of him.

He was courteous, we are told; courteous, humane, and charitable. What desirable and necessary qualities to possess; what impossible ones to discuss! In addition to this, we know only, that "his religious principles were the same with those of his father"; and that he was moderate with regard to those who differed from him: of the Catholic Church, he was, also, of a catholic spirit. And so, as we ponder him, he himself passes from our scrutiny, and we are brought face to face with the idea, which dominated, not only his life, but his whole art. It is the idea, of which Rome is the outward and living symbol; the idea, which, in the figure it would choose for the ore of human life, while hearing and endeavouring to admit all requests and opinions, prefers that which has the greater sanction. To Gibbs, then, the study of the classic art and mode of building, as he conceived it, was not the study of a particular style, but of the whole body of liberal architecture, painfully built up by no individual effort, but by a national endeavour; and become through the genius of successive ages, perfected, authentic, irrefutable. He did not propose to himself, as would an architect of to-day, to build in the Vitruvian, or Palladian manner; but he sought to understand, and accomodate to the temper and necessities of his own age, those eternal and essential principles and practices of his art, which, immediately from the divine hands, were transmitted to him by the Greeks, enlarged by the resources of Rome, and confirmed by the Italian genius. All other modes, not strictly conforming to this, well-nigh hierarchical, tradition, wanted in something of culture or civility, and were to him barbaric. It was a light, almost inconsiderable, matter for him to impress the figure of his own mind upon the Art of that time; but if, at all, he might reverence and keep alive this august tradition, he was surely of the number of the few that are chosen.

In what, then, precisely does this effort to reverence, and keep alive, tradition, consist? Surely something more is implied in it, than the mere regard for what of practice, or knowledge, has been handed down to us, from our fathers. Chiefly, I believe, it is a critical effort; an effort to distinguish between what is still living, and what lived only in a former age. With this criticism

accomplished, it would, then, have us seize upon such portions of the past, and so refine upon them, and accomodate them to our own needs, as that they should appear to us a new creation. And, herein, is an abiding condition of all great Art, that it should not only surprise us, and appear new to us, but, also, convey to us a certain sense of familiarity, or, at least, be in perfect congruity with all our existing ideas. That we should be able to receive fresh thoughts, and emotions, in Art, easily and without effort, is a principal condition of their being permanently acceptable; and to no man is it given to effect this, who has not endeavoured to keep alive, within himself, the great tradition. Thus, every new work of Art must, at once, contain these contrary elements of what is familiar, and what is strange and unusual; of the old conjoint with the new.

“Nisi Dominus,” that was his motto: “Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.” As in his life, so in his art, it was the old commandment, which ruled and transfigured him. Without this reverence for tradition, there might have been little in him, but some fantastic trait, to attract our thoughts towards him, in this later age. As it is, how much instruction might we find in his work; if we would seek it: we, who are so clever, so facile; so ingenious to make one art do duty for another; or anything do duty for art! But in the work of Gibbs, as in all the work of the old masters there is nothing clever, nothing facile; whatever we value in them, is the fruit of their painful labours. And the circumference they set about their art, how just and true it is! How clear and profound their distinctions, between one Art and another; and between Art and science; science, the right knowledge of nature! We recoil at the thought of a self-made man, a man without tradition; but we are ever ready to accept, at all times, and in all places, Art that is self-made, without tradition. The old vessel, we say, will not hold the new wine of this nineteenth century: but let us look to it, lest it be recorded of us, as it stands recorded of a former time, and other than we would wish: *In diebus illis non erat Rex in Israel, sed unusquisque quod sibi rectum videbatur, hoc faciebat.* Concluded.

HERBERT P. HORNE

17. *The letters and papers of Adam Legendre: now first published from a manuscript, in the possession of the editor.*¹⁷

Some twelve years ago, the editor of these letters, having occasion to make a prolonged stay in Rutlandshire, began, in his leisure moments, to collect materials for a history of the village, in which he was residing. Upon his intention becoming known in the neighbouring county-town, a local dealer in old furniture, and other such curiosities, brought him a copy of Blore's "History and Antiquities of the County of Kutland," Stamford, 1811; or, to speak more correctly, of the one part, which was published, of that work; and bound up with it, some sixty-seven pages of manuscript in a modern hand, presumably of the beginning of the present century. On examination, this manuscript proved to be a transcript of a series of seventeenth-century letters, and papers, extending over a period of some fifteen years, that is to say, from 1629 to 1644; and prefixed to this transcript was the following note: "Copies of the letters I found among the old papers in the coffin-box, which lay up in the loft, before they re-roofed my father's house. Jane Vezey." This was the only information contained in the manuscript, as to the source of these letters: and although their editor has repeatedly endeavoured to learn something of their history, he has invariably failed in the attempt. The signature of the transcriber afforded him no clue; for Vezey is a common name in that part of the country.

On some future occasion, the Editor hopes to publish the whole of these letters, with his notes and illustrations to them; but for the present, owing to the nature of this magazine, and the limited space allotted to him, he must content himself with a selection from them, adding the gist of his research and inferences, as briefly as possible. In the original manuscript, the letters have been copied without any reference to their proper sequence; and in many instances, the transcriber has omitted to give the endorsement, which corresponds to the address on a modern envelope. In consequence of this omission, many particulars of importance have been lost; especially some, which might have elucidated the history of their author: for the whole of the documents included in the original transcript, are, with two exceptions, the production of a single writer, Adam Legendre, of whom nothing appears to have been preserved, beyond what is here

¹⁷ H.P. Horne, [Lyall Aubryson], *The letters and papers of Adam Legendre: now first published from a manuscript, in the possession of the editor*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 6, 1890, pp. 91 - 111.

contained. The name, Legendre, does not occur in Lower's "Patronymica Britannica"; but the editor is assured by a friend, that persons of this name lie buried at Exeter. Adam Legendre was possessed of a considerable estate: a passage in one of the letters shows, that his seat, called More Hall, was situated in the south-west of England, perhaps in Devonshire. It is the Editor's conjecture, that his father was a French refugee, of gentle blood; and that he inherited his property from his mother, an English heiress, of whom some account may yet be forthcoming: both his father and mother appear to have died, while he was still a child. After the death of Legendre, as appears from a note, which has been erroneously copied as a postscript to one of the letters, these papers were collected and preserved by Edward Durham, to whom many of them had been addressed, as a memorial of his friend. This Edward Durham, who, to use the language of the note, "did variously beseech" the original documents, appears to have been in the service of Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham; and to have chiefly resided at Burley-on-the-Hill, in Rutlandshire, one of the seats of the great Duke of Buckingham, and the scene of the first presentation of Ben Jonson's Masque of the Gipsies. Upon the occupation of Burley, by the Parliamentary forces, Edward Durham retired to a farm-house in the neighbourhood of Oakham, where, it would seem, he left these and other papers; and where, in after years, Jane Vezey found and transcribed them.

The letters divide themselves into three groups: those written during the time Adam Legendre was studying, first at Oxford, then in London; and, thirdly, those written after a journey to Italy. Of the first group, only such letters are printed as illustrate an allusion to the poet, Herrick, contained in the second of them. The verses, which are quoted in this letter, are included in the original edition of the *Hesperides*, where they form the latter part of a lyric entitled: "To Julia, in her Dawn or Daybreak." The musician was probably Jacques Gaultier, who is mentioned by name in one of the ensuing letters; and of whom the most complete account, as yet given, is to be found in Mr. Stephen's new Dictionary. At the time these first letters were written, Adam Legendre had lately been entered a commoner at St. Alban's Hall, in Oxford. One word remains to be said, concerning the text of the letters. Except for the punctuation, which has been revised throughout by the Editor, the letters are exactly printed from the transcript; in which the spelling

of the majority of the words has been modernized: but the proper names, together with some few of the more unusual words, retain their original orthography.

I

“Honest Ned,

I reach'd Westminster yesterday, in the Forenoon, without any great Mischance; although the foulness and length of the Way put me a little out of Countenance. But the prospect of this brave Town soon rid me of that ill humour; and I am now lodg'd with my Cousin, Charles, to my infinite content. I pray you make all present use of my Horses, Scotch Saddles, Books, or what you will; for I would have you remember, that whatever is mine is yours. You see how tedious I am, who have nothing to tell you, but that you have heard a thousand times. So briefly let me kiss your hands, and rest

Your very Loving Friend,

ADAM LEGENDRE. “From Westminster, this 29. of June 1629.”

II

“From Westminster. In troth, my dear Ned, you would have my Letters to you as frequent and particular, as the Mercurii and Diurnals of these City Stationers, which are bought rather for the Flux of the Words, than for the Concision of the Matter. There is nothing talk'd of here, but the rich Entertainment, offer'd to the famous Painter, Pietro Paulo Rubens, lately come over from Brabant, as 'tis thought from the Archduchess. But it is not in my vein to predict to you, what the Spanish intend, or what may be the last plots of the French Cardinal; I will the rather content myself by sending you some Relation of a Scene, the remembrance of which takes me far more, than the unstaple Reports of these Great Ones. Some few days since, Charles and I took boat, at Westminster Stairs, to visit Master Wandesford, whom we found newly gone to Windsor; and so, for want of a better pastime, my Cousin presently carried me to the Sun, which is beyond Pawles Gate in Westcheap; since there many Admirable Wits are us'd to resort. And we, hearing one with a rare voice discoursing most excellent Musick to an arch-lute, did ascend thither; and so came to a Summer-Room, which lookt out towards Pawles. And though I hasten to acquaint you with

other matters, I will here make an Error of certain Memorable Particulars, which past at this time: for that incomparable Musician, running a Division upon a Ground, very artificially, after the Italian Manner, which was to me a kind of Musick, new and altogether delightful, I inquir'd of him concerning that Rarity. But he being a Frenchman, and not well understanding what I said, motion'd me to a very Civil Gentleman, for whose pleasure he was playing; and who, as I presently learn'd was one M'. Hearick, nephew to Sir William Hearick, the goldsmith, knighted by our late King James, of Blessed Memory, for a piece of his Delight, in the skilful boring of a Diamant. With him, when we had call'd for a pottle of Canary, we fell to much ingenious discourse, touching the Skill of Descant, and of the present solemn and learned Harmonies, which have deliver'd our Musick, from the fantastical Catches and Madrigals of the last age. This same Mr. Hearick, we also found very curious in the divine art of Poesy, both Epigrammatical and Parabolical. He did speak at length concerning the Idea of a Poet, which he had formed to himself in his own mind, touching upon the several Requisites and Qualities comprehended therein: as first a copious Wit; then, much Study and Discipline in Grammar, Rhetoric, &c.; a plentiful Reading; a frequent Exercise; not to speak of that universal Range and Course of knowledge, in which he would almost have his Poet, like Pythius his Architect, more skill'd in every Art and Science, than are those Studious Brains, which pursue them severally; so great a Contemner is he of indifferent Poesy. Imitation, moreover, he accounted a Chief Requisite of this Art; which though in a Poetaster proves but a straining after Vices, the same in a rare Poet turns old Wealth to new Uses, and contrives a a vital Economy of Wit. At this consideration, taking from his pocket a volume in little of Martial's Epigrams, he repeated. Certain Verses, which at that very time, he was labouring to imitate, in a Lyrick of his own invention. And that you may see to what Height, and with how curious a Judgement, he had perform'd that Labour, I send you the several Verses in a Parallel; for I was fain to beg of him a draught of so delicate a Poem. The Latin lines, which are fetcht from divers Epigrams, are these. First:

‘Fæmincum lucet sic per Bombycina Corpus:
Calculus in nitida sic Numeratur Aqua.’

Next:

‘Conditæ sic puro numerantur Lilia Vitro:

Sic prohibei temuis Gemma latere Rosas.’

Which Exquisite Concepts, he thus sweetly commingled:

‘If blush thou must, then blush thou through

A Lawn, that thou mayst look As purest Pearls or Pebbles do,
When peeping through a Brook. As Lilies shrin'd in Crystal, so
Do thou to me appear, Or Damask Roses when they grow
To sweet Acquaintance there.’

He reckon'd Martial above any other of the Ancient Poets, by reason of a certain admirable Gusto for the outward Shows of Things, as for Complexion, Colours, Shapes, and the like; whereof the Verses I have already sent you may stand for an Example. Yet his poet, he thought, had this Infelicity, that the most judicious head of his own age could find in him no more than this: *Homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer*; a man perspicuous only for the Salt and Gall of candid Satire. And though later Judgements have allow'd his Verse to be clear, full, and absolute good; yet they would wink at some few of his Epigrams, as being too wanton and licentious: whereas. M^r. Hearick held, that the intermingling of his Gross with his Fine Verses, as of his Wanton with his Solemn Times, argu'd in him the greater art; as being of the same pleasure, that a fall from a Discord to a Concord is in Musick. “And anon there comes to Mr. Hearick, a discreet young Gentlewoman, as I thought, whom he did very civilly salute with a kiss: and having bade her sit by us, nam'd her Lalage, out of I know not what Concept. She was of a very pale Countenance; and of so curious a Beauty, that its excellence was not to be perceiv'd at the first sight, no, nor at the second. Her Habit, answerable to the simplicity of her Person, was of white Satin; and about her neck was a Carcanet of Jacinth Stones, set in Tables. And he began to extol her, calling her his Syrinx, and declaring that his Metamorphosis of her should transcend any of Antiquity; which, as I take it, was some Concept in praise of her, done by him into a Lyrick; seeing that she was withal, tall and dainty of Stature, and like rather to the fashion of a Reed, than that of any Carnal Creature. But she, as she had not heard what he said (for we had fallen to speak of indifferent Matters, which upon such occasions are of the greater Delight) complain'd to me, that Mr. Hearick would not suffer her to wear a Bracelet, at any time; she

greatly affecting one of Pomander Beads. Whereat, before I could make any reply, Mr. Hearick did take her by the fingers, and holding her Hand, almost above her head, bade me say, what I thought wanting to the Perfection of such a Wrist. I must confess, that I did never before see so exquisite a piece of Flesh and Blood; that, introth, it appeared to me, in verbis Salamonis (if I may say it without Profanation) sicut Monilia, quae fabricata sunt Manu artificis. And many other passages there were, in which I should be tedious, were I to relate them at length; and which may better form the grounds of future discourse with you.

“When presently we parted, she with Mr. Hearick to the Exchange, and the rest to our Lodging here, I could not forbear to tarry in the shadow of St. Michael Bladum, the while that Cento of Heavenly Lights did retire thither, in the sheen of the summer Noon. And so insensibly did her Presence take me, that, till the second or third Day afterwards, I did seem to myself to continue in the recess of St. Michael's Church, observing the Departure of that Admirable Beauty.

“I have written more at large, on this matter, than my Natural Solicitude would ordinarily have allow'd me. I beseech you therefore, look upon these as Private Lines made for no Eyes but yours, which will never suffer you to discover in them (for such, I believe, is the Love, you bear me) the least offence against that Perpolite Civility, which is ever the desire of your poor, loving Friend, to serve you:

AD: LE: "To Master Edward Durham, at Christ Church in Oxford, give these:"

III

In a third letter to Edward Durham, written a few weeks after the preceding one, there occurs this further allusion to the lady of the foregoing incident: “You have no longer that Old Occasion for your Scorn; since I no longer can protest it sufficient for me, that Lesbia should live in the Wit of Catullus: but you have a new and more generous Theam for your Satire; and I doubt not you will celebrate it. Alas! that, as the Ancients fabled of the Subtil Spirits of Wine, this same Lesbia should have the Virtue to return, and exercise her Influences. What years I abjur'd those Seas, you remember; but I am now so over-taken by their Flood, that I know not to which Saving Deity I may look, timely to devote my Dripping Vesture. This morning I have diligently searcht

through Half a Score of the Iliads, if haply I might chance upon Certain Verses of that Arch-poet Homerus, which I heard Mr. Hearick repeat upon some late Occasion, allusive to the manner, in which this Lalage is wont to smile. I find them to be these, which speak of Hera, after that she had receiv'd the Girdles of Venus:

μειδησεν δε βοώπις πότνια "Ηρη,
Μειδήσασα δ' έπειτα εώ εγκάθθετο κόλπω.

Whereby I perceive, that he has drawn a very Excellent Parallel: since, in her curious Beauty, I discover, as well the Wiles of the white Goddess, as the inscrutable Brow of Hera. And most apt is this Parity as to her Eyes, which are as the great Eyes of kine; wherein there is so near a Sympathy of the Complexion in the Apple and the Iris, that they appear of a like Colour and Nature. Albeit, at certain times I no longer perceive in them this Placid and Patient Look; but they do appear to me, as the Eyes of a hunted Fawn, or of some wild Creature of the woods, which, in its Fearful Suspicions, seems almost to glance backward (to speak out of the Mean) through its head. You, who have seen Rome, have not forgotten, what Apprehensions of the Mind are exprest in the Eyes of that Delphic Sibyl; which the Divine Pencil of Michael Angelo has design'd, among the Company of the Prophets, on the Vault of the Pope's Chapel. Of a like show, are the Eyes of this (...); and of such, as I guess, were the Eyes of Actaeon.”

At this point in the series, there is a break, extending over a period of more than a year and a half; after which time occasional letters have been preserved, written during the remaining terms, which Adam Legendre kept at Oxford. These letters are chiefly interesting, on account of the scattered allusions, which they contain, to his increasing interest in the Art and Poetry of his time; and thus illustrating the letters, which follow. At first, Adam Legendre appears to have been entirely absorbed in literary studies: in English poetry, his admiration for Ben Jonson would hardly allow him to read the works of any other writer; although, in one letter, he refers to George Chapman, whom he considers “of a sublime and troubled Spirit, though scarce pervial as the Greeks.” But his chief delight lay in the study of the classics. He notes the development of his own taste: “my former light Poets do no longer surfeit me; and I am now the more taken by a

gravid and solemn Manner." Lucretius especially attracts him; whom, "in his Inspir'd Times," he thinks "the divinest of the Romans." He himself writes verses, both in Latin and English; and is fastidious in the choice of his words, "the due Shadow and Heightening of the Invention," and all that goes to determine "the proper habit of Poesy." To these pursuits, he adds the study of music; and writes with a sense of accomplishment, when he is able "to sing and play, a Part at the first Sight." But it was "the use of Medals," with the perusal of those chapters of Pliny's Natural History, containing an account of antique painting and sculpture, which finally led Adam Legendre to turn his thoughts to the pursuit of art. In the Autumn of 1633, he thus writes to Edward Durham, while on a visit to London: "I find every Curious Eye to be set upon Italy, the Cynosure of all Art, Civility, and Magnificent State; insomuch that I purpose with all speed to pass into that Country, to the end that I may acquaint myself with whatever is there recover'd of the Antient Practice; for I would have nothing of the Grecian Arts escape me." There is no record in the *Fasti Oxonienses* of any degree taken by Legendre, at Oxford: he may have left college suddenly, with the intention of travelling to Italy; which intention, however, was not immediately realized. Towards the close of the year 1633, or the beginning of the following year, Charles I. founded the Museum Minervae, for the advancement of Learning, under the mastership, or "Regency," of Sir Francis Kynaston. By the autumn of 1634, Adam Legendre had been admitted to the Museum, and was engaged in the study of architecture and geometry, as "the only solid and sure Grounds of all Art whatsoever." Among the miscellaneous papers, which are contained in original transcript, is one giving an account of the Museum: it is apparently a contemporary translation of a letter, originally written in Latin. This account is here printed in full; since it conveys as complete a notion, as may now be formed, of the objects of this institution. The Editor has not been able to discover, to whom this letter is addressed.

IV

"ADAM LEGENDRANVS AMICO SVO S.H. SALVTEM.

"It is your Desire, that I should set down for you, in Writing, some Account of that Idea, which has mov'd the Royal and Gentle Founders of our College, to their ever memorable Act; that you may lay it up with your papers of divers things, worthy to be preserv'd for the curious Eye of approaching Time. And in this, if I could serve you, I would spare no Labours of my own,

were there not an Irremovable Hindrance; seeing that it is an Idea, so spherically complete and polisht, tota teres atq' rotunda, (of which Figure Empedocles conceiv'd the Fashion of the Soul to be, whose Microcosmus it is) as to be scarce contain'd in the many Folios of a Volume, much less in the single Folio of a Letter. Yet, with an Unaccustom'd Pencil, I will endeavour to design for you a Portrait in little of the present Estate and Labours of this Memorable Foundation, that thereby you may divine how Universal and Liberal is this Idea, with which you desire to be acquainted, and from which the Pattern of our Schools has been copied.

“It was a chief Care of our most Royal Founder not to raise a College, which should in anywise derogate from our two Universities, the Eyes of this happy Nation; but rather remain as a Peculiar Place, and Musaeum, where there might be more than vulgarly taught such Qualities and Exercises, as are not presently practis'd in their Schools; to wit, the Sciences of Architecture both Civil and Military, Painting, Carving, and Graving; not to omit Navigation, Riding the great horse, and other such Noble Exercises: for the sufficient Attainment of which, men are now forc't to pass beyond seas, to the Famous Universities of Bononia, Roma, or Padua. Whereby it may be perceiv'd, that his Majesty, out of his love for all Excellent Arts and Works, has, to our Civil Advancement, labour'd to translate the Nursery of every rare and curious Art, from Italy into England. Not that those more common Sciences and Exercises of our Schools are past over or forgotten; but, whatever presents itself, of good or true, in the whole Ascent and Steps of Learning, is here conserv'd and deliver'd; whereof the Study of Languages, the Ancient with the Modern, as well the Civil, as the Canon Law, Cosmography, with Geometry and the Mathematicks, scarcely comprise the Chief: so that our College is not only in its Name and Style, Musaeum Minervae; but, in very truth, the Repository of Every Wisdom.

“To the furtherance of which end, Sir Francis Kinnaston, by the Consent and Pleasure of the King, has taken the present Seat and Tenement of the College, in Covent Garden; how newly laid out and rebuilt by his Majesty's Surveyor, in the plot and form of a Spacious Piazza, with Walks towards the North and East sides, arch'd and vaulted with Thuscana Work: the like has not before been seen in this country, being contriv'd after the Italian manner, and as a Prospect fetcht from Bologna, or the civiller of those Cities. This same house has the Regent very richly furnisht with divers Instruments of the Mathematicks and Musick, together with a sumptuous Bibliotheca

abundantly stor'd with Books, and Manuscripts; the whole adorn'd with Pictures, Statuas, and other Antiquities, both rare and exotick. To which stately endowment, the King has contributed not a little by the Grace and Bounty of his Letters Patent of Donation in land and monies; and as well by that Rare Gift of books, which at his Majesty's Command, were procur'd out of Italy, by the industry of Master Nicholas Laniere; as by his own picture with that of the Queen, in one Piece, by the incomparable hand of Vandike, in which his Majesty is receiving, from her, Apollo's Chaplet.

“Touching the present Condition of our College, I will be brief; lest I grow troublesome. The Names and Offices of the several Doctors and Professors, you shall find set down, at length, in the draught of the King's Letters Patent; of which I send you a copy, together with those of divers other curious draughts, which are repositd in the Bibliotheca of the College: seeing that it is among the admirable Constitutions of our Musaeum, that not only shall every Professor leave therein some Rarity in writing, concerning his own Profession; but, also, that with these shall be preserv'd as well the draught of any Discourse Extraordinary there deliver'd, as of every memorable Paper, Deed, or Evidence, pertaining to its History. Among the several Constitutions, touching the Practitioners of our College, it is enacted, that none shall be admitted, who cannot bring, as a Testimonial of his Arms and Blood, his Coat Armour trickt on a table, to be plac't in the Hall of the Musaeum. As these shali form a Chronicle of the Honourable Blood; so also, for a Chronicle of the Honourable Acts and Atchievements of the practitioners, shall there be Liber Nobilium always kept. And to the end that all may attain to an Excellence, rather than to a Superfice, of Learning, no Gentleman may exercise himself, at once, about more than two particular Sciences, Arts, or Qualities; whereof the one shall be Intellective, the other Corporal. The day of Publick Musick is Tuesday, beginning at two of the clock, in the afternoon.

“Such you have, in brief, the true Portrait of this Noble Graft, whereof the ripe Fruits and Production you may shortly expect: to the end, that we may boast our Raffaello, equally with Italy; when the world, which now journeys to Rome, shall the rather turn its steps towards London. The Golden Apollo is come among us, in the same show, I would fain believe, as his Statua in the Vaticano (which my Lo. of Arundel has, of pale wax, done in little) wherein he

walks in shining Skirts, with the Laurel Wreath on his Head, and the Lyre in his Hands. This Apollo, I say, is come amongst us; and the Muses walk in our Streets. Vale.”

Two of the “draughts,” which Legendre made from original documents in the college library, and enclosed in the preceding letter, have been preserved. The first is a copy of a Latin epistle, written by Sir John Burroughs, Garter King of Arms, and containing his grant of arms to the Musaeum Minervæ. It may be found printed in a rare collection of his Latin letters, entitled: “Impetus Juveniles,” Oxford, 1643; and is written in the extravagant manner of the time: as an instance of this, it may be mentioned, that Sir Francis Kynaston is styled: Sacri Paladij, Patrimaeq' Virginis Protomystes, and the professors of the college: Flamines Ded pleni & mystici artium liberalium roris Promicondi. The other “draught” is a copy of a lecture on Architecture, given at the college, by the famous Inigo Jones; but, like other similar compositions, is more curious, than valuable. It is, moreover, a mere fragment; and occuring at the end of the manuscript, it would seem that the last transcriber did not trouble to complete the copy.

V

“The Discourse, De Architectura; deliver'd at the College of the Musaeum Minervae, by the Surveyor-General, and our only Learned Architect, Mr. Inigo Jones. “The Uses of Architecture are two; the Practick and the Logick: the Practick, in that it inclines men to build well, which is the true End of all Magnificent Architecture; and to have regard as well for the Commodity, as for the Firmness and Delight thereof: the Logick, since a careful apprehension of it affords the only Solid and Sufficient Grounds for a Judgement in the other Arts: the which Vitruvius learnedly concludes in the first sentence of his treatise, as it were the Chiefest and most Memorable Consideration that he could set down, concerning this various Science:

Architectura est scientia pluribus disciplinis, & varijs eruditionibus ornata, cuius iudicio probantur omnia, quae à caeteris artibus perficiuntur, opera. So that this Science of Architecture, being searcht and examin'd, is in truth the Foundation and Substruction of a Glorious Fabric; the several parts of which are compos'd of those various and liberal Arts, which Time has deliver'd to us, out of the Grecian Practise. “But to fall to a mean, and to search out some notable example: you may read in the Lives of the famous Artificers, written in choice Italian, by Giorgio Vasari, how those painters, who designed in the ‘Gothick Manner, were for the most part

Goldsmiths; but those, who excell'd in the Divine Manner of the Ancients, had great Skill and Practise in Architecture. Whereby it is to be perceiv'd, that the only grounds of a sufficient Rule, and solid Judgement, in the other several Arts and Sciences, as well for the Artificer, as for the curious Observer, is to be found in the Theoretick Understanding of this chief and Foundational Science. And to come to a nearer time for a Contrary Example: you shall but look to the Babels of the last age, to see how the monstrous Ignorance of their Builders infected the Arts, both of Picture and Statuary, at that time; insomuch that there is scarce a work of theirs, comparable to the Ancient Opera. And in their Poesy, also, did the like Error prevail: the which you may chiefly perceive in the more vulgar sort of their writings, as in Stage Plays; which are, for the most part, of a mean gust, and design'd in a Gothick Manner.

“This curious Consent of the several Arts, one with another, is to be observ'd, as well in their outward fashion, as in their unsearchable Spirit. It has been well noted, that divers Tropes, or Figures, in Musick, do agree with certain figures in Rhetorick; as Reports, and Fugues, which have an agreement with the Figures of Repetition, and Traduction: but you shall find these same Figures in Architecture better order'd, and with less disparity in the agreement, both with those in Musick and Rhetorick.

“And if any should seek a further reason, wherefore a judicious Understanding of Architecture is to be accounted among the necessary Exercises, and Qualities, of a Civil Education, let him consider of what Dignity, and of how lofty a Temper, was this Art among the ancient Greek Souls, as among the present learned Artificers of Italy. Poesy speaks as well to the Sensuous, as to the Intellective Apprehensions of men; Picture to the Sensuous alone, and that often-time basely. Architecture likewise speaks only to the Sensuous Part of us; but among these Artificers, in so sublime and severe a Tongue, that it makes the Sensuous of the like nobility as the Intellective Part ; whereby it transcends the rest of the Arts, and appears of a Nature Peculiar and Divine.

“Next, touching the means, by the which a proper Understanding of this Science may be presently attain'd; you shall look chiefly to the writings of Vitruvius: for there is scarce anything of Worth in this Art, that has not been learnedly and copiously setdown by him, in his incomparable Discourse: insomuch that all the Authors, who have since written concerning this

Art of Architecture, are to be accounted but Commenters, and their works but glosses, upon his Sentence; from among which, even the Labours of the famous Andrea Palladio are not to be excepted. The first among the Moderns to write with a learned Pen, and a just Understanding of the Mathematicks, was of an universal Genius, to wit the famous Leonbatista Alberti; whose discourse, *De Re Ædificatoria*, was imitated in Ten Books, after the Manner of Vitruvius, being rarely written in Latin, and of a gust not inferior to the Ancients. And of the many other gravid Treatises, of which your Bibliothecarius will be able to show to you a true Impression, I will only speak of the book, in which Sebastiano Serlio has included the admirable Draughts of all the chief Vestigia, then remaining in Rome and other parts of Italy; which same were design'd by that rare Architect, Baldassare Senese, with egregious Labour, according to the Manner of the Originals. Among those, who have written divers Commentaries upon the books of Vitruvius, none is more worthy to be mark'd' than the learned Patriarch of Aquila, whose....” The remainder of the Discourse is wanting.

Towards the close of the year 1635, Adam Legendre alludes, in one of the letters, to his recent betrothal to Diana Gataker, a lady of an ancient family, taking its name from the village of Gataker, in Shropshire. It does not appear, that he contemplated an immediate marriage with her: but, on the contrary, that he regarded such an event as properly delayed, until after his return from his meditated journey to Italy, and other parts of Europe; when he looked to be master of the finer emergencies of life. There are preserved, in the original manuscript, eleven letters addressed to Diana Gataker, during the years 1636 and 1637: but they are concerned, for the most part, with trifling occasions; and are, consequently, of minor interest, when compared with many others in the series. The two short letters, which follow, may, however, be taken as tolerable examples of the worth of the remainder.

VI

From the College in Covent Garden,

11. of May, 1636.

“My dear Dear,

'Tis but to-morrow, and I shall be riding Post to Blanch Appleton, endeavouring to reach you, ere can this; which I am not able to send you at a quicker Rate, than by the Toils of the Ordinary. If it should prevent my Arrival, it will be but to tell you how instant is my Coming; but, if it reach your hands after we have met, you shall look upon it as a Token of how true a Lover I am, who can do nothing but by contraries. I will not stay to acquaint you with the reason of my unlookt-for journey: that, with such news as I have, will serve for some slight Occasion to wile away the time; lest we too soon are come, to what straights last Martlemas found us in, as I lay at your Feet, and sigh'd, and made Babies in your Eyes, while you sat reading the last new Romanzo, and laugh'd at me, for my Folly. All these and more, To-morrow shall tell you; and in Terms more lively than this insensate Pen is able: and so, until To-morrow, persuade your Heart, that this determination bodes no more than a Sudden Fancy in one, who is wholly yours to serve you, and to love you

ADAM LEGENDRE.”

VII

“From London, 17, of December 1636.

“My dearest Love,

I am cut to the Quick, that your pitiful Heart should be overwhelm'd by the Unexpected Trouble, now suddenly come upon you: although I must needs confess, that I am not able to divine in this Evil, what Issues you forestall. If such are to proceed from it, we shall quickly be assur'd: for Sorrows such as these, of so black and violent a Front, are as Tempestuous Clouds, swollen to above the Pitch, and not long able to contain their Storm. But few Words do but consort with extreme Occasions. I will not, therefore, vex you with fruitless disquisitions; I will but ask you this: Are there no words of your Protestant, that you do longer call to Remembrance? or have all our sweet Resolves prov'd but Vanity, and a Passing Breath. No, no, it has not so proved! Beseech you! dry your weeping Eyes, & compose the Fearful Spirits of your Mind, bidding them endure their Season: for tears, my dear Heart, are as the Drops of the Dews, which abide with us only for the Night-time, and with the Morning are receiv'd again into Heaven, from whence they were sent us. Forget not, then, who chiefly lives to obtain you Felicity,

AD: LE:”

The Editor has chosen to stay here in his selection, since the enthusiastic temper, which pervades the earlier letters, and which appears to him to have reached its climax at this point, was afterwards gradually dissipated. (To be concluded.)

LYALL AUBRYSON

18. *Notes upon Luca Cambiaso's woodcut of Aphrodite.*¹⁸

Luca Cambiaso, a painter and sculptor of Genoa, was born in 1527, and died in 1585: his life may be found written in Italian, by Raffaello Soprani. The woodcut after his design of the Triumph of Amphitrite, which is re-produced in the present number, is one of several, drawn and executed in the same manner. It has been thought, that they were intended to form the outline blocks, for prints in chiaroscuro: but a more judicious review of them has decided, that they are complete in themselves. The present design, on account of the robust ease and virility shown in its execution, might well serve as a criticism upon the emasculated manner of drawing, which too often prevails among our living draughtsmen.

19. *William Bell Scott, poet, painter and critic: born 12 September, 1811; died 22 November, 1890.*¹⁹

As I was finally considering, what papers I should cast together, for the present number of this magazine; the news came to me of the death of Mr. William Beli Scott, in the eightieth year of his age. To those of his friends, to whom his last condition was known, such news must have come, rather as a matter of regret, than of surprise. To regret the natural extremities of life, come they never so seasonably, is human enough: although here there was nothing, which appeared out of its due time; "nothing," to use the severe phrase, "for tears." It was the passage of one, who had assumed, with effect, the successive characters of life; who had lived beyond the

¹⁸ H.P. Horne, *Notes upon Luca Cambiaso's woodcut of Aphrodite*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 5, 1890, pp. 120 - 124.

¹⁹ H.P. Horne, *William Bell Scott, poet, painter and critic: born 12 September, 1811; died 22 November, 1890*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 6, 1891, pp. 16 - 29.

allotted years; and had shown himself distinguished, one man among a thousand, as the prophet said; or as we should say, one among a hundred thousand. And so, turning over in my mind, these and other such thoughts, with some remembrance of an unaccomplished essay upon Mr. Scott's works, I could not forbear to attempt a slight memorial of him, however hurried and indigested an endeavour it might prove: and this, too, at the risk of appearing a participator in that indecent haste to speak of dead men, which lately we have seen exemplified, upon two or three occasions: than which, indeed, nothing is farther from my desire.

The circumstances of Mr. Scott's disorder had withdrawn him, for several years, from any active scene of Art, or Letters: and only upon occasions was he able to write, or, more rarely, to design. He died at Penkill Castle, the ancient and retired seat of the Boyds in Ayrshire, in the country of Burns. Many days, both of work and leisure spent there during his latter years, had gone to refashion this mediaeval house; leaving it, perhaps, in that sort, the best memorial of his genius. In one of the series of his poems, Mr. Scott has celebrated the place, and its associations: he has described its corbelled windows, looking over the sea towards Ailsa Crag; the endreends inscribed on its beams and walls; the ceiling of the guest-chamber, which the invention of the painter had strewn with autumnal leaves. Nor is this the only occasion, upon which Mr. Scott has attempted some description of Penkill: his last printed work, although not his last published one, for it was prepared only for his private use, in gifts to his friends, contained an account of the paintings, with which he had adorned its staircase. It consists of a series of six etchings, preceded by an essay upon the poem of "The King's Quair", which is the subject of these pictures. In the course of this essay, Mr. Scott describes how Rossetti visited Penkill, during the autumn of the years, 1868 and 1869; while the paintings were in course of execution. These visits were an especially memorable time in Rossetti's life; for not only did he then make that acquaintance with the verse and history of King James, which afterwards suggested to him the composition of the King's Tragedy; but Rossetti was, also, during these visits, induced to turn again to the pursuit of poetry, which he had almost entirely abandoned, since the death of his wife. Mr. Scott records at length what of interest passed at that time: the preparation of the little volume, designed by Rossetti for his friends, and prefaced, not by a title-page, but by a half-title, as "Privately Printed"; a volume, which exists only in a varying series of proofs: the elaboration of

several new poems, among which was “a poem written, for the first time in his life, in the presence of, and, if possible, under the inspiration of Nature; afterwards called *The Stream's Secret*, by his forcibly transferring the name of a sonnet of mine”: his final determination to recover the manuscript of his verses, which he had buried in his wife's coffin; and the appearance of his first volume of poems in the year, 1870.

The sonnet by Mr. Scott, whose original title, “*The Stream's Secret*”, was “grabbolozzied”, by Rossetti, to use his own phrase, is to be found in that series of poems, describing the house at Penkill, to which I have already alluded: the series itself is called, “*The Old Scotch House*”; and the sonnet commences, “*Beneath those buttressed walls.*” The subject of Rossetti's poem was the stream, which runs through the glen, on the edge of whose deep ravine Penkill Castle is built: and the poem itself was actually composed by him in the glen, as he half lay in a little cave, the former refuge of certain famous Covenanters, which overhangs the stream. But how sadly have I digressed from my subject! However, let all this stand for a background, against which I will attempt some desultory portrait of Mr. Scott.

In every northern climate, the sense, it would seem, being driven inwards; men are inclined to seek after intellectual speculation, rather than sensuous impressions; and, in consequence, to elaborate the conception, rather than the utterance of their ideas. In all Scotch, imaginative art, with, perhaps, one or two grand exceptions in poetry, this eminently appears: and so in the art of Mr. Scott, the penetration and strangeness of his thoughts, the abundance of his fancy, the variety of his interests, formed the conspicuous part of his genius; but, perhaps, in the last of these, his distinguishing trait is to be found; his interest in whatever is properly the concern of art, alike in practice and in criticism. Philosophy, poetry, history, and design were equally pursued by him: philosophy always; though not as an end in itself to elaborate, or insist upon, any defined scheme of human affairs; but as a steady source of light, whereby he might labour at other things. That to him was the value of philosophy; no matter in how desultory, and, at times, unconscious a manner, it was pursued by him. Design, the avowed business of his life, was conceived by him in a manner equally various: he has left both cabinet pictures, and pictures of a more strictly decorative character; among which the two series of wall-paintings, at Penkill

Castle, and Wallington Hall, were his chief production. In ornament, in its confined sense, he has left some of his most charming work; work, which is ever relieved by an unfailing fancy; and touched with a certain natural variety. "I have always felt," he said, "that ornament should be imaginative, and that any one, with poetry in his nature, would find decoration a free field for invention. The great thing is to keep the invention sane, and subject to a beautiful impression": and as he conceived decoration, so he effected it. The conditions of his larger wall-paintings had naturally led Mr. Scott to consider the theory of architecture; and in his later years, he attempted an experiment in that art, of much thought and grace, as it afterwards proved; being the new Hall at Penkill, for which he furnished the designs. In etching, he executed a great number of illustrations for books, with the same delicate precision, which we find in the etchings of the early line-engravers; and which Mr. Scott acquired, perhaps, from his father, Robert Scott, himself an engraver. To his father, also, he may have owed his love of prints, which led him to form his well-known collection; and to appreciate more masters, than were included in the vogue of the amateur. He was especially devoted to the study of the early German engravers; and wrote the lives of the Little Masters, as well as the life of Albert Durer.

Such are the principal circumstances, too numerous to particularize at greater length, connected with his study of Design: but it is, however, in speaking of his literary works, and especially of his poetry, that I hope chiefly to convey my impression of Mr. Scott's genius. Among his prose works, the Memoir of his brother, David Scott, is certainly the most remarkable: and has served, in no slight degree, to keep alive the reputation of that painter. The colour and directness, which are among the most engaging characteristics of Cellini's autobiography, were considered by Mr. Scott necessary for the felicitous accomplishment of such writings: and to the free acceptance of this view, this Memoir of his brother owes its uncommon, and impressive, character. In after years, Mr. Scott spoke of the book, as "the history of a martyr; although a voluntary martyr, and to his own idea of art." But I stay too long, speaking of his prose, while my business is with his poetry: I will, therefore, only mention his lectures on Art, and his introductions to the poems of Shelley, Keats, Coleridge, and Byron; and so I have done.

The first poem, which Mr. Scott published, was a rhapsody upon the poet Shelley: it was written in 1831, and printed two years later, in the October number of Tait's Edinburgh Magazine. "It elicited extraordinary commendation from Mr. Tait", who was, at that time, his own editor; and who requested its author to compose for him, some further verses upon the subject of Spring. After a lapse of more than half a century, Mr. Scott carefully revised the lyric, which this obliging request had called forth; and generously sent it, as a gift to the Hobby Horse, in the second volume of which it may be found printed. About this same time, Mr. Scott contributed several poetical pieces to "The Edinburgh University Souvenir"; among which were included "The Incantation of Hervor", and "The Dance of Death", afterwards reprinted in his poetical collections. "The Edinburgh University Souvenir", Mr. Scott has recorded, "was a Christmas book edited by a friend, W. A. C. Shand, of whom I wrote a poem in my little Harvest Home; and altogether composed by other students in Edinburgh." "I have never seen", he adds, "another copy since leaving Edinburgh, about that time".

In 1838, Mr. Scott published his first volume of verses, bearing the title of "Hades, an Ode." It has not been my fortune to meet with a copy of this "very small volume"; nor do I know whether the poem, afterwards republished under the title of "The Music of the Spheres", formed the whole of its contents. In 1846, a second volume appeared, containing a philosophical poem on "Redemption from the Fall", and consisting of five books, written in blank verse. "The Year of the World", a Pythagorean phrase, signifying "the entire cycle of *time*, in connexion with human history on earth", is the name of the poem; which presents, under the form of an allegory, the growth and development of the human mind, and is chiefly concerned with Universals and the Eternities. The influence of those metaphysical ideas of a short way to the salvation of men, which Shelley overrapturously expressed in certain of his longer poems, is everywhere present in this work of Mr. Scott's. But, without doubt, its author would have regarded, what he was afterwards pleased to call "my early, ambitious, year of the world", much as he regarded those early verses to the memory of Shelley; a thing rather of literary interest, than of perfect art, or thought, as he afterwards apprehended these. The poem has, moreover, much of the subtilized quality of metaphysical speculation; being too obviously retired from the actual presence of men and things, to satisfy the passionate temper of poetry: and, in this, it differs from the productions

of Shelley. But the value of so many philosophical poems; not excepting the finer of our English essays in that sort, nor even the lofty verse of Lucretius: nay, the value of so many attempts to express absolutely, or in universal formulas, the various estates and colours of the natural, or supernatural worlds: the value of such attempts, to use the phrase of a great critic, "has most often been in the suggestive and penetrating things, said by the way." And so it is with the present poem; when we find in it vivid images, such as this image: "And poets, eyes of Time" together with thoughts and metaphors displaying a like imagination; we are content to read on, for the sake of these felicities by the way, without enquiring, whether the greater canons of art have been fulfilled.

After a second period of some eight years, Mr. Scott published, in 1854, a small volume of collected poems; "Poems of a Painter", he named them, illustrating the book with etchings by his own hand. It is, in a certain sense, the most remarkable of his poetical volumes; as well on account of those influences, which went to determine the manner of its author; as of the influence, which it, in turn, exercised upon certain subsequent writers. Not that I would disparage the intrinsic value of the book, which is very considerable: but I shall best convey my meaning, by touching, in particular, upon some of these traits.

One of the earliest of the poems contained in it, was written in 1832, and is, perhaps as felicitous as any poem, which Mr. Scott afterwards composed. It is entitled "A Fable"; and has attained a certain popularity, on account of an allusion to it by Mr. Swinburne, in his study of William Blake. The fascination, which that great and singular spirit exercised upon our author, and which Mr. Swinburne has remarked, was not merely shown in a passing imitation of poetical modes of thought, or expression; but proved a continuous and emphatic trait of his genius. His familiarity with the works of Blake commenced in his earliest years: his father was among the original subscribers to the illustrated edition of Blair's *Grave*; and his brother was an enthusiastic disciple of Blake, as a designer. These circumstances, together with a natural desire for what was mysterious and spiritual, led him into that careful study of Blake, which produced a catalogue of his pictorial works; and a series of etchings, after his designs.

As we read the poem, "A Fable," we experience a sense of illumination, of insight into the difficult complexion of human life, which sets it in a marked antithesis, with certain other poems in the volume. I mean poems like "The Dance of Death," "Bede in the Nineteenth Century," or even the "Requiem" upon David Scott, which are equally concerned with spiritual problems; but in these the problems are become mysterious and troubled; pre-occupied with the macabre; with some perplexed- passage of existence, lying beyond the passage of our present life. This morbid preoccupation with Death, during the middle ages, when the people of Northern Europe were almost universally absorbed by it, became inseparable from the grotesque: for it was by this way, that men endeavoured to escape the stress of its continued contemplation. But in these poems by Mr. Scott, we may discover no such relief; all is stern and without compromise, unconsciously reproducing, it would seem, beneath new semblances and connexions, that grievous aspect of life, under whose influence he was brought up; and which he has described, with unusual vividness, in the memoir of his brother. The simultaneous and sudden death, we there read, occurring shortly after the birth of David Scott, of four elder children, irrecoverably impressed itself, upon the minds of the father and mother. A dejection and melancholy settled upon them; darkening, at times, into a religious gloom, and scarcely to be dispelled. "Misfortune has a profound effect, on the Scottish character: a grief is nursed, and its memory kept alive as a duty." The depression resulted in a separation from the Established Kirk, and an adherence to the communion of the Baptists: a smile was a rare thing within the threshold, and silence was enjoined, as an act of wisdom. "The appearance of other children," adds Mr. Scott, "although it replenished the household, never supplied the places of the old; and our mother would constantly, in calling us to her, address us by the names of those gone long ago."

Again; for I am not able to indicate, here, the nature of these several traits, but in the briefest of manners; there are poems, poems like the one entitled "Green Cherries", which are altogether removed from those just described: poems, which are fresh and healthy; untouched by any of the "maladies of the soul"; and full of the natural and physical sense of the country. They are truly, as Mr. Scott afterwards described them, "Studies from Nature". But in what connexion, is this new tendency to be apprehended? Among his sonnets, Mr. Scott has one addressed "To the Artists, called P.R.B.", dated 1851; in which he acknowledges, that these painters had once more

united “life with nature, earth with sky.” It is to this new spirit, which entered into English art, at that time, and of which Mr. Ruskin has come down to us as the prophet, that we may ascribe these poems: the Pre-Raphaelite Movement, we call it, somewhat uncertainly; as we are apt to do with everything, about which we are constantly speaking. If Mr. Ruskin rightly defined the effort of the Pre-Raphaelites, to be the portrayal of Nature, as it was around them, with the help of modern science; if this be a complete definition of their aim; much, then, is popularly attributed to the movement, which was but partially its outcome. Among paintings, the picture of “Work”, by Mr. Madox Brown, and in poetry, these particular pieces by Mr. Scott, appear, when viewed in this aspect, truly the productions of the Pre-Raphaelite spirit: while but very few, if any, of the works of Rossetti can be thus appreciated, either in Design, or in Letters.

In 1875, Mr. Scott republished the “Poems by a Painter”, with very many additions, the work of both late and early years; illustrating the whole with original etchings by himself, and Mr. Alma Tadema. In some of the etchings by Mr. Scott, we see that inclination to the macabre, which I have before remarked in him, shown in a very distinct manner; as, for example, in the one entitled “A Design remembered from a Dream.” The whole of those poems, which had been previously published, were corrected, and many passages rewritten. Rossetti was of the opinion, that this revision was not always for the better: the poem entitled, “Monody”, for example, he considered “altered for worse”; and that called “Morning Sleep”, “altered much for worse”. But before speaking about the contents of this volume, I would mention certain poems, which Mr. Scott here refrained from reprinting; and to which he thus alludes in his preface: “Originality the writer takes some credit for; he has, moreover, left out some poems, whose subjects or motives have been adopted by later poets, and realised in a more poetical or complete manner, considering that the best, not the first, should stand alone”. The poems, to which this passage chiefly refers are two; “Maryanne”, and “Lines written in the Elgin Marble Room, British Museum”: both of which are to be found in the volume of 1854. “Maryanne” was first printed in Leigh Hunt's “Repository”, under its original name of “Rosabell”; and, for a second time, in John Bell's publication, called “The Storyteller”. “When”, says Mr. Scott, “I was preparing my little volume, called ‘Poems by a Painter’, Rossetti was my visitor in Newcastle; and he thought ‘Rosabell’ too fine a name, and persuaded me to call it ‘Maryanne’, which I am now sorry for

having done". In recent years, Mr. Scott revised the poem; restoring the original title, and rejecting some of the latter portions of it. This revision, he considered a greatly improved work; and looked to have printed it, in a little volume of poems, which he did not live to publish. But this, let us hope, may still be accomplished; for it is a production of singular interest. It preceded Hood's "Bridge of Sighs": and suggested, to Rossetti, the composition of "Jenny", one of the more beautiful, and less exotic, of his poems; in reading which, we seem aware of the free, natural air, which pervades its original. Mr. Holman Hunt has related, in his account of the Pre-Raphaelites, with what zest Rossetti would recite passages from this poem: adding, that he found in it a subject for more than one of his designs; among which, the picture called "Found" is the chief. The "Lines written in the Elgin Marble Room", suggested to Rossetti the poem of "The Burden of Nineveh": but I have written sufficiently upon this head.

Those poems, which were printed, for the first time, in the collective volume of 1875, consisted chiefly of the ballads, with which the book opens, and certain of the sonnets, particularly the series called "The Old Scotch House." The ballads are interesting, as showing the influence, in turn, of Rossetti upon our author: although a judicious mind will detect, that Mr. Scott is here working in methods not entirely natural to him. Since it was by this, and his subsequent, volume, that Mr. Scott wished to be judged as a poet, a few quotations may as well serve that turn, as illustrate what I have already said about his art, and the quality of his mind. One of the most striking of those images, with which his verses are filled, is this, occurring in a poem called "The Sea-Shore": "Wave after wave for ten thousand years
Has furrowed the brown sand here, Wave after wave under clouds and stars
Has cried in the dead shore's ear.

"When Jesus was lifted on Calvary,

And saints long buried arose, Through the black three hours the waves broke here,

Continuous as do those!"

Again, that meditative, philosophic temper, which colours so much of his poetry, is finely shown in the sonnet:

*“Revolving worlds, revolving systems, yea,
 Revolving firmaments, nor there we end:
 Systems of firmaments revolving, send
 Our thought across the Infinite astray,
 Gasping and lost and terrified, the day
 Of life, the goodly interests of home,
 Shrivelled to nothing; that unbounded dome
 Peeling still on, in blind fatality.”*

*No rest is there for our soul's winged feet,
 She must return for shelter to her ark—
 The body, fair, frail, death-born, incomplete,
 And let her bring this truth back from the dark:
 Life is self-centred, man is nature's god;
 Space, time, are but the walls of his abode.”*

In the year 1882, Mr. Scott published his last volume, of one hundred short poems, under the title of "A Poet's Harvest Home". Fresher, more natural verse, was never written by an old man: every where its character is determined by a love of sincerity, and the desire to avoid any unnecessary, or rhetorical, word.' "As to the Poet's Harvest Home", Mr. Scott afterwards wrote, "I look upon that, as a determined protest against all elocutionary embellishment; as, indeed, an example of the direct and plain speech, used by all poets, until imitative and scholastic verse-making came to supersede emotion, and poetry." Here is the same various interest, the same diversity of thought, and emotion, which we find in his earlier volumes. Poems of the country, of country ways and children; poems of a fanciful, a philosophic, or a mystical temper; poems about the poets; alike go to form its contents: but be their mood pathetic, meditative, or merely gay, they are ever pervaded by the same fresh, and natural grace. The last seven, or eight, pieces in the little book were those, which Mr. Scott most valued. One of these concluding pieces, which I will here give at length, appears to me especially remarkable; since it possesses that

extreme simplicity, mingled with a sense of spiritual insight, which attracts us in the verses of William Blake.

“MEMORY.

*“Last night I lost a word, the one
Just wanted for my madrigal:
Then went to bed disconsolate,
Groping through a web half spun,
Listening for sounds beyond recall:
Unrhymcd my ruined verses hung,
Till I was lost myself-had won
Within the silence-hinged gate,
The gate of horn:
And lo, at morn
I found the word upon my tongue.*

*It was so in my school-boy year,
When the lesson would not lie
Within the jaded memory,
With day-light it would reappear,
Unravellcd, clear.
Perhaps 'twill be so that dread morn
Far beyond the gate of horn;
All we have said, or thought, or donk,
Like blades in a grass-field in the Sun,
Innumerable and clear each one,
WiU present be, no loss and no decay
Of all our growth throughout life's play :-
And that will be oxr judgment day:*

Ourselves the judge, the judged, the soul
To be advanced, from goal to goal!"

Mr. Scott intended to have published a final volume of poems, to be called "The After-Math"; but this, as I have already said, he did not live to accomplish. Towards such a design, he had written some thirty, or more, poems; all Sonnets, or short pieces: and to these, he purposed to add the corrected version of "Rosabell".

And now I have indicated, I hope, in however imperfect a fashion, something of the nature of Mr. Scott's genius, especially in poetry; something, also, of the scope and variety of his aims and interests. He endeavoured to conceive Art, as the ancients had conceived her; many sided, concerned with whatever concerns human life, but always one and the same: and this too, at a time, when the British taste would allow her to be concerned with nothing, but with the production of cabinet pictures. In judging Mr. Scott, we must always remember to what generation he belonged; and what manner of men came after him, and were influenced by him. They had the advantage of his propositions, and their's was the profit: for the popular applause is not with the initiative, but with the effective spirits. This, I hope, I have shown in some slight measure; as, also, what was in Rossetti's mind, when he spoke of him, in one of his familiar letters, as "the best of poetic and philosophic natures".

20. *A note upon the picture of a Roman lady in the decadence of the empire by G.F. Watts, R.A.*²⁰

Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his fourth discourse, has drawn a very judicious distinction between the ornamental, and the grand, manners of painting. Since the time of Reynolds, there has entered into the art of Europe a method of design, which stands in a more violent contrast to these, than they to one another. Sir Joshua sought only to distinguish between the manners of certain Venetian, and Roman, painters: between the manner of Tintoret, for example, and the manner of Raphael. He was concerned only with the Attic and the Asiatic in art, to use the

²⁰ H.P. Horne, *A note upon the picture of a Roman lady in the decadence of the empire by G.F. Watts, R.A.*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 6, 1891, pp. 39 - 40.

language of a writer of our own time; but we have to consider, in addition to these, the Corinthian manner. This is the manner of our age; our writings, our pictures, our music, our buildings, every where demonstrate it. In its architecture, the artistic spirit of an age is always most clearly shown: and in our own architecture, we see how the proportion and due relation of the parts, with all the qualities, which are requisite for erudite composition, and of the value of which even the medieval builders were conscious, are by us ignored, or mistaken. The art of architecture, as we popularly understand it to-day, is the art of accumulating the greatest amount of detail in every available space. Is this, then, a true indication of the nature of our art: and are its finest, its esoteric, productions but Asiatic at the best; not Attic; not, as Sir Joshua would have expressed it, in the grand manner?

But the Attic, and the grand, manners, you interrupt, these are not convertible expressions. Surely a distinction is to be drawn between them; a real, and important, distinction. Is not the Attic manner natural and human; while the grand manner, as elaborated in the Roman School, but a series of effete conventions? And did not these moribund conventions occupy the last century, to the exclusion of all natural feeling: and did not the effort to be free of them, lead to what you are pleased to call the Corinthian, in modern art? Perhaps that is so: it is, at least, the current and popular notion. But we are yet conscious of that reaction from the influences of the last century, which has done so much to determine the spirit of our own age: and it is, therefore, impossible for us to judge truly of these matters. Who can say, how they will present themselves to a succeeding generation? Is it inconceivable, that they will discover in the great writers of the last century more human sentiment, and less sentimentality, than we have done? Is it inconceivable, that they should find the Roman School more vital, than we have found it?

But these are fruitless disquisitions: let us endeavour to tread upon more solid ground. This much, at least, is certain, that a great manner, I will not say the grand manner, need not, even in these times of Corinthian art, want natural and human sentiment. Wordsworth at his best, in his *Laodamia*, and in a few of his sonnets, works in a truly great manner; yet he is entirely natural, entirely human. It is, also, certain that, in the history of Art, as in the development of individual taste, the tendency of men is to become less, and less, absorbed in the beautiful elaboration of the several parts, and passages, of a work; and more, and more, to seek after that difficult and

sophisticated beauty, which arises from the harmonious relations, and exact economy of the whole. That is the ultimate tendency of all ages, and of all schools; the desirable end of all elaborate, and erudite, Art. We have not a few living painters, who work in a very beautiful, and distinguished style, individual, expressive; but how many can show that subtle complexion of qualities, which denotes a truly great style? In the work, at least, of one painter, Mr. G. F. Watts, this rare assemblage of qualities is pre-eminently conspicuous: and to the end, that we might allude to this admirable trait in his art, we have chosen the present example of his work, for reproduction in our magazine. Simple undisturbed by any actual ornament, the felicitous effect of its design is obtained by the fineness of its forms, and the harmony of its masses. In this picture, as it seems to us, Mr. Watts has succeeded, where so many modern painters have failed: he has designed a figure, which is large, yet not coarse; physically developed, yet altogether suave and womanly. And in conveying these qualities to us, he conveys, at the same time, a sense of breadth and decoration, comparable to that, which we admire in the Venetian painters.

THE EDITOR

21. *The letters and papers of Adam Legendre: now first published from a manuscript in the possession of the editor (continued).*²¹

Some twelve years ago, the editor of these letters, having occasion to make a prolonged stay in Rutlandshire, began, in his leisure moments, to collect materials for a history of the village, in which he was residing. Upon his intention becoming known in the neighbouring county-town, a local dealer in old furniture, and other such curiosities, brought him a copy of Blore's "History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland," Stamford, 1811; or, to speak more correctly, of the one part, which was published, of that work; and bound up with it, some sixty-seven pages of manuscript in a modern hand, presumably of the beginning of the present century. On examination, this manuscript proved to be a transcript of a series of seventeenth-century letters, and papers, extending over a period of some fifteen years, that is to say, from 1629 to 1644; and prefixed to this transcript was the following note: "Copies of the letters I found among

²¹ H.P. Horne, [Lyll Aubryson], *The letters and papers of Adam Legendre: now first published from a manuscript in the possession of the editor (continued)*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 6, 1891, pp. 45 - 60.

the old papers in the coffin-box, which lay up in the loft, before they re-roofed my father's house. Jane Vezey.” This was the only information contained in the manuscript, as to the source of these letters: and although their editor has repeatedly endeavoured to learn something of their history, he has invariably failed in the attempt. The signature of the transcriber afforded him no clue; for Vezey is a common name in that part of the country.

On some future occasion, the Editor hopes to publish the whole of these letters, with his notes and illustrations to them; but for the present, owing to the nature of this magazine, and the limited space allotted to him, he must content himself with a selection from them, adding the gist of his research and inferences, as briefly as possible. In the original manuscript, the letters have been copied without any reference to their proper sequence ; and in many instances, the transcriber has omitted to give the endorsement, which corresponds to the address on a modern envelope. In consequence of this omission, many particulars of importance have been lost; especially some, which might have elucidated the history of their author: for the whole of the documents included in the original transcript, are, with two exceptions, the production of a single writer, Adam Legendre, of whom nothing appears to have been preserved, beyond what is here contained. The name, Legendre, does not occur in Lower's "Patronymica Britannica"; but the editor is assured by a friend, that persons of this name lie buried at Exeter. Adam Legendre was possessed of a considerable estate: a passage in one of the letters shows, that his seat, called More Hall, was situated in the south-west of England, perhaps in Devonshire. It is the Editor's conjecture, that his father was a French refugee, of gentle blood; and that he inherited his property from his mother, an English heiress, of whom some account may yet be forthcoming: both his father and mother appear to have died, while he was still a child. After the death of Legendre, as appears from a note, which has been erroneously copied as a postscript to one of the letters, these papers were collected and preserved by Edward Durham, to whom many of them had been addressed, as a memorial of his friend. This Edward Durham, who, to use the language of the note, "did variously beseech" the original documents, appears to have been in the service of Katherine, Duchess of Buckingham; and to have chiefly resided at Burley-on-the-Hill, in Rutlandshire, one of the seats of the great Duke of Buckingham, and the scene of the first presentation of Ben Jonson's Masque of the Gipsies. Upon the occupation of Burley, by the

Parliamentary forces, Edward Durham retired to a farm-house in the neighbourhood of Oakham, where, it would seem, he left these and other papers; and where, in after years, Jane Vezey found and transcribed them.

The letters divide themselves into three groups: those written during the time Adam Legendre was studying, first at Oxford, then in London; and, thirdly, those written after a journey to Italy. Of the first group, only such letters are printed as illustrate an allusion to the poet, Herrick, contained in the second of them. The verses, which are quoted in this letter, are included in the original edition of the *Hesperides*, where they form the latter part of a lyric entitled: "To Julia, in her Dawn or Daybreak." The musician was probably Jacques Gaultier, who is mentioned by name in one of the ensuing letters; and of whom the most complete account, as yet given, is to be found in Mr. Stephen's new Dictionary. At the time these first letters were written, Adam Legendre had lately been entered a commoner at St. Alban's Hall, in Oxford. One word remains to be said, concerning the text of the letters. Except for the punctuation, which has been revised throughout by the Editor, the letters are exactly printed from the transcript; in which the spelling of the majority of the words has been modernized: but the proper names, together with some few of the more unusual words, retain their original orthography.

I

"Honest Ned,

I reach'd Westminster yesterday, in the Forenoon, without any great Mischance; although the foulness and length of the Way put me a little out of Countenance. But the prospect of this brave Town soon rid me of that ill humour; and I am now lodg'd with my cousin, Charles, to my infinite content. I pray you make all present use of my Horses, Scotch Saddles, Books, or what you will; for I would have you remember, that whatever is mine is yours. You see how tedious I am, who have nothing to tell you, but that you have heard a thousand times. So briefly let me kiss your hands, and rest

Your very Loving Friend,

ADAM LEGENDRE. "From Westminster, this 29. of June 1629."

II

“From Westminster. “In troth, my dear Ned, you would have my Letters to you as frequent and particular, as the Mercurii and Diurnals of these City Stationers, which are bought rather for the Flux of the Words, than for the Concision of the Matter. There is nothing talk'd of here, but the rich Entertainment, offer'd to the famous Painter, Pietro Paulo Rubens, lately come over from Brabant, as 'tis thought from the Archduchess. But it is not in my vein to predict to you, what the Spanish intend, or what may be the last plots of the French Cardinal; I will the rather content myself by sending you some Relation of a Scene, the remembrance of which takes me far more, than the unstaple Reports of these Great Ones. Some few days since, Charles and I took boat, at Westminster Stairs, to visit Master Wandesford, whom we found newly gone to Windsor; and so, for want of a better pastime, my Cousin presently carried me to the Sun, which is beyond Pawles Gate in Westcheap; since there many Admirable Wits are us'd to resort. And we, hearing one with a rare voice discoursing most excellent Musick to an arch-lute, did ascend thither; and so came to a Summer-Room, which lookt out towards Pawles. And though I hasten to acquaint you with other matters, I will here make an Error of certain Memorable Particulars, which past at this time: for that incomparable Musician, running a Division upon a Ground, very artificially, after the Italian Manner, which was to me a kind of Musick, new and altogether delightful, I inquir'd of him concerning that Rarity. But he being a Frenchman, and not well understanding what I said, motion'd me to a very Civil Gentleman, for whose pleasure he was playing; and who, as I presently learn'd was one M'. Hearick, nephew to Sir William Hearick, the goldsmith, knighted by our late King James, of Blessed Memory, for a piece of his Delight, in the skilful boring of a Diamant. With him, when we had call'd for a pottle of Canary, we fell to much ingenious discourse, touching the Skill of Descant, and of the present solemn and learned Harmonies, which have deliver'd our Musick, from the fantastical Catches and Madrigals of the last age. This same Mr. Hearick, we also found very curious in the divine art of Poesy, both Epigrammatical and Parabolical. He did speak at length concerning the Idea of a Poet, which he had formed to himself in his own mind, touching upon the several Requisites and Qualities comprehended therein: as first a copious Wit; then, much Study and Discipline in Grammar, Rhetoric, &c.; a plentiful Reading; a frequent Exercise; not to speak of that universal Range and Course of knowledge, in which he would almost have his Poet, like Pythius his Architect, more

skill'd in every Art and Science, than are those Studious Brains, which pursue them severally; so great a Contemner is he of indifferent Poesy. Imitation, moreover, he accounted a Chief Requisite of this Art; which though in a Poetaster proves but a straining after Vices, the same in a rare Poet turns old Wealth to new Uses, and contrives a a vital Economy of Wit. At this consideration, taking from his pocket a volume in little of Martial's Epigrams, he repeated. Certain Verses, which at that very time, he was labouring to imitate, in a Lyrick of his own invention. And that you may see to what Height, and with how curious a Judgement, he had perform'd that Labour, I send you the several verses in. a raranel or several Verses in a Parallel; for I was fain to beg of him a draught of so delicate a Poem. The Latin lines, which are fetcht from divers Epigrams, are these. First :

*'Fæmincum lucet sic per Bombycina Corpus:
Calculus in nitida sic nameratur Aqua.'*

Next :

*'Conditæ sic puro numerantur Lilia Vitro:
Sic prohibei temuis Gemma latere Rosas.'*

*Which Exquisite Conceipts, he thus sweetly commingled:
"If blush thou must, then blush thou through
A Lawn, that thou mayst look As purest Pearls or Pebbles do,
When peeping through a Brook. As Lilies shrin'd in Crystal, so
Do thou to me appear, Or Damask Roses when they grow
To sweet Acquaintance there?"*

He reckon'd Martial above any other of the Ancient Poets, by reason of a certain admirable Gusto for the outward Shows of Things, as for Complexion, Colours, Shapes, and the like; whereof the Verses I have already sent you may stand for an Example. Yet his poet, he thought, had this Infelicity, that the most judicious head of his own age could find in him no more than this: Homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer; a man perspicuous only for the Salt and Gall of candid Satire. And though later Judgements have allow'd his Verse to be clear, full, and absolute

good; yet they would wink at some few of his Epigrams, as being too wanton and licentious: whereas Mr. Hearick held, that the intermingling of his Gross with his Fine Verses, as of his Wanton with his Solemn Times, argu'd in him the greater art; as being of the same pleasure, that a fall from a Discord to a Concord is in Musick. "And anon there comes to Mr. Hearick, a discreet young Gentlewoman, as I thought, whom he did very civilly salute with a kiss: and having bade her sit by us, nam'd her Lalage, out of I know not what Concept. She was of a very pale Countenance; and of so curious a Beauty, that its excellence was not to be perceiv'd at the first sight, no, nor at the second. Her Habit, answerable to the simplicity of her Person, was of white Satin ; and about her neck was a Carcanet of Jacinth Stones, set in Tables. And he began to extol her, calling her his Syrix, and declaring that his Metamorphosis of her should transcend any of Antiquity; which, as I take it, was some Concept in praise of her, done by him into a Lyrick; seeing that she was withal, tall and dainty of Stature, and like rather to the fashion of a Reed, than that of any Carnal Creature. But she, as she had not heard what he said (for we had fallen to speak of indifferent Matters, which upon such occasions are of the greater Delight) complain'd to me, that Mr. Hearick would not suffer her to wear a Bracelet, at any time; she greatly affecting one of Pomander Beads. Whereat, before I could make any reply, Mr. Hearick did take her by the fingers, and holding her Hand, almost above her head, bade me say, what I thought wanting to the Perfection of such a Wrist. I must confess, that I did never before see so exquisite a piece of Flesh and Blood; that, introth, it appeared to me, in verbis Salamonis (if I may say it without Profanation) sicut Monilia, quae fabricata sunt Manu artificis. And many other passages there were, in which I should be tedious, were I to relate them at length; and which may better form the grounds of future discourse with you.

"When presently we parted, she with Mr. Hearick to the Exchange, and the rest to our Lodging here, I could not forbear to tarry in the shadow of St. Michael Bladum, the while that Cento of Heavenly Lights did retire thither, in the sheen of the summer Noon. And so insensibly did her Presence take me, that, till the second or third Day afterwards, I did seem to myself to continue in the recess of St. Michael's Church, observing the Departure of that Admirable Beauty.

“I have written more at large, on this matter, than my Natural Solitude would ordinarily have allow'd me. I beseech you therefore, look upon these as Private Lines made for no Eyes but yours, which will never suffer you to discover in them (for such, I believe, is the Love, you bear me) the least offence against that Perpolite Civility, which is ever the desire of your poor, loving Friend, to serve you:

AD: LE:

"To Master Edward Durham, at Christ Church in Oxford, give these:"

III

In a third letter to Edward Durham, written a few weeks after the preceding one, there occurs this further allusion to the lady of the foregoing incident: “You have no longer that Old Occasion for your Scorn; since I no longer can protest it sufficient for me, that Lesbia should live in the Wit of Catullus: but you have a new and more generous Theam for your Satire; and I doubt not you will celebrate it. Alas! that, as the Ancients fabled of the Subtil Spirits of Wine, this same Lesbia should have the Virtue to return, and exercise her Influences. What years I abjur'd those Seas, you remember; but I am now so over-taken by their Flood, that I know not to which Saving Deity I may look, timely to devote my Dripping Vesture. This morning I have diligently searcht through Half a Score of the Iliads, if haply I might chance upon Certain Verses of that Arch-poet Homerus, which I heard Mr. Hearick repeat upon some late Occasion, allusive to the manner, in which this Lalage is wont to smile. I find them to be these, which speak of Hera, after that she had receiv'd the Girdles of Venus:

μείδησεν δε βοώπις πότνια “Hρη, Meido ao e M TESTa ES exkT0eto xóar.

Whereby I perceive, that he has drawn a very Excellent Parallel: since, in her curious Beauty, I discover, as well the Wiles of the white Goddess, as the inscrutable Brow of Hera. And most apt is this Parity as to her Eyes, which are as the great Eyes of kine; wherein there is so near a Sympathy of the Complexion in the Apple and the Iris, that they appear of a like Colour and Nature. Albeit, at certain times I no longer perceive in them this Placid and Patient Look; but they do appear to me, as the Eyes of a hunted Fawn, or of some wild Creature of the woods,

which, in its Fearful Suspicions, seems almost to glance backward (to speak out of the Mean) through its head. You, who have seen Rome, have not forgotten, what Apprehensions of the Mind are exprest in the Eyes of that Delphic Sibyl; which the Divine Pencil of Michael Angelo has design'd, among the Company of the Prophets, on the Vault of the Pope's Chapel. Of a like show, are the Eyes of this Boimiss; and of such, as I guess, were the Eyes of Actaeon."

At this point in the series, there is a break, extending over a period of more than a year and a half; after which time occasional letters have been preserved, written during the remaining terms, which Adam Legendre kept at Oxford. These letters are chiefly interesting, on account of the scattered allusions, which they contain, to his increasing interest in the Art and Poetry of his time; and thus illustrating the letters, which follow. At first, Adam Legendre appears to have been entirely absorbed in literary studies: in English poetry, his admiration for Ben Jonson would hardly allow him to read the works of any other writer; although, in one letter, he refers to George Chapman, whom he considers "of a sublime and troubled Spirit, though scarce pervial as the Greeks." But his chief delight lay in the study of the classics. He notes the development of his own taste: "my former light Poets do no longer surfeit me; and I am now the more taken by a gravid and solemn Manner." Lucretius especially attracts him; whom, "in his Inspir'd Times," he thinks "the divinest of the Romans." He himself writes verses, both in Latin and English; and is fastidious in the choice of his words, "the due Shadow and Heightening of the Invention," and all that goes to determine "the proper habit of Poesy." To these pursuits, he adds the study of music; and writes with a sense of accomplishment, when he is able "to sing and play, a Part at the first Sight." But it was "the use of Medals," with the perusal of those chapters of Pliny's Natural History, containing an account of antique painting and sculpture, which finally led Adam Legendre to turn his thoughts to the pursuit of art. In the Autumn of 1633, he thus writes to Edward Durham, while on a visit to London: "I find every Curious Eye to be set upon Italy, the Cynosure of all Art, Civility, and Magnificent State; insomuch that I purpose with all speed to pass into that Country, to the end that I may acquaint myself with whatever is there recover'd of the Antient Practice; for I would have nothing of the Grecian Arts escape me." There is no record in the *Fasti Oxonienses* of any degree taken by Legendre, at Oxford: he may have left college suddenly, with the intention of travelling to Italy; which intention, however, was not immediately

realized. Towards the close of the year 1633, or the beginning of the following year, Charles I. founded the Museum Minervae, for the advancement of Learning, under the mastership, or “Regency,” of Sir Francis Kynaston. By the autumn of 1634, Adam Legendre had been admitted to the Museum, and was engaged in the study of architecture and geometry, as “the only solid and sure Grounds of all Art whatsoever.” Among the miscellaneous papers, which are contained in original transcript, is one giving an account of the Museum: it is apparently a contemporary translation of a letter, originally written in Latin. This account is here printed in full ; since it conveys as complete a notion, as may now be formed, of the objects of this institution. The Editor has not been able to discover, to whom this letter is addressed.

IV

“ADAM LEGENDRANVS AMICO svo S.H. SALVTEM.”

It is your Desire, that I should set down for you, in Writing, some Account of that Idea, which has mov'd the Royal and Gentle Founders of our College, to their evermemorable Act; that you may lay it up with your papers of divers things, worthy to be preserv'd for the curious Eye of approaching Time. And in this, if I could serve you, I would spare no Labours of my own, were there not an Irremovable Hindrance; seeing that it is an Idea, so spherically complete and polisht, *tota teres atq' rotunda*, (of which Figure Empedocles conceiv'd the Fashion of the Soul to be, whose Microcosmus it is) as to be scarce contain'd in the many Folios of a Volume, much less in the single Folio of a Letter. Yet, with an Unaccustom'd Pencil, I will endeavour to design for you a Portrait in little of the present Estate and Labours of this Memorable Foundation, that thereby you may divine how Universal and Liberal is this Idea, with which you desire to be acquainted, and from which the Pattern of our Schools has been copied.

“It was a chief Care of our most Royal Founder not to raise a College, which should in anywise derogate from our two Universities, the Eyes of this happy Nation; but rather remain as a Peculiar Place, and Musaeum, where there might be more than vulgarly taught such Qualities and Exercises, as are not presently practis'd in their Schools; to wit, the Sciences of Architecture both Civil and Military, Painting, Carving, and Graving; not to omit Navigation, Riding the great horse, and other such Noble Exercises: for the sufficient Attainment of which, men are now forc't to pass beyond seas, to the Famous Universities of Bononia, Roma, or Padua. Whereby it may be

perceiv'd, that his Majesty, out of his love for all Excellent Arts and Works, has, to our Civil Advancement, labour'd to translate the Nursery of every rare and curious Art, from Italy into England. Not that those more common Sciences and Exercises of our Schools are past over or forgotten; but, whatever presents itself, of good or true, in the whole Ascent and Steps of Learning, is here conserv'd and deliver'd; whereof the Study of Languages, the Ancient with the Modern, as well the Civil, as the Canon Law, Cosmography, with Geometry and the Mathematicks, scarcely comprise the Chief: so that our College is not only in its Name and Style, Musaeum Minervae; but, in very truth, the Repository of Every Wisdom.

“To the furtherance of which end, Sir Francis Kinnaston, by the Consent and Pleasure of the King, has taken the present Seat and Tenement of the College, in Covent Garden; now newly laid out and rebuilt by his Majesty's Surveyor, in the plot and form of a Spacious Piazza, with Walks towards the North and East sides, arch'd and vaulted with Thuscana Work: the like has not before been seen in this country, being contriv'd after the Italian manner, and as a Prospect fetcht from Bologna, or the civiller of those Cities. This same house has the Regent very richly furnisht with divers Instruments of the Mathematicks and Musick, together with a sumptuous Bibliotheca abundantly stor'd with Books, and Manuscripts; the whole adorn'd with Pictures, Statuas, and other Antiquities, both rare and exotick. To which stately endowment, the King has contributed not a little by the Grace and Bounty of his Letters Patent of Donation in land and monies; and as well by that Rare Gift of books, which at his Majesty's Command, were procur'd out of Italy, by the raise a College, which should in anywise derogate from our two Universities, the Eyes of this happy Nation; but rather remain as a Peculiar Place, and Musaeum, where there might be more than vulgarly taught such Qualities and Exercises, as are not presently practis'd in their Schools; to wit, the Sciences of Architecture both Civil and Military, Painting, Carving, and Graving; not to omit Navigation, Riding the great horse, and other such Noble Exercises: for the sufficient Attainment of which, men are now forct to pass beyond seas, to the Famous Universities of Bononia, Roma, or Padua. Whereby it may be perceiv'd, that his Majesty, out of his love for all Excellent Arts and Works, has, to our Civil Advancement, labour'd to translate the Nursery of every rare and curious Art, from Italy into England. Not that those more common Sciences and Exercises of our Schools are past over or forgotten; but, whatever presents itself, of good or true,

in the whole Ascent and Steps of Learning, is here conserv'd and deliver'd; whereof the Study of Languages, the Ancient with the Modern, as well the Civil, as the Canon Law, Cosmography, with Geometry and the Mathematicks, scarcely comprise the Chief: so that our College is not only in its Name and Style, Musaeum Minervae; but, in very truth, the Repository of Every Wisdom.

“To the furtherance of which end, Sir Francis Kinnaston, by the Consent and Pleasure of the King, has taken the present Seat and Tenement of the College, in Covent Garden; now newly laid out and rebuilt by his Majesty's Surveyor, in the plot and form of a Spacious Piazza, with Walks towards the North and East sides, arch'd and vaulted with Tuscan Work: the like has not before been seen in this country, being contriv'd after the Italian manner, and as a Prospect fetcht from Bologna, or the civiller of those Cities. This same house has the Regent very richly furnisht with divers Instruments of the Mathematicks and Musick, together with a sumptuous Bibliotheca abundantly stor'd with Books, and Manuscripts; the whole adorn'd with Pictures, Statuas, and other Antiquities, both rare and exotick. To which stately endowment, the King has contributed not a little by the Grace and Bounty of his Letters Patent of Donation in land and monies; and as well by that Rare Gift of books, which at his Majesty's Command, were procur'd out of Italy, by the Two of the “draughts,” which Legendre made from original documents in the college library, and enclosed in the preceding letter, have been preserved. The first is a copy of a Latin epistle, written by Sir John Burroughs, Garter King of Arms, and containing his grant of arms to the Musaeum Minervæ. It may be found printed in a rare collection of his Latin letters, entitled: “Impetus Juveniles,” Oxford, 1643; and is written in the extravagant manner of the time: as an instance of this, it may be mentioned, that Sir Francis Kynaston is styled: Sacri Paladij, Patrimaeq' Virginis Protomystes; and the professors of the college: Flamines Dea pleni & mystici artium liberalium roris Promicondi. The other “draught” is a copy of a lecture on Architecture, given at the college, by the famous Inigo Jones; but, like other similar compositions, is more curious, than valuable. It is, moreover, a mere fragment; and occuring at the end of the manuscript, it would seem that the last transcriber did not trouble to complete the copy.

“The Discourse, De Architectura; deliver’d at the College of the Musaeum Minervae, by the Surveyor-General, and our only Learned Architect, Mr. Inigo Jones.

“The Uses of Architecture are two; the Practick and the Logick: the Practick, in that it inclines men to build well, which is the true End of all Magnificent Architecture; and to have regard as well for the Commodity, as for the Firmness and Delight thereof: the Logick, since a careful apprehension of it affords the only Solid and Sufficient Grounds for a Judgement in the other Arts: the which Vitruvius learnedly concludes in the first sentence of his treatise, as it were the Chiefest and most Memorable Consideration that he could set down, concerning this various Science: *Architectura est scientia pluribus disciplinis, & varijs eruditionibus ornata, cuius iudicio probantur omnia, quae à caeteris artibus perficiuntur, opera.* So that this Science of Architecture, being searcht and examin’d, is in truth the Foundation and Substruction of a Glorious Fabric; the several parts of which are compos’d of those various and liberal Arts, which Time has deliver’d to us, out of the Grecian Practise.

“But to fall to a mean, and to search out some notable example: you may read in the Lives of the famous Artificers, written in choice Italian, by Giorgio Vasari, how those painters, who designed in the Gothick Manner, were for the most part Goldsmiths; but those, who excell’d in the Divine Manner of the Ancients, had great Skill and Practise in Architecture. Whereby it is to be perceiv’d, that the only grounds of a sufficient Rule, and solid Judgement, in the other several Arts and Sciences, as well for the Artificer, as for the curious Observer, is to be found in the Theoretick Understanding of this chief and Foundational Science. And to come to a nearer time for a Contrary Example: you shall look to the Babels of the last age, to see how the monstrous Ignorance of their Builders infected the Arts, both of Picture and Statuary, at that time; insomuch that there is scarce a work of theirs, comparable to the Ancient Opera. And in their Poesy, also, did the like Error prevail: the which you may chiefly perceive in the more vulgar sort of their writings, as in Stage Plays; which are, for the most part, of a mean gust, and design’d in a Gothick Manner.

“This curious Consent of the several Arts, one with another, is to be observ’d, as well in their outward fashion, as in their unsearchable Spirit. It has been well noted, that divers Tropes, or Figures, in Musick, do agree with certain figures in Rhetorick; as Reports, and Fugues, which

have an agreement with the Figures of Repetition, and Traduction: but you shall find these same Figures in Architecture better order'd, and with less disparity in the agreement, both with those in Musick and Rhetorick.

“And if any should seek a further reason, wherefore a judicious Understanding of Architecture is to be accounted among the necessary Exercises, and Qualities, of a Civil Education, let him consider of what Dignity, and of how lofty a Temper, was this Art among the ancient Greek Souls, as among the present learned Artificers of Italy. Poesy speaks as well to the Sensuous, as to the Intellective Apprehensions of men; Picture to the Sensuous alone, and that often-time basely. Architecture likewise speaks only to the Sensuous Part of us; but among these Artificers, in so sublime and severe a Tongue, that it makes the Sensuous of the like nobility as the Intellective Part ; whereby it transcends the rest of the Arts, and appears of a Nature Peculiar and Divine.

“Next, touching the means, by the which a proper Understanding of this Science may be presently attain'd; you shall look chiefly to the writings of Vitruvius: for there is scarce anything of Worth in this Art, that has not been learnedly and copiously setdown by him, in his incomparable Discourse: insomuch that all the Authors, who have since written concerning this Art of Architecture, are to be accounted but Commenters, and their works but glosses, upon his Sentence; from among which, even the Labours of the famous Andrea Palladio are not to be excepted. The first among the Moderns to write with a learned Pen, and a just Understanding of the Mathematicks, was of an universal Genius, to wit the famous Leonbatista Alberti; whose discourse, *De Re Ædificatoria*, was imitated in Ten Books, after the Manner of Vitruvius, being rarely written in Latin, and of a gust not inferior to the Ancients. And of the many other gravid Treatises, of which your Bibliothecarius will be able to show to you a true Impression, I will only speak of the book, in which Sebastiano Serlio has included the admirable Draughts of all the chief Vestigia, then remaining in Rome and other parts of Italy; which same were design'd by that rare Architect, Baldassare Senese, with egregious Labour, according to the Manner of the Originals. Among those, who have written divers Commentaries upon the books of Vitruvius, none is more worthy to be mark'd than the learned Patriarch of Aquila, whose....” The remainder of the Discourse is wanting.

Towards the close of the year 1635, Adam Legendre alludes, in one of the letters, to his recent betrothal to Diana Gataker, a lady of an ancient family, taking its name from the village of Gataker, in Shropshire. It does not appear, that he contemplated an immediate marriage with her: but, on the contrary, that he regarded such an event as properly delayed, until after his return from his meditated journey to Italy, and other parts of Europe; when he looked to be master of the finer emergencies of life. There are preserved, in the original manuscript, eleven letters addressed to Diana Gataker, during the years 1636 and 1637: but they are concerned, for the most part, with trifling occasions; and are, consequently, of minor interest, when compared with many others in the series. The two short letters, which follow, may, however, be taken as tolerable examples of the worth of the remainder.

VI

“From the College in Covent Garden,

11. of May, 1636.

“My dear Dear,

’Tis but to-morrow, and I shall be riding Post to Blanch Appleton, endeavouring to reach you, ere can this; which I am not able to send you at a quicker Rate, than by the Toils of the Ordinary. If it should prevent my Arrival, it will be but to tell you how instant is my Coming; but, if it reach your hands after we have met, you shall look upon it as a Token of how true a Lover I am, who can do nothing but by contraries. I will not stay to acquaint you with the reason of my unlookt-for journey: that, with such news as I have, will serve for some slight Occasion to wile away the time; lest we too soon are come, to what straights last Martlemas found us in, as I lay at your Feet, and sigh’d, and made Babies in your Eyes, while you sat reading the last new Romanzo, and laugh’d at me, for my Folly. All these and more, To-morrow shall tell you ; and in Terms more lively than this insensate Pen is able: and so, until To-morrow, persuade your Heart, that this determination bodes no more than a Sudden Fancy in one, who is wholly yours to serve you, and to love you,

ADAM LEGENDRE.”

VII

“From London, 17. of December 1636.

“My dearest Love,

I am cut to the Quick, that your pitiful Heart should be overwhelm'd by the Unexpected Trouble, now suddenly come upon you: although I must needs confess, that I am not able to divine in this Evil, what Issues you forestall. If such are to proceed from it, we shall quickly be assur'd: for Sorrows such as these, of so black and violent a Front, are as Tempestuous Clouds, swollen to above the Pitch, and not long able to contain their Storm. But few Words do but consort with extreme Occasions. I will not, therefore, vex you with fruitless disquisitions; I will but ask you this: Are there no words of your Protestant, that you do longer call to Remembrance? or have all our sweet Resolves prov'd but Vanity, and a Passing Breath. No, no, it has not so proved! Beseech you! dry your weeping Eyes, & compose the Fearful Spirits of your Mind, bidding them endure their Season: for tears, my dear Heart, are as the Drops of the Dews, which abide with us only for the Night-time, and with the Morning are receiv'd again into Heaven, from whence they were sent us. Forget not, then, who chiefly lives to obtain you Felicity,

AD: Le.”

The Editor has chosen to stay here in his selection, since the enthusiastic temper, which pervades the earlier letters, and which appears to him to have reached its climax at this point, was afterwards gradually dissipated. (To be concluded.)

LYALL AUBRYSON

22. *Some considerations of the nature of fine art: being a paper read before the 25 students of the Whitechapel Craft School, in Little Allie Street, on 26th of April, MDCCCXCI.*²²

Gentlemen: those of you more especially, to whom I am to speak to-night, are, as I take it, about to adventure upon one of the most abstruse, the most difficult, the most elusive, of all human studies, the study of fine Art. There are many employments, which signify more, and are of greater moment in the world, than the practice of Art; yet there is none, which requires of us a more various capacity, or a more continued application. Other kinds of learning, such as History, or Biology, or Astronomy, proceed, however endlessly, in a fixed direction; but Art appears as a

²² H.P. Horne, *Some considerations of the nature of fine art: being a paper read before the 25 students of the Whitechapel Craft School, in Little Allie Street, on 26th of April, MDCCCXCI*, in “The Century Guild Hobby Horse”, 6, 1891, pp. 83 - 93.

cento of them all, with an addition peculiar to herself. I have read in one of those old Italian tractates on Painting, to me personally so full of instruction, but which the present age is able to neglect, a certain story of an artist more profound and erudite, than any other, whom the world has yet had the felicity to enjoy. The Cardinal Farnese discovered Michael Angelo one day, when he was an old man, walking alone among the ruins of the Colosseum; and enquired of him what occasion had brought him thither. His reply was significant: "I go yet to school," he said, "that I may continue to learn." If he, who had cut the tombs, and designed the library, of the Medici, in the precinct of S. Lorenzo, could make such an answer as this; you will surely conceive it no discourtesy in me, if I, a beginner in these studies, should speak to you as beginners; and touch only upon the mere elements, the initia of Art.

We live in an age, which more than any previous age of the world, is inclined to judge of things according to the circumstance and influence of the moment, in which it finds itself. The ages of antiquity, and, indeed, many subsequent ages, set up for themselves certain absolute criteria, or standards of merit and demerit, of value and worthlessness, for their example and warning; which, though they were for the most part empirical and vain, yet gave to men a clear and determinate notion of the capacity of life, and defined for them its purpose. We have rejected such criteria, as being opposed to reason; and yet we are swayed by every passing sentiment, and influenced by every accident of time. Whatever has been hitherto accepted, is by us enquired into, discussed, and by not a few condemned, as a remnant of an erroneous past: either because it is easy and pleasant for us so to do, or because it agrees with some sentiment, which we affect. How many of the innumerable philosophies, creeds, and systems, which swarm, like summer flies, in the world, proceed from any profound, or just, intelligence of the nature and consequence of things? The limpid intellect of Matthew Arnold is his alone: but the drifting sentiment of a newspaper critic is common to three-quarters of the nation. Nor is it otherwise in Art. Here you will be perplexed with many conflicting theories: the battle of the styles is ever the talk of the amateur; and you will find but few masters to point out to you, that, beneath these superficial ornaments of art, lie the true essence and quality of her greatness. How necessary then it is for you, as for every beginner, to possess a clear apprehension of the nature of the task, which you have set yourselves; to have a perspicuous criticism of things always present to your

minds; to see things, So far as that is possible, as they are in themselves. How entirely necessary; how entirely indispensable! And what may be this task, which you have set yourselves? It is this; is it not? To attain to a mastery in Art. What, then, is Art: and what is meant by being a master in it?

I will endeavour this evening, if you please, to consider these two questions; and to discover some sufficient answer to them. What is Art? What is an Artist? But, first, there are one or two preliminary matters, which require some explanation. You will have perceived, from what I have already said to you, that I use the word "Art," in its widest signification, to include Literature, Music, Painting, Architecture; in short, whatever Art is fine in its nature, in contradistinction to those, which are merely mechanical: "But," I hear one of you object, "I am concerned only with cabinet making," or another: "I, only with modelling: and what has modelling, or cabinet making, to do with literature, or with music?" "Little or nothing," I answer you, "if you consider the furniture, which is commonly sold in our shops, or the carving, which overloads the front of the last new restaurant in the town, to be the models of all that is excellent in Art. But the glazed ware of Della Robbia, and the woodwork of D'Agnolo, are they of this order? Not altogether, I imagine. The practical business of many of those inimitable workmen in Italy, during the 15th and 16th centuries, consisted in some one particular craft, such as you yourselves are practising: but their interest and concern lay with the whole range and diapason of Art. Go to one of our great Museums, and look at the furniture, the pottery, the metal-work, common articles of daily use, which these men produced: how some figure on a door-knocker will betray their love of antique statuary; some inlaid design on a cabinet, their delight in the poets; some moulding on a candlestick, their study of the Masters in Architecture. These men were not scholars, as were Simplicius, or Pontanus: but theirs was a true instinct: and their work with all the charm of scholarship. They had filled themselves with the spirit of Antiquity, the spirit of all, that was then best worth knowing in the world: And, with the Ancients, they had divined, that there are not many Arts. As there is but one proper study of mankind, which is man; so is there but one art, the art of a fine and various expression of the human spirit; *multipartita sed indivisibilis*; of many forms, no doubt, but ever impossible to divide.

I have but hurriedly touched upon a matter difficult to understand, I fear, even when lucidly expressed at a proper length: but I have no time left me for a longer digression. You will reproach me with suggesting hard truths; when you bargained for plain matters, plainly spoken. You expected me, perhaps, to talk to you, like the text-books upon “The Complete Carpenter”; to chat to you of a short and easy way to the crafts: and all the while I have been telling you, that Art is far more difficult, than you had supposed.

“Ah! but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?”

If you have the instincts of true artists, you will rather invent fresh difficulties, than avoid those, which are obvious. Leonardo, Wren, all the spirits of the first order, were for ever proposing to themselves new and difficult problems. If you have not the instinct of true artists, you will be discouraged and hindered by what I shall say to you, to-night: but what of that? We want only the fewest possible artists in the world: those only, who are artists in spite of themselves; in spite of the disadvantages in which they are placed; in spite of the labours, which they must undergo, It is impossible, that such a thing as “Mediocrity” can be tolerated in Art. An indifferent piece of furniture is as great an offence to society, as an indifferent poem. Vasari tells us, that Michael Angelo, all his life through, perpetually directed his thoughts and energies, to the utmost perfection of Art. “Let's strive to be the best,” cries Herrick: certainly, in Art there is no other way. Mediocrity! Non homines, non di – neither men, nor gods, can brook that!

But it is time, that we should return to our enquiry: What is Art? and what is an Artist? Paolo Lomazzo, the pupil of Gaudenzio Ferrari, illustrates the opening of his Tractate upon the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, by a figure out of the Logicians. “It is the difference of natural things,” he observes, “which declares their form and essential qualities:” and he proceeds to elucidate his definitions of the matters in hand, by observing their difference. His method has so much of felicity in it, that I shall myself endeavour to draw for you, to-night, two distinctions in this kind. I shall attempt to point out to you, in the first place, that which distinguishes fine Art, from all the other concerns of the human mind; and in the second place,

that which distinguishes the artist from the amateur, the accomplished, from the incomplete worker. Since, by these two distinctions, you will perceive what is the essential quality of Art, and what the essential quality of an Artist: and so you will have the best answers to the questions proposed, which I am able to devise.

Was it Emerson, or another, who observed, that, in reading the works of Francis Bacon, we are for ever coming upon sentences, whose effect is that of a door, suddenly opening upon some endless vista of the mind? Such a sentence occurs at the end of the second book of the *De Augmentis*, where the writer treats of the nature of Poetry. As it is not included in the English version, I will paraphrase the Latin for you, "Heroical Poesy," says Bacon, "by proportioning the shows of things according to the desires of the mind, differs from History, which is for submitting the mind to the nature of things." And herein is suggested to us, the precise distinction between Art, and all other concerns of the human mind. In Art, the nature of things is submitted to the mind: but the mind in every other employment, submits itself to the nature of things. Thus, if you were to look for a description of the Milky Way in the Astronomers, you might find it spoken of as "a broad, irregular, luminous zone in the Heavens, the blended light of innumerable fixed stars, not distinguishable by the naked eye." In such a way, a popular scientific account might very well begin: but how does the Poet describe it? "A meeting of gentle lights, without a name." Natural, easy Suckling!

"Her face is like the Milky Way i' th' sky,
A meeting of gentle lights, without a name."

The nature of things has been submitted to the mind; and from the intellectual world, we are rapt into the world of the imagination. In the perfection of Science, the description of all astronomers whatsoever would become identical: but in the perfection of Art, the descriptions of the Poet belong to him alone, his peculiar, intimate apprehensions, in which none but himself can participate. And thus it is, that the bane of Science is the soul of Art; "the desires of the mind," as Francis Bacon expresses it, or as we should say, the taste, the invention, the scholarship, in short the fine personality of the artist, the incommunicable part.

But I will attempt to supply an analogy to these abstract speculations, from a particular example, that you may the more easily take my meaning. Let me suppose, that you have occasion to represent the story of Actaeon upon a panel, in carved or painted work: how would you proceed? First, you would make the study for your metamorphosis of Actaeon; and next the several studies for the hounds. Then there would be the goddess herself, surrounded by her Nymphs, in their several motions. For these, you would, also, require the proper studies; as well as for the water; and for the foliage and flowers, growing wild in the place, that you might represent the action in a wood, according to the story. And to add a delectable variety to the scene, you might design several void places through the trees, with a distant prospect of mountains breaking a sky. Then, in order to accomplish the picture with knowledge, it will be necessary, that you should be acquainted not only with the anatomy of the human form and of certain animals; but, also, that you should be sufficiently skilled in botany, to understand the growth of the trees; and in geology, to understand the forms of the mountains. Such then, to recur to that phrase of Bacon's, will be the natural shows of things, which you must submit to the desires of the mind. You are now come to the test and difficult passage of your art, without which your picture would remain but the representation of a stag pursued by dogs.

The name of Actaeon will have recalled to your minds, what poets have written eloquently upon the theme, if you have that knowledge of literature, which is possible to every artist, for the pains. You would, at first, turn to Ovid; or if your reading goes no further than the English, you might turn to one of those imaginative interpretations to be found among the prose writers; to that wonderful little book, perhaps, "The Wisdom of the Ancients." Or, let us say, that you will prefer that mystical allusion, which Shelley has to the story; for we, all of us, have read the "Adonais." But what moment in the action will you select? The same, perhaps, which Il Domenichino chose: but you will give to the scene a new interpretation. Actaeon, with the antlers still branching from his head, having but just now beheld in the goddess the naked soul of Nature, is about to flee over the world, pursued by the hounds of his own thoughts. The passion of the poet will have infected you; and you will work with a kind of enthusiasm. You will endeavour to emulate the expression of his verse in the touches of your pencil; accomplishing your picture with the same fine taste, and with an equal greatness of manner.

I have been forced in my parallel, in order to convey to you my sense of this elevation of Art, to use some images, which are proper only to literature, for I am speaking to you. When you come to the painting or carving of your story, you will use those means of expression, which are proper to such arts, but which are impossible to language; at least so far as I am able to understand it: for I have not that gift, which certain of our present writers boast, of word painting, of the manufacture of prose-poems. And a wonderful gift that must be, which consists in speaking intelligibly, by means of a confusion of the Arts, of a manifest Babel.

Egli stesso s'accusa.

Questi e Nembrotto, per lo cui mal coto

Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s'usa.

Lasciamlo stare, e non parliamo a voto;

Che cost è a lui ciascun linguaggio,

Come il suo ad altrui, ch'a nulla è noto.

But I have sufficiently pursued my example; and I will turn now to my second distinction. It is certainly to be regretted, that those admirable prefaces, which Vasari prefixed to his lives of the Artists, have not been translated into English; at least, I have never been able to meet with any translation of them. The writer treats, at considerable length, of the nature and methods of Architecture, Sculpture, and Picture; and in reviewing the masterpieces, which had been effected in these Arts, he concludes with a sentence of unusual significance. Design, he says, is the well-head of all Art; and in not having that, one has nothing: *e non l'avendo, non si ha nulla*. Design, then, is a matter, which we must be very careful to understand; since it is of such singular importance to the artist. The word, if I mistake not, calls up in your minds a ready and definite image; but is it the same image, which was present to Vasari? Certainly, we all know what is meant by a design: it is any pattern, according to which a work of Art may be made; and in which its details are expressed and elaborated. That, no doubt, is one signification of the particular expression, "a design": but Vasari uses the word generally, "design"; and we must look for another and a more liberal meaning, if we would appreciate his thought. It is clear, that our

own use of the word is not identical with that of three centuries ago: nor, I think, with that current in England, during the seventeenth century, or even later. Thus Dryden makes use of a phrase, in his translation of the "De Arte Graphica," which preserves to us this elder signification. Raphael, he says, "design'd not naked bodies with as much learning as Michael Angelo"; whereas we should commonly say, that he did not draw the figure with as much learning as Michael Angelo. Again, in a seventeenth-century diary of Travels, which I was reading a little while since, the writer used the expression: "I designed the Prospect"; just as a modern traveller would say, I made a sketch of the place. Now here is not a mere difference of words; but a real and sensible difference of thought and of method. The seventeenth-century traveller began his drawing with a very precise notion of what he was about: he deliberately accepted certain appearances in the view before him, and deliberately rejected certain others, in conformity with that impression, which he wished his landskip to produce; and in this way he formed to himself an idea of the whole in his mind, which idea he represented in his drawing: in brief, "he designed the prospect." In such a manner, our old water-colour painters invariably proceeded: the method of Paul Sandby, or of Thomas Girtin, was such, that no alteration could be made in a picture when once begun. Their outlines, their washes, their touches for the heightening, were conducted in a definite series, and according to an order exactly determined, before a single stroke was put to the paper. "Never," says an admirable maxim of an old writer, "never give the least touch with your pencil, till you have well examined your design, and have settled your outlines; nor till you have present in your mind a perfect idea of your work." Indeed, the very drawing paper, which these old water-colour painters employed, was so thin, and so little sized, that it allowed of no erasure: and thus they were forced to pursue the direct and deliberate methods, from which resulted no small part of their excellence. The use of body-colour, since it allows continual re-touching, and one experiment to be followed by another, has almost destroyed this beautiful art. Our painters of to-day have lost the power, which Girtin and Sandby acquired by the directness of their methods; and they pursue only hesitating and tentative courses. Certainly, the height to which the ancients carried this power of conception is surprising. Menander, the Greek poet, in answer to one, who had enquired as to the progress of his comedy, replied, that he had finished it, not having written a single line, because he had constructed the

action of it in his mind; he had designed it. That accomplished, the rest of his labours appeared to him of a mechanical sort; and the production of time: he had merely to transcribe his comedy. In the same tenour, Du Fresnoy has his apothegm of Painting. The original, he says, must be in the head; and the copy on the cloth: *Archetypus in inente, Apographum in tela*.

The possession of this power of Design; this power of conceiving the idea of the proposed work as a whole, to the end that a single impression may be produced by it; the possession of this power, is that which distinguishes the accomplished from the incomplete worker. Elsewhere, we may find this same distinction differently expressed. "What distinguishes the artist from the mere amateur," says Goethe, "is Architectonice in its highest sense." "Architectonice; the qualities of Art, which are essential to Architecture: "that is the literal meaning of the word; not the meaning of the word in its highest sense. But Vitruvius will explain to us with clearness and precision, what was in Goethe's mind when he drew this distinction. "Architecture," says Vitruvius, "is a learning replete with much discipline and various erudition, according to the criterion of which, all works brought to pass in the other arts are to be judged": and having said that, he proceeds to tell us what is this criterion, what are the essential qualities of Architecture. First, there is the order, the plan and arrangement of the work; next, the proportion, the agreeable harmony of the parts, and their relation one to another and to the whole; next, the symmetry, or the parity of parts to parts, as in the human body; then fitness, by which every part has its proper expression, and its proper disposition in the work, the minor parts their subordinate place, and the parts of importance their effective place: and last, economy; by which the result of each part is at once in proportion to the labour bestowed on it, and to its destined place in the work.

These qualities, then, upon which the accomplishment of fine Architecture wholly depends, constitute Architectonice in its highest sense: and the faculty of diffusing these qualities through a work either in Architecture, or another art; of so constructing a work as a whole, that there is no unmeaning or irrelevant passage in it, no part too striking or too little effective, no colour too glaring or too dull, nothing that does not contribute to the total impression; this art of designing and preserving the unity of a work, is that, which distinguishes the accomplished from the incomplete worker, the artist from the amateur.

And now I have done. At the most, I have been able to put into your hands the clues, by which you may discover a way for yourselves, through the labyrinth of uncertain thought and sentiment, which surrounds the Art of today. I could not doubt, that, in a school formed upon such admirable principles as this is, you would ever want the opportunity of sufficient practice in the technical part of your craft: and there was, therefore, no occasion for me to allude to that aspect of your studies. But there are other faculties to be acquired by you besides the cunning of the hand. The chief part of drawing, no doubt, is to draw; and of carving, to carve: yet these pursued alone will leave your work uninteresting, and dull. If you would cultivate a good manner in Art, if you would express in your work vivacity, charm, invention, grace, variety, in short, all that belongs to the intimate and personal aspect of Art, you must inform your mind with a fine taste and a liberal spirit, by endeavouring to know all that is best knowing in the world, and by perpetually studying the masterpieces of art, the supreme moments of the supreme masters; and, above all, you must have a care for scholarship, and for clear, just, and vigorous thinking. If you will not be at the pains to form for yourselves this knowledge and judgement of things, you will never attain to a mastery in design; and your work, like so much modern work, will remain incomplete, unscholarly, and of little or no permanent value. You will not have for your excuse, that you were in want of perspicuous examples. In poetry, there are the works of Milton: in prose, there are the writings of Bacon and of Dryden; in Architecture, the Cathedral of Wren; in sculpture and painting, the Greek Statuary in the British Museum, and the Italian pictures in the National Gallery: all these are daily to your hand. If you would learn thoroughly what they have to teach, the rest of the world could add little to your knowledge. You do not want a multiplicity, but a greatness of examples. You may, perhaps, never be able to attain to the perfection of the grand Masters; but with pains and study, you may come to love and understand them: and to divine what is best and greatest in art; to desire and to follow after it; is in itself its own great distinction, its own immense reward.

HERBERT P. HORNE

23. *A brief notice of Edward Calvert, painter and engraver.*²³

The influence of William Blake on the progress of painting in England, affords the grounds for a remarkable consideration in the history of our Art. A critic, versed in the records of extraordinary genius, might imagine the effect, which a spirit, at once so great, singular, and wilful, as Blake, produced upon his disciples, to have been unfortunate and unnatural in its results. Such an influence, he may have exercised upon some few painters, who worked in the times succeeding his own; but they were personally unknown to him, and cannot properly be considered his disciples. Upon his immediate disciples, a certain few young men, who were used to frequent his room in Fountain Court, during the last years of his life, his influence is shown to have been as felicitous and effective, as it was natural and sincere. The distinctive inventions of Blake, his illustrations to the Book of Job, The Divine Comedy, The Night Thoughts; these with his Prophetic Books and his paintings in tempera, the inimitable works of his genius, were pondered and admired by those enthusiasts; but were passed over by them, in the choice of their models, for a more imitable passage of his art. With the single exception of a remarkable series of woodcuts, Blake had practised landskip-painting only in an accessory way, in the scenes and backgrounds of his subject-pieces. These woodcuts form a series of illustrations to the Pastorals of Ambrose Philips; and their author has employed in their execution, that method of design, brought to its height by certain of the later Italian painters; by which the passion of a subject in History is expressed rather by the scene in which the action is represented, than by the figures of the actors themselves. The picture in the National Gallery by Salvator Rosa, of Mercury and the Woodman, is an admirable example of this mode of expression: "here, everything is of a piece; the rocks, trees, sky, even the handling, have the same rude and wild character, which animates the figures." Of Blake's work, it can also be said, that every thing is of a piece: rough in their execution, and often betraying a prentice hand, the conception of their several subjects is one, entire, and grand; and the transcendental spirit of the artist pervades the landskip, equally with the figures. These slight, though extraordinary, designs must have suggested, at the time of their production, a new manner in English landskip-painting: and it is significant, that the men, who

²³ H.P. Horne, *A brief notice of Edward Calvert, painter and engraver*, in "The Century Guild Hobby Horse", 6, 1891, pp. 113 - 118.

frequented Blake's work-room, should, in common, be led to form their Art, according to the indication afforded to them by these woodcuts. Perhaps, Genius," says Schumann, "can alone understand Genius": and, perhaps, there is no surer sign of genius in these disciples of Blake, than the manner in which they were influenced by their master.

The works of Samuel Palmer, and of William Linnell are known; and their merit is acknowledged: the works of Francis Oliver Finch are less well known; but his portrait, drawn with much felicity in a short literary piece, by Samuel Palmer, is familiar to every reader of Gilchrist's Life of Blake. These three men are popularly thought to have composed this particular school of landskip painters; but there is yet another name, as remarkable as any of the foregoing, to be added to theirs. Gilchrist, in his account of the last years of William Blake, speaks of Edward Calvert as "another attached friend of this period," adding, that "he introduced himself to Blake, and was received most kindly, as if he had been an old friend; and thereafter enjoyed the privilege of calling on and walking with him." In a later chapter, the same writer records, that Edward Calvert was present at Blake's funeral; but omits to speak of him, in any way, as an extraordinary person. Upon his death, some eight years ago, a notice of him appeared in the pages of the Athenæum: since which time a short, but more complete, account of his life has been included in Mr. Stephen's Dictionary of National Biography. According to these sources, Édward Calvert was born at Appledore, on the 20th September, 1799; his father, Roland Calvert, who had been in the army, dying when he was twelve years old. Having entered the naval service at an early age, he served as a midshipman under Sir Charles Penrose, and experienced an action. He shortly after left the navy, and devoted himself to the arts, studying under James Ball, and A. B. Johns; the latter being a landskip-painter of some repute at Plymouth. After his marriage with Miss Bennell, of Brixton, he removed to London, and attended the schools of the Royal Academy. It was about this time, that he made the acquaintance of William Blake, and of the younger painters, who frequented his work-room in Fountain Court. Calvert exhibited his first picture, entitled "Nymphs," at the Royal Academy, in 1825 : and continued to send occasional pictures to that, and other galleries, until 1836; in which year he contributed his painting of "Eve," to the Academy. After this time, he appears to have worked in a very private way, never exhibiting, and rarely being induced to part with, any of his pictures. Although incessantly at

work, he produced no very great number of completed designs; for he was extremely fastidious in his taste and not only did he leave much of his work unfinished, but he was accustomed to preserve only fragments of these unaccomplished paintings. He died at Hackney on the 14th of July, 1883, in his eightyfourth year, and was buried at Abney Park Cemetery.

Some such brief account as this, included, until a very recent period, all that was possible for the student to learn about Edward Calvert. His works were wholly inaccessible: they had been seen by few, or none, except the artist's intimate friends; and their true character was uncertain. Even among the admirers of William Blake, Calvert's name was generally unknown. And so things continued until a few weeks ago, when the exhibition of original drawings in the British Museum, chiefly acquired by Mr. Colvin, the present Keeper of the Print Room, was thrown open to the public. In this collection was included an important series of Calvert's later works in oil-colours: and somewhat previously to this acquisition, a set of his engravings, the most characteristic productions of his early years, was procured for the Print Room. To the fine taste and judgment of Mr. Colvin, are entirely due these additions to the national collection, and the first sufficient report of the man.

It is now possible to form some adequate notion of the extent and nature of Calvert's genius; and to attempt some estimate of his works. The study of an artist, who admitted such various and opposite influences as he, while preserving his individuality, is one of singular interest. Of his earliest productions, none are more characteristic than his engravings: these engravings variously executed upon copper, wood, and stone, appear to have been made during the few years, which immediately succeeded that of Blake's death, in 1827. In the collection of the British Museum are ten pieces, designed and engraved by himself; five of which bear the date, 1828, or 1829. There are, also, in the same collection, three other pieces designed by Calvert, but apparently engraved by another hand. They are all of a small size, many of them not being larger than the woodcuts, which illustrate the Pastorals of Philips: and in the method of their conception and execution, they exhibit the influence of Blake in a very marked and considerable degree. But they are in no sense, mere imitations of Blake's work: they are original productions, emphasized by a distinct and personal accent of their own. In their execution, they

are more elaborate, than the blocks illustrative of the Pastorals; and in their conception they are touched with a certain mysteriousness, more sensuous in its kind, than that, which pervades the inventions of Blake. This may be perceived in the drawing of certain of the figures, which recalls that *idea* of the female form, to which the painters of the school of Fontainebleau gave a disproportionate expression. Two of the largest and most important of these engravings by Calvert, are the woodcuts of the Cyder Press, and of Christian ploughing the last Furrow of Life: in these and in such designs as that inscribed : "O God i Thy bride seeketh Thee. A stray lamb is led to Thy folds," we have a devout and curious expression of a spiritual theme, by the means of sensuous images.

Edward Calvert appears to have gradually thrown off the peculiar influence of Blake, or, perhaps to have tempered that influence with the study of Claude, and of certain of the Italian landskip-painters. I have seen a copy, by Calvert, of a work by one of these artists, done with much skill, and with an evident appreciation of the original: as well as one of his exhibited pictures, displaying in its composition and *impasto*, the same influences. By degrees, he conformed his manner more nearly to that of the painters contemporary with him, observing a like study and definition of nature, as well as methods of composition more similar to theirs. He gave much attention to the anatomy of the human frame, and was acquainted with its dissection; his drawings of this period conveying a sense of that particular knowledge of the nude, which characterizes the studies of Mulready and Maclise. Of these designs and drawings in his second manner, there is no considerable example in the Museum.

It is, perhaps, in his third and last manner, the manner which he developed during the last twenty years of his life, that Calvert appears a truly original artist. "Grandeur of ideas," wrote Blake on the margin of his copy of Reynolds' Discourses, "is founded on precision of ideas." And when Reynolds observes, that a firm and determinate outline is one of the characteristics of the great style in painting, Blake exclaims: "Here is a noble sentence!" This precision of ideas, this precision in the outlines by which they are rendered, is one of the chief characteristics of Blake's method of expression in design: it is the chief characteristic, also, of Calvert's earliest productions. During that period of his art, to use a phrase of his master, he copied imagination with precision, by a firm and determined outline; afterwards inclining more nearly to a certain

“Naturalism.” During the last years of his life, he returned wholly to the things of the imagination; and devised for himself a manner unlike any, which had been employed previously by an English painter. In these later designs, there is the same precision of ideas, as in his early work; but it is here coupled with a studious avoidance of outline, and of all definition of form: the expression being technically dependent upon tone, mass, and colour. Worked in oil-colours upon a white and even ground, these designs, of which the Museum possesses so important a series, generally approach to no depth of tone, and incline to certain individual schemes of colour, in which the yellows and warm grays predominate. It is said, that Calvert paid several visits to Paris, about this time, and studied with admiration the works of Corot, and of other painters of the school of Barbizon. Unlike as are their works, the origins of this manner of Calvert's may, perhaps, be traced to his study of the French school of painters; especially in the matter of his dependence upon mere tone and mass. But it is in the subject of these designs, in the subtilty and delicacy of their conception, and in the pervading sentiment, that their charm and beauty consist. imagined in that country, during the early ages of the world. Here is nothing of the gaiety of Theocritus, or of that sentiment, which we commonly connect with the pastoral poems of antiquity. Tell me, says Menalcas in Virgil:

“Dic, quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum

Nascantur flores: et Phyllida solus habeto.”

That, shall we say, is the passion of all the essayers, who followed, in the convention of the pastoral, “ seekers after something in the world, that there is in no satisfying measure, or not at all.” Theirs is not the sentiment of these designs: for here is no discontent with the things, which are; no desire of the things, which are not. All is solemn and undisturbed: it is “the flush of health in flesh, exposed to the open air, nourished by the spirits of the forests and floods, in that ancient happy period, which history has recorded.” But a vein of sentiment, which required so subtile and original a method of expression, as did the sentiment of these designs, is not thus to be rudely analyzed. Yet I shall not be without my reward, if these notes, however much they may want of criticism, induce others, like myself, to regard, with attention and admiration, the works of an artist of such singular distinction as Edward Calvert.

24. *Colour in architecture*.²⁴

Since Mr. Haweis's proposal for washing St. Paul's Cathedral appeared in the *Times*, a proposal characteristic alike of his tastes and methods in dealing with matters of Fine Art, some excellent reasons of a practical kind have been brought forward, by competent judges of such matters, why the suggestion was one, by all means, to be avoided; but, apart from any technical considerations, the proposal involves an important principle of architectural art, about which something yet remains to be said. Mr. Haweis is vastly exercised about what he takes to be "the disgraceful and disgusting condition of St. Paul's Cathedral outside." "At least half of it," he writes, "is one caked black mass of filth, beneath which all Wren's floral festoons and elaborate Renaissance decoration has disappeared. The upper half, out of shot of the filth-wave, is better, but the ornamentation there is out of eye-shot." His remedy, as he naively tells us, is simple. "Let the architect in charge and the head fireman of London be under orders to lay their heads together. At 4 o'clock on some summer morn, when all the mighty heart of the City is lying still, have round the fire-engines, charge them with a stiff soda-and-water solution, or only pure water, and pump! I venture to say that even a couple of mornings' work would create a transformation scene. The news would spread throughout England that St. Paul's, which had not been seen for more than 100 years, was at last visible." We do not expect Mr. Haweis to perceive the beauties of St. Paul's; but we did look for a better sense in him of what is necessary to constitute good burlesque. The buffoonery about the architect and the fire-engines is unworthy of his reputation; he has done some better things that way.

It has been urged that there are buildings in London, and a City Hall is named among them, which are periodically washed with advantage. With some advantage to cleanliness, it may be; but is cleanliness, after all, the chief consideration in the matter? Surely the soot and dirt do not accumulate on the outside of a building like St. Paul's in such quantities as to be deleterious to the public health?

²⁴ H.P. Horne, *Colour in architecture*, in "Saturday Review", November 10, 1894, p. 502.

Moreover, it has been demonstrated to us by good authorities that this coating of soot does much to protect the surface of the stone from the action of the atmosphere. But, however this may be, there remains a yet more important consideration involved in the issue. During the last week, any one passing along the Strand may have seen the exterior of a well-known place of amusement, a costly, though somewhat pretentious, building of stone, ornamented with marble pilasters, undergoing a thorough process of washing. This building, now that it has been washed, is merely clean; before it was washed, it was merely dirty. But to speak of St. Paul's Cathedral, as Mr. Haweis speaks of it, as merely dirty, "veneered with mud," is to confess one's inability to perceive the astonishing colour with which it is everywhere touched; colour which time alone can give to a building, and which, in the case of St. Paul's, is as rare in its own way as the colour, for instance, of the cathedral buildings at Pisa.

In order to obtain this colour in architecture, everything depends, in the first instance, upon the taste and knowledge with which the architect makes choice of his materials, whether stone, marble, or brick. Yet these furnish but the crude pigments, so to speak, with which Time and Nature are to work. If these materials are properly chosen, then, in the course of centuries, we have that colour in architecture which is one of the glories of St. Paul's, as it is one of the glories of Pisa; and which, like the *patina* upon a fine bronze, or the weather-marks upon painted glass, becomes one of the several intrinsic qualities of beauty in such works of art. The building in the Strand failed, as a piece of architectural colour, because the materials, although good in themselves, were not adapted to the peculiar atmospheric conditions of the street in which they were employed. St. Paul's remains the grandest example of architectural colour in London because Wren possessed the genius to use the one building material, namely, Portland stone, which, under the bleaching winds and sooty air of London, assumes unique qualities of colour, qualities at once in harmony and contrast with the grey atmosphere of our city. Those parts of the stonework of the cathedral which have been subjected to the action of the wind have become blanched, and with so much colour, that Nathaniel Hawthorne mistook the stone for some kind of marble; but those parts of the stonework which have been protected either by the neighbouring houses below, or by the projection of some cornice, moulding, or other ornament above, have become black with soot. It is the contrast between the bleached and darkened surfaces of the

building which heightens the value of both, and produces an effect of architectural colour not to be seen out of London. "Everything is fruit to me," a great philosopher has said, "which "thy seasons bring, O Nature!" how well, and with what harmony, does she colour the golden marbles of Pisa, under the autumn sun; how well, indeed, and how faithfully to the characters of our city, does she employ these terrible colours of white and black here in London! In certain effects of light, when the bleached stonework of the south flank of the cathedral is seen against a leaden sky, only a little deeper in tone than that of the building itself, the effect is one of extraordinary, nay, almost unreal beauty. And who that has seen it would be surprised, were he to chance upon its description in the pages of Dante?

25. *The New English Art Club.*²⁵

The term Impressionism," like the term "Preraphaelitism," has come to be applied to principles of art differing in many respects from those to which it was originally, and more properly, given. The word is now commonly associated with certain formulated methods, dealing with problems of tone and colour, which are eminently fitted to record some transitory impression of the moment. That the impression to be recorded should be distinct and vivid is, perhaps, even more necessary to the successful practice of these methods than other considerations of a more purely technical kind. It is here precisely that the pictures now on exhibition by the New English Art Club fail, when considered as a whole; there is much that is Impressionistic, but there are but few impressions, distinct and vivid impressions, to be found in these pictures. However, there are not a few exceptions ; and it is of these exceptions that we shall speak.

Among the more purely Impressionistic paintings, those by Mr. Walter Sickert are unquestionably the most interesting. The notion of the greenish light on the white building of "L'Hotel Royal," relieved against the purple sky, and set off by the red figure in the foreground, is admirably conceived; as, also, the solemnity of the architecture in "La Rosace." Yet sometimes these very real impressions fail him. We love the music-hall, and we desire to see it celebrated by the muse of painting. Mr. Sickert could have taken no more august subject than "Sam Collins's,

²⁵ H.P. Horne, *The New English Art Club*, in "Saturday Review", November 24, 1894, p. 557.

Islington ”; yet was it wise on the part of the artist to have chosen that moment precisely when the house has been plunged almost into darkness? We speak feelingly; for, notwithstanding our intimate acquaintance with that “*verum povociov*” in all its thousand aspects, we have yet been unable to discover which of these Mr. Sickert has selected to paint. But even when Mr. Sickert’s impressions do not fail him, when they are admirable, as they are in “L’Hotel Royal” and “La Rosace,” he is still content to give us his work in sketches. Will he never paint us a picture? We do not, to revert to a famous metaphor of Mr. Whistler’s, we do not ask Mr. Sickert to sit upon the keyboard; but we do suggest to him, and we take the trouble to do so because we admire his work, that it might be well sometimes to touch sufficient notes to produce a complete chord. As it is (and Mr. Sickert will forgive us the poignancy of the remark, on account of the propriety of the simile), his productions are apt to be like Little Tich’s short shirts; they begin late, and finish early.

The most ambitious picture in the gallery is M. Paul Helleu’s “La Fontaine de Latone, Versailles.” The subject of streaming water, seen under many various conditions of light, is a most fortunate one; and M. Helleu appears to fully appreciate its beauty and delicacy; yet his picture is not entirely successful. Treated as he has treated it, the subject is not sufficient to fill the large canvas on which he works; it wants some touch of actual life or human interest to carry off so large a work. Nor is Mr. Steer’s picture of “The Japanese Gown” in his happiest manner; the theme is a hackneyed one, and the treatment is somewhat wanting in distinction. The sketches sent by Mr. Sargent are far more interesting, though less important in character. That of a girl in a white dress, seen against a sheet of water in sunshine, is a remarkably dexterous study of a brilliant effect of light. Of Mr. Rothenstein’s paintings we speak with some reticence; for his pastels and drawings in black and white, especially his portraits of men, stand apart by themselves among contemporary English work. To allow that his paintings were equal to his drawings would be to allow them a very large measure of praise. If they are not that, they yet remain among the best things in the room. Indeed, his portrait of Mr. Hacon is nearly as satisfactory in execution as it is in invention. Mr. Furze’s masterly portrait of Lord Monteaule should also be mentioned; it is solidly painted, and the character of the head and hand admirably rendered. But, perhaps, the most ‘original and pleasing pictures in the gallery are Mr. Conder’s

two paintings called "Landscape" and "Marine." They show real design, both in their conception and treatment. Delicate and personal in his methods, Mr. Conder obtains a singular effect of decoration in these works, by bringing his tones and colours into very subtle relationship with one another. These designs are full of atmosphere; they recall the sense of the sea and the country, and yet they remain purely decorative paintings.

26. *Pen drawing*.²⁶

PEN DRAWING. Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen; their work and their Methods. A Study of the Art of To-day; with Technical Suggestions. By Joseph Pennell, Lecturer on Illustration at the Slade School, University College. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

This is the second edition of a work which first appeared in 1889; but the author assures us, in the preface to this new issue, that it "is really a new book," and as such, therefore, we propose to review it. He also tells us that in the former edition in the mistakes were many, in facts, not in theories, and there were more notable artists omitted than admitted, almost. "However," Mr. Pennell complains, "no one pointed these things out, and it has been left for me to correct and amplify my facts, and hunt up new and old draughtsmen." This statement will save the critic much labour and not a little misgiving. It will be no longer necessary for him to examine the astonishing theories with which this volume abounds, since all are correct; and he will Contentedly await the gratitude of Mr. Pennell, should be fortunate enough to discover any trifling error of fact which may still linger in its pages. Mr. Pennell dismisses the pen-and-ink drawings of the Old Masters in his first twenty pages; yet these few pages are the most instructive in the book. They do not tell us anything about the Old Masters; but they contain a vast amount of information about Mr. Pennell, his natural bent of mind, his tastes, his learning. Let us take some one passage from his book on this subject of the Old Masters as a specimen of the rest. "I have seen no reason," he tells us, "to change my views regarding the old men. ... I said, and I still say, that Dürer, Rembrandt, Bellini, and Holbein were the greatest pendraughtsmen among the old men, though at times Mantegna, Botticelli, Carmagnola, and, upon a few rare occasions, Raphael, when he took the trouble, approached them. But none of

²⁶ H.P. Horne, *Pen drawing*, in "Saturday Review", November 24, 1894, pp. 560 - 562.

them equalled the best men. Later on Van Eyck, Jan Wierix, and Canaletto made some attempts, mostly in the wrong direction.”

It is not quite clear whom Mr. Pennell intends by the name *Bellini*; if we consult his index it would seem to be Giovanni Bellini; but, if we consult pages 8 and 12 of his book, then Gentile Bellini. What is, however, quite certain from this statement is that Mantegna, for instance, never equalled as a pen-draughtsman *either* Giovanni - or Gentile. This, of course, is not a fact, but one of those theories of Mr. Pennell's, in which, as he himself tells us, he never makes a mistake. Again, Mantegna we know, and Botticelli we know, but who is *Carmagnola*? The word is not a printer's error for Campagnola, for it occurs in the index spelled in the - same way; and we can only regret that Mr. Pennell has not told us something about the discovery (or was it a theory?) by which this master became known to him. But the most astounding statement of all in this paragraph is the sentence which informs us that Van Eyck (by whom we can only understand John or Pubert Van Eyck) lived and worked subsequently o [sic] Raphael. At first it would seem that the word was another printer's error for Van Dyck; but again the index shows us that this is not so. It is impossible that Mr. Pennell can allude either to Gaspar or Nicholas Van Eyck, the painters of battle-pieces by sea and land. Indeed, what does he intend? But that is not so much to our present purpose; it does not greatly concern us to know whether these mistakes have arisen from gross carelessness or from gross ignorance on the part of Mr. Pennell. What we are concerned to know is, whether this passage is an example of the history and criticism of art, as he teaches them, in his capacity as Lecturer on Illustration at the Slade School, University College?

It may be instructive to note a few more of Mr. Pennell's theories, in which he is never mistaken, concerning the Old Masters : “I have had a process made from Vandyck's etching of the head of Snyders, and it is upon his etchings that Vandyck's reputation as a black-and-white man rests. I have placed with it two heads by F. Desmoulins from *La Vie Moderne*, which I think any one must admit are quite equal to Vandyck's work, and yet utterly different.” We have no hesitation in saying that these heads by Desmoulins show neither knowledge, nor any sense of style or beauty; they possess no quality of art whatever, except a certain facility of a superficial

kind; yet Mr. Pennell is able to write of them in this fashion. "The smaller drawing is as full of character and the modelling as well given as in the Vandyck; in the larger one the feeling of flesh is far more completely carried out than in the Vandyck, while the hair, moustache, and imperial, somewhat similar in both, are vastly better rendered by Desmoulins. Here is a man who, I venture to say, almost unknown, and yet in black-and-white he has surpassed Vandyck with his world-wide reputation."

Let us take yet another instance, in which he theorizes about a great living artist, and one of the greatest artists of all time, and then we have done. Speaking of Maxime Lalanne, Mr. Pennell remarks that "His ability to express a great building, a vast town, or a delicate little landscape has never been equalled, I think, by anybody but Whistler. To a certain extent he was mannered; 80 was Rembrandt; Whistler is the only man I know of who is not." How gratifying this must be to Mr. Whistler; and yet it is insignificant to what Mr. Pennell has elsewhere to say of him: "No man among the ancients is greater than Rembrandt as an etcher, but Whistler, in his etchings of Old London, is even greater than Rembrandt. Therefore, if you wish a simple style, good for all times, you will find it in many of these landscape and figure subjects of Rembrandt's. But for work of to-day, and Rembrandt gave the things that were about him, the student would learn more from the work of Whistler"! The insinuation is sufficiently unkind; but still Mr. Pennell "goes one better." He is describing two drawings by William Small. "The style," he remarks, "of both resembles the early Keene's, Whistler's, and Du Maurier's. Who was the inventor of this style I do not know." And so Mr. Whistler and Mr. Du Maurier once worked in a common style! And so much so, that Mr. Pennell is unable to tell "which of them invented the other!"

We now turn to the principal part of Mr. Pennell's subject the work of contemporary draughtsmen. "I hold," he says, "that, if writers would only pay some slight attention to what is going on around them, and stop disputing over the unknowable and undiscoverable in the past, they would at least collect data which would serve as a basis for historians of art in the future." Again the critic should be very grateful to Mr. Pennell, for he has supplied the criterion by which he would have his work examined.

The only indication to be found in this volume of any plan or method which may have been observed by the writer in its composition is the division of the artists into groups, according to their nationalities. But even in so simple a proceeding as this mistakes are to be found. Thus the well-known artist, J. F. Raffaëlli, of Paris, is placed among Italian draughtsmen. Of Italian descent M. Raffaëlli assuredly is; but he was not only born but bred in France, and to place him among the Italians, as Mr. Pennell places him, and afterwards to remark that his drawings are "more like German work than Italian," does not appear to us the best way to "collect data which would serve as a basis for historians of art in the future." With the exception of this division of the artists according to their nationalities, Mr. Pennell has put his book together entirely without order or method. He selects the artists and the examples of their work, apparently, at hazard, or with a want of proper knowledge; and the remarks which accompany the drawings contain little or nothing except the infallible theories of their writer. We turn, for example, to p. 138, which contains a reproduction of a drawing by Corot, and a note in which Mr. Pennell can find nothing more to say about this great master than that he "died before process was perfected." With this drawing by Corot before us we naturally look for the work of his contemporaries (some of whom were more conspicuous for their pen-and-ink drawings even than he), of Delacroix, Millet, Rousseau, and of how many less distinguished men. If the work of Corot is to be represented, on what principle is the work of these men to be omitted? On the following page is a drawing by Puvis de Chavannes, a master who has made only a few studies in pen-and-ink of an unimportant character; whereas there is another French master, Gustave Moreau, who is equally distinguished with Puvis de Chavannes, but to whom Mr. Pennell does not make a single allusion of any sort or kind. Moreau's pen-and ink studies are among his finest productions, and some of them are comparable on account of their style, knowledge, and sense of beauty to the drawings of the great Italians. Why have we no example of Gustave Moreau's work here? True it is that Mr. Pennell tells us that, through no fault of his own, he leaves the work of several Frenchmen unrepresented; but who are the artists whose work he was unable to illustrate? Louis Legrand, Lautrec, Ibels, and a few others."

Following the drawing by Puvis de Chavannes is one by Bastien Lepage. Although Mr. Pennell professes to be concerned only about pen-work, he has selected a drawing in which pen,

crayon, and wash have all been employed; whereas there are some admirable drawings of still life by this artist done only with the pen. Finally, in order to mark his sense of Corot, Puvis de Chavannes, and Bastien-Lepage as artists, he places them between such men as Gerbault and Surand. The instance which we have adduced is not an extraordinary one; everywhere in Mr. Pennell's book do we meet with the same ignorant omissions, the same chaotic methods, the same utter incompetency to deal with its subject. There is one lapse, the most surprising of all, in Mr. Pennell's account of the French school; and of this it is impossible not to speak. He not only gives no example, but makes not even a reference, to the drawings in pen-and-ink of Auguste Rodin, although he devotes a chapter to the subject of drawings of sculpture. At Paris, the amateurs vie with one another to possess a book whose margins have been enriched with the *croquis* of this great artist; and, indeed, these drawings are known and admired wherever good art is appreciated. We regret that we are unable further to gratify Mr. Pennell, by putting into practice his convenient theory, that it is the duty of critics to correct the errors, and supply the omissions, of a writer, in order that he may pass off such corrections and omissions as his own in the next edition of his work. Unfortunately we are not called upon to instruct Mr. Pennell, but to expose his pretensions; and the first pages of his volume are more than sufficient for that purpose. The tests which we have applied to his book are of the most elementary kind, tests of fact; such as a schoolmaster would apply to a boy's exercise. We have not applied to it any tests of fine criticism, because his work is so clumsy that an attempt to do this would become ridiculous. Wanting, as Mr. Pennell wanted, both judgment and a knowledge of the history of art, the one course left to him was to have collected and arranged encyclopædically trustworthy information concerning contemporary artists, with examples of their work; to have brought together, as he himself puts it, "data which would serve as a basis for historians of art in the future." This he has not done; he prefers to attempt the difficult business of the critic. But vulgarity and cocksureness, heaped upon ignorance, are not the qualities which distinguish either good criticism or good literature. Of Mr. Pennell's methods of writing it has not been necessary here to speak, for we have given copious extracts from his book. He puts together his words and sentences, as he puts together his "theories" and materials: the former in disregard of grammar; the latter in disregard of design.

When Mr. Pennell prints his book on a heavy, clayed paper, and tells us that hand-made paper, made of linen rags, is “bad paper,” because it is not adapted to the last cheap makeshift of the “process” printer; when he informs us that “a print from a photogravure of a pen-drawing is really of as much value as the print from an etching,” it is not a matter of any real concern to the world at large to draw attention to his fallacies and his want of taste; but when he pronounces dicta of this kind in the disguise of authority as the Lecturer on such subjects at the Slade School, then it becomes a matter of great public concern to see that the best traditions of art are not traduced in our public schools. And, moreover, when Mr. Pennell says that Titian never made a fine drawing, and that the innocent productions of Mr. Alfred Pareone, which are mediocre enough to become the most Philistine of drawing-room tables, surpass those of Albert Dürer; that Mr. Parsons “is able to draw flowers as no one else ever drew them, and to fill his page with the mingling of decoration and realism that Dürer never dreamt of, though his every line is as beautiful as Dürer’s”; when Mr. Pennell speaks after this fashion-ignorantly, insultingly-of the most splendid names which adorn the history of art, then the entire world of culture is concerned to rebuke him.

Θερσίτ' ακριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ εών αγορητής, ίσχεο, μηδ' έθειλ' οίος έριζόμεναι βασιλεύσιν, &c.

*House and Furniture.*²⁷

HOUSES AND FURNITURE, Half-Timbered Houses and Carved Oak Furniture of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By WILLIAM Bliss SANDERS, Architect. London: Bernard Quaritch. 1894.

The writer of this book has some admirable motives and a serious aim; for he tells us in his preface that among the reasons which induced him to venture upon its publication was this, that a former work of his “has been found useful in many of the newly founded Technical and Art Schools.” “The importance,” he adds, “of supplying beginners with examples of work constructed and decorated upon right principles before their ideas have become injuriously

²⁷ H.P. Horne, *House and Furniture*, in “The Saturday Review”, December 1, 1894, pp. 604 - 605.

affected by copying inferior ones can scarcely be over-estimated." Mr. Sanders leaves the critic, then, in no sort of doubt as to the criteria by which he would have his volume judged.

The principal part of his subject, that of "Half-Timbered Houses," is illustrated by four perspective views of cottages in Kent. These few examples are not ill chosen; but the drawings themselves are executed with a pen, in that unmeaning manner which is peculiar to the modern architectural draughtsman, and which, happily, was more frequently employed in our Building-Papers a few years ago than it is at the present time. A manner of drawing such as this, which leaves the masses, colour, and indeed the total effect of a building, entirely unrepresented, reveals what little sense of their art those architects possess who employ it. Had Mr. Sanders given us measured drawings of these timbered houses, he would, at least, have made a definite contribution of a certain value to architectural study; but these perspective views, which he publishes, illustrate nothing but his incapacities as a draughtsman in a manner of draughtsmanship which is to be condemned even in skilful hands.

The remaining twenty-six plates of his book are taken up with illustrations of chimney-pieces, chairs, cupboards, and other such examples of sixteenth and seventeenth-century furniture. These are more valuable than the preceding views, because they are, in many instances, measured drawings; but the oaken furniture made in England at the time in question, and especially the examples which Mr. Sanders has chosen for the purposes of his illustrations, are more remarkable, to use his own phrase, for "the air of honesty and thoroughness displayed in their construction and ornament," than for their intrinsic value as works of art. In selecting examples of old craftsmanship for the use of students, it is, above all things, necessary to distinguish between their intrinsic value as works of art and the historic interest or fascination which attaches to them through time and association. This Mr. Sanders has failed to do; indeed, in one instance, he himself confesses that the subjects of one of his plates were chosen "rather on account of their early date than for any particular beauty which they possess."

In the letterpress which accompanies these illustrations, their author, having little to say about them, drifts off, at the least suggestion, into disquisitions entirely foreign to the subject. The latter part of his introduction, for example, is taken up with an account of Sir Paul Pindar, and the substitution of plate by Venetian glass in England during the sixteenth century; by which

the writer is led to speak of the use of mosaics in Italy, and of the opinions of Mr. Ruskin and Sir Henry Layard upon the employment of that material for mural decoration in England; subjects whose relevancy to the matter in hand is not quite evident. In short, this book has been made without taste or knowledge; it may prove amusing to the collector of bric-à-brac; but it can be of value neither to the antiquary nor to the artist. Least of all is it a book to be introduced into our Technical Schools. Its pretentious form, and the imposing list of subscribers at the commencement of the work, are not likely, we think, to mislead any one who will take the trouble to look into the book; and we are sorry to find on the title-page the name of Mr. Quaritch, to whom we are indebted for better things.

28. *The fine arts in technical schools.*²⁸

The brief announcement in the official circular issued by the Technical Education Board of the London County Council regarding the appointment of Inspectors of Art Schools and Classes touches upon a matter of vital importance to the finer interests of our social well being. "For this appointment," we are told, "there were 166 candidates, including several persons well known for their proficiency in art and in art industries. Of these five were invited to meet the sub-committee, and ultimately the Board unanimously appointed Mr. George J. Frampton, A.R.A., and Mr. William Richard Lethaby to inspect the art schools and classes, and generally to advise the Board in all matters relating to the development of art education in London, and in particular to assist in providing additional educational facilities for workmen and apprentices engaged in art industries. In this last mentioned capacity the practical experience of Mr. Frampton and Mr. Lethaby, both in the design and execution of artistic work, will prove invaluable."

We are not always able to commend the proceedings either of the London County Council or of their committees. As a body they labour under the immense disadvantage of being a great corporation without any great traditions whatever; and when they are called upon to deal with matters neither of a purely practical nor utilitarian kind, matters in which a knowledge of human nature, and a care for human culture, are a necessary consideration, they are prone to act

²⁸ H.P. Horne, *The fine arts in technical schools*, in "Saturday Review", December 8, 1894, pp. 616 - 617.

with all the prejudice and shortsightedness which characterized their attitude towards the music-halls, or else to proceed with an impulsive inconsistency characteristic of youth. The Technical Education Board itself affords an instance of this. The Board is composed of twenty representatives of the London County Council and fifteen "co-opted" members, representatives for the most part of such public bodies as the London School Board, the City and Guilds of London Institute, and the London Trades Council. It has practically assumed the control of the numerous polytechnic institutions, as well as the schools of art and the art classes to which it makes its grants; yet not a single member of the Board has any practical knowledge of the fine arts of design, although a chief part of their duties is to have them efficiently taught. But what is more extraordinary, the Board has not hitherto had either the advice or assistance of any practical artist, sculptor, architect, or designer. That such a state of things could have existed up to the present time is to us as great a matter of surprise as are the appointments by which the Board seeks to remedy this serious omission. Mr. Frampton is no dilettante; he is a practical carver, his sculpture is known; and he possesses those amiable qualities which are a necessary qualification for the Associateship of the Royal Academy. Mr. Lethaby's credentials are yet more solid. He has a considerable acquaintance with the practice of architecture, from which a proper knowledge of the arts of design can alone proceed; his work in connexion with one of our best living architects, Mr. Norman Shaw, and his own designs, which have been exhibited from time to time at the "Arts and Crafts," are a sufficient proof of this. With the historical, as with the practical, side of art he is equally concerned; and his book on the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, appears at this very moment, as it were, to remind us of his tastes and his knowledge. Mr. Lethaby's nomination is a most fortunate one; and we congratulate the Technical Education Board upon both appointments.

In our technical schools we have a force which, rightly or wrongly, has been set going. It is one of the outcomes of our present social condition; and it seeks to supply the want of proper technical training, which has arisen from the gradual decay of the old system of apprenticeship. To stem this force is impossible; yet we may divert it from harmful courses into more or less profitable channels. But however that may be, the technical school can never take the place of the workshop. "I am convinced," writes Mr. William Morris, "that it is by some form of

apprenticeships working in a workshop and gradually learning the craft by doing bits of it, and by that means only, that crafts can be taught.” Painting cannot be learned at an Academy; the workshop of the master is the only real school of art. The whole of the history of art goes to prove this; and yet we are unconvinced. To speak quite frankly, the technical school is, so far as art is concerned, only a makeshift. It bears much the same relation to the workshop as the modern trades-union does to the mediæval guild. The chief characteristic of the mediæval guild was that it sought to protect the interests of a craft by allowing no one to practise that craft in the quality of a master, before he had served a proper term of years successively as apprentice and journeyman; by enforcing, that is, certain regulations calculated to ensure good workmanship. The chief characteristic of the modern trades-union is to protect the interests of a craft or trade by ignoring the conditions of good workmanship, and by securing to the workman, whether he be competent or incompetent, a maximum wage and a minimum working day.

Yet, on the other hand, although the technical school can never take the place of the workshop, it may supplement it in an extremely valuable manner, by teaching the apprentice the first elements of the arts allied to the particular craft in which he is being trained. Of the practical usefulness which the technical schools might thus exert under a wise and artistic direction the Board appears to be aware; and nothing is of greater promise in the brief announcement which we have quoted, of the appointment of Mr. Frampton and Mr. Lethaby, than the statement that one of the duties of the new inspectors is “in particular to assist in providing additional educational facilities for workmen and apprentices engaged in art industries.”

29. *Bach and the harpsichord.*²⁹

During the last few years the harpsichord has occasionally figured in the concert-rooms, here and at Paris, as an instrument which, although obsolete and, for the ordinary purposes of music, rightly consigned to the taciturn seclusion of the museum, has yet some distinctive charm and quality of its own; one of those delicate pieces of antiquity, forsooth, in the proper handling of which the fastidious connoisseur may himself appear to no little advantage. Messrs. Pleyel have even gone so far as to construct a new instrument, which has been heard both in this

²⁹ H.P. Horne, *Bach and the harpsichord*, in “Saturday Review”, December 15, 1894, pp. 654 - 655.

country and in France; and those musicians who had formed their notion of the clavecin from the old instruments “restored” by pianoforte makers were agreeably surprised at what Messrs. Pleyel had achieved. Here, at least, was an instrument which was in tune, and upon which it was possible to play with a certain speed and semblance of execution. Yet, even at that time, Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch had succeeded in restoring a double-keyboard instrument made by Kirkman in the middle of the last century sufficiently well to show that a fine harpsichord in its original condition must have been as much superior to Messrs. Pleyel’s harpsichord as that instrument was to the spinets and harpsichords which from time to time have been exhibited to our credulous generation as excellent examples of their kind, but which in reality were but the chattering ghosts of their former selves, resembling their original condition as little as Amelia’s piano, after it had “passed into a plaintive, jingling old age,” resembled its counterpart fresh from the workshops of Erard or Broadwood. It was to such remnants of the old harpsichord maker’s art that the Lecturer on the development of the pianoforte triumphantly pointed in order to prove the enormous superiority of the modern form of the *clavier* over its precursor. Messrs. Pleyel did something to remove this prejudice; and if they failed in what they attempted, they failed in a way that was very excusable in them. In the construction of their new harpsichord they had little to guide them but their own experience as pianoforte makers, and so their instrument in many ways suggested the piano; indeed, they introduced certain contrivances of their own which could serve no other end but to bring the two instruments into a kind of competition. Such attempts can only be counted as part and parcel of the old fallacy that the piano has been developed from the harpsichord and has surpassed it. Yet the one is no more a development of the other, than the harmonium is a development of the organ. The piano has not surpassed, but superseded, the harpsichord, which is quite another matter. They are instruments of entirely different kinds; and each demands from the composer a manner of writing, and from the executant a touch and method of playing, peculiar to itself. If we would form a just estimate of the value of the harpsichord, we must first dismiss from our minds any notion of its comparison with the piano, or of the superiority of the one instrument over the other. To attempt a parallel of their several merits or demerits would be as profitable as to attempt a parallel between the piano and the organ.

It was not until last May, when Lord Dysart's harpsichord by Andreas Ruckers was heard at Dulwich, after it had been put into playing order by Mr. Dolmetsch, that a fine instrument, by a great maker, existed, which possessed all its original beauty and character of tone. For the first time within living memory the harpsichord was heard to perfection; and the reputation which the instruments by the Ruckers retained until almost the close of the last century (a reputation which can only be compared to the reputation of a Stradivarius at the present day) was at last understandable. The experience of many years of research and experiment had enabled Mr. Dolmetsch to obtain an extraordinary brilliancy and pureness of tone, which the pianoforte makers who had previously attempted the restoration of old harpsichords never suspected the instrument to be capable of producing. Nor was this the only result of Mr. Dolmetsch's success. Those theorists who argued that the compositions of Bach and his predecessors were intended to be played more slowly than they are now performed, since it was impossible to play effectively upon the harpsichord with any degree of speed, were proved to be wholly mistaken, for not only can the mechanism of the harpsichord respond to the swiftest sequences which the hand is capable of executing, but the most elaborate ornaments can be performed with a rapidity, precision, and clearness not attainable on the piano.

The concert given at Clifford's Inn on the 6th inst., under Mr. Dolmetsch's direction, afforded the critic another opportunity to judge of the value of the harpsichord in the performance of the works of Bach. The first number of the programme was the Concerto in D minor for that instrument, which was played with extraordinary mastery by Mr. Fuller Maitland, who was accompanied by two violins, a viola, and violoncello; and it is not difficult to indicate, even in writing, the unquestionable place which the harpsichord should always hold in the adequate recital of such works. In certain of the solo passages in the first movement of this Concerto, for example, where both hands are playing in the same part of the scale, especially where one hand after the other is repeating the same note, the effect upon the single keyboard of the piano is painfully monotonous and ineffective; but let such passages be played, as they certainly were intended, upon the two keyboards of the harpsichord, with their contrast of tone, they become effective and coloured in the most extraordinary degree. Colour!—that is the character which really distinguishes the tone of the harpsichord from the tone of the piano. In the

pizzicato quality of the harp-stop, in the open stops which correspond to the diapasons of the organ, in the brilliancy of the octave stop, and in the far-off, indescribable quality of sound produced by the stop which causes the string to be plucked near the nut, and for which musical antiquaries are not yet agreed as to the name; in these various qualities of tone, and in the many combinations of them which can be produced on a double-keyboard instrument, lie the elements which lend to the harpsichord a power of producing effects of colour in music; and these effects of colour the piano can no more reproduce than it can reproduce the different qualities of tone peculiar to the various instruments which go to make up the modern orchestra. In short, the performance of such a work as this Concerto upon the piano may be compared, not improperly, to a fine picture by Titian which has been scoured of its glazes. To perform such a work by Bach in this way, would be as absurd and inartistic as to perform a Nocturne by Chopin upon the harpsichord.

The most important number in Mr. Dolmetsch's programme was the "Cantate Burlesque," as it is called in Bach's original manuscript, or the Peasants' Cantata, as it is more commonly known. It shows Bach as the composer of a kind of music which we do not commonly associate with his name. The words are written in the dialect of Upper Saxony; and the music, with the exception of two of the airs, is of a simple and popular character; indeed, many of the tunes were taken from the current songs of the day. Spitta, in his *Life of Bach*, has pointed to the origin of some of these airs; but one of these sources has not, we think, hitherto been noticed. This occurs in the song "Unser trefflicher," where the violin introduces the once popular theme, which Hawkins calls "a favourite air known in England as Farinelli's ground"; the whole of Bach's air, with its accompaniments, consists in a series of variations upon this theme. Whether or no Farinelli, a relative of the famous singer, was the composer of this theme, or whether he, like other composers, merely wrote some setting of a popular tune which thus became connected with his name, is uncertain: all we know is that the tune is traditionally associated with an old Spanish dance called "La Folia"; while the dance and the air occur in the "Recueil de Dances composées par Mr. Feuillet, maître de dance," Paris, 1709, as "Folie d'Espagne." Corelli has written a set of variations on this theme; Vivaldi, another set; while a third series of thirtyone variations on the same theme, a work entirely neglected and unknown,

but of extraordinary beauty and elaboration, is to be found in Marin Marais's second book of "Pièces de Violes," Paris, 1701. This single instance is, perhaps, sufficient to indicate the character of the lighter portions of Bach's Cantata. The beauty and richness which his genius has lent to these popular airs, emphasizing, rather than detracting from, their jovial character, show that he was able to do what he would. The boisterous drinking song, accompanied by the horn; the final chorus with the refrain, "Wir gehn nun wo der Tudelsack, der Tudel- Tudel- Tudel- Tudel- Tudel- Tudelsack, in unser Schenke brummt," how vast the gulf which lies between these songs and the Chromatic Fantasia, or the "Wohltemperirte Klavier"! Yet each in its own way is a perfect work of art. And here again, in the rendering of these popular airs—which, by the way, were admirably sung by Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Bispham—the harpsichord contributed not a little to their due effect of colour and gaiety. After the performance at Clifford's Inn it is difficult to conceive how any musician, who is careful of his reputation as an artist can venture to perform on the piano the harpsichord works of Bach.

30. *Rembrandt van Ryn*.³⁰

The series of reproductions in photogravure from the paintings by Rembrandt, in the Gallery at Cassel, which Mr. Heinemann has lately published, appears while the mind, if not of the public, at least of some few individuals, is still exercised about the loss to the nation of Lady Ashburnham's picture. And so we turn, not unpardonably, perhaps, to the portfolio plates that we may better realize the deficiencies of our National Gallery in regard to this master. Mr. Heinemann's plates, let us here add by the way, are admirable. They are of a sufficient size to convey a proper notion of the original pictures, which they reproduce with great brilliancy and fidelity: and in these and other respects they are equal to the best photographic reproductions hitherto published. The only blot in the publication, and that an insignificant one, is Mr. Frederick Wedmore's introductory note. It is written throughout with a trick of perpetual parenthesis: but literary style, we imagine, is not to be had by merely thrusting one obvious sentence into the midst of another very obvious sentence. It is the silliest way of writing

³⁰ H.P. Horne, *Rembrandt van Ryn*, in "Saturday Review", December 22, 1894, pp. 677 - 678.

imaginable; and for what reason Mr. Wedmore affects it we cannot tell, except, perhaps, to lend an air of preciousness to a few simple statements of fact.

Although our National Gallery possesses a very remarkable series of portraits, both heads and half-lengths, which include examples of Rembrandt's work in his early and late manners; it contains nothing that is altogether comparable in beauty and fascination to the famous portrait of his wife, Saskia van Uylenborch, in which flesh and blood shine out with the splendour and exquisiteness of a piece of jeweller's work; nothing, perhaps, unless it be Rembrandt's own portrait, which was painted some few years later, in 1640. And again, although we have several admirable compositions of small figures, such as "The Woman taken in Adultery" and "The Adoration of the Shepherds," we have no picture in which an "historical" subject is treated with the same importance as that of "Jacob blessing the children of Joseph." But in another respect our Gallery is yet more deficient. In England the finest examples of Rembrandt's. landscapes remain in private hands : our national collection possesses only one picture of this kind by him ; the sombre landscape of trees, with the little figures of Tobias and the Angel in the foreground. This little painting is undoubtedly of great interest and beauty; yet it cannot be compared to the picture with the ruin upon the verge of a hill, in the Gallery at Cassel. "This landscape," writes Mr. Wedmore, "is one of not a few evidences alike of Rembrandt's love of a broad and serene beauty and of his ready perception of minute fact. ... If certain details in the foreground attest, as I must claim they do, Rembrandt's quickened fidelity to minute fact, all the lines of the composition, its colour glowing, yet sober, its wonderful illumination, with the light in its so tranquil heavens tenderly, yet broadly, diffused--all these compel from us the admission that the master of Dutch painting, who passed his time with a Humanity of which never too much was dignified, and only a little actually beautiful, was himself not insensible to beauty, introduced now in this modest fashion, now that; so that, though the beautiful was present, the artificial might hardly appear." Surely, Mr. Wedmore is not apologizing for Rembrandt's want of taste? Would he repeat the old criticism that the triumphs of this master in painting are due to his mastery of representation, his management of the lights and shadows, the richness and truth of his colouring, his energy of expression; and that by these powers, as Opie has it, he seems to be independent of his subject?" But the inimitable skill and style of a true artist, after all, are but the

outward characters of a fine nature moved to fine issues. Great power and style of expression do not exist independent of, but result from, some profound apprehension and emotion of the mind; and Rembrandt possesses the sensibility, in a very extraordinary degree, to be deeply moved by what appears to other men mean, trivial, vulgar, or even repulsive. He had this in common with the other Dutch artists of his time, that he paints nature as he finds her. The greatest part of the world is not of absolute beauty or of heroic mould; it is not even young, or gay, or attractive; nor has it the genius to be or do anything in any uncommon degree. And so the Dutch painters, and Rembrandt among them, loved to represent her; sometimes distinguished, but oftener of vulgar character, rough or gross; sometimes fresh and youthful, but oftener sick or sorry with burden of years. But here Rembrandt's likeness to his Dutch contemporaries ceases; they are content to look upon Nature, and to imitate her with an untiring admiration; he alone understands her and divines what is hidden from ordinary eyes. It is true that he always paints her as he finds her; but he always finds her to be possessed of some quality of beauty, of fine or forcible emotion, some inward character, of which other men have not been aware. To paraphrase the sentence of a writer who lived long before the age of this painter, Rembrandt considers with so profound a mind and apprehension whatever is in the world around him, whatever naturally happens to things natural, that scarcely anything appears to him in which he does not find matter of pleasure and delight. He perceives the proper ripeness and beauty of old age, and he is able to look upon the loveliness of youth with chaste eyes; and many other things he discerns not credible to every one.

It is in this power that the greatness of Rembrandt lies; and when we come to consider his works in this aspect, his splendid powers of representation, his colouring, his chiaroscuro, his inimitable style appear only as accessories to his genius. No man ever worked with greater conviction of his own powers, or with a greater sense of reliance upon his own resources. We can name the masters to whom he was put apprentice, but not those from whom he formed his manner in painting. He appears to be derived from no one but himself. He was not only acquainted with the productions of the great Italians, but he even possessed examples of their works; and several pieces of antique sculpture are entered in the catalogue of his collection: yet he preserves his individual methods untouched, he remains untrammelled by their influence. And

so the old paradox bears, perhaps, to be repeated: “ That he seems to be one who would have discovered the art, had it never before existed.”

31. *The exhibition of Venetian art.*³¹

The pictures and drawings, which have been brought together in the Exhibition of Venetian Art at the New Gallery, and which form the most important part of that collection, include not only the schools of Venice, but, also, of the Venetian territory, of Padua, Verona, Brescia and Bergamo. As in the previous Exhibitions of this kind at the New Gallery, the paintings are catalogued under the names of the masters to whom their owners attribute them: and so it is not surprising to find, for example, ten pictures ascribed to Giorgione, of which the greater number can only be assigned to that vague and comprehensive category, the Giorgionesque. Then, occasionally, a painting is attributed to a great master, without possessing sufficient artistic value to justify its place in the Exhibition; of such a kind is the “Sacred Conversation,” No. 164, attributed to Giovanni Bellini, which is only a copy of an early work by Lorenzo Lotto in the Bridgewater collection. But on the whole, the committee is to be congratulated on the beauty and interest of the pictures which they have been able to bring together; and upon the number of artists, whose work they have been able to represent in genuine examples.

If some masters, among whom are notably Vittore Pisano and Liberale da Verona, remain unrepresented, we find an example of an early painter, Stefano da Zevio, whose work is rarely to be seen out of Verona: indeed, like Antonio da Negrofonte, he is chiefly known by a single picture. The little painting, No. 77, recalls in its subject, in the gaiety of its colour, and in the naïveté of its sentiment, the delightful painting of the Virgin and Child, surrounded by angels in a trellised rose-garden, which is one of the memorable things in the Museo Civico, at Verona. These pictures afford a remarkable instance of the influence of German art, at an early period, on the art of Northern Italy. The Veronese School, however, is less well represented at the New Gallery than any other; but the school of Padua, which may be said almost to begin and end with Mantegna, appears to advantage in the works of this painter. The “Adoration of the Magi,” No.

³¹ H.P. Horne, *The exhibition of Venetian art*, in “Saturday Review”, January 5, 1895, pp. 9 - 10.

22, and the "Holy Family," No. 96, are splendid examples of his art, in which the intellectual appreciation of beauty could not be carried further. The two panels of "Dido" and "Judith," Nos. 21 and 24, recall the panels of "Summer and Autumn" in the National Gallery, No. 1125, which Morelli considered to be the work of a skilful imitator of Mantegna. If these pictures want the freedom of hand, which characterizes the finest works of this master, some doubt may also be expressed in regard to the little picture of "Judith and Holofernes," No. 125. Turning to the pictures of the Venetian School, we find no very important picture by Giovanni Bellini: although there are many good examples of his school, which bear a genuine signature. Among such pictures is to be placed the fine composition of the "Virgin and Child," with four saints, No. 107, which Morelli has attributed, on inconclusive evidence, to his scholar, Bissolo and the "Circumcision," No. 84, which, with all due deference to the opinions of the writer of the catalogue, can only be considered one of the many school versions of this composition. Another such version is to be found in the same room, No. 168: and others are to be found in the Doria Gallery, the Gallery at Rovigo, and elsewhere: that over one of the altars in S. Zaccaria at Venice is, perhaps, the finest. Among the other pictures, which bear the name of Bellini in the catalogue, is an Adoration of the Shepherds, No. 251, which is clearly by the same hand as the fine picture of a Warrior adoring the Infant Christ, No. 234, and the St. Jerome, No. 694, in our National Gallery. Morelli attributed both these paintings to Vincenzo Catena: and yet another painting in the present Exhibition at the New Gallery, a Holy Family, No. 161, is there ascribed to the same master. The great breadth of treatment, the peculiar cast of the draperies, the golden colouring and the pure glow of the atmosphere, are the prevailing characteristics of these paintings; to the altar-piece of the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, by the same painter, in the church of S. Maria Mater Domini, at Venice, they lend an unmistakable air of distinction. But when we turn to the signed pictures by Catena, of which there are two examples in the New Gallery, the Virgin and Child with Saints and donors, No. 46, and another Sacred Conversation, in which the infant Christ is blessing the donor, No. 98, we are unable to recognize the same characteristics. If some points of resemblance are to be observed in these two groups of pictures, more points of difference may, surely, be remarked. The cast of the draperies is more angular and broken; the forms are less suave; the colour has a tendency to blackness; the glow of the atmosphere is

wanting. We think that the authorities of our National Gallery have been wise in refusing to accept Morelli's conclusion: for it is impossible on internal evidence alone to attribute to Catena the unsigned pictures. Such are a few of the more obvious critical problems which are suggested by the early pictures at the New Gallery, and which may yet serve to agreeably vex the soul of the amateur in *saeculum saeculi*.

32. *A history of painting*.³²

“A Text-Book of the History of Painting.” By John C. Van Dyke, L.H.D., Professor of the History of Art in Rutgers College. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.

The attempt to write a little volume of less than three hundred pages which shall contain a “concise teachable” history of painting in the western world, for in the times of the ancient Egyptians to the present day, “for class-room use in schools and colleges,” must obviously lead the most competent writer into a series of absurdities: yet this is what Professor Van Dyke has endeavoured to do. The Italian School alone could not be properly treated within the limits of his volume: the plan of the book is an impossible one, and a writer of any really critical ability would not have attempted it. One consequence of this extreme brevity is that many important masters are dismissed in single sentences of this kind: “Giotto (1267?-1337?) was a supposed imitator of Giotto, of whom little is known”; or “Salvator Rosa” (1615-1673), best known as one of the early painters of landscape.” Remarks such as these, which abound in Mr. Van Dyke's book, may be quite sufficient for all purposes of “cramming” and “exams”; but they contain, beyond the dates, no fact or criticism of any value whatever: they can only add to the drudgery of school life. Paolo Uccello, Andrea Castagno, Benozzo Gozzoli, Baldovinetti, Antonio del Pollajuolo, and Cosimo Rosselli, are similarly dismissed with the meaningless assertion, that they “can hardly be looked upon as improvements upon the young leader,” Masaccio. That and nothing more about so astonishing a master of decorative painting as Benozzo Gozzoli! Surely, it would have been more profitable to consider Antonio del Pollajuolo as the painter of the nude, who prepared the way for Signorelli; and, also, to have mentioned Piero del Pollajuolo. The

³² H.P. Horne, *A history of painting*, in “Saturday Review”, January 5, 1895, p. 19.

writer, who devotes less than two lines of his book to this important group of artists, and nearly two pages to such farthing rushlights as Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Allston, Peale, and Sully, cannot be said to show a sound critical faculty: nor can he be said to write English, when he remarks of Orcagna that "his art was further along toward the Renaissance than that of any other Giottesque." We trust for the reputation of Rutgers College, that this jargon is considered good literature in America; and that such phrases as "in methods Giotto was more knowing, but not essentially different from his contemporaries," or "the fundamental make-up of the Greek mind," do not arouse in the mind of the reader at New York the same emotions which they do here in London.

But even when Mr. Van Dyke treats his subject at greater length, we cannot sufficiently marvel at some of his criticisms. Correggio, we are told, "was the Faun of the Renaissance": "free animal spirits, laughing madonnas, raving nymphs, excited children of the wood, and angels of the sky pass and repass through his pictures in an atmosphere of pure sensuousness." Of Leonardo da Vinci, we read, that "he was not in any sense a classicist, nor had he any care for the antique marbles"; "he was more in love with physical life without being an enthusiast over it": that Michael Angelo "was more of the Old Testament than the New"; "he had no tenderness nor any winning charm": and that the Sistine Madonna of Raphael "is more intellectual than pietistic, a Christian Minerva ruling rather than helping to save the world." Such remarks, even when they are not absolutely erroneous, can only prove worse than useless to the student of painting, who is approaching the subject for the first time. In the chapter on French Painting, although Puvis de Chavannes is duly mentioned, and such painters as Cabanel and Bouguereau are spoken of at length ; yet so great an artist as Gustave Moreau is nowhere mentioned. Again, the chapter on British Painting is very inadequate. The great school of miniaturists, in whom the art of English portrait-painting had its origin, the school of Hilliard, the Olivers, Flatman, Hoskins, and Cooper, is passed over in silence: neither William Dobson, nor John Greenhill, is mentioned by name ; although scores of painters having far less pretensions to art than these men are duly enumerated. To judge from his remarks about Hogarth, Mr. Van Dyke cannot have seen any fine example of that master. Hogarth, he tells us, "was more of an illustrator, a moralist, a satirist, than a painter." "It does not appear in his work that he possessed much artistic feeling."

“His brush was rather dry, his color hot and not too harmonious, his drawing sharp and often faulty.” That is no criticism of Hogarth's painting at its best : nor will the youthful student gain any very clear or correct notion of William Blake's art by finding him classed with Wilkie and Landseer among the “Genre-Painters”! Mr. Van Dyke has, however, the good sense to rate Mr. Whistler at his proper value; but he, also, has the misfortune to speak of his work in this way: “Apparently very sketchy, it is in reality the maximum of effect with the minimum of effort.” How characteristically wrong is this! To the outsider, who knows nothing of art, Mr. Whistler's work is no doubt sketchy; the maximum of effect with an *apparent* minimum of effort. But the effort necessary to produce Mr. Whistler's work is, surely, the highest possible effort: *summa ars est celare artem*. On the whole we credit Mr. Van Dyke with the best of intentions: and we commend his book in being admirably adapted to mislead young persons.

33. *The fairest church in all the world.*³³

“THE FAIREST CHURCH IN ALL THE WORLD.” “The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople”; a Study of Byzantine Building. By W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson. London and New York: Macmillan. 1894.

This book affords an instance, rare in England, of an architectural subject approached with the fine tastes of the artist, and with the knowledge of the antiquary. More than one work of real value already exists on the history of this church, “the fairest church in all the world,” as Sir John Mandeville called it: but in the book now before us, its architecture is considered for the first time, from the point of view of a practical architect, who is neither a mere antiquary, nor a mere technician, but who regards his calling as a living art. This volume, moreover, is written in the pursuit of an idea, a fine idea; and it separates itself at once, by its aim and temper, from the mass of unmeaning architectural works, which pour upon us from all sides. Sancta Sophia, the church of the Holy Wisdom, was begun by Justinian in 532, upon the site of an older church, which had been destroyed “in the rebellion called Nika.” It was finished and dedicated in 537; but the apse and a great portion of the east end was thrown down by an earthquake in 558. The fabric, however, was restored by Justinian, who raised the dome twenty feet: and the church was

³³ H.P. Horne, *The fairest church in all the world*, in “Saturday Review”, January 12, 1895, pp. 47 - 48.

re-consecrated. More than one description of the building in its original beauty remains; but of these, the earliest and most valuable is the poem of Paul, the Silentiary, written in Homeric hexameters, to celebrate, in all probability, the re-consecration of the church. Every part of the building is described in this poem with minute care, and the descriptions are intermingled with poetic images of no little beauty. Take, for example, the passage which records the general effect of the interior of the church. "Whoever raises his eyes to the beauteous firmament of the roof, scarce dares to gaze on its rounded expanse sprinkled with the stars of heaven, but turns to the fresh green marble below, seeming as it were to see flower-bordered streams of Thessaly, and budding corn, and wood thick with trees ; leaping flocks too and twin- ing olive-trees, and the vine with green tendrils, or the deep blue peace of summer sea, broken by the plashing oar of spray-girt ship. Whoever puts foot within the sacred fane, would live there for ever, and his eyes welt. with tears of joy." How admirably does that description suggest the pure clean colours and forms, which are familiar to us in the churches erected under the rule of Justinian at Ravenna; of S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe! Saint Mark's at Venice, which we are apt to take as the type of Byzantine architecture, becomes in comparison almost barbaric in the splendour of its gold mosaics. We find in it the mystery of sombre lights, of the gloom of the sanctuary; but in the earlier churches, in S. Vitale, as in the Roman church of S. Clemente, we are confronted with the mystery of day; and the morning air seems always to linger in their aisles, fresh with " the sweet keen smell " of the natural world.

If we read the poem of the Silentiary by way of commentary upon the building of Sancta Sophia, as it exists at the present day, the church of Justinian, with its rich furniture and ornaments, rises up before us with extraordinary clearness. We are surprised to realize how much remains, in spite of the pillage, which has twice overtaken the place, and the successive earthquakes, which would have destroyed a building less scientifically constructed. In the ninth century, a belfry was added to the west front, and other alterations were effected: and in the following century, in 975, the western part of the church was greatly injured by an earthquake. But these, and other chances and changes, are insignificant to the disasters which overwhelmed the church consequent upon the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. "The furniture of surpassing beauty, the silver, which went round the screen of the boma, the ambo, the

doors, and many ornaments in which gold was used, were carried away." Some of the spoils remain in the church and treasury of St. Mark, and elsewhere; but the greater part has been destroyed, or lost beyond any hope of recovery. The Byzantine emperors, on retaking the city, made an attempt to restore to Sancta Sophia its former splendour: but the effort was only partially successful, Upon the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the church was again pillaged: they scattered, says one contemporary writer, "the relics of the saints, and seized on the gold and silver"; and another bewails "the Great Church, a new Sion which has now become an altar of the heathen, and is called the house of Mahomet." Yet the church seems almost to have fared worse at the hands of the Christians. The destruction of the great court in front of the church, of many low buildings which formerly surrounded it, and the addition of the minarets, has greatly altered its outward appearance : but to the Turks must be given the credit of having preserved the fabric of Sancta Sophia, almost in the state in which they found it. "Far from being a ruin," Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson tell us, with a charming touch of satire, "the church is one of the best preserved of so ancient monuments, and in regard to its treatment by the Turks we can only be grateful that S. Sophia has not been situated! in the more learned cities of Europe, such as Rome, Aachen, or Oxford, during the period of revived interest in ecclesiastic antiquities."

Of the mosaics in the interior of Sancta Sophia, scarcely anything is now to be seen. The original mosaics of the age of Justinian probably suffered at the hands of the iconoclasts, in the eighth and ninth centuries : and those, which are known to exist behind their present coating of whitewash, date, in all probability, from the time of the final restoration of images, in 842. The marble work, however, in the columns, in the cornices, and in the linings of the walls and piers, is admirably preserved. In the design and treatment of the capitals, and in the inlaid and sunk panels, the simplicity and the decorative qualities of Byzantine art appear to the greatest advantage. Colour is never allowed to interfere with form, nor form with colour. But the chief beauties of Sancta Sophia lie in its structure, and not in its ornament. Its marbles and mosaics, like the marbles and mosaics of St. Mark's, are but a thin covering incrustation of precious materials, which hide from view a rough building, or "carcase" of brick. That which, perhaps, finally distinguishes Byzantine architecture from the architecture of ancient Rome, and of the

Italian Renaissance, is the exquisite sense of economy which controls its design and determines its construction. In no part of Byzantine architecture is this mastery of resources and materials shown to more advantage than in this rudimentary brick structure. Stone or marble was only employed where the loads were unusually heavy, as in the great piers which support the dome of Sancta Sophia, or greatly concentrated, as in the columns of the arcades. The rest of the building was constructed of thin, tile-like bricks, laid in courses with wide mortar-joints, which were nearly equal in thickness to the bricks themselves. Arches resting upon piers supported the domes, conchs, and vaults, which formed the roof of the building. In Sancta Sophia, this assemblage of vaults, which leads up to the dome in the centre of the church, is imagined with an extraordinary sense of beauty, and constructed with consummate skill. The semicircular and pillared recesses of the *exhedras* are delicately poised against the half-domes, which in their turn rise east and west against the base of the great dome : whilst, below and around, lie the vaults of the aisles between the four great piers, which cross them to the north and south, resting against the base of the central dome, and steadying the whole church. Nothing could exceed the rationality and loveliness of this surprising invention. "What distinguishes the artist from the mere amateur," said Goethe, "is *Architectonice* in its highest sense." Certainly in the structure of Sancta Sophia, we have *Architectonice* in its highest sense ; the quality which distinguishes the hand of the master, not only in architecture, but equally in the other arts. There is no part of the building which has not its due place, which is not necessary to the perfection of the whole ; no force is redundant ; no labour ineffective. Were St. Mark's at Venice stripped of its marbles and mosaics, it would remain another such building of brick, but it would not show the same imaginative and logical sequence of exquisite inventions. Its design of a series of domes, arranged about a central dome in the form of a Greek cross, will not bear comparison with that of Sancta Sophia, in which all parts lead up to, and conclude in, the single dome, the culmination of the whole building. For something of the same inventive power, of the same knowledge of effect in contrasting one architectural form with another architectural form, we must turn, in Italy, not to St. Mark's, but to the church of S. Vitale, at Ravenna. In this church, as in Sancta Sophia, we can conceive of no greater mastery over, no freer use of, the simplest and best of building

materials, of bricks and mortar. The builder's craft becomes in their fabrics one of the finest and most accomplished of the arts.

“A conviction,” Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson tell us, “of the necessity for finding the root of architecture once again in sound common-sense building and pleasurable craftsmanship remains as our final result of our study of S. Sophia, that marvellous work, where, as has been well said, there is no part where the principles of rational construction are not applied with ‘hardiesse’ and ‘franchise.’ In estimating so highly the Byzantine method of building in its greatest example, we see that its forms and results directly depended on these present circumstances, and these ordinary materials.” It is here, precisely, that the value and importance of Messrs. Lethaby and Swainson's book are to be found: it is because they bring home to us their contention with unmistakable clearness, that their work has so much significance for us at the present day. The two architects, or rather “master-builders,” who appear to have been employed by Justinian in the erection of Sancta Sophia, were Anthemius of Miletus and Isidorus of Tralles. “Anthemius,” says a contemporary writer, “skilled in setting out a plan, laid the foundation. Anthemius was the man who devised and worked at every part.” The secret, then, of Byzantine architecture, is after all not so very recondite, or difficult to discover. “In Justinian's time,” says M. Choisy, “to build was the essential role of the architect.” What a criticism is this upon our own architectural methods! At the present day, to build is exactly the last thing which an architect would ever dream of doing.

34. *The wood beyond the world.*³⁴

Those who turn to Mr. Morris' latest prose work for some social or ethical purpose will be disappointed; we will not say agreeably disappointed, for the most fantastic Utopias of his earlier romances possess always the charm and illumination of the artist and idealist, and never the aggressive instruction of the reformer. The mere plot or outline of “The Wood beyond the World,” divested of its dialogues and descriptions, would read like the story in outline, which Mr. Gillman has preserved, of the unwritten cantos of Christabel, a tale of natural human life moving

³⁴ H.P. Horne, *The wood beyond the world*, in “Saturday Review”, January 26, 1895, p. 121.

in an indefinable atmosphere of supernatural magic. In Mr. Morris' romance, however, the figures assume, at times, the breadth and abstraction of an allegorical fancy, yet the piece never degenerates into mere allegory. Characterization, psychological analysis, and those thousand-and-one methods and devices of the modern story-teller, are things unknown in the world of Mr. Morris' art: he elaborates his romance, as Benozzo Gozzoli elaborates the story of Holy Writ upon the walls of the Campo Santo at Pisa, laying one fine colour against another fine colour, and one lovely form against another lovely form; until he produces a surprising and splendid piece of decoration, interminable in its beauty. Such is the characteristic quality of all Mr. Morris' work; in whatever he does, whether he writes or prints a book, or whether he produces a painted window or a figured silk, he always works as a decorator-an exquisite, an incomparable decorator. And so, to use a phrase in this very book of his, both the persons, and the background against which they are set, appear "as the curious images woven on a tapestry"; the same figures occur and recur in the same guise and with the same attributes, like the hero or heroine in a suite of hangings, with all the effect of decorative repetition.

Let us take, for example, the figures in the vision, which twice occurs at the beginning of the book: "First came a dwarf, dark-brown of hue and hideous, with long arms and ears exceeding great, and dog-teeth that stuck out like the fangs of a wild beast. He was clad in a rich coat of yellow silk, and bare in his hand a crooked bow, and was girt with a broad sax. After him came a maiden, young by seeming, of scarce twenty summers; fair of face as a flower, grey-eyed, brown-haired, with lips full and red, slim and gentle of body. Simple was her array, of a short and strait green gown, so that on her right ankle was clear to see an iron ring. Last of the three was a lady, tall and stately, so radiant of visage and glorious of raiment, that it were hard to say what like she was; for scarce might the eye gaze steady upon her exceeding beauty; yet must every son of Adam who found himself anigh her, lift up his eyes again after he had dropped them, and look again on her, and yet again and yet again." These, with the figure of Walter, are the chief figures which occur and recur throughout the fabric of the tale. The Maiden and the Lady are found depicted in a hundred attitudes: now against the background of the Golden House, and now of the Wood beyond the World. Their attributes are heightened with the growth of the story: here we see the Maid whose flesh "is so wholly pure and sweet that it maketh all her attire but a

part of her body," "clad in white and wreathed with roses"; and here, the Lady " in nought else save what God had given her of long, crispy yellow hair"; but of their characters, human or superhuman, we learn no more than we learned from the first description. And so, as in a tapestry, we search along the fabric of the background for the inscription of the names, perhaps "Castitas " and " Libido," of these nameless figures: and we doubt in ourselves whether some kind of allegorical meaning is not, after all, intended.

35. *Nollekens*.³⁵

Boswell records as an instance of Dr. Johnson's "varying from himself in talk," what on two different occasions he held to be the obligations of a biographer. On one occasion, Boswell having said that "in writing a life, a man's peculiarities should be mentioned, because they mark his character," Johnson replied, "Sir, there is no doubt as to peculiarities; the question is whether a man's vices should be mentioned": on the other occasion, the Doctor maintained that "if a man is to write a *Panegyric* he may keep vices out of sight; but if he professes to write a *Life* he must represent it really as it was." Whether those eccentricities, which the biographer of Nollekens, the sculptor, was pleased to term his "pecuniary and domestic habits," ever deviated into vice, or whether they properly remained in the category of "a man's peculiarities," is a question which might well have been referred to that nice sense of casuistry for which the Doctor was famous. Certainly John Thomas Smith recorded these habits with unparalleled candour ; and in his book, entitled "Nollekens and his Times," we possess a picture of that artist's life "really as it was." And certainly Dr. Johnson, had he been confronted with this portrait of his friend, "little Nolly," and his wife, would have again "varied from himself." In this picture, remarkable gifts and sordid meannesses, affluent circumstances and self-imposed parsimony, taste and want of taste, real knowledge and inscrutable ignorance, make up the colours of the background, against which are seen all the brightest and most remarkable figures of the age. Sir Joshua is there, with Angelica Kauffman; Flaxman and Gainsborough, Wilson with a host of lesser artists, Garrick and Mrs. Garrick; while Dr. Johnson himself is no infrequent figure. It is impossible to call Smith's

³⁵ H.P. Horne, *Nollekens*, in "Saturday Review", March 23, 1895, pp. 375 - 376.

book a biography; anecdotes and reminiscences of the artist and his friends are jotted down in it, with scant reference to their chronological sequence, and upon no apparent plan; like the entries in a commonplace book, because they are memorable. The book is a very *olla podrida* of tittle-tattle, and it is not always without a suspicion of vindictiveness on the part of the writer. Smith, a pupil and one of the oldest friends of Nollekens, was also one of the executors of the sculptor, who only left him a hundred pounds for his trouble, whereas he had expected a much larger legacy." He revenged himself," says a recent editor, "by writing what is perhaps the most candid biography ever published in the English language." Books, which ought never to have been written, are as a rule (for such is the perversity of human nature) by no means the least amusing of books; and Mr. John Thomas Smith's work is no exception to the rule. In spite of its anecdotal and fragmentary nature, the figures and characters of Nollekens and his wife stand out with surprising clearness and precision; the obvious candour and straightforwardness of the writer excusing his want of literary art. It is to Mr. Edmund Gosse that we are obliged for a recent re-issue of this book, which has been almost forgotten, and which is unique in its kind. It affords another instance of the fact that the essence of particular history is particularity; and that there is scarcely a circumstance in the life of a man, if his life be worth recording at all, which does not possess a certain interest and value when recorded "really as it was."

Joseph Nollekens is now remembered only by a few, on account of the busts which made him famous in his day: his Venuses, the models for which exercised the vigilance of Mrs. Nollekens in no slight degree, have long been forgotten; and his restorations of the Townley marbles do not continue to bring him credit. His busts of Fox, Pitt, and Warren Hastings are now in the National Portrait Gallery; and the names of Goldsmith, Johnson, and Sterne occur in the catalogue of the heads modelled by him. Born in London, in 1737, he was placed under Scheemakers, the sculptor; and afterwards went to Rome, where he studied under Ciavetti.

· Dr. Johnson once said of Nollekens to Boswell: "It is amazing what ignorance of certain points one sometimes finds in men of eminence": indeed, the whole character of this sculptor presents a series of unusual accomplishments and extraordinary limitations. In his youth, Mrs. Scheemakers, the wife of the statuary to whom he was put apprentice, used to say of him, that "Joey was so honest that she could always trust him to stone the raisins": yet he had no scruples

in smuggling on his return from Italy, silk stockings, gloves and lace, upon which a duty was then laid, in order to save every shilling he could. "His contrivance," says Smith, "was truly ingenious, and perhaps it was the first time that the Custom-House officers had ever been so taken in. All his plaster busts being hollow, he stuffed them full of the above articles, and then spread an outside coating of plaster at the back across the shoulders of each, so that the busts appeared like solid casts." "There," Nollekens exclaimed to Lord Mansfield, pointing to a cast of Sterne, "do you know that busto, my lord, held my lace ruffles that I went to Court in when I came from Rome!" Upon his return from Italy, he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1771, and in the following year an Academician. Somewhat later he married Mary, the daughter of Sanders Welch, who succeeded Fielding as one of the Justices of the Peace for Westminster, and who figures in Boswell as a friend of Johnson. The Doctor is even credited to have entertained serious thoughts in regard to Miss Welch, and once to have admitted, "I think Mary would have been mine if little Joe had not stepped in." Mrs. Nollekens, however, who is described at the time of her marriage as "the pink of precision," quickly adopted or developed not a few of her husband's eccentricities and dubious economies. A score or more of stories are at hand to illustrate her unspeakable parsimony. There is the inimitable but somewhat lengthy story of Mrs. Bland and the mop: and the passage which narrates how ma pair of moulds," for so those candles were designated whose nature distinguished them from "dips," by being well nursed, and put out when company went away. once lasted Mrs. Nollekens a whole year. In contriving such frugalities, Nollekens himself took a part. Whenever Mrs. Nollekens, Smith tells us, purchased tea and sugar at a certain shop, "she always requested, just at the moment she was quitting the counter, to have either a clove or a bit of cinnamon to take some unpleasant taste out of her mouth; but she never was seen to apply it to the part so affected : so that, with Nollekens nutmegs, which he pocketed from the table at the Academy dinners, they contrived to accumulate a little stock of spices without any expense whatever." By such means, and by the more admirable aid of unceasing industry, Nollekens amassed a fortune of some £200,000, which he left to his friends in inverse proportion to the claims which they had upon him. Of his intellectual character, Smith gives an equally vivid and equally amusing portrait: in some matters he describes him as only "one remove from an idiot." The coarseness of his manners, the curious

limitations of his artistic perceptions, and his illiteracy, complete the background against which the more attractive figures in this amusing work appear and disappear. Queen Caroline peeling onions for pickling with Mrs. Garrick; Gainsborough standing motionless for nearly half an hour, fascinated by the tones of a violin; or the handsome woman of No. 65, Oxford Market, who had a great gift of modelling in butter, and who was caught by Mrs. Nollekens in the act of showing a few pigs and sheep in a butter-boat to her husband: of such is this motley gathering composed, and in such trivial incidents are their characters shown as in a glass. What more instructive "human document" would the student of psychology desire than the story of Nollekens showing Dr. Johnson to the door, displeased at the manner in which the hair of his bust had been treated? "Now, Doctor," complained Nollekens, 'you did say you would give my busto half an hour before dinner, and dinner has been waiting this long time,' to which the Doctor's reply was "Bow-wow-wow'!"

36. *Book plates*.³⁶

"American Book-Plates: a guide to their study." By Charles Dexter Allen. With a bibliography by E. N. Hewins. London: George Bell & Sons. 1895. "On the Processes for the production of Ex Libris (book-plates)." By John Vinycomb, M.R.I.A. London: A. & C. Black. 1894.

"Art in Book-Plates": forty-two original Ex Libris designed by Joseph Sattler. With an introduction by Frederick Warnecke. London: H. Grevel & Co. 1895.

The vogue of collecting book-plates has assumed an importance which must be inexplicable to the lover of the fine arts and to the student of literature. A book-plate may be of value either on account of its intrinsic beauty, or interest, as a work of art, or as a document in the history of books and libraries. The number of plates, however, that are remarkable for any artistic quality which they possess is exceedingly small; and although every example possesses a certain interest so long as it retains its original place in a volume as a record of its former owner, the student must pass over many a score of book-plates before he chances upon one which adds anything of real value to his knowledge of books, or to the history of memorable libraries. In Mr.

³⁶ H.P. Horne, *Book plates*, in "Saturday Review", March 23, 1895, p. 388.

Allen, the author of "American Book-Plates," we have a typical instance of the "Ex Libris" collector who is troubled by no such limitations of fine interest, but to whom anything in the shape of a book-plate comes with equal acceptability and equal significance. His book may be of value to those Americans who may desire to add to their family relics, but any general interest attaching to his work must surely be very slight. We do not exaggerate when we say that in no single instance should we care to possess for their own sake any of the book-plates which Mr. Allen reproduces in his work: some few armorial plates, engraved in the last century, without being in any sense works of art, are such as would not ill-become the books of a gentleman's library; but a large number of Mr. Allen's examples are without artistic merit of any kind. The book-plate of George Washington is the greatest rarity which he has to show us; he describes the plates of other early Presidents-of John Adams, and John Quincy Adams; also of "William Penn, Esq., Proprietor of Pennsylvania: 1703"; of members of the Boston Tea party and of the Constitutional Convention; of the old Colonial officers; and of many signatories of the Declaration of Independence. But with these the historical interest of his subject would seem to end. Mr. Allen cannot be accused of having written his book without due care, and we should prefer to commend his work as a final and exhaustive disquisition, or, at least, for all reasonable purposes sufficiently so, rather than as a guide to their further study.

Mr. Vinycomb, unlike Mr. Allen, restricts himself to "the practical production of Ex Libris." He describes the processes of engraving on wood, copper, and steel, of the various kinds of lithography, and of photographic and "process" work, with sufficient accuracy to satisfy the collector of book-plates, who has no intention of attempting to use these processes himself. But the writer's chief aim in all this, is, apparently, to afford "hints to collectors of Ex Libris" for discovering how a book-plate has been produced: whether by lithography, or by some photographic process, or by an engraved plate or block. Of any fine qualities of design in the production of book-plates Mr. Vinycomb has nothing to say; nor, indeed, judging from the examples of modern work which he gives, does he appear to have any care. The plate of Mr. W. H. K. Wright, which he reproduces as "a characteristic variety" of a plate engraved on copper, might pass unnoticed had it occurred upon a tradesman's billhead; but as the bookplate of "the Editor and Secretary of the Ex Libris Society," we cannot but wonder if this puerile attempt at

design passes current among those professed in the learning as an example of what Mr. Vinycomb terms “these dainty little works of art.”

It is pleasant to turn from this tasteless and unscholarly volume to Messrs. Grevel's portfolio of Joseph Sattler's cuts. Herr Warnecke, in his introductory note, has much to tell us of the Ex Libris Society of Berlin, and of the pursuit of the Book-Plate in Germany: but of Joseph Sattler he has little to say, except that the artist is young, and already on the highway to fame. But Herr Warnecke shall speak for himself. “Sattler,” he says, “proceeds by a method of his own. His ideal is Albrecht Dürer, but he does not copy him. That his designs are original and exquisitely executed no one can deny. Every true amateur and collector will greet with favour this work of a young and promising artist, whose drawings have already—1893—won for him a 'mention honorable' in the Salon de Paris. I foresee for him a career similar to that of Aubrey Beardsley, the illustrator of King Arthur, whose genius is akin to his. I have seen sketches by Sattler, of life in the middle ages, which might well have been the work of Beardsley. It is curious to note that two geniuses of a similar kind have risen simultaneously.” Still more curious is it to note how questions of taste and judgment appear to the German critic. When Herr Warnecke tells us that Sattler's ideal is Albrecht Dürer, we reply that the examples of his work which lie before us recall rather the methods of design and drawing in vogue at the time of Dürer, than Dürer's own work; but when he proceeds to a parallel between Sattler and Mr. Beardsley, we can only protest that they have nothing whatever in common, except that their chief aim is to produce a design which is decorative. Sattler appears to possess extraordinary facility in drawing with the pen, which he uses with a freedom of hand, and with a knowledge of the decorative effect of pen-work, that recalls occasionally the work of some of the “Little Masters.” He is at his best when he is merely imitating sixteenth-century work, and he is least admirable when he introduces “admixtures of his own,” which savour of contemporary German art. His work is not only wholly unlike Mr. Beardsley's work, but it has neither originality nor individuality in the same degree. It is, however, always decorative and always artistic in its aim; and we do not remember any recent German work of a purely decorative kind which possesses so much interest, and which exhibits so good a sense of the qualities necessary to this kind of design.

*37. Peterborough Cathedral.*³⁷

The letter which the Dean of Peterborough recently I addressed to the morning papers touches upon a matter that even the public at large would do well to consider. "The west front of Peterborough Cathedral," says Dr. Ingram, "is so well known for its beauty and unique character, that its condition can hardly fail to be a matter of widespread interest throughout the country." Indeed, the condition of such a building is a matter of greater public importance than most of us would be at the trouble to realize or allow; but, fortunately, the general indifference to interests of this kind does not diminish their significance or their claims upon our Attention. During the late storm, we read, the front of the Cathedral suffered severely: "four of the pinnacles have been injured or destroyed, and it is feared that many other parts of the façade have been seriously shaken." The full extent of the damage has not yet been ascertained; but it is evident that a considerable expenditure is immediately necessary to secure the safety of the west front. "The large amount," says the Dean, in conclusion, "which has during the last twelve years been spent on the work of restoration makes the raising of this additional amount a matter of some difficulty, but this last calamity which has befallen is will, I trust, be considered by many to justify my making an appeal for help beyond the limits of the diocese, the preservation of the west front being a matter of far more than mere local interest." The west front of Wells Cathedral is more remarkable for the excellence and number of its sculptures; but for the beauty of its architectural character, the west front of Peterborough Cathedral is, as Dr. Ingram truly says, unique; it is to be compared to nothing in the whole extent of English art during the Middle Ages. Unlike the front of Lincoln Cathedral, unlike many of the splendid façades of the great churches in Italy, it is not mere screen, rising above, and hiding from sight, the plain body of the building, which it terminates; but it proceeds by a most beautiful and logical piece of invention from the architectural conditions of the nave and aisles: the gable over the central arch of this front is that of the roof of the nave; the aisles are terminated by the larger towers, which are set back a little, and of which only one is finished; while the other parts also possess something of the same correspondence and sequence with which Nature finishes her handiwork. The form of this building itself is not obscured but emphasized by this front. Not less beautiful and surprising is

³⁷ H.P. Horne, *Peterborough Cathedral*, in "Saturday Review", April 6, 1895, p. 439.

the device which by the central of the three great arches of this façade are made more narrow and pointed than the two outer arches: a device which only a great artist could have conceived and executed with effect. Nearly the whole of the work, moreover, was carried out at one time, and in the finest period of our Gothic art, during the early part of the thirteenth century. It is not easy, therefore, to overrate the beauty and importance of this monument of English architecture; and what adds further to its interest is, that until our own time it has escaped the last and worst calamity which, during the present century, has overtaken most of our great churches that escaped from the spoil of the Reformation. Peterborough, indeed, suffered much at the hands of the Puritans; but until 1883, when the central tower became insecure, it remained wholly untouched by the blind zeal of a worse fanaticism, the mania for “restoration.” Alone among our English cathedrals it retained the antique air and colour which the course of centuries has cast about it, undisturbed, unbroken by the patchwork and renovations of the “restorer.” The exact lines of its mouldings were everywhere still tempered by the hand of Time; its walls stained by weather and pencilled by lichen; its carvings crumbled a little; every stone telling its own history: it still possessed, in short, all the picturesque charm which Turner has so admirably preserved in his early drawings of our churches and cathedrals. That it should always continue untouched in this state was, doubtless, impossible; had even the ordinary accidents of time alone assailed it, some measure or another for its preservation would sooner or later have become necessary; but it is not equally certain that, in order to carry out such repairs, it is necessary to destroy the present appearance of the building, to disperse that charm which the passage of time has worked upon it; in short, to “restore” it. For preservation and “restoration” are by no means the same thing.

Of the present insecure condition of the west front there can be little doubt. A settlement in the foundations, occasioned, perhaps, by the drainage of the surrounding fens, had already occasioned some fears as to its safety, before the ravages of the late storm brought matters to a climax. It is most desirable that immediate steps for the preservation of the Cathedral should be taken, and the necessary funds will, no doubt, be forthcoming. But one question still remains; for although the restorations of the last twelve years, to which the Dean refers in his letter, have been carried out with greater judgment and more reticence than has happened in the

case of any other English cathedral, signs have not been wanting to show that, had the funds been more abundant, the “restoration” might have been less defensible. The public, therefore, is at least concerned to know, before responding to the appeal of the Dean, in what the preservation of this great work of architectural art is to consist, and to be assured that nothing which may reasonably come under the reproach of “restoration” is to be attempted.

38. *Architecture at the Academy*.³⁸

Of the attitude of the general public towards architecture at the Royal Academy there can be no doubt: the architectural room is popularly regarded as supplying what the committee of the Champs-Élysées luxuriously provide a “Salon de Repos.” The attitude of the Academy itself is not so obvious. Judging from the drawings which they were in the habit of exhibiting some ten years ago, before the world had heard of the Arts and Crafts, or the Art-Worker's Guild, they then doubtless regarded architecture as a profession. At that time, most of the drawings exhibited there were executed in pen and ink in that orthodox manner, which, though it is capable of finely rendering no single architectural quality, yet lends itself admirably to the purposes of reproduction in the building papers, and militates against no condition of good advertisement. Now, questions of tone, mass, and colour are dealt with in the drawings of many exhibitors at the Academy, particularly of the younger men; and judging from the impartiality with which the Academy treats both the older and newer schools, it would seem that they leave it for others to decide whether architecture is a profession or an art.

The place of honour, however, is given to Messrs. Aston Webb and Ingress Bell's accepted design for the new buildings of Christ's Hospital, at Horsham (No. 1511). The drawing itself is executed with the pen in that scratchy manner whose only virtue is, as we have said, that it lends itself admirably to the purposes of reproduction in one of the building papers: of the design itself it is more difficult to speak. It is certainly worthy of the firm who could set up that pitiful piece of architectural coxcombry, the new building of the United Service Institution at Whitehall, beside, the most fastidious and distinguished piece of classic architecture England.

³⁸ H.P. Horne, *Architecture at the Academy*, in “Saturday Review”, May 25, 1895, pp. 690 - 691.

Indeed, the productions of these gentlemen are so far removed from the sphere of art that it is impossible to solemnly discuss them as if they were designs for architecture. We have no doubt that their buildings are efficiently constructed with every regard for economy and that they perfectly fulfil every utilitarian purpose for which they were intended; but even at that, a building only remains a building; even in England, something more is necessary to lift it into the sphere of architecture. And more their work does not possess, except a vulgarity and pretentiousness which is only equalled in English art by the vulgarity and pretentiousness of Professor Herkomer's work. In certain cases, of course the kind of design which Messrs. Aston Bell and Ingress Webb produce with so much success has an appropriateness which must give pleasure alike both to those who affect art and those who are indifferent to it; in the case of Mr. Wm. H. Beattie's large pen drawing of the "North British Railway New Hotel and Head Offices Edinburgh" (No. 1583), for instance, where the chief business of the architect is to impress the public with a sense of financial prosperity. Beyond this it is hard to draw any very real distinction between Mr. Beattie's design and Messrs. Bell and Webb's design except an unimportant and merely external difference of style; in both, the great qualities of architecture have been equally ignored; in both, architecture as an art has been passed over with scarcely a thought. Yet, as we say, the sense of appropriateness, which must appeal to every one in Mr. Beattie's design, is entirely absent in that of Messrs. Aston Bell and Ingress Webb. It is impossible to look at their design for the new buildings for Christ's Hospital and not to avoid the reflection that here is a vast institution, a charity no doubt, for supplying commercial houses in the city with efficient youths. Now, if there is one fine architectural tradition which has been handed on in unbroken succession since the Middle Ages, a tradition which is wholly admirable and peculiarly English, it is that tradition of collegiate architecture of which the university buildings at Oxford and Cambridge are the great result. In them architecture becomes an outward and visible expression of true education: to have lingered about their courts and quadrangles is in itself a kind of generous discipline of spirit; they remain with us, in the phrase of Wordsworth, the "glorious work of fine intelligence." Surely, it is as necessary that the buildings of a great public school like Christ's Hospital should bear upon them this impress of "fine intelligence," as that they should be properly constructed in regard to the exigencies of the school and the health of the boys. With what feelings, we wonder, would

Lamb or Coleridge have exchanged the sombre cloisters of the old Grey Friars for this collection of petty buildings, peppered helter-skelter, with neither dignity, distinction, nor any other quality of real design, over a site at Horsham. But let us turn from the profession of architecture to architecture as an art.

By far the most interesting, the most distinguished architectural design at the Academy is to be found in the two frames of drawings which Mr. Charles Mileham sends for "St. Saviour's Priory Chapel, Haggerstone" (Nos. 1433 and 1443). Mr. Mileham's work recalls to mind that rare folio of engravings after drawings by Robert West, published at the beginning of the last century, of the mediæval churches which at that time were still standing in the City, but which have since been pulled down or "restored" to their original condition, with scarcely an exception. In these engravings a mediæval City church appears as a thing of shreds and patches; it had been left by its gothic builders a medley of styles, only to be fantastically repaired and altered by successive churchwardens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This accidental character of church architecture in London seems to have suggested to Mr. Mileham the eclectic style which he employs with no little charm in his design for the chapel at Haggerstone. The arcades, and vault of the interior recall those of a Romanesque church, while the low tower and wooden spire, the embattled parapets, and the classical cornices of the interior, are such as might have been added in the seventeenth century. The same kind of somewhat arbitrary eclecticism which runs through all the details of this design, but which always introduced with a sense of fitness and harmony, becomes a distinguishing characteristic in the remarkable work of the younger men. An eclecticism of this kind was first employed by the late Mr. Twin Sedding, in his remarkable church of the Holy Trinity, at Sloane Square, which has, no doubt, proved a source of powerful influence with the designers who have come after him. Chief among these is his former pupil and assistant, Mr. H. Wilson, who sends to the present Academy two large studies in colour for the proposed Church of St. Andrew, Boscombe: one being a study for the west front (No. 1507), and the other for the interior of the church (No. 1519). Less interesting, because this principle of eclecticism is carried less far in them, are the designs which Mr. Henry Skipworth exhibits; especially the drawings for the new church of St. Etheldreda, Fulham (Nos. 1559 and 1599) and a church for Abbeydale (No. 1586).

In Mr. Wilson's designs we find all kinds of architectural forms, motives, and details which he selects from the entire range of mediæval art, brought together in an arbitrary way, in order to produce a certain purely sensuous effect. The heavy buttress-like walls leading up to the crude, semicircular arch, in the drawing for the west front of the church at Boscombe, were designed for no other end than to produce a striking effect of shadow in the recess in which the crucifix and the weeping figures of the angels are seen against the tracery of the west window. Elements, which in their nature are incongruous, when brought together in this way, assume a sense of harmony because each has been carefully chosen in regard to its place in the total effect which is to be produced. This effect is purely a picturesque effect, and mere picturesqueness in architecture is dangerously allied to mere prettiness in painting. All fineness of composition, all fineness of form, the essential qualities not only of Greek architecture but of Romanesque architecture also, of architecture of the Renaissance, and even of the finest Gothic architecture, are entirely wanting in the designs of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Skipworth; yet, notwithstanding, their work produces its own proper effect, which results from its qualities of light and shade, of colour and mystery: and it is impossible to deny that in their hands the art of architecture reveals some new, if not great, emotions, and an interesting method for their expression.

39. *Le gallienne, the poetaster*.³⁹

"Robert Louis Stevenson, an Elegy; and other Poems, mainly personal." By Richard Le Gallienne. London: John Lane. Boston: Copeland and Day. sig 1895.

Some years have gone by since Mr. Le Gallienne has published any collection of original verses, and he now comes forward with his new volume at a critical time in the life of a writer who would sustain the reputation of a poet. "As many men are poets in their youth," so many men who have written pleasing verses under the first keen influences of life and poetry discover, when they come to the age of thirty, that they are not intended by Nature to be lovers all their days through, that the real business of their lives does not lie with poetry, and that it was but the flush of youth that lent a semblance of charm to what they can no longer accomplish with any measure of applause. The wiser abandon the attempt; the more foolish persevere in it. We have

³⁹ H.P. Horne, *Le gallienne, the poetaster*, in "Saturday Review", May 25, 1895, pp. 699 - 700.

followed Mr. Le Gallienne's lucubrations in verse with some interest since the time when he was still living in Liverpool and writing occasionally in Cope's "Tobacco Plant"; and we must confess that Mr. Le Gallienne Ras always appeared to us to be one of those who are "poets in their youth," who are able to write Verses, sufficiently attractive and accomplished, under the first influences of life and poetry; but who, when the keenness of those influences wears off, and they are forced to fall back upon themselves, révéas that their nature is not really poetical, that they no longer have any excuse to write and that much of the charm of their work is only a reflected charm. In his new volume Mr. Le Gallienne betrays his real calibre, as an aspirant to poetry with unmistakable clearness. Any charm which his earlier work may have possessed is here shown to have been borrowed: he has nothing new to bring us, either in thought or emotion ; he possesses no style of his own and he lacks all the fine qualities of the poets whom he admires and imitates. We regard his reputation as of a kind which is harmful to the best interests of good literature. Let us first examine his workmanship. In his use of metre, we find him without any fine sense of rhythm, slipshod, and very often faulty; in his choice of words, at times singularly infelicitous; in his employment of metaphors, confused and full of improprieties. His vocabulary is limited, and his images are either of an extravagant or of a hackneyed sort. But let Mr. Le Gallienne speak for himself. First, let us observe his notion of an Alexandrine: "His eighteenth century flesh hath fattened nineteenth century cows," or of a line of eight syllables: "Be you a policeman, stop you may"; a line which cannot be scanned unless the reader is supposed to descend to the unspeakable cockneyism of "policeman," which no doubt Mr. Le Gallienne unconsciously intended. But to come to his choice of words: an instance of this kind of infelicity occurs in his address to the tree, in "Tree-Worship": "With loving cheek pressed close against thy horny breast, I hear the roar of sap mounting within thy veins." How unfortunate is the epithet "horny" as applied to the bark of a tree, how forced and meaningless is the noun "roar" as applied to the rising of its sap! Or to come to his confused and contradictory use of metaphors. Take the line : "I hid the deadly hunger in my eyes," or the line: Soft little globes of bosom-shaped sound," and the art of sinking in poetry is exemplified.

Then Mr. Le Gallienne's vocabulary is limited: one instance of this limitation is shown in his use of the epithet "great," which is generally applied to "eyes," and which occurs and re-

occurs with wearisome repetition; thus we have “great immortal eyes,” “your great accusing gaze,” “in those great eyes,” “those strange great eyes”; to say nothing of “great bands of heavenly birds,” “wine and great grapes,” “the great green world,” “great wife of his great heart,” “the great good song he gave.” Indeed, whenever Mr. Le Gallienne has any vaguely elevated feelings about anybody or anything, and is at a loss for an adjective, the epithet “great” is commonly found suitable for every occasion. Again, when he is hard up for a rhyme, he will throw in a convenient interjection at the end of a line. “Mercy me!” “My heart, forgive! Stop it! hey!” “perdie!” are examples of interjections used in this way.

Of his resources of language and imagery, we can give but a few specimens: the song of a bird ordinarily suggests to him a flute; laurels and the lark are not infrequent images; but his use of the latter, it must be confessed, escapes the commonplace, for the bird is always introduced as being drunk:

“But see how yonder goes
Dew-drunk with giddy slant
Yon Shelley-lark.”

Or again:

“Then a lark staggered singing by
Up his shining ladder of dew?”

Has Mr. Le Gallienne, we wonder, ever troubled to observe the flight of a lark? Indeed, has he troubled to, observe anything? For the same artificiality marks all his images. These faults and flaws in the workmanship, serious as they are, might be excusable were they accompanied by some distinct power of invention, thought, or emotion; by some redeeming and attractive quality of fine personality. But they are not. The opening elegy to Robert Louis Stevenson is entirely vapid and artificial: it contains nothing; and the one phrase that strikes the eye plainly betrays the methods by which 'Mr. 'Le Gallienne adventures literary criticism. How does he sum up Mr. Stevenson's gifts as a writer? “Virgil of prose!” That, surely, is an expression which

signifies nothing but the fact that Mr. Le Gallienne is wholly unacquainted with the nature of Virgil's art. The same desire to produce a fine phrase without due regard to propriety or justness, characterizes what he says elsewhere of Tennyson:

“So great his song we deem a little while
That Song itself with his great voice hath fled,
So grand the toga-sweep of his great style,
So vast the theme on which his song was fed.”

But, surely, there is here another note besides that of false criticism, doubtless unconscious, but still a note of insincerity, which becomes apparently more intentional in the poem “On Mr. Gladstone's Retirement.” If we remember rightly, this poem originally appeared in one of the morning papers, where it might reasonably have passed muster as part and parcel of the day's politics; but when we find sentiments such as it contains solemnly printed in what pretends to be a volume of serious poetry, then we cannot but exclaim, and we believe that every reasonable admirer of Mr. Gladstone will exclaim with us, “Clap-trap!” If his want of real thought and sincerity lead Mr. Le Gallienne into absurdities, his lack of any sense of humour is perpetually launching him upon seas of imbecilities. His book is full of such things: he has a long poem addressed “To a Poet (Edmund Gosse),” in which the apotheosis of that writer is assumed and detailed in the most amazing manner. “Ah, tell us,” Concludes this ecstatic address:

“Ah, tell us, shining there,
Is fame as wonderful as song?
And laurels in your hair!”

Indeed, a serious risk is attached to a friendship with Mr. Le Gallienne: witness the poem to

“Professor Minto”:
“Nature, that makes Professors all day long,
And, filling idle souls with idle song,

Turns out small Poets every other minute,
 Made earth for men—but seldom puts men in it.

Ah, Minto, thou of that minority
 Wert man of men—we had deep need of thee!
 Had Heaven a deeper? Did the heavenly Chair
 Of Earthly Love wait empty for thee there?"

Another indication of Mr. Le Gallienne's general poverty of literary resource and want of originality, is to be found in his tendency to echo and alter in an inferior way what has been already superbly well done. His worst offence of this kind is a variation on George Herbert, a production which ought never to have been included in a volume of original verse, in which the lines from "The Elixir,"

"Who sweeps a room, as for Thy laws,
 Makes that and th' action fine,"
 are turned into the following quatrain:
 "Who dough shall knead as for God's sake,
 Shall fill it with celestial leaven,
 And every loaf that she shall bake
 Be eaten of the Blest in heaven."

We now come to the more serious of all Mr. Le Gallienne's offences, his offences against good taste. Several of the quotations which we have already given indicate, in some way or another, his want of fine taste; but they are nothing in comparison with his worst lapses that way. Take this stanza from a lyric entitled "Snatch":

"From tavern to tavern
 Youth passes along,
 With an armful of girl

And a heart full of song.”

An armful of girl! Place that beside the worst lapses of a true poet, and what a gulf is between them! A man who can commit an error of taste like that, reveals a radical flaw in his nature, which proves, beyond all doubt, that he can possess no real sense of beauty. But we weary both ourselves and our readers. To be brief, Mr. Le Gallienne is a poetaster; but even as a poetaster, he must rank low. If there is any one who would be at the pains to fully realize how foolish, vulgar, sentimental, slipshod, unscholarly, infelicitous, and generally unpoetical this writer can be, that sedulous person must obtain a copy of his book and read its contents for himself. He will then also have an opportunity of studying the etched title-page, and of observing the prominence given to the name and portrait of a popular writer of the hour: the device shows a knowledge of human nature which is not always obvious in Mr. Le Gallienne's work. Yet we must admit that there is one stanza in his book which reveals an intimate acquaintance with certain traits in the character of the writer who aspires to popularity:

“Great is advertisement! ’tis almost fate;
But, little mushroom-men, of puff-ball fame,
Ah, do you dream to be mistaken great
And to be really great are just the same?”

40. *The poet as theologian*.⁴⁰

THE POET AS THEOLOGIAN. “The Rod, the Root, and the Flower.” By Coventry Patmore. London: George Bell & Sons. 1895.

This little book, like those other volumes of prose which Mr. Patmore has already published, must be regarded less as a piece of accomplished literary art, existing for its own sake, than as a graceful commentary upon the mind of one of our greatest living poets. Although “woven close, both matter, form, and style”; written with much charm, simplicity, clearness; and

⁴⁰ H.P. Horne, *The poet as theologian*, in “Saturday Review”, June 8, 1895, pp. 762 - 763.

distinguished by a fine strain of personality; Mr. Patmore's prose does not possess these rare qualities in the high degree which is requisite for great prose. His prose writings are those of a poet, which, indeed, in his preface, he acknowledges them to be, and, perhaps, would not wish them otherwise. But in this light, they are found to have a peculiar interest and value: intellectual characteristics and tendencies which, from their nature, are imperfectly shown in Mr. Patmore's verse, are here revealed; and the cast of a fine mind is displayed in its entirety. Mr. Patmore's new volume contains a collection of *sententiæ* upon the religious life. "I should be horrified," he tells us in a little preface, which is written in his best manner, and which is not without delightful touches of humour, "I should be horrified if a charge of 'originality' were brought against me by any person qualified to judge whether any of the essential matter of this book were original' or not. Mine is only a feeble endeavour to "dig again the wells which the Philistines have filled." Some of his *sententiæ* are apophthegms culled, for the most part, from the writings of the Fathers and the Mystics; now quoted plainly, now interspersed with new sentences of reflection or illustration: in others, many a devout meditation is scoured bright, which once passed for current coin, but which had become tarnished from long disuse. "I only report," says Mr. Patmore, the cry which certain 'babes in Christ' have uttered: "Taste and see that the Lord is sweet.' "

These "notes," as Mr. Patmore himself calls them, are arranged under four heads: "Aurea Dicta," ("Knowledge and Science," "Homo," and "Magna Moralia." Many of them breathe a purely humanistic spirit, and these will, perhaps, prove to be the more generally acceptable portion of his book; others breathe merely the spirit of the theologian, or, to speak more correctly, the spirit of the schools. One of his "Aurea Dicta" contains the famous exclamation of Tertullian, "O Anima naturaliter Christiana!"; and as we read many of Mr. Patmore's notes we are almost tempted to exclaim of him, "O Anima naturaliter scholastica !" Take the first sentence from the "Magna Moralia," or, better, this one from the section called "Knowledge and Science": "I once asked a famous theologian why he did not preach the love and knowledge of God from his pulpit as he had been discoursing of them for a couple of hours with me, instead of setting forth

In which Truth shows herself as near a lie

As can comport with her divinity.

He answered that, if he were to do so, his whole congregation would be living in mortal sin before the end of the week. It is true. The work of the Church in the world is not to teach the mysteries of life so much as to persuade the soul to that arduous degree of purity at which God Himself becomes her teacher. The work of the Church ends when the knowledge of God begins." To one who cannot say with Mr. Patmore, I am content "with implicitly accepting" dogma, this utterance must breathe the very spirit of scholastic theology, the spirit that has alienated so large a part of humanity from the pale of the Catholic Church, the spirit which, at the Council of Trent, succeeded in setting the school of the priests above the school of the prophets. And at times it would seem as if Mr. Patmore himself realized this, though he would not allow himself to acknowledge it. "The additions to the Breviary," he says elsewhere, "since the Council of Trent have no ray of divine insight; and the manuals of devotion compiled since then, by authority or otherwise, are enough to drive a sensible Christian crazy by their extravagance and unreality." Fine personality is as necessary to the well writing of prayers and meditations as of secular literature; and if the Council of Trent succeeded in anything, it succeeded in crushing the growth of individual personality in the Catholic religion. Not only the prayers, but the whole art of the Catholic Church since the Council of Trent, its architecture, its painting, the gewgaws and tinsel of its altars," have possessed "no ray of divine insight."

In his more humanistic moments Mr. Patmore is altogether admirable ; take this character of a saint: "A Bishop or an eminent Dissenter will, as a rule, be remarkable for his decorum or his obstreperous indecorum, and for some little insignia of piety, such as the display of a mild desire to promote the good of your soul, or an abstinence from wine and tobacco, jesting, and small-talk; but the saint has no "fads,' and you may live in the same house with him, and never find out that he is not a sinner like yourself, unless you rely on negative proofs, or obtrude lax ideas upon him, and so provoke him to silence." Or take this as an instance of his humour: " Love is a recent discovery, and requires a new law. Easy divorce is the vulgar solution. The true solution is some undiscovered security for true marriage." Or this, of his way

of dealing with mystical themes: "The poet alone has the power of so saying the truth " which it is not lawful to utter,' that the disc with its withering heat and blinding brilliance remains wholly invisible, while enough warmth and light are allowed to pass through the clouds of his speech to diffuse daylight and genial warmth."

But Mr. Patmore's book is difficult to characterize, for it is intentionally a book of religious suggestion, written to induce like thoughts in others. "A systematic philosopher," says Mr. Patmore in his preface, "should he condescend to read the following notes, will probably say, with a little girl of mine to whom I showed the stars for the first time, "How untidy the sky is!" We may differ with some of the teaching of this admirable little book, but it is impossible to deny the illumination of its writer. It is a book of devout meditations, written entirely with a religious purpose: yet it is more than that; it is a contribution to our literature; and although it is concerned with theology, it is a living contribution. To this Mr. Patmore is not wholly insensible: "I am quite aware that many readers, zealously Christian, will put aside this little volume with a cry of "Ugh, ugh! the horrid thing; it's alive!' My book is, perhaps, open to this objection, but there is no help for it."

41. *A review of Pater's Miscellaneous Studies.*⁴¹

The Editor of this volume, the distinguished translator of the "Purgatorio," is careful to point out, in his preface, that, unlike the volume of Greek Studies, the first of Mr. Pater's posthumous writings, which dealt exclusively with the study of Greek art, mythology, and poetry, the present series of Essays "has no such unifying principle." "Some of the papers," he adds, "would naturally find their place alongside of those collected in 'Imaginary Portraits,' or in 'Appreciations,' or in the 'Studies in the Renaissance'; and there is no doubt, in the case of several of them, that Mr. Pater, if he had lived, would have subjected them to careful revision before allowing them to reappear in a permanent form." And so the volume is found to contain essays, not only dealing with various interests, but of varying workmanship, more or less elaborate, more or less finished, as design or accident may have left them. The book opens with

⁴¹ H.P. Horne, *A review of Pater's Miscellaneous Studies*, in "Saturday Review", August 1, 1896, pp. 106 - 7.

an essay on Prosper Mérimée, which was first given as a lecture in Oxford and London. How characteristically given, those who heard it at the time may remember—the still, small voice of the student uttering, as it were, the confidences of his study, which were followed with difficulty, except, perhaps, by those who, like himself, were used to the silences of studies. Then follow an essay on Raphael not unworthy to be placed beside the best of the “Studies in the Renaissance,” and another on Pascal, unfinished-interrupted, in fact, by death itself, and breaking off, significantly, with the sentence, “Now in him the imagination itself was like a physical malady, disturbing, or in active collusion with it....” After these are three slighter pieces dealing with art, some notes on painting in North Italy, and studies of two mediæval French churches, Amiens and Vézelay; the volume closing with three “Imaginary Portraits,” and an early paper on “Diaphanéité.” “Everything,” says Epictetus, “has two handles, the one by which it may be borne, the other by which it may not;” and in reviewing this volume of studies it would be as easy as it would be unprofitable to lay hold of them by the handle which will not bear them. The faults of Mr. Pater's writing are chiefly obvious to those to whom the finer qualities of his work are not always so obvious; but all who have come to understand the significance of his work are, perhaps, apt to regard them rather as necessary limitations, consequent upon the peculiar subtlety with which he apprehended and expressed things. “A master usually of the word,” it has been urged, “and sometimes of cadence, his sentences are often obscure, resulting chiefly from an absence of a proper coordination of their several parts.” That, from one point of view, is not without a certain amount of truth; and it would not be difficult to justify it by a sentence such as this, for example: “He has lost that sense of large proportion in things, that all-embracing prospect of life as a whole (from end to end of time and space it had seemed), the utmost expanse of which was afforded from a cathedral town of the Middle Age: by the church of the thirteenth century, that is to say, with its consequent aptitude for the co-ordination of human effort.” “Such a sentence, difficult to those who take their notion of prose from the incurious prose of the last century, is explicable enough to those who are acquainted with Mr. Pater's method of writing, of elaborately building up his essays, sentence by sentence; “the deposit, little cell by cell, of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions.” The conscious prepossession with *curiosity* in all that he wrote, especially with the felicitous choice of this or that word, the

fastidious elaboration of this or that phrase, led him, especially in his later pieces, into those apparently careless, though really studied, negligences of style which mark this sentence. They were devices by which he sought to obtain certain lightness and freedom of handling, fearful, perhaps, lest the mere process of this elaborate building up of sentences should become in itself apparent. But, after all, the true excellence of all language lies in its expressiveness; and the English of Mr. Pater is as expressive of the peculiar cast of his mind as that of Sir Thomas Browne, for instance, or of Charles Lamb, is expressive of theirs. Prose does not exist in this country as it exists in France. We possess no general standard of excellence by which it may be judged; but each early Italian Art with so much knowledge, so much insight, or so much real sympathy; yet there is scarcely one of these "Studies" dealing with painting or sculpture in which some error of connoisseurship is not to be found. The "Medusa" of the Uffizi is still for him a genuine work by Leonardo da Vinci; "The Assumption" of the National Gallery, a genuine work by Sandro Botticelli. Or let us turn, for example, to the essay on Raphael in the present volume: two misconceptions of this kind occur in the first few pages. The old error of Vasari, that Perugino was the first and most influential of Raphael's masters is repeated; nor have we so much as an allusion to Timoteo della Vite, who was Raphaelesque before Raphael himself. Again, the lovely little Perugino in the Louvre, of which the original drawing is in the Academy at Venice, still passes in this essay as a genuine work by Raphael. Yet side by side with misconceptions of this kind we have passages such as this, where he is speaking of Raphael's genius: "Facile master as he may seem, as indeed he is, he is also one of the world's typical scholars, with Plato and Cicero, and Virgil and Milton. The *formula* of his genius, if we must have one, is *this*: genius by accumulation; the transformation of meek scholarship into genius—triumphant power of genius." Admirable, indeed! there is in that passage something which the finest connoisseurship by itself can never give to a critic. There, as in some of his essays on the English poets, Mr. Pater might be said (though he himself would have been the first to disavow it) to have seen the matter in question as in itself it really is. That æsthetic criticism was not so much that, as "to know one's own impression" of a work of art as it really is, "to discriminate, to realize it distinctly," Mr. Pater was careful to enunciate in the earliest of his books; and those principles of criticism he always consistently observed. "The objects," he there says, "with which

æsthetic criticism deals—music, poetry, artistic and accomplished forms of human life—are, indeed, receptacles of so many powers or forces; they possess, like natural elements, so many virtues or qualities. What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to *me*? What effect does it really produce on me? Does it give me pleasure? and, if so, what sort or degree of pleasure? How is my nature modified by its presence and under its influence? The answers to these questions are the original facts with which the æsthetic critic has to do; and, as in the study of light, of morals, of number, one must realize such primary data for oneself or not at all.” In this view all his imaginative pieces, his “Marius the Epicurean,” his “Imaginary Portraits,” are seen to be criticisms of men, times, and manners, done after this sort, under a semblance of fiction; and, finally, the value of all his writings consists in the fineness, scholarship, and distinction of his own personality.

That nothing is wholly common or mean is, perhaps, after all, the conclusion of what he has had to teach us. Certainly, no critic of human life ever possessed, in a greater degree, the power of disengaging the rare, the peculiar quality, of this or that work of art, this or that personality, this or that circumstance or occasion: no one ever approached human life with a keener sense of the subtlety of its colours, its lights and shadows, its complexity, its evasiveness. The curiosity inseparable from such an attitude of mind often led him into moods and tempers which are incomprehensible to the many; but for the many he never wrote. The recognition of his gifts has not come from *them*; and yet his influence is more widely felt than acknowledged. An original writer can have no greater testimony to his genius than that; it is the good fortune only of those writers whose fame has lasted, and whose influence is enduring. In the present age a true artist is not able to obtain of the gods a higher request than, in his lifetime, to have escaped popularity.

Prefixed to the present volume is a brief, but excellent, chronological list of his published writings; for that, and for the scrupulous and scholarly fashion in which these essays have been edited, the thanks of every student of English literature are due to Mr. Shadwell. We are yet to expect the unfinished novel individual case must be considered by itself in regard to the personality and the aims of the writer. Another kind of limitation has been urged against some of Mr. Pater's criticisms dealing with Art, especially with Italian Art. No book of his has had a

wider influence than his "Studies in the Renaissance"; no book written by an Englishman, not even the writings of Mr. Ruskin, has treated of "Gaston de Latour;" but it is to be hoped that that will not be the last volume which we may place on our shelves beside Mr. Pater's writings. His life or his letters, in any ordinary sense, we should be the last to desire; but no one is as fitted as Mr. Shadwell to give us "Memoirs" after the model of Mason's "Memoirs of Gray," which might preserve to us the more characteristic and valuable of his letters and his unfinished pieces, inserted in an account of his life.

42. *The Arts and Crafts at the New Gallery.*⁴²

After an interval of three years, the Arts and In Crafts Society will open to-day, at a private view, a new exhibition of their work at the New Gallery. The atmosphere which gathered about the earlier efforts of the Society has in the meantime passed away, and it is, perhaps, now possible to come at some more reasonable judgment concerning their work. We find, for the most part, the same names which we found in their earlier catalogues--only two of any especial note now figure here for the first time--namely, those of Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch and Mr. Hermann Obrist; we find the same general character of work as in the former exhibitions; the same preponderating influence of Mr. Morris; the same signs of an extraordinary activity, of an effort to produce what shall be artistic and original, at whatever cost. If there be fewer objects of more than ordinary note, the general average is more evenly sustained: indeed, the cartoons of Mr. Henry Holiday stand apart, almost by themselves, in revealing the shopkeeper undisguised. We confess that we do not understand why these should have been admitted to the exclusion of many manufacturing firms of stained glass, who turn out equally respectable work. Again, though traits of the amateur are not uncommon, there are a few things which are entirely amateurish. It is, therefore, no longer possible to regard these exhibitions as the passing effort of some few individual artists: we shall do well, once and for all, to acknowledge them as the outcome of a permanent and flourishing movement to re-establish the decorative arts upon a basis of fine interest and good workmanship. Such a movement is not elsewhere to be found in Europe. It is

⁴² H.P. Horne, *The Arts and Crafts at the New Gallery*, in "Saturday Review", October 3, 1896, pp. 364 - 365.

not only remarkable, but unique. And whatever may be its present failures and successes, it is impossible but that out of so strenuous an activity some lasting good shall not finally come.

The greater number of the arts and crafts with which the members of the Society and their exhibitors occupy themselves must needs be, by their nature, either used subserviently to architecture, as in the case of most furniture and much decorative painting and carving, or else largely determined by architectural considerations, as in the case of stained glass or hangings. In their highest perfection, therefore, such arts and crafts must necessarily follow after an accomplished architecture—as they did, for example, in Italy during the fifteenth century. Now, if we except the fine, though limited, work of such men as Mr. Philip Webb, or his popular, though inferior, imitator, Mr. Norman Shaw, our architecture is as contemptible as it is ridiculous. Indeed, the tradition of fine architecture has, in practice, become lost among us. It is from the absence of such a tradition, of some controlling architectural spirit, that many faults of taste and no little want of a proper knowledge of effect in much of the work here exhibited, generally spring. We cannot escape the sense that these productions do not follow after an accomplished architecture; that an extraordinary effort has been made to produce, independently, and in the absence of such architecture, what must always from its nature be accessory to it. The choir stalls and desks (No. 251), which have been executed from the designs of Mr. H. Wilson for the church of All hallows, Southwark, afford a typical instance of this.

There is much in the design and carving of the ornament upon these stalls which is as admirable as their general form and architectural details are unsatisfactory. The outline of the desk-ends suggests the outline of a rock that has worn away by the repeated action of the sea; while the upper member of the stalls looks as if it had been blocked out ready for the mouldings, which have never been worked upon it. The Fireplace (No. 295), designed by Mr. Harrison Townsend, and carved by Mr. George Frampton, is another instance of how utterly ineffective even the best ornament may be, if it is not used with due knowledge and in relation to a fine architectural setting. The one notion of architecture current among us is that of piling up decoration upon decoration; yet how sparing of ornament were the builders of some of the most effective buildings which remain to us? Of what more justly ornate interior is it possible to conceive than that of Sta. Maria delle Carceri at Prato? Yet a simple frieze, four circular plaques,

a few carved capitals, and three small stained glass windows, comprise the whole of the ornaments which produce this astonishing result. Architecture does not depend upon ornament for its effect, but chiefly upon Fitness and Proportion. Where the designers of such things as Mr. Wilson's stalls and Mr. Townsend's fireplace fail is that they mistake the fantastical for the imaginative; and, in their effort to produce the artistic, forget to be first artists themselves.

On turning to the textile and embroidered fabrics, where such considerations do not carry so much weight, it is possible to speak with less qualification. As a whole, they form the most remarkable part of the present exhibition. The chief things of this kind are, doubtless, the tapestries sent by Mr. William Morris, Nos. 252 and 254, "Angeli Ministrantes" and "Angeli Laudantes," woven from cartoons by Sir Edward Burne-Jones, which have been already executed in stained glass; and No. 253, a large panel woven from the "Primavera" of Sandro Botticelli for Mr. Blunt, the author of the "Sonnets of Proteus," to commemorate the coming of age of his daughter Judith. Although this famous painting has furnished Mr. Morris with a cartoon at once more exquisite and more virile than many which he has done into tapestry, the original, however, remains a painting in tempera, and therefore required to be subjected to a certain process of translation before it could be properly rendered by a textile fabric. Admirable as are the taste and workmanship which have resulted in this tapestry, we are forced to confess that this process of translation has not been entirely carried out with success. To convey the subtle colouring of the painting in a woven fabric could, perhaps, be effected only in a certain degree; but why, instead of the delicate flesh-painting in the original, has a crude, unpleasant red been substituted, which is neither pleasing in itself nor in harmony with the other colours which occur in the tapestry? Or, to turn to something which is not merely a matter of taste, why has the little cloud which gathers about the raised wand of the Mercury been omitted, and why has the ornament on the headdress of the Venus been turned into a flame? Such deviations from the original detract from the story of the design; and such a deviation as the substitution of a coarse Gothic pattern for the delicate geometrical filigrees, worked in gold, which covered even the outer robe of the Venus, detracts from its beauty, its reticence, and its classic grace. But even with these faults Mr. Morris's tapestries are not only remarkable but beautiful productions; and it would be easy to enumerate many textile and embroidered fabrics, which in their several ways

are equally beautiful, equally remarkable: such as the carpet (No. 200) which Mr. C. F. Voysey sends, and another sent by Mr. Morris; the embroidery for a cushion (No. 194), worked at the Technical School, Hertford, from the design of Mr. Selwyn Image; the designs for damask tablecloths (No. 218), by Mr. Walter Crane; and a number of embroideries sent by Mr. Hermann Obrist. The work of this artist, as we have already remarked, figures for the first time in these exhibitions, or indeed in any exhibition in London. It possesses this distinction, that it is not only uninfluenced by Mr. Morris and his school, but it is also original. We have, perhaps, here in England carried the theory that all patterns for embroideries must be founded upon a geometrical basis a little far : Mr. Obrist seeks to obtain his effects chiefly by a delicate and masterly handling of mass and colour; and in this he succeeds to admiration. So chaste and reticent are these embroideries, that their accomplished and elaborate workmanship will perhaps be fully appreciated only by those who are practically acquainted with the technical difficulties of his art. Several of his finest pieces are exhibited in a table-case in the Gallery ; and among them a tablecloth embroidered in coloured silks, in which the beauty and the fineness of the line have been rendered by the embroiderer in a very remarkable manner.

The exhibition also includes some admirable illuminations, printed books, and bindings, of which it is here impossible to speak at length. Sir Edward Burne Jones sends his original drawings for the “ Chaucer”: among the cartoons for painting may be mentioned some charming pieces by Mr. Christopher Whall, and among the smaller things a painted fan by Mr. Charles Corder. One of the rooms is entirely given up to the works of the late Ford Madox Brown. This collection, which consists chiefly of cartoons for glass and decorative paintings, has been admirably well chosen, and illustrates, in one of its finest aspects, the work of this great, but little appreciated, artist. The sight of his work beside so many drawings and cartoons by Sir Edward Burne-Jones suggests a comparison which we hope to pursue upon another occasion.

43. *The history of architecture*.⁴³

⁴³ H.P. Horne, *The history of architecture*, in “Saturday Review”, October 24, 1896, pp. 452 - 453.

THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE. "A Text-book of the History of Architecture." By D. F. Hamlin, A.M. New York and London : Longmans, Green, & Co.

"The aim of this work," the writer tells us, "has been to sketch the various periods and styles of architecture" from prehistoric times down to the present day, "with the broadest possible strokes, and to mention, with such brief characterization as seemed permissible or necessary, the most important works of each period or style." "While the book is intended primarily to meet the special requirements of the college student, those of the general reader have not been lost sight of." If such an aim be legitimate, it must be allowed that this little book has been fairly well done, notwithstanding the number of inexcusable blunders and omissions which occur in its pages. Thus, speaking of the work of Leon Battista Alberti, Mr. Hamlin says: "His façade of incrustated marbles for the church of S. M. Novella at Florence was a less successful work, though its flaring consoles over the side aisles established an unfortunate precedent frequently imitated in later churches." If Alberti had any share in this work, only the lower part from the cornice downwards (excepting the arcading between the doorways, which dates from the fourteenth century) can be attributed to him; the whole of the upper part, including the consoles in question, is, without doubt, the work of another and a later hand. According to Fra Giovanni di Domenico da Corello, the design of this façade was made by Giovanni Bettini. Again, to omit any mention of the early architectural work of Michelangelo is surely inexcusable. In the Laurentian Library, in the marble doorways and panelling of the new sacristy, we have the most original and profound attempt to break away from the academical crystallization of classic architecture, as it was conceived by the Italian Renaissance; yet Mr. Hamlin contents himself with a mere allusion to these works in his list of additional monuments on p. 307 thus: " — Florence: Medici Chapel of S. Lorenzo, New Sacristy of same, and Laurentian Library, all by M. Angelo, 1529-40." What the "Medici Chapel of S. Lorenzo," in addition to the new sacristy and the library, may mean, except it be the Chapel of the Princes, we are unable to surmise. But, of course, if Mr. Hamlin imagines that the heavy and gaudy piece of work, which appears to have been designed by Don Giovanni de' Medici, in collaboration with the architect Nigetti, is really a genuine example of Michelangelo's art, it is no wonder that he should have failed to distinguish between the early works of that great master which are the most

profoundly intimate and expressive pieces of architecture of their time and his later works, such as parts of the Capitol and St. Peter's at Rome, in which the personal impress of the master is to be traced with difficulty, if at all. A few more instances of this writer's mistakes must suffice. Among the foreign artists who worked in England during the sixteenth century was, we are told, "Trevigi," by whom Girolamo da Treviso appears to be intended, though there is not the slightest evidence to show that he came to this country in any other capacity than that of military engineer to Henry VIII. 'Again, we find the old conjecture of Vertue and Walpole, that Longleat House was built from the designs of John of Padua, solemnly repeated, though there is not a scrap of authority to support it. The Villa at Chiswick, which Richard, Earl of Burlington, built for himself in the last century, in imitation of the Villa Capra, near Vicenza, is twice cited as a genuine work of Inigo Jones's; and to Sir William Chambers we are told is due "the extension and remodelling of Somerset House, in which he retained the general *ordonnance* of Inigo Jones's design, adapting it to a frontage of some 600 feet "; whereas only one small part of old Somerset House, which was built by John Webbe many years after Inigo Jones's death, it is said from the designs of the latter, was imitated by Chambers, not in the river-front, but in the smaller Strand front, of the new building. Again, the South Kensington Museum is stated to have been built by Aston Webb; the designs of that gentleman, however, have never progressed beyond the elementary stage of scale drawings, in which condition we devoutly hope they may always be preserved. But even if errors such as these were absent from the book, we should still be doubtful whether a vast accumulation of dry facts of this kind tend to awaken in the young a real sense of what constitutes the art of architecture. For the purposes of "cramming" and examinations no doubt they are admirable; and, on the whole, we can recommend the volume to professional "coaches" as sufficiently accurate for their purposes.

44. *William Morris as printer*.⁴⁴

A certain strangeness has been observed to form an element in all true works of art: but this element of strangeness becomes so exotic and coloured a thing, in much of the best art of our time, that its genius would seem to be something wholly apart from the genius of our time; to be

⁴⁴ H.P. Horne, *William Morris as printer*, in "Saturday Review", October 24, 1896, pp. 438 - 439.

altogether estranged from and irrelevant to it. In the paintings and poems of Rossetti, in the early verses of Morris, this element of strangeness, which occurs as a trait of archaism, occasionally becomes the most striking and insistent of all the qualities of their work. Indeed, it is this love of the archaic, of a world removed from our own, which constitutes the more obvious character of Morris's art. He reverted to the imagery of the Middle Ages, and refined upon it; though not before he had inspired into it his peculiar temperament. But this return to earlier methods of design would appear to be not so much an imitation of a past style as an escape into some quickening world of Romance from that uncoloured, monotonous existence which the discipline of our society, occupied overmuch with its commercial interests, imposes on the great mass of mankind. In this escape from the life in which, to use his own phrase, human beings work to life that they may live to work, Morris has not differed from many admirable artists of our time, who, to avoid the general preoccupation with a mere struggle for existence, have reverted to the wreck and outcast of mankind, to the traits of the street and the gutter, meeting there, as they think, something of human life in its first rude elements and tragic passions. Yet neither this love of archaism, nor this preoccupation with vulgarity, is, perhaps, the quality by which the world will finally judge of such artists. But as this superficial character of archaism is, in effect, but a protest against the condition of our society: so is that finer and more valuable character of good craftsmanship, which is always found with it in Morris's work, a protest against the indiscriminate production of every kind of manufacture by machinery, irrespective of its use or its nature. Not that machinery is necessarily in itself a harmful or unworthy thing: but that it has been rendered so, on account of that system of society for whose existence its indiscriminate use has become an indispensable condition. The criticism that would distinguish a man among the figures of his time, must disengage and represent him by the trait by which he appears singular, rather than by that through which he is conspicuous. Morris was conspicuous, with many of the best artists contemporary with him, for the success with which he reverted to earlier methods of design: but in his genius for fine craftsmanship he was alone; a unique figure of our time.

At no period have the various spheres of human interest become as distinct and isolated, as they have at the present time. Not only have the interests of art, science, religion, politics, and the practical economics of life, grown more and more self-centred; but those who are concerned

with any one of them, are, to use the phrase of a great critic, “generally little curious of the thoughts of others. There come however from time to time, eras of more favourable conditions, in which the thoughts of men draw nearer together than is their wont, and the many interests of the intellectual world combine in one complete type of general culture.” The influence of an age of this kind, such as the fifteenth century in Italy was, is nowhere shown to more evident advantage, than in the production of those goods and fabrics, which are intended for the uses of daily life, but into which the element of beauty enters in some degree or another; the craft of cabinet-making, for example, the weaving of figured textiles, the printing of books. Such arts must always remain in the hands of the tradesman; but in an age like our own, where the sphere of the practical utilities of life is wholly divorced from the sphere of art, this element of beauty is apt to be mistaken, or lost sight of, by those who practise these crafts ; and an indifference to produce beautifully is soon followed by an indifference to produce well. It is here precisely that the conditions of good craftsmanship assert themselves; reminding us that the craftsman is neither wholly concerned with mere utility on the one hand, nor with mere beauty on the other; but that his productions must be fitted to the uses for which they are intended; that they must be well made; and that they must be made with a due sense of beauty. For us, the tradition of such craftsmanship has long been broken ; and, to recover it, the craftsman is forced to revert to methods which have been lost or forgotten, to the productions of some other age than our own. In this attempt Morris went beyond any one of his time. The success, for example, with which he revived the older and simpler methods of the dyer's art, and the use of vegetable dyes, has contributed not a little to the beauty of his tapestries, his silks, and his other textile and printed fabrics. His painted glass, his decorative paintings and furniture, and his latest achievement, his printed books, all show the fine instinct with which he returned to sound principles of good craftsmanship, employing only the simplest and best of materials: so that the mere fabric of his productions becomes a valuable and delightful piece of art in itself; the textile of his silks apart from their patterns and colours, the paper of his printed books apart from the impression of the type and ornaments.

In recent years many efforts have been made to produce sumptuously printed books, which should rival as works of art those of the early printers. Much has been vaunted in the way

of hand-made paper, rough edges, and large margins: yet little has been accomplished which bears upon itself the impress of an artist's hand. The paper commonly used was rarely that which was best adapted to the finer purposes of the printer's or bookbinder's art; the substance of the paper was not properly chosen in regard to the size and bulk of the book; nor were the margins duly proportioned to the mass of the type upon the page. At the time Morris first set up his press, in 1892, there was no paper in the market so well suited to the purposes of printing, of so fine a quality, and of so beautiful a colour and texture, as that employed by the early printers, as the paper, for example, which was ordinarily used by Aldus. To produce paper which should equal that was Morris's first care; but this was only to be done by reverting to the plain and honest methods of the old papermakers; by using unbleached linen rags, and by employing a mould, in which the wires have not been woven with the mechanical accuracy that gives to modern hand-made paper its uninteresting character. The paper which Morris succeeded in making resembles the paper of the early printers in all its best qualities: it is thin, very tough, and somewhat transparent; pleasing not only to the eye, but to the hand also; having something of the clean, crisp quality of a new banknote. In the same way Morris proceeded with his type, designing his founts anew, and causing the punches to be cut under his immediate direction. A fount of Roman characters which in some of the forms would seem to be reminiscent of the types of Nicholas Jenson, but which rather recall in their general effect the Roman type of the early Basle printers, and two founts of Black Letter, cut upon the same model, but differing in size, form the simple means with which he produced a splendid series of books. To obtain a sufficient variety and richness of effect, Morris relied largely on his ornaments, his initial letters, borders, and illustrations, which are invariably executed in pure woodcut, and of a nature that allows them to be easily printed with the type. Lastly, a scrupulous care for all that is implied in the technical term "press-work"— that is, for the quality of the ink, the careful inking of the type, the preparation of the paper, the fair and bright impression of the sheets, a minute care for all that sums up the excellences of Morris as a printer. Certainly, the mere craft of printing has rarely been practised with finer results: in material and workmanship, the paper and press-work of his books are equal to the best that have been produced. The decorative beauty and richness of Morris's work is so generally acknowledged, that these traits of fine craftsmanship are apt to be

overlooked and forgotten: yet, perhaps in these very qualities of good workmanship, unique in our time, the peculiar value of Morris's work will finally be found to consist. When we take up his edition of the "Golden Legend," or of Cavendish's "Life of Wolsey," we feel that the form and character of the type and ornaments are in admirable agreement with the spirit and character of those works; but when we take up his edition of Shakespeare's "Sonnets" or Keats's "Poems," perhaps we feel that the relation of the character of the type to the character of the poems themselves needs to be adjusted a little ; that at least we would not, if we could, have every edition of Shakespeare and Keats printed in that way. But the really valuable quality in his printing does not lie just there. Let us learn the lesson which Morris would have taught us; for his very Socialism, if we will trouble to understand it, means, perhaps, no more than this: that he would have every man working under conditions in which he would be able to make his productions acceptable, not only to his contemporaries, but also to posterity.

45. *Albert Moore*.⁴⁵

"Albert Moore : his Life and Works." By Alfred Lys Baldry. London: George Bell & Sons.

A book, adequately illustrated, which sets forth with tolerable accuracy the life, if only in its more outward circumstances, and adds some account of the works, of so considerable an artist as Albert Moore, cannot fail to be an acceptable piece of work; and Mr. Baldry's book is assuredly acceptable, for it contains not only a clear statement of this kind, but it is also admirably illustrated. Mr. Baldry's dissertation, however, cannot be said to show any considerable critical faculty, nor can it be said to be well written. He is far too much impressed by the newspapers and by the importance of the Royal Academy. The "Times," the "Standard," the "Westminster Gazette," the "Écho," the "Daily News," amongst numerous other journals, are quoted and re-quoted in all seriousness; while the last of the six chapters which make up the book is entirely devoted to Albert Moore's critics in the public prints; although with little reason, since Mr. Baldry confesses that the painter "went his own way, and the critics theirs, and no one was much the worse, except those members of the public who base their ideas about the art of

⁴⁵ H.P. Horne, *Albert Moore*, "Saturday Review", January 16, 1897, pp. 68 - 70.

the times upon the things written in the newspapers concerning pictures.” As to his persistent exclusion from the Royal Academy, notwithstanding the fact that his pictures were hung at its exhibitions from the time he was sixteen until the time of his death, that was, in his case, a perfectly logical proceeding on the part of an institution the final qualifications for admission to whose body are found to be those of the successful, respectable business man. Had Mr. Baldry been less occupied by such purely extraneous questions of controversy, had he told us more of the man and of his own utterances upon art, the book would have been not only of greater interest in itself, but of greater service in the cause which it would espouse. Unquestionably the best part of it is the chapter on “Working Principles”; here, at last, we seem to obtain, through the dust of newspaper criticisms and the bustle of exhibitions, a sight of the man as he was, the fastidious artist, always fearful of losing in sensibility what he might gain in mere accomplishment. Such matters, after all, are but details: the real question which this book raises is that of the estimate which is finally to be put upon Alfred Moore as a painter. “He died,” says Mr. Baldry, “without having even gained from the people among whom he lived a real acknowledgment of his claims to rank among the greater artists of the world.” “Poor fellow!” exclaims Whistler, “the greatest artist that, in the century, England might have cared for and called own—how sad for him to live there—how mad to die in that land of important ignorance and Beadledom!” That is a high estimate to put upon any painter; especially of a man who had been the contemporary of Watts and Rossetti. Let us see how far such a judgment will bear to be examined.

The son of a Yorkshire portrait-painter, Albert Moore had the advantage of attaining to “a quite respectable proficiency in drawing” long before he could write or read; and his first picture was hung in the Academy, in 1857, when he was still a boy of sixteen at Kensington Grammar School. Shortly after he proceeded to the Royal Academy School; but, finding that little or nothing was to be learned there, left it after a few months. Indirectly, however, the experiment was the beginning of his artistic career, for there he formed the acquaintance of many students who were afterward to make their way in the world, and with whom he formed a small sketching society. Among them were Fred. Walker, W. B. Richmond, Henry Holiday, “and some others to whom fortune has been since less than kind.” The influence which these young men exercised

upon one another was very great; and it was under these conditions that he produced his earlier pictures, which deal chiefly with biblical subjects, and of which "Elijah's Sacrifice," a picture which has lately been seen again in London, was the chief. At this time also his friendship with Mr. Eden Nesfield, the architect, led him to the studying of Decorative Art, which ended in the execution of several wallpaintings at Coombe Abbey, St. Alban's Rochdale, and elsewhere; besides the designing of wall-papers, tiles, cartoons for stained glass, patterns for textile fabrics, &c. But the touchstone which transmuted all this into the gold of his mature art was undoubtedly the influence of Whistler, an influence which is seen, perhaps, most unmistakably in the picture called "Pomegranates," exhibited in 1866, and which continued throughout the life of the English painter, explaining, in some measure, the esteem in which Whistler held him.

But already in 1865, in a picture called "The Marble Seat," which was shown that year at the Academy, a contemporary critic recognized that Albert Moore's art showed "the development of a very vigorous and very resolute artistic faculty directed to a single and very artistic definite aim." To that aim, which was in its direction a singularly artistic one, Albert Moore unflinchingly adhered throughout the rest of his life. He had found himself beset at the beginning of his career by the school of Frith and Horsley on the one hand, and by that of Millais and Holman Hunt on the other; he saw that English art had been too often concerned with intellectual qualities which were not really essential to it. The history piece, the genre picture, the illustration had been more often used to point a moral or adorn a tale than to afford an occasion for the rarer, sensuous qualities of painting. In order that he might wholly avoid what some French critics call literary interest in his work, he refused "to paint any picture to which a title would be a necessary adjunct or complement." His bias towards decoration and his admiration of the art of Whistler prevailed with him; and so he worked out for himself a very original idea of the part which purely decorative qualities should play in painting, and his pictures became "nothing but decorations." But, adds Mr. Baldry, "the ultimate aim and object of all art that deals with either form or colour is to decorate; and the measure of artistic achievement is that of decorative perfection. As a simple statement this may seem slightly crude; but the assertion may be proved by all kinds of collateral evidence. A little consideration will satisfy the unbiassed mind that all the canons of art are simply laws of decoration." No critic of discernment would disparage for a moment the

importance, or perhaps one should rather say the necessity, of the decorative sense in all fine painting; but the statement that “the measure of artistic achievement is that of decorative perfection” is not merely “slightly crude” but wholly untrue. Fine Art, like human nature itself, is so complex and variable a thing, that it is not to be defined in a single sentence, or known by any one quality; yet this much one might truly say, that all Fine Art is distinguished from every other sphere of human interest and human learning by the quality of sensuousness, which is peculiar to it. Certainly in painting this one quality of sensuousness links together works of art the most opposite in their kind—the “Primavera” of Botticelli with the portraits of Rembrandt, and the “Flora” of Titian with the pastels of Degas. If “the measure of artistic achievement” in painting can be determined by any single quality, that quality is assuredly the quality of fine sensuousness. This is the quality by which we accept Catullus as a great artist equally with Dante; Giorgione equally with Fra Angelico.

And it is here precisely that the defect of Albert Moore's work as a painter lies: for the sensuous element is never sufficiently present in his pictures to make the spectator forget the aim which the painter had in view, and the means by which it was attained. From about 1865, from the time at which his art became mature, he contented himself with painting girls or women—men very rarely—sometimes in movement, but more often in repose, or even asleep; creatures of exquisite refinement and delicacy; of flesh and blood, indeed; yet wholly divorced from the world of the greatest art, in which passion, character, and action are the distinguishing traits. In these paintings, things of a serene and classic gaiety, we have a sense of human beauty enjoyed as one might enjoy a flower or a precious stone; nay more, of human beauty enjoyed equally with the flowers and precious stones and rich fabrics by which they are surrounded. And so it is that the selection, arrangement, and contrast of the elements that make up these pictures become obvious; and the interest by which they are brought together obtrudes itself as the real subject of the piece. In the picture of “The Quartette,” for example, in which Albert Moore is seen at his best, the antique air of the male heads, the modern air of the heads of the girls, the Greek treatment of the draperies, the selection of instruments known only to the most modern form of the string quartette, the studio shelf and pots above—all these leave a sense, we will not say of anachronism, but of a studied incongruity, upon the spectator. Rossetti, among modern painters,

possessed in a high degree the power of avoiding any such incongruity in his work; and, moreover, precisely in the way in which Albert Moore failed to do. No painter was ever able to introduce the bric-à-brac of his studio into the accessories of his picture so often, and so successfully, as Rossetti. The sensuous element in his paintings is such that, whatever may be their faults, the mere process of their composition never becomes apparent; the atmosphere of the studio never remains in them, as it does in Albert Moore's pictures. The same criticism might be applied, also, to his colouring; it is too much a beautiful and delicate scheme of colour, thought out by a man of a fine and artistic temperament—it is too little sensuous.

Altogether, Albert Moore is one of those artists who show to infinitely greater advantage in some five or six of his finer pictures than in the bulk of his works. Could he be seen for the first time in such paintings as “The Marble Seat,” “A Wardrobe,” “Follow my Leader,” and in one or two of his later works, such as the “Dreamers” or “Reading Aloud,” he would appear not only an extraordinary artist, but an artist of considerable invention, of exquisite refinement, and of a truly artistic accomplishment. But in the bulk of his works he too often repeats himself, he too rarely varies his types, his draperies, his accessories; and what in a single work might have been a legitimate device of composition—such as the fan on the wall, the pot of flowers on the ground—becomes, too often repeated, a mere trick. Still, in pointing out his limitations we must not forget his merits. If he were an artist too little recognized in his lifetime, let us not do him the further injustice to over-rate him after his death; for he was a true and a memorable artist, though not, as Mr. Baldry would have it, one of “the greater artists of the world.”

46. *Byzantine architecture in Italy*.⁴⁶

“Architecture in Italy, from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century. Historical and Critical Researches by Raffaele Cattaneo. Translated by the Contessa Isabel Curtis-Cholmeley in Bermani.” London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1896.

If we would pay Mr. Cattaneo the compliment of calling him a Morelli in architectural criticism, we must allow that his book, like Morelli's writings, is rather an introduction to the

⁴⁶ H.P. Horne, *Byzantine architecture in Italy*, in “Saturday Review”, April 17, 1897, pp. 421 - 423.

study of certain monuments than an exhaustive and literary history in itself. His work, which was originally published at Venice in 1889, suffers, moreover, from this further disadvantage that in the process of translation it has not entirely emerged out of the Italian: not that the language is obscure; but such expressions as “the real old Baptistery,” “the above-named and praised De Rossi,” or “the true ancient basilica, somewhat vaster than the actual church,” and such like, savour rather of the idiom of the Italian than of the elegance of the English language. His translator, moreover, tells us that she has Anglicized proper names at discretion, though in several instances the Latin form has been substituted for the Italian, and so the Cælian occurs on one occasion as the “Celio,” on another as “Mount Cælio,” while on a third we read of “S. Stephenon-the-Cælius”: at Ravenna we hear of “S. Vitale,” or “S. Vetus,” indifferently; elsewhere of “S. Maria of the Angels,” “S. Peter Major,” “Robert Guiscardo,” & c. Such a use of discretion, on the part of the translator, only places her author at an unnecessary disadvantage. We will not apply the same kind of criticism to the book itself; for, as Mr. Cattaneo says, “in Italy little is printed, less is read, and nothing is studied”; and a piece of criticism dealing with the history of art, which is as original in its aim and as scientific in its methods as this volume, rarely comes to us from that country. We prefer to mark our sense of the value of the book, and of the interest of the questions which are raised in it, by giving some account of its more original contentions.

“From the time,” says Mr. Cattaneo, “that I first set myself...to study the written history of Art, I was deeply impressed by the enormous lacuna or lagoon that I found between the sixth and eleventh centuries in Italy, and by the diversity of opinion on the subject of that obscure and barbarous period and the art that it produced.” It is the architecture of these ages, “centuries of decadence hitherto left in obscurity” by writers on Art, that Mr. Cattaneo examines and discusses in the present volume. He begins by recalling the evil days which fell upon Italy during the latter half of the sixth century—the plague of 566, the invasion of the Lombards in 568, and the subsequent scourges by flood, famine, pestilence, and massacre which made Italy the byname for a “land accursed and desolated”; and he remarks the total decadence of its art at this time. “That the miserable Italian art was left to itself during the whole seventh century by the Byzantines is evidently proved by the fact that even in Ravenna, which remained till the year 752 in subjection

to the Greeks, who held an Esarch in that town, Art submitted rapidly to the decadence, as in the other towns of Italy.” No edifice, he adds, of the end of the sixth century, nor indeed of the two succeeding ones, remains in Ravenna; but a number of sculptured works exist which are sufficient to show the character of Italian art at this time. Of these, the chief is the ambo, still to be seen in the little church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Ravenna, which is dated 597, and which resembles the ambo in the Cathedral, though as a work of art it is greatly inferior to it, constructed in the first half of the century. Having established the wretched character of art at the end of the sixth century, as shown in the ambo of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and some other examples, Mr. Cattaneo proceeds to show that Cavalcaselle, Garrucci and Bayet are mistaken in attributing to this period the sarcophagus of the Esarch Isaac, near the church of S. Vitale, and that of Archbishop Theodore in S. Apollinare in classe. He shows that they are the production of a finer and earlier period of Art, and that they were re-used and the present inscription added in the sixth century.

Turning for the moment to Rome, our writer emphasizes the fact that Proto-Byzantine art penetrated as far as the Eternal City, and he cites in support of his assertion such monuments as the church of S. Stefano Rotondo, 468-482, the fragments of the ancient ciborium of S. Clemente, 514-523, and some of the sculptured slabs now in the upper church; together with other traces of pure Byzantine art to be found in S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Saba, and S. Prassede. The carved walnut doors of S. Sabina on the Aventine he assigns to the fifth or to the first half of the sixth century; and in a lengthy examination of the fabric of S. Lorenzo fuor le Mura he distinguishes the work of Pelagio II., and dwells on its Byzantine character. After observing that neither in Lucca nor in Monza are edifices of the seventh century to be found, as more than one writer of repute has held, he points out that the chief works of this period are to be found in the Venetian territory. Venice itself can show only three sarcophagi; and the numerous works of sculpture at Torcello which were for Selvatico works of the sixth and seventh century are for Mr. Cattaneo works of a much later period. At Grado, however, in the Cathedral, the Baptistery, and the church of S. Maria there remains a series of buildings and carved ornaments, documents of the highest value in the architectural history of the sixth century in Italy. Would that Venice had

preserved for us edifices of the seventh century as Grado kept those of the sixth! exclaims our author.

In this way Mr. Cattaneo closes his notices of this period of decadence, and comes to the second influence of Byzantine art in Italy, which he calls the “Byzantine Barbarian style (*stile Bisantino Barbaro*).” “This style,” he says, “which, although never perfect or beautiful, is refreshing after the poverty of the style that preceded it, was not limited to one region alone, nor only to the Valley of the Po, as Dartein timidly said while baptizing it ‘Longobardian,’ but extended itself through all the peninsula – a fact which is proved by the traces that I found in several places.” In the sculpture of this period there is no longer a poverty of decorative resource; it is adorned, on the contrary, with a profusion of varied ornament: animals occur mingled with the foliage, and the human figure, long proscribed by the incapacity of the carvers, reappears again, though often very awkwardly. In spite of the wide area in which examples of this style occur, Mr. Cattaneo finds it hard to believe that it is the work of Italian artists, for it suddenly appeared “completely formed in the midst of barbarism; and, after little more than half a century, it suddenly disappeared, leaving Italian art in a state nearly as barbarous as it was before. What better argument can we have than this to prove that it was a style imported by a few artists, which naturally ceased when they died out?” In a word, he holds the works of this style to be the production of Greek artists; and in order to account for the inferiority of their execution, he shows that in Greece also the seventh century was a period of decadence. He cites certain slabs of Greek origin in S. Mark's at Venice, some reliefs in the Cathedral at Athens, with not a few examples of Byzantine architecture in Syria; and he points out how nearly in character these examples resemble the remains in Italy, which he distinguishes by the name of the Byzantine Barbarian style: for example, a porch in the ancient basilica of S. Felice, at Cimitile, near Nola, dating from a restoration which took place at the beginning of the eighth century, part of the church, and the ciborium, of the year 712, of S. Giorgio, at Valpolicella, and several monuments at Cividale, in Friuli, which in the eighth century was the See of the Patriarchs of Aquileia. These monuments, the most numerous and best-preserved works of their kind to be found in all Italy, consist of the Baptistery of Calisto, c. 737; certain slabs, one of them bearing the name of the Patriarch Sigualdo, 762-776; and the altar of King Ratchis, 744-749, in the church of S. Martino.

On the other hand, neither the little church of S. Maria in Valle at Cividale, nor the *stucchi* which it contains, so often cited by writers on art as works of the eighth century, are for Mr. Cattaneo the work of Queen Pertrude, but belong to a restoration which took place about the year 100. Some marble door-leaves and other sculptured fragments alone among the remains to be found there are, according to our author, works of the earlier period. Other fragments of the same character he recognizes at Trieste, Pola, Treviso, Torcello, Venice, Murano, Concordia, Grado, and at Verona, where the greater part, if not the whole, of the little church of SS. Tosca e Teuteria is to be attributed to this epoch. Vicenza also, Monselice, Adria, Ravenna, Bagnacavallo, Ferrara, Modena, Bologna, Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Pavia, Albenga, Perugia, Spoleto, Narni, Rome, Capua, Benevento all yield examples, more or less important, in this style. At Brescia the church of S. Salvatore, which, like the churches of S. Frediano and S. Michele in Foro at Lucca, and the Palazzo delle Torri at Turin, was for Cordero a work of the eighth century, and showed the continuity of the Latin style in Italy, during the whole Lombard period, is now shown to be chiefly of the twelfth century. For Mr. Cattaneo, only the apse of the crypt and some of the capitals of the upper church belong to the building of Desiderio, erected in 753. Other fragments of the same date, which were derived from this church, and which are now in the Museo Cristiano, at Brescia, are among the most beautiful and ornate which this style can show to us; one, a fragment of an ambo, is characterized as “the chef-d’oeuvre of the eighth century” in Italy.

Such was this phase of Byzantine art in Italy during the eighth century, as Mr. Cattaneo conceives it; a period of “prodigious and admirable variety and originality of ornamentation, coupled with a grace which is entirely Greek, ever evident though often rough”; a period in which the artificers, “in compensation for the lost perfection of their art, sought to abound in fancy and in richness.” The cause of the sudden rise and the less sudden disappearance of this style M. Cattaneo finds in the iconoclastic persecutions of the Emperor Leo III., and the edicts of the years 726 and 728 against the worship of images. “We can imagine,” he adds, “how poor Greek art suffered in such prolonged struggles, and how small were the gains of the artists. Religious art, which at that time was almost the only art alive, was often cultivated in monasteries; and as that persecution also aimed at the weakening of monasticism, then very powerful, we may believe that many monks, as well as secular artists, took refuge in Italy, where,

besides finding an asylum and protection under the Pontiff and Liutprand, who together had headed the opposition against the Emperor Leo, they hoped also to find work; nor were they disappointed.” With the death of these fugitive artists that phase of Byzantine art, which art they had brought into Italy, ceased to exist; but it was not without its influence on the semi-barbarous art which came after it. In the following chapters Mr. Cattaneo traces the history of what he calls, the Italian-Byzantine, style in Italy from the end of the eighth to the eleventh century. In Rome the end of the eighth century was “a period of great constructive, if not artistic, activity”; for the Popes, Adrian I. and Leo III., “freed by the French arms from every menace of the Lombards, and finding themselves, through the donations of Pepin the Little and Charlemagne, lords of wide and fertile domains, at once began to make the Christian monuments of the Eternal City experience the beneficent result of their new power,” and so, in the Roman churches of S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Saba, and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and in the Lateran Museum he finds illustrations of the architectural works of these Pontiffs; in S. Prassede, S. Maria in Domnica, of Pascal I., 817-824; in S. Sabina, of Eugenius II., 824-827; and in S. Marco and S. Maria in Trastevere, of Gregory IV., 827-844. From these he turns to the celebrated church of S. Ambrogio, in Milan, where he re-reads the epitaph of Archbishop Ansperto, and shows that the present atria in front of the church are not the work of that prelate; but, on the contrary, the whole basilica is to be regarded as the “representative type of Lombard architecture.” We have no space left to follow Mr. Cattaneo into his disquisitions upon the origins of Lombard architecture and the progress of architecture in the Lagoons and Venetia from the ninth to the eleventh centuries; but we have sufficiently illustrated the contents of his book upon this interesting but obscure period of Italian art to show that his contentions cannot lightly be ignored by future students, and that original research only more extensive and acute than that which Mr. Cattaneo has brought to bear on his subject is likely to modify the value of his criticism.

47. *Decorative art in England*.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ H.P. Horne, *Decorative art in England, supplement*, in “Saturday Review”, June 12, 1897, p. 1.

“Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities: a series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896.” London: Rivington, Percival. 1897.

No phase of English Art has hitherto attracted such immediate attention, and exercised so general an influence on the Continent, as the revival of Decorative Art which has been gradually brought about in this country during the last thirty years. In Belgium, Germany, France, and now at last in Italy, it is not rare to find some “forward youth who would appear,” looking to this movement in England as the source of his inspiration. The origin of this revival of Decorative Art is no doubt to be traced back to the historic firm of “Morris & Co.,” if not to Rossetti himself. But to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, of which William Morris was long the President, must be yielded the credit of having given to the movement the definite form and scope which it has taken; of bringing its productions before the public at its periodic Exhibitions at the New Gallery; and, generally, of making known its aims and endeavours. One item in the propaganda of the Society has been the delivery of lectures which should explain the crafts and “mysteries” of the Society to the uninitiated; and the five lectures which were delivered during its last exhibition in the past autumn are here reprinted in book form, “precisely as they were delivered.” Apart from their intrinsic value, which is considerable, they are especially interesting as being the literary expression of a movement which has attracted more attention abroad than the school of Reynolds and Gainsborough was able to do in its own day or, perhaps, since. The secret, it may be, is not hard to come at. No one who turns over the pages of this little book can fail to observe that the persistent note which is struck in it, is one of protest against the ugliness of modern life, and especially of modern life in London, with its “indescribable shabbiness and squalor.” “Coming to modern London,” writes one of the lecturers in this volume, “I must confess that my heart fails me at the enormousness-the enormity-of it. A half-hundred square miles, once wood and cornland, roofed over, where we grow sickly like grass under a stone, intersected by interminable avenues all asphalted, lamp-posts, pipes and wires; a coil of underground labyrinth which Dante might have added to his world of torment-the Inner Circle; a gloomy sky above, from which falls a sticky slime of soot; public pageantry reduced to the two shows of the 5th and 9th of November; gardens which seem to imitate stamped zinc-such are the

characteristics of modern London.” It is just here that the secret of the success of the movement, of its appeal to so various and widely spread an audience, is to be found. The Arts and Crafts is largely a social movement. There is an admixture of other traits than those of a purely artistic temperament in its nature: moral elements, elements of sentiment, largely figure in it; it inherits the mantle of the prophet rather than the poet, of Ruskin rather than Rossetti.

This aspect of the “Arts and Crafts” is perhaps most clearly seen in the first lecture, “Of Art and Life,” by Mr. Cobden Sanderson. He begins by quoting several descriptions out of the *Odyssey* to illustrate the beauty and dignity of home-life among the Greeks; and goes on to contrast the passage where Helen is described as coming forth “from her fragrant vaulted chamber” to work at her distaff “charged with wool of violet blue,” with the pale-faced factory girls of the present day toiling at the spinning-jenny. But is it possible in a piece of serious criticism to base an argument on a parallel drawn between an exquisite poetical image of an antique poet and an ugly and stern reality in the life of to-day? Surely in conclusions so adduced, the sentiment, however meritorious, is in excess of the intellectual grasp of the subject. It is in this tendency to a sentimental, rather than an intellectual, attitude towards the matter in question that the weakness of the larger number of these essays is apt to consist. In the greatest Art, as in all great criticism, the sentimental, or, if you prefer to call them so, the sensuous, elements are never in excess of the intellectual grasp of the design or subject. “Men are admitted into heaven,” said William Blake, “not because they have curbed and governed their passions, or have no passions, but because they have cultivated their understandings. The treasures of heaven are not negations of passion, but realities of intellect, from which all the passions emanate, uncurbed in their eternal glory.” Would we could find, not only in these essays, but in the productions of the Arts and Crafts generally, less of Ruskinian sentiment, and more of the “realities of intellect, from which all the passions emanate”!

Having read this little homily to the members of the “Arts and Crafts,” we wish to add nothing but praise. Their movement is a sign of the times, and a very notable one. We may be apt to underrate it; but it is impossible that out of so much genuine enthusiasm, out of such unwearied activity, some good shall not finally come. Of that enthusiasm and that activity their

book is the fitting expression; and as such we unhesitatingly commend it to all who have any serious care for modern art. The second and fourth essays, "Of Beautiful Cities," by Mr. Lethaby, and "Of Public Spaces, Parks and Gardens," by Mr. Reginald Blomfield, appear to us the most valuable and suggestive in the book, because the most sober and critical. The third essay, "Of the Decoration of Public Buildings," is by Mr. Walter Crane, and contains a good account of the more notable efforts of this kind which have of late years been made in England. The last essay, "Of Colour in the Architecture of Cities," by Mr. Halsey Ricardo, is, perhaps, the least satisfactory in the volume: it savours too much of an exaggerated copy of Mr. Ruskin's most florid manner. A greater simplicity in prose is to be preferred.

48. *Thomas Hope Maclachlan*.⁴⁸

Some ten or twelve years ago the writer of this article was wandering through the galleries of the Royal Academy in the difficult quest of some picture possessing other qualities than mere cleverness or inability, when a landscape, recalling by its dignity and unobtrusiveness some of the older masters of the English school, attracted his attention. The painting, it is scarcely necessary to add, was "skied" and surrounded by works whose temper and colouring were very different from its own. The following year my eye was again caught by another landscape by the same hand, which also was "skied" in company with the kind of pictures which usually enjoy that honour at the Academy. To come at any real judgment of these landscapes under such circumstances was impossible; so I resolved to write to their author, asking if he would allow me to see some of his paintings in the more favourable light of his own studio. In the event, as it turned out, my expectations were exceeded: I found not only an exquisite artist, but a fine and charming personality, and, as the course of years proved, one of the few men whom I count it a distinction to call my friend. In this way came about my first introduction to Thomas Hope McLachlan, whose name, I believe, is so little known that I may be excused should I give a brief account of his career. Born at Darlington in 1845, "he was educated at Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Cambridge; whence, having been

⁴⁸ H.P. Horne, *Thomas Hope Maclachlan*, in "Saturday Review", June 12, 1897, pp. 655 - 656.

bracketed first in the Moral Science Tripos, he came up to London and entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. In due course he was called to the Bar, and for some years practised in the Court of Chancery. But the claims of Art were too urgent with him; and finally relinquishing the Law, he devoted himself altogether to landscape painting. From the first his pictures were to be seen on the walls of the Academy and the Grosvenor; and later, amongst other places, at the New English Art Club, the New Gallery, and at the Institute of Painters in Oil Colours, of which last body he was a member. At the present moment a notable water-colour of his hangs at the Academy; at the New Gallery hangs a notable oil-picture. These were the last works his hand touched. Before either exhibition opened, in the early morning of 1 April, unexpectedly, very quietly, he passed away." I quote these sentences from a little notice prefixed to a catalogue of his works, which a few friends desiring to pay a last tribute to his memory have brought together, and are exhibiting, in a half-private way, in their studios at 98 James Street, Buckingham Gate. Some forty pictures only are shown, but they include many of Mr. McLachlan's finest paintings; and his character, as an artist, may be very well seen in them.

Above all things he had design. Invention, composition, drawing, colouring, all the hundred and one qualities which go to make a picture, were in his case determined and ordered by a fine imagination and a distinguished temperament. One of the earliest paintings in this little exhibition, "A Dutch Harbour," is remarkable for showing the loving care with which he studied the older English landscape-painters who were working at the beginning of the century; and the charm of dignity and fine seriousness, which he acquired from them, is never wanting in his pictures. But the painters on whom he really fashioned himself were Cecil Lawson, and, at a later period, Jean François Millet. The influence of Millet is to be seen in what is, perhaps, the powerful work shown here, "The Wind on the Hill"; a moor swept by the wind, with the figure of a girl, followed by some sheep, against a stormy sky. In rendering the sense of wind over a landscape, or of movement in the sky, Mr. McLachlan was especially fortunate. In such compositions, however, as "A Mellow Evening," or "At Shut of Eve," all reminiscence of Millet disappears, and the painter is entirely himself: and these low-toned and richly coloured pictures of Nature in her most solemn and mysterious moments are romantic landscapes of rare originality. They form, however, but one side of his art: the sense of light and atmosphere in

“The Receding Tide” recalls a sea-piece by Bonnington, without recalling his manner or technique; and another study of clouds sailing over a Yorkshire hill, called “A Breezy Morning,” has the very breath of the country about it. But on occasion when his subject required it, he was able to use his poetic faculty without foregoing this literal truth to Nature. We see it in such a piece as “Ships that pass in the Night,” where the intensity of the starry sky seen between the breaks of the drifting clouds and the depth of tone in the purple sea are rendered not only with truth, but with a sense of profundity and mystery which lifts the picture into the region of the imagination. I have preferred to indicate Mr. McLachlan's character as an artist rather than attempt to express my own estimate of his genius, which might be put down to friendship or partiality. I may add, however, that the exhibition of his pictures will be open from 12 to 19 June inclusive, and may be seen for the asking, by any one who may wish to judge of them for himself

49. *Madox Brown*.⁴⁹

James Smetham, a painter and writer, whom some remarkable letters have within the last few years recalled to memory, once observed that, “if we wished by a single question to sound the depth of a man's mind and capacity for the judgment of works of pure imagination, we know of none we should be so content to put as this one, ‘What think you of William Blake?’” Certainly, if we wished to sound the depth of a man's mind and capacity for a judgment of that phase of English art in which Rossetti indisputably appears as the greatest figure, there is none we should be so content to put as this: “What think you of Ford Madox Brown?” A critic of repute recently expressed his inability to distinguish in kind between the work of Madox Brown and the work of Mr. Frith. Had that critic lived a hundred years ago, he would, no doubt, have confessed his inability to distinguish in kind between the designs of William Blake and the designs of Henry Fuseli. One would have thought that only a very moderate measure of insight was necessary to distinguish between the naturalism of such a picture as Madox Brown's “Work” and the naturalism of such a picture as Mr. Frith's “Derby Day.” It was Madox Brown's lot always to be misunderstood, except by a few friends, whose opinion in the matter, after all, was

⁴⁹ H.P. Horne, *Madox Brown*, in “Saturday Review”, July 10, 1897, pp. 41 - 43.

of more value than that of the rest of the world put together. Indeed, the most significant utterance on Madox Brown's art is, even in a life as sympathetic and appreciative as Mr. Hueffer's, relegated to a foot-note on p. 416:—"In a letter to Mr. Shields, written in 1876, Madox Brown angrily and reiteratively insists that his works are all 'essentially sensuous' and not "intellectual." If we would disentangle and detach those traits in painting which essentially distinguish it, as a fine art, from all other forms of fine art, we shall find them to consist in certain qualities of sensuousness which appeal to the eye, in the same way as the odour of a flower appeals to the sense of smell, or the flavour of a fine wine to the sense of taste. The art of Giorgione at once occurs to us as the type of the painter's art in this special and peculiar aspect; work in which the ostensible subject goes for so little, and in which form, colour, and the actual handling of the paint or medium that makes up the picture, occurs as the various expression of an emotion too subtle and complex to be conveyed by any precise intellectual presentation. In a picture by Mr. Frith, on the other hand, the ostensible subject of the picture—"The Derby Day," let us say—goes for everything; and the form, colour, and whatever "handling" the picture may possess, express nothing beyond the precise intellectual presentation of the subject. That is, the art of the illustrator, in contradistinction to the art of the poet, or creator, in painting: and as we look back at the history of art, we find that there has been as great a wealth of capable illustrators as there has been a lack of true poets or creators in painting. But midway between the supreme artist and the mere illustrator come the greater number of famous names in the history of painting---nearly all the greatest names in the history of Florentine art, for example — and not a few great names in the history of English art. Among them is the name of Ford Madox Brown.

But let us turn for a moment to examine the influences that went to form the man and his work. Born at Calais, in 1821, Madox Brown learned the rudiments of his art in the Belgian school of bitumen and Romanticism, chiefly under Baron Wappers; and afterwards, in 1840, went to Paris, where he studied for several years. Here he began to criticize the methods of years. Here he began to criticize the methods of painting which he had learned at Antwerp; and the notion occurred to him of lighting his pictures realistically, so that in a measure he anticipated the *Plein Air* school of our own day. Later on, during a journey to Italy, the works of Holbein at Basle, and of the earlier Italian Masters, especially at Florence, Pisa, and Rome, led him to

entirely abandon his former notions of painting, and to turn his attention to Naturalism and sincerity of expression. Such were the influences which led Madox Brown to form what his biographer calls his "English style." His wife, for whose health the journey to Italy had been undertaken, died at Paris on their homeward journey: and two years later we find him settled in London, his pictures rejected by the Academy. Disappointed, but not discouraged, he turned to paint the picture which during the following year, 1848, drew from Rossetti the letter which ended in the lifelong friendship of the two men. "Since the first time I ever went to an exhibition," wrote Rossetti, then a student at the Academy, in that memorable though boyish letter, "I have always listened with avidity if your name happened to be mentioned, and rushed first of all to your number in the catalogues... The glorious works you have exhibited have necessarily raised my admiration, and kept me standing in the same spot for fabulous lengths of time." Mr. Holman Hunt has denied the influence which Madox Brown is said to have exercised over the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood; but his influence over Rossetti at this time is undeniable, and what better title than such an influence could there be to the style of the "Father of the pre-Raphaelites"? The story of the remainder of Madox Brown's life is one in which the persistent neglect or derision which the painter received, at the hands of the Academy in particular, and the world in general, contrasts strangely with the admiration which he won from such men as Carlyle and Browning. It is worth remarking that the picture "Christ washing Peter's feet," which now hangs in a place of honour in our National Gallery, was sent, in 1852, to the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy and skied "next the ceiling." But the story does not end here; for on "varnishing day," when Sir Francis Grant, who was President at that time, "came to offer his congratulations (sic), Madox Brown, whose eyes had only just fallen on his own picture, turned his back in speechless indignation and walked out of the building." As an artist, Madox Brown was more than justified in what, as a man of the world, was, perhaps, an unnecessary piece of rudeness in him. The Academic body, however, did not forget the insult, and refused to hang even one of Madox Brown's paintings at the Exhibition of Old Masters, immediately after his death. Singly, such incidents may appear of little importance. The admiration of a Browning, or a Rossetti, outlives the censure of an entire Academy: but such slights and aspersions often repeated cannot fail of their effect even on the finest character. Had not Madox Brown's nature

been one of great strength and sweetness, these continual discouragements might have left darker traces upon it than periods of gloom and retirement, and what Mr. Hueffer calls "veins of harshness," cropping up "like boulders on a sandy moorland road." When Mr. Hueffer tries to explain such traits in Madox Brown's character by saying "that he had, in fact, a touch of the English Philistine in his composition," the hand becomes too heavy for so delicate a piece of analysis. In Madox Brown, as in Blake, what appeared at times to be a want of urbanity, but what in reality was an intolerance of mediocrity and pretension, came rather from too keen a sense of the light within him than from any touch of the Philistine in his nature. Indeed, the same qualities which made him the enemy of such puppets as Sir Francis Grant, made him the life-long friend of such men as Rossetti. "You," exclaims Rossetti in one of his letters to Madox Brown, "you, whom I regard as so much the most intimate and dearest of my friends, that I might call you by comparison the only one I have." In estimating the art of Madox Brown's latter years, we are apt, perhaps, to exaggerate the influence of Rossetti over him, forgetting the influence which he himself had exercised in earlier years over Rossetti.

Such is the picture of Madox Brown and his art which Mr. Hueffer's book conveys, a picture lovingly and faithfully drawn, yet never wholly revealing the man, never wholly distinguishing him from the crowd of painters among whom he lived and worked—from Rossetti on the one hand, and from Holman Hunt and Sir Edward Burne-Jones on the other. The great creators were ever the best critics. Rossetti, in a letter of 1871, addressed to Madox Brown, tells him "how very excellent I think your drawing in 'Dark Blue,'" a magazine long since dead; adding, "it is like a tenderer kind of Hogarth." And so we might say of every work by Madox Brown; it is like a more romantic, passionate, or tenderer kind of Hogarth. Substitute Hogarth's admiration of the post-Raphaelite Italian painters for Madox Brown's love of the earlier pre-Raphaelite masters; put Hogarth's predilection for the baroque in place of Madox Brown's delight in the Gothic; the academic tastes of the one in place of the romantic vein of the other—mere outward traits, after all, be it observed—and you have a Hogarth in the nineteenth century, now romantic, now passionate or tender; and more thoroughly English, were it possible, than Hogarth himself. Like the elder painter, the younger is entirely engrossed in the portrayal of human character as evidenced in human actions and the story of daily life. We could say of his

figures, as Charles Lamb says of Hogarth's, that "they resemble the characters of Chaucer's "Pilgrims." And as in Chaucer and Hogarth, so we may observe in Madox Brown's pictures "those strokes of humour" which in his own case too often prove mere unintelligible grotesques to the world at large. He recalls Hogarth in his dramatic representation of his subject, in his choice of the moment which shall bring out the character of the actors, in the incidents by which he heightens and elaborates the principal action of the scene, and in the human interest which he lends to whatever he paints; but he differs from Hogarth in the passionate intensity with which he presents his designs; and instead of Hogarth's urbane Italianate manner of drawing and colouring, Madox Brown possessed a splendid and Gothic sense of decorative design. This faculty for decoration enabled him to invent some of the finest stained glass which the present century has produced; the windows of the archangels, for example, in the church of St. Michael and All Angels at Brighton, and the stories from the Legend of St. Oswald, in the church dedicated to that saint at Durham. It is the presence of so many various qualities in Madox Brown's work, qualities which belong in great measure to the art of the illustrator rather than of the painter, as we defined him in the former part of this article, which obscures that element of sensuousness in his pictures. But take such a painting as "The Pretty Baa-Lambs," which was exhibited last year among his pictures at the "Arts and Crafts"; listen how Madox Brown himself wrote of this painting in that characteristic publication, the descriptive catalogue of the exhibition of his works in 1865:—"I was told that it was impossible to make out what *meaning* I had in the picture. At the present moment few people, I trust, will seek for any meaning beyond the obvious one—that is, a lady, a baby, two lambs, a servant maid, and some grass. In all cases pictures must be judged first as pictures—a deep philosophical intention will not make a fine picture, such being rather given in excess of the bargain; and though all epic works of art have this excess, yet I should be much inclined to doubt the genuineness of all artists' ideas who never painted from love of the mere look of things, whose mind was always on the stretch for a moral." Only a critic of that numerous kind which sees little in a picture but their own reflection in the glass could stand before "The Pretty Baa-Lambs" and deny that Madox Brown was a painter "essentially sensuous." But whatever slights of fortune he has suffered during his lifetime or since, the fame of Madox Brown is assured. His masterpieces are already in our public galleries: "Work" is at

Manchester; "The Last of England" at Birmingham; "Christ washing Peter's feet" in the National Gallery; and in Mr. Hueffer's biography we have a faithful portrait of a great painter and an amiable personality.

50. *A life of Constable*.⁵⁰

"Life and Letters of John Constable, R.A." By C. R. Leslie, R.A. A new edition, with Notes by Robert C. Leslie. London: Chapman & Hall. 1897.

This book is unlikely to commend itself to those modern-minded persons whose notions of a biography consist in the confessions of a soul, or in the revelation of "psychological moments": it is merely the history of a gentleman, of an amiable personality, whom an incomparable genius among other virtues infinitely became. Of storm and stress there is nothing; the book merely reveals "The depth, and not the tumult, of soul." We know of no other life of an English artist as simply, directly and unaffectedly written as this *Life of Constable*. Its method is that of the old English biographers; indeed, the lover of Cavendish's and Walton's *Lives* may bear it in his remembrance among the last scions of that long and illustrious descent. These pages are, in a great measure, filled with quotations from Constable's own simple and charming letters, which have been selected with admirable good taste; and where these fail to tell his story, the quiet passages of an uneventful life are told with a candour and brevity undisturbed by the presence of the narrator. Gentility has grown out of repute with us; but it is impossible to read this *Life* without feeling that, in our latter-day contempt for the "genteel," we have lost a fine and human element in life, which, finely cultivated, need in no way constrain or hinder the most fastidious and original genius in us. Altogether, we are glad to have another edition of this admirable book. Mr. Robert C. Leslie's introduction and notes are unassuming and not out of place; while the illustrations, though they are in many instances mere shadows of Lucas's splendid engravings, are yet sufficient to serve their turn and allow us to compliment the editor on his work.

Perhaps nothing has discredited Mr. Ruskin as a critic of painting so effectively as his utterances on Constable. Such sentiments as those which the editor of this book quotes from him

⁵⁰ H.P. Horne, *A life of Constable*, in *Saturday Review*, August 21, 1897, pp. 198 - 199.

are so petulant and “Missish,” that it would not become any serious student of the fine arts to controvert them. “I have never,” says Mr. Ruskin, in “Modern Painters,” “seen a work of Constable in which there is any sign of his being able to draw.” And again, the same writer says elsewhere: “Unteachableness seems to have been a main feature of his—Constable’s—character, and there is a corresponding want of veneration in the way he approaches Nature herself.” There we have, as Matthew Arnold once observed, “Mr. Ruskin exercising his intelligence.” Let us place beside these absurd, provincial utterances another of a very different spirit. “The amiable but eccentric Blake, looking through one of Constable's sketch-books, said of a beautiful drawing of an avenue of fir-trees on Hampstead Heath, ‘Why, this is not drawing, but *inspiration*’; and he replied, ‘I never knew it before; I meant it for drawing.’” There we have an inimitable picture of Blake's keen critical faculty, highly sympathetic and original, though cast in an extravagant form; of Constable's urbanity, good sense and modesty, which kept him half conscious and half unconscious of his genius. What Mr. Ruskin meant by being “able to draw” was the faculty to express truthfully, by means of a three H pencil, a little water-colour and a pocket-handkerchief, small portions of natural objects with the unimpassioned intelligence of the scientific observer and the microscopic precision of the miniaturist. Mr. Ruskin's own drawings are admirable examples of his notion of being able to draw.” Certainly, in this sense, Constable has left nothing to show us that he had acquired that faculty. On the contrary, he always sought to see Nature as an entire creature, and to represent her with emotion. He often said that he “never would look at any object unconnected with a background or other objects.” Drawing for him meant not so much the definition of this or that form as the representation of light and shade, of aerial perspective, of darker and lighter masses, relieving or opposing one another. Dew, wind, rain are natural forms as definite as the articulation of a bird's wing or the calyx of a flower: and Mr. Ruskin's method of drawing, though it may admirably express the anatomy of the bird or the flower, cannot convey to us the sense of the flight of birds, such as Rameau conveys to us in his lesson, “Le Rappel des Oiseaux,” or still less such a scene as Wordsworth's

“host of golden daffodils, Beside the lake,
beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.”

But these are the very things which Constable painted with inimitable feeling. “How fresh, how dewy, how exhilarating!” exclaimed Lady Morley on seeing the view of Englefield House. “He makes me call for my great-coat and umbrella,” said Fuseli.

But what Mr. Ruskin misunderstood in Constable was not only his drawing, but the human sentiment which he brings into all his pictures. Constable invariably sees Nature as the home and haunt of man: the scene of his labours, his joys, sorrows, retirements. But when we examine further into this sentiment in Constable's pictures we find that it is of a very intimate and special nature. Leslie relates how he visited Constable's native place in Suffolk, and how he found “that the scenery of eight or ten of our late friend's most important subjects might be enclosed by a circle of a few hundred yards at Flatford, very near Bergholt; within this space are the lock which forms the subject of several pictures, Willy Lott's house, the little raised wooden bridge and the picturesque cottage near it, seen in the picture engraved for Messrs. Finden's work, and introduced into others, and the meadow in which the picture of “Boat-building was entirely painted.” It was within “this circle of a few hundred yards” at Flatford that Constable first learned to see Nature and to form that sentiment towards her which determined his art all his life through. The memory of this enchanted circle was always present with him, in whatever other place he might be or whatever other scene he might be painting. A view of the house in which he was born at Flatford forms the frontispiece to his “English Landscape,” with these lines inscribed under it:

“*Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
Annos felices lætitiæque dies: Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus et nostræ laudis origo fuit.*”

He seems aware that in painting and repainting some aspect of these few acres around Flatford he was painting the world which he knew, when “every common sight” did seem “Apparell'd in celestial light, The glory and the brightness of a dream.” His sympathies and interests, his hopes and fears, “Did all within this circle move.”

He paints it in sunshine and rain, at dawn and twilight, in calm and in storm, with the same art and interest that a dramatist would portray a human character in the varying light of

successive passions. In this way a new element enters into the art of landscape — an element for which we vainly look in the landscapes of Claude or Gaspar Poussin. But the presence of it in Constable's pictures renders them the counterpart in painting of those poems by Wordsworth and his contemporaries which convey sentiments towards Nature not unsimilar nor less beautiful.

51. *The best scenery I know.*⁵¹

There is something rather ogre-ish in that love of scenery which is so salient a feature of our times and has been so well exemplified in recent numbers of this paper. It might be argued that every kind of true love has an ogre-ish element; humanity, in its egoism, being unable to appreciate a thing, unless it have also power to destroy it. The comparative indifference with which the ancients seem to have regarded landscape might be traced to their lack of tools for its destruction. We, in this century, suffer from no such lack, and our love of landscape is quite unbounded. We have water-towers wherewith to cap our little hills, railway-trains to send along the ridges of our valleys, coal-shafts to sink through ground where, for many centuries, forests have been growing. We have factories, too, for the marges of wide rivers, texts about pills and soaps for the enamelling of meads, and telegraph-wires for the threading of air, and tall, black chimneys for all horizons. Those of us who are County Councillors are imbued with a peculiar sensibility to all forms of beauty. They cannot rest till they have given proofs and tokens of their great love. “Lo, here,” they say, “is old Hampstead Heath! It has a wild charm. Let's level it!” or “Lo, there is dear Chelsea Reach! Who does not know and love it? Let's embank it!”

Month in, month out, with tears blinding our eyes, we raise tombs of brick and mortar for the decent burial of any scenery that may still be lying exposed. A little while, and English landscape will have become the theme of antiquarians, and we shall be listening to learned lectures on scenology and gaping at dried specimens of the trees, grasses and curious flowers that were once quite common in our counties. I am glad that there are, in the meantime, still some fragments of country not built over. I make the most of them, whenever I am at leisure. I think that Prangley Valley is the fragment that most fascinates me; partly because it is so utterly

⁵¹ H.P. Horne, *The best scenery I know*, in “Saturday Review”, August 28, 1897, pp. 216 - 218.

sequestered, yet so near to London. From Kew Gardens one may reach it in less than half an hour's walking, but the way to it lies through such devious and narrow lanes, that the wheel of no scorcher scars it, and it is unimpressed by any Arrian or Arriettian boot. Indeed, I have often wondered how the "King's Sceptre," a Jacobean inn which stands just above the Valley, can thrive so finely on so little custom. John Willet himself seemed not more prosperously-paunched than the keeper of this inn, and, though I have never met any fellow-farer at his door, my advent does not seem to flutter him. The notion that any human creature should care to drink old ale from one of his burnished tankards, or should admire the Valley over which he has always lived, seems to puzzle him rather, but not to excite him. It is very pleasant to sit on the settle that stands, in summer-time, across the lawn of his sloping garden; pleasant to sit there, among the hollyhocks and fuchsia-beds, and look down upon the little, hollow Valley that is so perfect in its way. I am afraid it is not a grand or an uncomfortable piece of scenery. It cannot lay claim to a single crag, peak or torrent. It suggests the artfulness, rather than the forces, of Nature. Its charm is toy-like. The stream that duly bisects it is so slight and unassuming that I have quite forgotten its name. I remember that my innkeeper once told me, with a touch of pride, that it was a tributary of the Thames. Perhaps it is, but it looks suspiciously like a riband. So neat, so nicely matched one to another, are the poplar-trees on the opposite brow of the Valley, that one fancies they must stand, as in the nursery, on rounds of yellow wood, and would topple at the touch. Among these amusing trees there is one solitary tenement. It is a kind of pavilion, built of grey stone and crowned with a dome round which stand gilded statuettes of the nine Muses. I know not what happens in it now, but it is said to have been designed by Sir Roland Hanning, physician-in-ordinary to Queen Adelaide, and used by him as a summer-house and library, whenever he was in residence at Kew. Seen from a distance, with the sun gleaming on its grey and gilt, the pavilion has an absurd charm of its own. Set just where it is, it makes, in painter's jargon, a pretty "spot" in the whole scheme. One can hardly believe, though, that any one but a marionette ever lived there. Indeed, were it not for the sheep, which are browsing on the slope and are obviously real, and for their shepherd, who is not at all like Noah, one would imagine that the whole Valley was but a large, expensive toy. A trim, demure prospect, unambitious, unspoil! The strange brightness of its verdure and the correctness of its miniature proportions

make it seem, in the best sense of the word, artificial. If it has not been designed and executed with intense care, it is certainly the luckiest of flukes. Greater it might be, but not better. I feel that, for what it is, it is quite perfect. So it soothes me, and I am fond of it.

I am not a railway-company, nor a builder, nor a County Councillor. I had no direct means of ruining Prangley Valley. But I have written my encomium of it, and now it is likely to be infested by all the readers of this paper and by most of their friends. I have given away my poor Valley. The prospector will soon be prospecting it, and across its dear turf the trippers will soon be tripping. In sheer wantonness, I have ruined my poor Valley. All true love has its ogreish element.

MAX BEERBOHM.

XIV.

I have not travelled the world over; I am acquainted only with the politer parts of Europe, and, having arrived in my journeys beyond Britain at ultimate Rome, I have been content, like John Evelyn, to make that the non ultra of my travels and to half-persuade myself with him that there is "little more to be seen in the rest of the civil world after Italy, France, Flanders and the Low Countries but plain and prodigious barbarism." This wholly indefensible point of view may in some measure explain, or at least excuse, my notion of what constitutes scenery. Scenery, I hold, is a relative thing. Its interest and beauty depend entirely upon the human drama of which it is the background and from which its best colours are taken. There cannot, as I conceive it, be any scenery at the Poles or in the unexplored recesses of the Great Desert. A road or hut may at a pass make a scene; but something more is necessary to a masterpiece. In brief, excepting the human form, I take architecture to be the better part of scenery. Do but rob Claude of his palaces and castles, and his Vergilian lights and airs will show most ineffectually. The finest scenes contain a whole city at the least: Ancona from the sea, Venice from the Lido, Assisi from Santa Maria degli Angeli, are all incomparable scenes. In England many of our cathedral towns afford scenes of a very different kind, but unrivalled in their way: Durham from the banks, some parts of Oxford, Lincoln, and I know not what others. But the finest scene to my mind (which I, who was born within the sound of Bow Bells, am not

ashamed to prefer even to the most famous vistas of Italy) is here daily before our eyes if we would but trouble ourselves to look at it. I do not allude to the Thames at Chelsea, or even to Epping Forest. My “prospect” is not so obvious; it must be sought out at some pains. The hour, moreover, must be propitious, the traveller not irreverent.

I chanced upon it in this way. One fresh spring morning—for me, a prodigious term of years ago—I had borrowed the keys of St. Saviour’s Church in Southwark, to hunt out the few traces of the original church which the restorers of the ‘thirties had, in their pious zeal, neglected to re-edify; for as yet the building had not been re-restored into an authentic monument of the present decade of grace. My predilections were still, I think, for the Gothic: any stone which revealed the chisel of the mediaeval mason was yet for me an object of interest, if not of enthusiasm. Led by my curiosity, I began to explore the tower of the church, and at length found myself on the lead-fat of the roof. Here a sight broke on me which made me speedily forget the matter I was intent upon. A fresh south-west wind was up, and large fleecy clouds were passing in rapid succession across a blue sky, casting over the illimitable city great chequered spaces of shadow, which, flying before the wind, chased the dappled sunshine away into the uncertain distance. Out of this moving mass of light and shade ever and anon some storied tower or fantastic steeple passed suddenly into, brilliant light, and as suddenly again passed into shade—an inky shape against the clouded horizon. Here, by the river-side, the bleached stonework of some delicate steeple; there, in the middle distance, the immense, soaring, foursquare mass of some pinnacled tower assumed a dazzling whiteness, scarcely less brilliant than flesh in sunlight, only to fade in a moment like some unsubstantial thing into the universal grey of the distance. Half a hundred towers and spires flashed into as many various shapes, now rich, now fantastic or severe--the opulence of a great imagination poured out in bewildering profusion. Such was the scene as it occurred to me that April morning. A new world lay discovered before me: the genius of Wren had found in me a votary of Italian architecture. I resolved to leave my poor Gothic fragments and to see Italy for myself. If England, said I, can show such a scene, what may not be found in Rome, Genoa, or Naples? But I was doomed to be disappointed.

Among the drawings by Thomas Girtin which are in the British Museum is a water-colour of this very scene, taken from Bankside, somewhat west of St. Saviour's Church. It shows a score of steeples and towers in brilliant light, and as many more in shadow. The colours of the scene, the dazzling light on the bleached stonework, the sable spires against the gloomy horizon are admirably expressed, but the vivacity and the motion are wanting. Such things were beyond the art even of Thomas Girtin. Yet his drawing preserves much that we now look for in vain. At that time there was no bridge to interrupt the reach of the river between Blackfriars and London Bridge; neither, as yet, had the vast roof of Cannon Street Station abruptly interposed its shapeless mass into the delicate perspective. The long line of glittering steeples by the riverside, which Girtin has faithfully represented in his drawing, had not as yet been thinned by the zealous hands of the Established Church. The charming brick campanile of St. Benet, Paul's Wharf, with its leaded cupola, remains certainly to this day, with the towers of St. James Garlickhithe, and St. Michael Paternoster Royal, wreathed with columns and designedly set side by side, like two divisions in music run upon the same ground, as if their architect wished to show with what variety he was able to treat some prescribed architectural motive. St. Magnus— an inimitable piece of invention remains, and the tower of St. Mary Somerset, shorn of its church, remains. But where is the charming and delicate stone cupola of St. Mary Magdalene, Knight-riding Street? Where is the steeple of St. Michael Queenhithe, with its gilded ship in full sail, the modest tower of Allhallows the More, the storied campanile of St. Michael, Crooked Lane? Could Girtin again view the scene he would search in vain for many others in the more northern parts of the City: for the stately stone spire of St. Antholin's; for Allhallows, Bread Street, which even the name of John Milton could not save; with many more, now mere names, half-forgotten histories.

Perhaps the stately remnant of Wren's steeples and spires appear more solemn and magnificent as they rise to-day out of the mean and monstrous labyrinth of modern London than when they first rose complete above the picturesque brick houses and tiled roofs of London in the seventeenth century. The bleaching winds and the sooty fumes are as subtle virtues of its magic atmosphere, which seem to have brought out and intensified some spiritual element of the Middle Ages which linger in the pagan columns and pilasters. Certainly in Italy, after the death of Palladio, Italian architecture grows merely effective-empty, theatrical, baroque; but here in

England it becomes highly expressive, refined, imaginative. The real masters of Italian architecture in the seventeenth century are not Bernini and Fontana, but Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren: Italy can show nothing comparable to the works of these men. When, like the Sibyls' books, the greater part of them shall have been destroyed, perhaps we may awake to their beauty and their inimitable art.

52. *The Tate Gallery*.⁵²

This Illustrated Catalogue will, no doubt, until the appearance of the Official Catalogue, prove acceptable to the crowds which daily throng the Tate Gallery. But even then that publication will want the illustrations which, indifferent though they be, are not the least attractive part in the public estimation of the publication before us. The present Catalogue, it must be confessed, appears to have been “got up” in imitation of the catalogues issued by ornamental cast-iron manufacturers, or purveyors of sanitary appliances, to advertise their wares. Moreover, Mr. David Croal Thomson is so occupied in his introduction with recounting the benefactions of the founder, and of recording his speech and that of the Prince of Wales on the opening day, that only in the concluding paragraph does he allow himself to make any original reflection on art or painting. The paragraph, however, is worth transcribing: “This much, however, let me add: no one, with or without a knowledge of the art of to-day in other countries, need hesitate to take the most fastidious connoisseur to see the productions of the nineteenth century in painting and sculpture in Great Britain. With possibly one exception only—that of Holland, where the general level of artistic work is very high at this time—no other school of painting excels the British. France at present is feeble, with a few brilliant exceptions; Germany has only one or two really good artists; Italy has perhaps one; while Spain, Belgium and other countries appear almost barren. Let us rejoice, therefore, in the vitality exhibited by the present British school in this new Gallery, and let us hope that the donor's wish will be fulfilled, and a new era for our own artists date from the day of its successful inauguration.” Such sentiments are

⁵² H.P. Horne, *The Tate Gallery*, in “Saturday Review”, October 23, 1897, pp. 447 - 448.

worthy of a Macaulay ; but the manner in which they are expressed reminds us, alas! only of the “Art Journal.”

53. *The state of the National Gallery, supplement.*⁵³

SUPPLEMENT. LONDON: 26 FEB., 1898. THE STATE OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

It is characteristic of our national interests and in differences that, while the least deficiency in the administration of some County Council or local School Board is sufficient to create a public scandal, to the immense advantage of all the local parties and newspapers concerned, the affairs of our museums and galleries prove a matter of little or no interest to the public at large. Even the Royal Commission which was lately sitting to inquire into the abuses prevailing at South Kensington failed to attract the public notice to any appreciable extent; and it is much to be doubted whether the arbitrary and peremptory dismissal of Mr. Weale, from his post of Librarian at the Kensington Museum, will excite any interest or meet with any redress. If such scandals pass unnoticed, it is no wonder that the administration of the National Gallery fails to attract attention, or that the public does not care to inquire how the frugal Parliamentary grant to the National Gallery is expended. Yet the fact remains that during the last few years a state of things has been obtaining at Trafalgar Square which, had it occurred in some more utilitarian department of the public service, would long ago have raised a general clamour, and undoubtedly have resulted in a public inquiry.

Sir Edward Poynter was appointed to succeed Sir Frederic Burton as Director of the National Gallery on 8 May, 1894. Up to that time the discretion and power of purchasing additional pictures for the Gallery had, within certain limits, been vested in the office of the Director. On the retirement of Sir Frederic Burton, however, all this was changed; and the Trustees reserved to themselves the power of buying new pictures. Whether this very radical change in the administration of the Gallery was intended as a censure upon the retiring Director, or a want of confidence in the gentleman about to succeed him, we are not informed. Certainly, Sir Frederic Burton had made some bad blunders; almost the last picture which he bought, No. 1406, an Annunciation, attributed to Fra Angelico, for the large sum of £1500, proved to be only

⁵³ H.P. Horne, *The state of the National Gallery, supplement*, in “Saturday Review”, February 26, 1898, pp. 275 - 279.

a schoolcopy of the original in the Prado at Madrid. That was an inexcusable blunder; for the Director of our National Collection is, at least, expected to be familiar with the contents of the great European Galleries. On the other hand, the change in the administration of the Gallery carried with it a very serious objection: before the innovation the Director, and the Director alone, was the responsible person; under the present system the onus of the direction of the Gallery appears to rest neither wholly with the Director nor wholly with the Trustees. Since Sir Edward Poynter has become Director, three annual reports have been issued to the Treasury, bearing his signature; and, in the absence of any more definite information, we can only suppose that, in accepting his salary of £1000 a year, he accepts along with it the responsibility attaching to the various purchases of pictures enumerated in these three reports. Certainly the purchase of additional paintings for the Gallery is the principal duty of the Director. His mistakes in other respects, in naming or hanging them, may be afterwards corrected; but bad pictures, bought at the price of good ones, like reports, remain. We therefore propose to deal exhaustively with the portion of each of these reports which relates to the purchase of such pictures, and to examine categorically each painting on its own merits.

In the Report for the year 1894, fifteen pictures are set down as having been bought for the Gallery since Sir Edward Poynter assumed its directorship. Of these, the first four were purchased at the sale of the Eastlake Collection in June 1894. They were No. 1409, a "Marriage of St. Catherine," by Andrea Cordelle Agii; No. 1410, a charming "Virgin and Child," by Borgognone; No. 1411, two little panels given to Ercole de' Roberti; and No. 1412, a "Virgin and Child, with St. John," which in the Eastlake Collection bore the name of Botticelli, but which Sir Edward Poynter, with far less reason, has thought fit to label Filippino Lippi. For the present it would be wise to label this charming little panel the "School of Botticelli." Had Sir Edward Poynter's purchases always been of this nature, his most exacting critic would have had little to blame. After a portrait by Gerard Dou, No. 1415, which does not call for any special notice, the next pictures set down in the Report are No. 1417, "The Agony in the Garden," by Andrea Mantegna, No. 1418, "St. Jerome in his Study," by Antonello da Messina, and No. 1419, "The Legend of St. Giles and the Hind," by an unknown painter of the Early Flemish School. These fine and important works were acquired for the sum of £6000 from the Earl of Northbrook: the

credit of their purchase, however, is not due, we believe, to Sir Edward Poynter, the negotiations for their purchase having been concluded by Sir Frederic Burton. Next follow two good Dutch pictures, No. 1420, an excellent Berck-Heyde, and No. 1421, a Jan Steen, purchased at the Adrian Hope sale: and with that our commendation of the Director's purchases comes almost to an end.

The eighteenth picture scheduled in this report, No. 1429, "An Interior of the Rotunda at Ranelagh in London," was purchased from Mr. Horace Buttery for £120 as a work by Antonio Canale, commonly called Canaletto. "Canaletti," says Walpole, "came to England in 1746, when he was about the age of fifty, by persuasion of his countryman Amiconi, and encouraged by the multitude of pictures he had sold or sent over to the English." "I think," he adds, "he did not stay here above two years." Walpole, doubtless, is here speaking of Antonio Canale, but his nephew and pupil, Bernardo Bellotto, is also said by more than one writer, but on no authentic grounds, to have visited this country. So closely did Bellotto succeed in imitating his uncle, that not only was the name "Il Canaletto," originally and properly given to the nephew, transferred to the uncle, but the paintings of Bellotto also, in course of time, have been largely attributed to Canale. Indeed, more than one painting of Bellotto in our National Gallery is so attributed. Now we know that Antonio Canale made "An Inside View of the Rotunda in Ranelagh Gardens"; for there is an old print of it, published on "Dec. 2, 1751," and engraved by N. Parr, which, according to the title, "Canaletti delin." On comparing this print with the picture, the point of view is found to be much the same; whilst there are several remarkable differences of treatment and detail. In the print a large number of small figures are employed to enhance the air of space and perspective which the painter has given to the scene: in the picture, the figures not only differ from those in the print, but are far less numerous, and much larger in proportion to the architecture, thereby destroying that effect of space, which was one of the characteristics of Canale's manner. Again, in the print an attempt has been made to correctly render in perspective the cove of the ceiling above the central structure; in the picture this circular cove has been drawn without regard to the point of sight. In the print the chandeliers, which were architecturally disposed, are correctly shown; in the picture they are not drawn with the same care, and one of them is omitted. Such obvious differences alone would have been sufficient to

make any ordinary person pause in coming at a judgment of this View of Ranelagh; but let us take the picture on its own merits. How crude and clumsy is the handling; how entirely wanting is that sense of atmosphere which distinguishes the works of Antonio Canale! Nor is the colouring of the picture that of a Venetian painter. A very superficial comparison of this picture with the fine view in Venice, No. 127, which hangs immediately behind it, or with some of the other pictures in the same rooms, must convince any one who has any knowledge of painting, that the picture in question cannot be by either of the Canaletti. For ourselves, we make no doubt that this view of Ranelagh is by some English imitator of their manner: the drawing and colouring of the figures which have been introduced independently of the local chiaroscuro or the aërial perspective, are, in our opinion, a proof of this.

The next picture, No. 1431, "The Baptism of Our Lord," by Perugino, purchased in Rome for £400, calls for a more special examination, perhaps, than any other recent purchase. It is described in the report for the year as a work of the "Venetian School" (sic): since the Report is signed, and purports to be written, by the Director, we can only conclude that here we have some indication of his knowledge of Early Italian Painting at the time he assumed the direction of the Gallery. An examination of the picture itself more than confirms this supposition: "Sir Edward Poynter has not merely confused the Venetian with the Umbrian School. The forms in this little panel, especially of the heads, the hands, and the draperies, are the clumsiest travesty upon those of Perugino; while the cold, purplish key of the colouring and the coarse brushwork resemble neither his own work, nor that of his Immediate followers. The most charitable view which one could take of this worthless picture is to suppose it to be a late sixteenth-century copy of some lost original. It seems to have been painted in oils; and a more minute examination of it than we have had an opportunity of making, would probably reveal further proofs of its worthlessness. But be that as it may, enough is evident to show that its purchase is a gross scandal to the administration of the Gallery, and the sooner it is consigned to the limbo of mistaken acquisitions the better for every one concerned. Its monetary value is far nearer four shillings than £400.

No. 1416, "The Virgin and Child, with two Saints," by Filippo Mazzola, purchased from Mr. C. Fairfax Murray for £120. The interest of this picture begins and ends in the fact that it was painted by the father of Parmigiano. Feeble in conception and in execution, this wretched painting has nothing to convey to us, except the sorry truth that even in the Golden Age of Italian Art there were accredited painters as incompetent as any now living. This painter, we are told, was called Filippo dell'Erbette, because he succeeded best in painting fruit and flowers. Judging, however, from the picture in question, we should have imagined that he was so nicknamed because his figures resembled vegetables rather than human beings. However, the cheery thought remains that its acquisition greatly redounds to the genius of Mr. Fairfax Murray as a dealer, though scarcely, perhaps, as much as his famous "Lotto" at Dresden.

No. 1427, Hans Baldung, surnamed Grün, "The Dead Christ," purchased from Mr. George Donaldson for £600, and No. 1428, R. H. Lancaster, "A View of the Town Quay at Southampton," purchased from Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi for £84, are both works of no great artistic importance. The "View of Southampton," by Lancaster, however, makes so charming an appearance in the Tate Gallery, where it is entirely in its place, that it would be ungracious not to commend its purchase. These pictures conclude the report for 1894.

The report for the year 1895 specifies the purchase of sixteen pictures. Of these, the first on the list is No. 1436, "The Vision of St. Eustace," by Vittore Pisano, which was purchased from the Earl of Ashburnham for £3000. It would be hard to over-rate the beauty and importance of this picture; but the credit of its purchase, we believe, is not wholly due to Sir Edward Poynter. As in the case of the fourth picture described in this report, No. 1450, "The Holy Family," by Sebastiano del Piombo, which was one of the pictures acquired from Lord Northbrook's collection, the negotiations for its purchase had been opened, if not concluded by Sir Frederic Burton. We hope, however, that we may be mistaken in regard to this point; for none of the other purchases enumerated in this report show an equal taste or judgment; indeed, a few of them reveal an unparalleled want of knowledge. But we prefer to let these dubious acquisitions speak for themselves.

Of the remaining fourteen pictures mentioned in this report let us first take No. 1453, "A View of Covent Garden Market," by B. Nebot, signed and dated 1737, purchased at the sale of Lord Clifren's pictures for £73 10s. The Catalogue informs us that little or nothing is known of this "presumably English painter," beyond the fact that he painted a portrait of Captain Thomas Coram. We may add that it is more probable that this obscure painter was a foreigner, perhaps a Frenchman, working in this country. It would seem that his name was Balthazar Nebot, and that he was still living in 1786, if two etchings of London characters are by the same person. The topographical interest of this view of Covent Garden is considerable: and for the student of the Fine Arts in England the picture possesses a certain historical value, but judged merely as a work of art its pretensions must be confessed to be slight. It is very desirable that a room should be set apart at the New Gallery at Millbank in which examples of the lesser painters who have worked in England might be shown in chronological order. In such a museum this picture by Balthazar Nebot would have its proper place, with other paintings of the same order, for instance, the portrait of a horse, No. 1452, by George Stubbs, R.A., and the landscapes by Julius Cæsar Ibbetson, No. 1460, and Robert Ladbrooke, No. 1467, all of which are scheduled in this report for 1895. Such pictures would be found to possess a charm of their own, when no longer brought into immediate contrast with the works of the great masters of the English School. In the National Gallery, however, a large number (and they increase year by year) of small pictures by second or third-rate painters, such as Ibbetson and Ladbrooke, can serve only to detract from the splendid impression which the first-rate painters of our English School certainly succeed in creating. They tend, in other words, to turn a gallery of the great masters into a mere museum.

A far better piece than any of these English pictures is No. 1451, a church-interior, by Gerrit Berck-Heyde; a commendable purchase, although another painting by the same artist, No. 1420, was bought as recently as the previous year. No. 1447, "A Hunting Party," by Adam van der Meulen, and No. 1459, a large, and not very attractive, portrait group by Gerbrand van den Eekhout, the imitator of Rembrandt, may be passed over without special comment. Not so No. 1454, "A Gondola," by Francesco Guardi, which, though little more than a sketch, possesses so much delicate charm of colour and handling that the Director must be certainly complimented on

acquiring this pleasing trifle. Those delightful Venetian painters, Guardi, Tiepolo, and Longhi could all with advantage be better represented in our National collection.

Here, for the second time, we must turn from praise to censure. No. 1437, "The Descent of the Holy Ghost," attributed to Barnaba da Modena, and purchased from Mr. C. Simpson for £50, is an early panel whose interest is entirely antiquarian, and that of a very limited kind. Its place would be in some museum of archæology, not in the National Gallery. The next picture cannot, at present, aspire even to the honour of a place in an archæological museum. No. 1458, "A Galiot in a Gale," attributed to John Sell Cotman, was purchased at the sale of the late Mr. James Price's collection for £2310. When this picture was put up at Christie's, considerable doubts were expressed in the sale-room as to its authenticity, and it has since become a matter of common knowledge that Mr. James Reeve, the Curator of the Norwich Museum, and the chief living authority upon the Norwich School in general, and Cotman in particular, has emphatically pronounced against this picture. It now hangs in the National Gallery, beside a smaller but genuine seapiece by Cotman, No. IIII, the history of which is known, and whose proper name is "Wherries on Breydon." It does not require a trained eye to see that these two paintings differ radically from one another. The smaller painting of the wherries is distinguished by the originality and solemnity of its composition, by the remarkable breadth of its tone and handling, by the beauty and subtlety of its colouring-qualities which distinguish Cotman's best work in water-colours. The larger painting, on the other hand, possesses none of these qualities: in composition it is commonplace and empty, broken in tone, coarse in handling and crude in colour. It is impossible to believe that Cotman, accomplished master as he was of the science of draughtsmanship, could, even in the hurry of "pot-boiling," have drawn, or rather misdrawn, this impossible Galiot in the picture at the National Gallery. That Cotman possessed an intimate knowledge of shipping and of the forms and movement of water is clearly proved by the two pictures belonging to Mr. Colman, of Norwich, which we have all seen during the year at the Victorian Exhibition at Earl's Court. Contrast the solid and weighty flow of the sea in the painting No. 43, called "After the Storm," with these scene-painter's waves, which appear to have no relation to the movement of this Galiot. Remark the breadth, subtlety and essential truth which characterise the other painting at Earl's Court, No. 50, "Fishing Boats off Yarmouth." How

entirely different is the painting in the National Gallery! Indeed, this picture of the Galiot does not remind us of Cotman at all. Its composition appears to have been suggested by "Calais Pier," or some such painting by Turner. Manner, colouring and handling, all recall that artist rather than the Norwich painter; and it is highly probable that in this picture we have one of those worthless imitations of Turner, made subsequently to the period in Cotman's career to which it is attributed. Yet on this picture no less a sum than £2310 of the public money has been wasted. If the Director of our National Gallery has not sufficient knowledge and judgment to guide him in purchasing a painting by one of his own countrymen, who was still living when he was a boy, what are we to expect when that official is confronted by the really difficult problems with which the study of Early Italian Art abounds?

No. 1461, "St. Sebastian Crowned by Angels," by Matteo di Giovanni, purchased at Florence from Signor S. Bardini for £571. The Director appears to have gone out of his way in purchasing this unpleasing and unimportant picture, for the Sieneese painter, Matteo di Giovanni, was already represented in the National Gallery by two works, one of which, No. 1155, "The Assumption of the Virgin," is, perhaps, his masterpiece. This "St. Sebastian," on the contrary, is not only a weak and inferior piece, but the hand of Giacomo Cozzarelli, rather than that of Matteo himself, appears to be discernible in many parts of it. When the Sieneese School is so poorly represented in our Gallery, when we possess no representative work by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, except the fragment of a fresco, nothing by Vecchietta, Cecco di Giorgio, Neroccio di Landi, not to mention lesser masters, upon what grounds, we ask, does the Director justify the purchase of this picture?

No. 1465, Gaudenzio Ferrari, "Christ rising from the Tomb," purchased at Milan at the sale of the Scarpa Collection for £215. This painter was not already represented in the Gallery, perhaps on account of the difficulty which the former Directors found in meeting with any easel picture which was characteristic of him at his best. Sir Edward Poynter, however, appears to have bought the first panel which he stumbled across, without inquiring whether it in any way represented the genius of Gaudenzio. Who could imagine from this empty, vapid painting, what surprising beauty and decorative splendour Gaudenzio is master of in the Choir of Angels on the

little dome of Saronno; what energy, nay, brutal force, he is able to reveal in such a fresco as that of the Crucifixion in one of the side chapels of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan? But considerations of this kind do not seem to present themselves to the mind of Sir Edward. Gaudenzio certainly never exhibits in his easel pictures the power which is characteristic of his frescoes; yet if no more characteristic work could be found than this, it would have been better to have refrained from buying anything by him. But we are by no means certain that such a difficulty exists; only recently, for example, a panel far finer and more characteristic of Gaudenzio's virile manner has come into the collection of Dr. Ludwig Mond in London. Why was not this secured for the National Gallery?

No. 1466, "The Walk to Emmaus," by Lelio Orsi, purchased at Milan at the sale of the Scarpa Collection for £25. It is difficult to discuss the purchase of this picture with moderation. Of all the genuine paintings which have been acquired for the Gallery since Sir Edward Poynter became Director, this one artistically is, without doubt, the most worthless. Mannered to a degree in which the forms become merely disfigured, feeble in conception, clumsy in execution, this stupid picture exhibits the Lombard School in the lowest depths of its decline. If this "Walk to Emmaus" is to be taken as a low-water mark of excellence; and every Italian painter, who had done anything up to its level, is to be represented in our National Collection, the Gallery at Trafalgar Square will be turned into a very labyrinth of mediocrity, appalling to contemplate.

No. 1438, "Head of St. John the Baptist," Milanese School, purchased in London for £140 7s. 6d., from Mr. James C. Watt. This is a feeble and nameless devotional picture of not an uncommon Milanese type. Surely, with the quantity of fine Lombard pictures in this country, and the number of interesting Milanese painters of whose art we have no example in the National Gallery, such as Bramantino, Cesare da Sesto, Andrea Salaino, and Giovanni Pedrini, nothing but an assumption of sheer indifference on the part of the Director can explain the purchase of this or the foregoing picture. These conclude the purchases made in 1895.

It appears from the last report issued for the year 1896, that only seven additional pictures were bought for the Gallery during that year. The first three were works by Francis Goya: No. 1471, "La Merienda Campestre"; No. 1472, "Ei Hechizado por Fuerza"; and No.

1473, "Portrait of Doña Isabel Corbo de Porcel": the two genre pieces were purchased at Madrid for £265 14s.; the portrait for £404 19s. As the opinion of competent judges appear to differ in regard to the value of these pictures, we will merely express the opinion that no one of them is highly characteristic of the painter. There is a difficulty, we are told, in obtaining good examples of Goya's works ; yet only a few months ago, at Paris, in an exhibition of portraits at the Beaux-Arts, more than one picture by him was to be seen, which was far more characteristic of the author of the "Caprichos," and far more interestingly painted than any in our National Gallery. However, we do not wish to deny Sir Edward Poynter the least credit which is due to him; so we will assume that no more important examples of Goya's art were to be had.

The remaining four pictures we will take in the order in which they are described in the Report. No. 1476, "Jupiter and Semele," by Andrea Schiavone, purchased at the sale of Lord Leighton's pictures for £42. The authorities of the Gallery may, perhaps, be excused the wish to obtain an example of this second-rate Venetian painter, since Tintoret is reported to have said that every painter ought to have in his workroom a picture by Schiavone: "per accendersi, cred'io," adds an old commentator, "in mirandolo di pittoresco ardore, di facilità e di forza nel colorire." Precisely! this fine fury of the painter, this facility, this force of colouring, still lend to his better pictures a charm and value which their design and draughtsmanship alone could not give them. But the *amateur* who seeks out this picture of "Jupiter and Semele" in the hope of finding "a delicate Schiavone various as a tulip-bed, with rich broken tints," will be greatly disappointed. The scene and the figures, especially that of the nymph, are badly conceived and worse drawn: of the colour, of the "pittoresco ardore" of the painter, there is scarcely a hint. This insignificant little panel is one of those numerous and hurried paintings thrown off in order to provide for the necessities of the moment. In a word, it exhibits all the faults and none of the excellences of the painter, and it might fitly stand as the type of the kind of pictures which the Director of a great National Collection should refuse upon any terms.

No. 1478, "Symbolic Representation of the Crucifixion," by Giovanni Mansueti, purchased for £435 15s. This, again, is a somewhat unimportant work by a second-rate artist. The composition, however, has a certain interest which might have excused its presence in the

Gallery, had purchases of this kind been the exception and not the rule among the recent acquisitions of the Gallery.

No 1479, "A Scene on the Ice," by Hendrik van Avercamp, purchased from Mr. J. St. Hense for £89 5s. The Gallery already possessed another "cene on the Ice" (No. 1346), by this second-rate Dutch painter, which is almost identical in conception, treatment, colouring and handling. The newer and larger picture is, no doubt, the better of the two; yet we fail to see what is gained by a multiplication of examples of this kind.

No. 1480, "Portrait of Gilbert Stuart," by himself, purchased from Mr. Hughes Stanton for £150. This is another work whose historical interest exceeds its artistic value. Gilbert Stuart was one of the earliest painters of the Anglo-American School, and his portrait would show to advantage in such a collection as we suggest should be established at Millbank.

This concludes the purchases scheduled in the last report. We cannot, however, forbear to speak of one picture which has been acquired for the Gallery since that report was issued. The Ferrarese painter, Ludovico Mazzolino—whose character as a painter Morelli pithily sums up when he speaks of him as a "favourite of the Roman Monsignor"—was already well represented by three good examples, Nos. 82, 169 and 641: Sir Edward Poynter has thought proper to acquire a fourth example of this unimportant painter, No. 1495, "Christ Disputing with the Doctors," which is inferior to any one of the three pictures already in the Gallery. We can only suppose that when the Director made this purchase he was ignorant of the fact that Mazzolino was already sufficiently represented in the Gallery.

What, then, is the result of our inquiry? Since Sir Edward Poynter has assumed the directorship of the Gallery no picture of first-rate importance has been added to the collection, with the exception of the pictures acquired from Lord Northbrook and Lord Ashburnham, the negotiations for which were begun, if not concluded, by Sir Frederic Burton. On the other hand, a large number of third and fourth-rate pictures have been bought for small sums. These, for the most part, are either works of masters already well or better represented in the Gallery, such as No. 1461, by Matteo di Giovanni, No. 1479, by Hendrik van Avercamp, or No. 1495, by Ludovico Mazzolino; or they are works which are not finely characteristic of their painters, as

No. 1465, by Gaudenzio Ferrari, or No. 1476, by Andrea Schiavone; or they are works of inferior painters, who have no place in a gallery of the great masters, as No. 1416, by Filippo Mazzola, No. 1437, by Barnaba da Modena, or No. 1466, by Lelio Orsi; or, lastly, they are worthless pictures masquerading under great names, such as No. 1429, attributed to Canale, No. 1431, attributed to Perugino, and No. 1458, attributed to Cotman. While the public money is being wasted on these inferior, or worthless paintings, masterpieces of the first order are allowed to pass out of England into foreign collections without the least effort being made to secure them for our National Gallery. In some instances they have even been offered to and refused by the authorities of the Gallery. Lord Darnley's magnificent Titianthe "Europa," which was seen some years ago at Burlington House—has been recently sold to an American collector, and is now in a private gallery at Boston, U.S.A., to which Lord Ashburnham's Botticelli, "The Death of Lucretia," exhibited at the New Gallery in 1894, has also found its way The Rembrandt and the magnificent early Florentine "Portrait of a Lady" which once formed a part of the Ashburnham Collection have been acquired by the Directors of the Berlin Gallery. From England also came the splendid Carpacciesque Dürer, which is now one of the chief ornaments of that Gallery. The "Portrait of a Man," by Giorgione, which was sold by Dr. Richter to the same Gallery, might also have been acquired for the National Gallery; but this really great work of art had already, perhaps, gone to Berlin before Sir Edward Poynter became Director. We are informed on good authority that one of the half-dozen genuine pictures by Botticelli still in private possession has recently been offered to Sir Edward Poynter; and that a "Pietà" by a very rare master, Bramantino, was refused by him before it was seen, on the ground that it was only a copy of a wellknown fresco in one of the Milanese churches, though, as a matter of fact, the two compositions had nothing in common except the subject. Again, Mr. Willet's fine portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni by Domenico Ghirlandaio, which for many years hung in the National Gallery, has also been allowed to be taken away, sold, it is said, without any effort on the part of the authorities to secure this exquisite masterpiece for the nation. These are only a few of the more notorious instances in which pictures which are masterpieces in their several different ways have been lost to the National Gallery, in many cases the last of their kind which can ever come into the National Collection.

On the other hand, since the appointment of the present Director in 1894, no less than ten, either entirely worthless or artistically inferior pictures, bearing the names of Canale, Perugino, Filippo Mazzola, Barnaba da Modena, Cotman, Matteo di Giovanni, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Lelio Orsi, Andrea Schiavone, and a painting by some unknown master of the Milanese School, have been purchased for various sums, amounting to nearly £4000. It is beyond all question that not one of these pictures was worthy of a place in a great national collection. Besides these, a number of English pictures and one or two Dutch paintings have also been acquired, the purchase of which would be hard to entirely justify. Surely a state of things is here disclosed into which a full and searching inquiry ought to be made without delay and without prejudice. Such an inquiry would undoubtedly show that the tradition of appointing some painter of repute to the post of Director of the National Gallery is both impracticable and undesirable. The study and criticism of the old masters has become too difficult and elaborate a science for a busy artist to acquire casually in his leisure moments. Indeed, it is to be doubted whether any one man, be his powers what they may, could be thoroughly acquainted with the whole of European Art. It might be found desirable to appoint two Directors, one of whom should have the control of the English and the Northern European Schools, and the other of the French, Spanish, and Italian Schools. But it is plain that whoever may be appointed should be allowed full power to exercise his taste, judgment and discretion in acquiring additional paintings for the Gallery. Without such power, and without adequate funds, it is an anomaly to pay a Director £1000 a year in addition to a Keeper at a salary of £750. But if a Director be appointed, let him be allowed to justify his position. If he proves incompetent, let him be dismissed; but to pay him a large sum, as Sir Edward Poynter is paid a large sum, merely to figure as an official ornament, does not seem a desirable item in the economy of the State.

The truth is that the National Gallery is in want of some man of ability and strength of character for its Director, who shall thoroughly reorganize the machinery of the Gallery, and establish a good tradition at Trafalgar Square in the same way that Pannizzi established a good tradition at the British Museum. For the moment, the authorities of the National Gallery seem to have forgotten even the real nature of the institution of which they are the custodians. It is not a mere museum or repository, where pictorial documents of all kinds are to be preserved,

irrespective of their artistic value, but it is a gallery of the great masters, to which artistic excellence, and artistic excellence alone, should procure the right of admission. The National Gallery can never be a gallery of masterpieces in the sense in which the Prado is a gallery of masterpieces; but it will lose even that character of general excellence by which it has in the course of years come to be distinguished, if the authorities persist in buying such trivial and worthless pictures as those enumerated in the reports which we have discussed.

It remains for us to speak only of some minor points in the administration of the Gallery. The recent removal of the modern English pictures to the new Gallery at Millbank has enabled the larger part of the collection to be rehung with great advantage to the French, Spanish, Flemish and German pictures. In removing the work of all painters born since 1790 to the Tate Gallery, the Director has wisely eliminated the whole of the pictures which belong essentially to the present reign. Had he followed this principle entirely, there would have been little to criticise on that score. The pictures at Millbank gain in an astonishing degree when seen by themselves, without the unnecessary comparison with such masters as Gainsborough or Reynolds. But upon what grounds, except the wholly inexcusable one of popularity, have the entire works of Sir Edwin Landseer been allowed to remain at Trafalgar Square? That ridiculous line of stuffed puppy-dogs, now that it is confronted by nothing but the masterpieces of Crome, Morland, and Constable, appears fatuous and silly beyond the conception of any one who has not seen this humiliating exhibition. In order to afford room for this vulgar rubbish, it has been necessary to sky such masterpieces as Gainsborough's "Musidora," No. 308, Crome's "Slate Quarries," No. 1037, and Blake's "Spiritual Form of Pitt," No. 1110. And why are Sir Charles Eastlake and Sir John Millais to enjoy a distinction which is denied to a Rossetti or a Cecil Lawson? Surely not because they were Presidents of the Academy? A good rule has been laid down: let it be rigorously observed; and the late Presidents dismissed to Millbank, with the puppy-dogs at their heels.

In hanging some of the other schools, and notably some of the Italian pictures, Sir Edward Poynter has been even less successful. A place of honour, for instance, has been given to No. 226, a "Tondo" of the Virgin and Child with St. John and Angels, which is now said to be a

work of the School of Botticelli. This inferior picture is nothing more than an old copy—not even a School copy—of a good School picture in the Palazzo Rospigliosi at Rome. It is one of the few Italian pictures at Trafalgar Square which should be consigned to the vaults. On the other hand, Crivelli's delightful "Beato Ferretti," No. 668, is allowed to hang "skied" out of sight and enjoyment, although it is undoubtedly among the precious possessions of the Gallery. But the most questionable innovation in this way has occurred in the new decorations of the Umbrian room. Upto that time the walls of the various rooms had been covered with a dark red paper, which formed a serviceable and inoffensive background to the pictures. Sir Edward Poynter, however, has here introduced into the decoration of the Gallery a species of that cheap-looking material known as "Lincrusta Walton": it is embossed with a mean pattern, shiny, and in strips of an uneven tone. Finally, it is of a hot, mustardy, green colour. Against this background, redolent of Tottenham Court Road, Sir Edward hangs the tender Piero della Francesca, No. 908, with its exquisite grape-purples; and to make the discord yet more complete, places on either side the two brightly coloured "Cassone" pictures by Bachiacca, Nos. 1218 and 1219. Another specimen of his taste has been given to the world in the expensive and fussy little frame in which the magnificent Pisanello, No. 1436, "The Vision of St. Eustace," is now placed. Nothing could be more unlike in taste and spirit than the frame and the picture. Indeed, the effect of the painting is greatly disturbed by the foolish columns and spotted decoration by which it is now surrounded, suggesting the hand of some junior student at South Kensington. The former frame, poor as it was, in every way was preferable.

Of the many erroneous attributions which not a few of the pictures bear, we refrain to speak for the present, because we understand that a new catalogue is in course of preparation, and that upon its publication an effort will be made to correct such errors. We must enter, however, a passing word of protest against the indiscriminate way in which pictures bequeathed or presented to the Gallery are accepted, without due regard being paid to their intrinsic value as works of art. It is impossible here to discuss in detail many very inferior works which have been accepted and hung in the Gallery during the last three or four years. One of the more recent and undoubtedly among the more fragrant instances we cannot refrain from commenting upon: we refer to the landscape by Giovanni Costa, No. 1493, recently presented to the Gallery by a body

of subscribers. The picture is a piece of respectable mediocrity, without character, originality, or any other quality to excuse its presence in such a collection. The authorities of the Gallery cannot even plead in this instance the excuse of popularity. But to hang such a picture in the National Gallery merely because it is a gift; and to let the great living masters abroad, Degas, Whistler, and Puvis de Chavannes go unrepresented, is, to speak with reticence, a contradiction. Surely, if we are to have examples of modern European landscape-painting in the National Gallery, we should first provide ourselves with good examples of the Barbizon school, which, after all really continues, through Constable, and through Francia and Bonnington, the tradition of the great school of English landscape. Perhaps, after all, the first writer on Art, of our own time, was right when he suggested that “the chief use in studying Old Masters” lies in their power to “interpret and justify” the masters of our own time. A great artist possesses a charm for his contemporaries, which he loses in his recess through time. The passage of centuries may lend him other colours and other virtues, but this is the peculiar right in him of his contemporaries alone. Could we enjoy our modern art as the Italy of the Renaissance enjoyed her modern art! How vain is the wish! We recall the opinions on contemporary art to which Sir Edward Poynter has committed himself; we waive at once the desirability, however great, of purchasing modern pictures, preferring rather to commend to the notice of the Director the sentence which his predecessors inscribed on the frieze of the Octagon Room of his Gallery, which, if our memory does not play us false, still remains, a piece of salutary advice where judgment, taste and insight are wanting.

54. *Botticelli and Savonarola*.⁵⁴

BOTTICELLI AND SAVONAROLA. “Scelta di Prediche e Scritti di Fra Girolamo Savonarola, con nuovi Documenti intorno alla sua Vita.” Selected and edited by P. Villari and E. Casanova. Florence: Sansoni.

Professor Villari tells us in the preface to this book, that it had always been his intention to supplement his two, now famous, volumes on Savonarola by a third, which should contain a selection from the sermons and writings of the great Dominican preacher. Year after year had gone by, and still the project was deferred to some future occasion. “At length,” adds

⁵⁴ H.P. Horne, *Botticelli and Savonarola*, in “Saturday Review”, August 13, 1898, pp. 210 - 211.

Signor Villari, "Professor E. Casanova, once my pupil and now my friend, offered to collaborate with me, undertaking the harder and more laborious part of the enterprise." To many a stranger who, like myself, has ventured into the labyrinthine mazes of the Florentine Archives, and who already has had occasion to be grateful to Signor Casanova for his untiring courtesy and ready learning, the present volume will furnish a new proof of his scholarly care for documents. The book, like every other book of selections, has the limitations of its kind: the serious student is never satisfied with anything short of all the documents, entire, which bear upon his subject. But the aim of these selections is of a different nature; the popular diffusion of the works and doctrines of Savonarola. As such it has been admirably done; the selection is as well chosen as the editing is scholarly. It is not my present purpose to discuss the book in its relation to Professor Villari's "Life of Savonarola:" here I must confine myself to noticing two documents of no little importance which are now printed for the first time. The first of these, with which the volume commences, is taken from a codex in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, at Florence. It is an extract of a letter written by Fra Placido Cinozzi, one of the monks of San Marco, to the vicar-general of his order, "De vita et moribus reverendi patris fratris Hieronimi Savonarole...post mortem dicti Prophete." This biographical letter is among the very earliest of the many lives of the Prior of San Marco, written after his death; and it is of as much importance among such secondary documents, as the "Diario" of Luca Landucci is among contemporaneous evidences. The second document, which is now published for the first time, is of no little interest, apart from the light which it throws upon the story of Savonarola. "For a long time," says Signor Villari in his preface, "it has been known that Simone Filipepi, the brother of the painter Sandro Botticelli, was an ardent 'piagnone' who was present at the Trial by Fire, and who had written a chronicle of his own times, in which he discoursed much about Savonarola. ... In the 'Giornate' of Lorenzo Violi, who wrote down from 'viva voce' nearly all the sermons of Savonarola, the statement is found more than once repeated, that in the workshop of Sandro Botticelli was gathered together "un' accademia di scioperati," who discoursed and disputed much about Savonarola. Violi adds that Simone, the brother of the painter, was frequently present there, and that he wrote down these discourses in his 'Cronaca,' 'a book in which the aforesaid Simone described all the notable things in those times.' And, adds this writer, "his book, bound in boards," was in the form

of a little chronicle of current affairs of Italy, during those times; and I have seen this book and read it.” Up to the present time the “Cronaca” of Simone Filipepi was thought to be lost beyond recovery: fortunately, however, a partial transcript of it has lately been discovered in the Library of the Vatican, in a volume containing various documents relating to Savonarola; and it is this transcript which Messrs. Villari and Casanova now print in its entirety, at the end of their volume. It consists of a series of extracts arranged under two heads: “Alcune Memorie notabili di fra Girolamo Savonarola,” and “Nota di alcuni particolari pertinenti al Padre fra Girolamo Savonarola da Ferrara ecc.” These notices extend from the time of Savonarola's preaching in Florence, until the death of Pope Alexander VI. The opening sentence is characteristic enough: “Fra Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara began to preach in Florence in the year 1489, as a prophet, and as one sent by God, foretelling the tribulation of all Italy, and exhorting every one to repentance.” It strikes the keynote of the whole “Cronaca,” the insistence upon the divine mission of the preacher.

I find from my own researches in the Archives at Florence that Simone Filipepi was about a year older than his brother Sandro. In a document of the year 1457, their father, Mariano, states that Simone, who was then fourteen years of age, had been sent to Naples in the service of Paolo Rucellai, “annapoli chonpagholo rucjellaj.” According to another document of 1480 Simone was still in that city, but without employment, “sanza aviamento;” and in a passage in his “Cronaca” he records by the way that in 1493 he was still at Naples in the service of a wealthy Florentine merchant, “al governo et servitij di un ricco et grandissimo mercante della nostra città.” Shortly after Simone appears to have returned to his native city, and to have taken up his abode with his brother Sandro, the painter, consequent, perhaps, upon the death of their father Mariano. We know, however, with certainty that in 1498 Simone and Sandro made a declaration to the officials of the taxes, in which they state that they were jointly possessed of a “podere” or farm, without the Porta San Frediano in the parish of “sansipolchro;” and that they then lived together, according to Florentine custom, in the Via Nuova, now part of the Via Porcellana, in the house of Benincasa and Lorenzo Filipepi, the sons of their elder brother Giovanni, to whom the nickname “Il Botticello,” which afterwards became the surname of the family, was originally applied. It is just here that our real interest in Simone Filipepi and his “Cronaca” lies; for he not

only shared with his brother Sandro during these troubled times his home and board, but also his religious beliefs and aspirations, his dejections and consolations, and, above all things, his unfaltering belief in the Divine mission of Savonarola. Those very party quarrels and spiritual disputations which exercised Sandro so much that he certainly neglected, even if, as Vasari states, he did not entirely abandon, his painting, and which, in the event, changed the whole course of his life and art, are here set down day by day, just as the painter himself must have apprehended them. And so this "Cronaca" becomes a sort of commentary upon Botticelli's last pictures; and especially upon that little painting of the Nativity in our own National Gallery, with its mystical inscription in Greek, which translated stands thus: "This picture, at the end of the year 1500, in the troubles of Italy, I, Alexander, in the half time after the time, painted according to the eleventh of St. John, in the second woe of the Apocalypse, in the letting loose of the devil for three and a half years; then he shall be chained according to the twelfth, and we shall see him trodden down as in this picture." There can be no doubt that Botticelli alludes, in this inscription, to the Second Woe of the Apocalypse, described in the eleventh chapter of the Book of the Revelation; and, moreover, that he believed the passage to be a prophecy of the events which were then passing in Florence. The "two witnesses" who should "prophesy a thousand, two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth" were Savonarola and Fra Domenico Buonviani da Pescia: and the "three days and a half" during which the dead bodies of the two witnesses "shall lie in the street of the great city," after they have been killed by "the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit," a period of time identical with "the letting loose of the devil for three and a half years" in the Greek inscription, were understood to be the three and a half years succeeding the death of Savonarola; during which time, as Luca Landucci, among other contemporary writers, records "there was no reverence nor fear of shame left" in Florence. Sacred things were brought into ridicule, Carnival was reintroduced with greater excesses than ever, and at night the streets seemed more like a region of hell than of a civilised city.

But I have no space to pursue such illustrations further. Elsewhere I shall hope to follow out all those chance lights which the "Cronaca" of Simone Filipepi throws upon the life of his brother; here I must be content to add that once, and once only, is Sandro mentioned by name in his brother's book. It is in one of the few authentic anecdotes of the painter which have come

down to us. Done word for word into English, the plain, rude Tuscan of Simone Filipepi's story would run somewhat after this fashion:—"I will next copy out here a 'ricordo' which I made on the 2nd of November, 1499. Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi, my brother, one of the good painters which our city has had in these times, related in my presence, being in the house by the fire, about the third hour of the night, how that day in his shop, in the house of Sandro, he had been arguing with Doffo Spini about the case of Fra Girolamo, and, in effect, upon Sandro questioning him (because he knew that this Doffo had always been one of the principal persons who were present at his examination) that he should tell him the pure truth, what sins they found in Fra Girolamo that he deserved to make so vile an end; Doffo replied to him: Sandro, have I to tell you the truth? We never found in him any venial sin; much less was mortal sin found in him. Then Sandro said to him, Why did you make him die so vilely? He replied, It was not I, but Benozzo Federighi who was the cause of it. And if this prophet had not been put to death with his companions, and had they sent him back to San Marco, the people would have put us to the sack, and all cut to pieces." And so, it would seem, until he was called to that Heavenly Jerusalem, which living he had looked to have seen builded in his own City of Florence, Botticelli continued the devout follower of Fra Girolamo, and an unfaltering believer in the divine origin of his mission.

55. *Bernardo Luini* by G. C. Williamson.⁵⁵

"Bernardino Luini" By G. C. Williamson, Litt.D. (Handbooks of the Great Masters.) G. Bell and Sons, 1899.

Popular interest in the Old Masters, and especially in the early Italian Masters, has so increased within the last few years at the present moment no less than three London publishers are issuing a series of handbooks dealing with such subjects. It is, no doubt, a desirable thing by the public at large in the great galleries at home and abroad: but popularity is apt to prove dangerous, not only painters of the Renaissance has been too often pursued a bias towards Italian art, coupled with a visit of a few for any person in want of employment to embark upon a study which not only requires a long and special training, but certain rare qualities of eye and

⁵⁵ H.P. Horne, *Bernardo Luini* by G. C. Williamson, in "The Review of the Week", December 30, 1899, pp. 200 - 201.

judgment. No beginner would venture in the same manner upon the study of Greek art, for the reason that such studies have long been in the hands of trained experts; but the study of early Italian art possesses, in this country at least, no such guarantee. We have been led to look with some care into the volume before us, because it is the first of a new series, and, having been written by the editor, it may be taken as some indication of what may be expected in future volumes of the series. In a popular handbook of this kind we do not look for original research or brilliant criticism, but we do expect a well-written and intelligent résumé of the best things which have been said upon the subject, "sound in matter," to use the editor's words, and adequately illustrated. For the form of the book and its illustrations we have nothing but praise; but here our praise, we fear, must cease. The book is ill-written, ill-arranged, and far from sound in matter. As we turn over the pages, mistake after mistake catches the eye. The "Susannah" in the Borromeo Gallery at Milan, for instance, is not a fresco. Again, on p. 10, we read that Leonardo da Vinci's "'Battle of the Standard' was never painted in oils." On the contrary, the so-called "Battle of the Standard," which was intended to form a single incident in the large wall-painting of the "Battle of Anghiari," was the only portion of the design which was ever executed; and, moreover, it was executed in oils. But on p. 5 we have the still more astonishing statement that "Father Sebastian Resta (born 1486, died 1555), in his *Galleria Portatif*," says most definitely that Luini was the pupil of Scotto; and as Resta was also a contemporary, and alludes in his manuscripts to Luini as one whom he personally knew, we are compelled to give attention to his statement." The passage which Dr. Williamson is here unintelligently quoting from Lanzi's "*Storia Pittorica della Italia*" refers to the famous book of drawings by Italian masters known as the "*Libro Resta*," in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. The volume bears the title "*Galleria Portabile, da Giotto alla Scuola de' Carracci*," and it was formed by Padre Sebastiano Resta, who, as Lanzi says, was a Father of the Oratory. Surely Dr. Williamson, even at the risk of research, might have discovered that the congregation of the Oratory was not formally constituted until 1612; and that a member of the Oratory could not possibly have been born in 1486. Indeed, Sebastiano Resta, so far from having "personally known" Luini, was born in 1635, and died in 1714. The "*Libro Resta*" contains, among a large number of worthless drawings, one or two of real value, and it also contains a number of biographical notices by Resta, which Lanzi quotes. As a matter of fact,

these notices are as unreliable as the bulk of seventeenth century notices of Resta, as fifteenth and early sixteenth century painters. Resta as Cicognara truly says, “amò grandemente le arti; ma il suo criterio non fu pari alla sua propensione per quello studio.” Such is the contemporary “authority on the facts of Luini’s life, whom Dr. Williamson quotes as of equal value with Lomazzo and Vasari! Again, on p. 11, it is stated that Cennino Cennini’s “Trattato della Pittura” is a work of the “sixteenth century.” Surely, every student of Italian art knows, or ought to know, that Cennino Cennini was a disciple of Agnolo Gaddi, and that he wrote his treatise during the first years of the fifteenth century. The Laurentian codex of the “Trattato” was transcribed by a prisoner in the Stinche at Florence in 1437.

Dr. Williamson’s strange jargon, “Galleria Portatif” [*sic*] reminds us, by the way, that he rarely succeeds in spelling correctly three consecutive Italian words. On p. 13 we read that Vasari wrote “Le Vite de Pittore [*sic*] Italiani”; on pp. 26 and 112 Morelli is accused of talking about Luini’s “maniere [*sic*] grigia”; elsewhere we find “L’arte negli arredi sacra [*sic*] della Lombardia,” “Idea el [*sic*] Tempio della Pittura,” &c. It is unfortunate for Dr. Williamson that he should have fallen into the hands of so careless a printer; an unkindly critic might be disposed to argue from such errors that the Doctor’s knowledge of the Italian language curiously resembled his knowledge of Italian writers on Art.

Equipped after this fashion, it is not surprising that Dr. Williamson should find himself embarrassed when he tries to estimate the obscure personality of Luini; or that he should entirely lose himself when he tries to speak of Leonardo da Vinci. After enumerating about all the pictures that can with any sort of accuracy be attributed to da Vinci” (among which, by the way, the important and entirely genuine panel of St. Jerome in the Vatican is omitted), he remarks that “even in these the possibilities of definite study are but few” for Dr. Williamson no doubt, but for the ordinary student in the portrait of Mona Lisa alone, “the possibilities of definite study” are surely inexhaustible. We have no space to discuss in detail the various judgments which Dr. Williamson expresses about Luini’s works. Many of his opinions, even under the mask of the editorial “we,” seem familiar to us. Why, may we ask, is there no direct reference, either in the “Bibliography” or elsewhere, to the catalogue of the Milanese pictures exhibited in 1898 at the

Burlington Fine Arts Club? Dr. Williamson could hardly plead that he has made no use of Mr. Cook's criticisms.

To be brief, Dr. Williamson, having little or nothing new to say, relies largely on quotations; he quotes Rio and Ruskin, and a "well-known writer," whom he informs us in a note is Dean Farrar. He quotes Ruskin in order to inform us that "Luini is ten times greater than Leonardo," and that "he joins the purity and passion of Angelico to the strength of Veronese"; and he quotes Rio in order to tell us that in Luini's paintings, "*le sentiment chrétien domine le sentiment de l'art.*" It had been far kinder to the genius of Mr. Ruskin had such perverse and petulant judgments as these been left in the obscurity to which they have already been condemned ; and as for Rio, even his religiosity is now a little antiquated. It does not require a profound insight into the character of Luini and his time to see that he has nothing in common with the "Beato Angelico," that he is in no sense a painter of spiritual things. On the contrary, he is a painter of the great ladies and of the no less great courtesans of his time, whom he represents in the guise of Susannah, or the Magdalen, or some fashionable saint of the day. He is at his best when he is painting Ippolita Sforza, attended by her patron saints like ladies in waiting, or the beautiful, but, if we may believe Bandello, immoderately wicked, Bianca Maria Scappardone, as St. Catherine. Luini was above all things a sentimentalist, and a sentimentalist who loved to toy with much that was very far removed from Christian sentiment. It is natural, then, that an age which regards Burne-Jones as a grand painter, and abandons itself to the music of Wagner, should return with delight to the saints of the Milanese painter. But Luini was not only a sentimentalist; he was also a mannerist. He was unable to compose a large picture, as he was unable to construct finely a figure or even a head. He was no draughtsman in the sense that Leonardo was a draughtsman, but a mannerist who constantly employed a formula. Indeed, the censure which Leonardo passed upon the followers of Giotto, that at their hands "painting declined, because everyone imitated the pictures which were already made," might be passed with equal truth upon Luini and the whole post-Leonardesque school of Milan. If, as an age, we prefer manneristic and sentimental art to the original art of the great Masters, and the pseudo-religious pictures of Luini to the spiritual creations of Angelico, let us at least confess it, and not confuse the one thing with the other. Luini, as Dr. Williamson is forced to acknowledge at the

end of his book,” cannot be called a great Master.” Why, then, should he be selected as the subject for the first of a series of handbooks which purport only to deal with” the Great Masters?”

56. *H. Guinness*.⁵⁶

This little volume is, at least, free from the careless blunders and pretentiousness of a former volume in the same series, which was lately reviewed in these columns. Miss Guinness, with the best of intentions, has endeavoured to see, study and understand what she has set herself to write about; but, unfortunately, other qualifications than good intentions, or even careful study, are necessary to the successful criticism of an early master like Andrea del Sarto. The catalogue of his works, which Miss Guinness has appended to her little volume, shows that she has failed to distinguish clearly between the genuine works of Andrea and those of his numerous pupils and imitators, such as Puligo or Sogliani. A fine judgment, we think, would reduce the number of works which Miss Guinness attributes to the master by nearly one-half. But Del Sarto has come to be acknowledged as a great draughtsman, rather than a great painter. In his chalk studies he stands apart from the greatest Florentine masters, while in his pictures his figures are too often meaningless, or introduced merely for an academic pose, or for some effective cast of the draperies. Of Del Sarto as a draughtsman Miss Guinness has little or nothing to say; indeed, she does not seem to have appreciated his qualities as a draughtsman. Thus she mistakes the series of landscape studies in red chalk, of which a number are exposed in the Galleries of the Uffizi, for genuine drawings by Del Sarto; whereas the little figures and the writing which occur on some of the sheets should have sufficed to prove to Miss Guinness that these wretched performances are palpable forgeries, dating apparently from the end of the sixteenth century, when the vogue of Del Sarto was at its height. Such a criticism Miss Guinness would no doubt impute to what she is pleased to call “a modern” direction, a part of the present tendency to overturn all accepted opinions. But the writer is at least quite frank in her distrust of modern methods of criticism. “A great deal,” she writes in conclusion, “has been written and said about the influence of other artists upon the art of Del Sarto; and critics of ability have sought to trace in him the manner of

⁵⁶ H.P. Horne, *Andrea del Sarto by H. Guinness*, in “The Review of the Week”, January 6, 1900, p. 273.

Fra Bartolomeo and Leonardo — of Ghirlandajo and Michael Angelo. But though there may, of course, be truth in pronouncements of this sort, we are inclined to believe that beyond the subtle influence and stimulating incitement which all great works must necessarily impose upon contemporary workers, Del Sarto was free from seeking to follow the manner of any who went before him. We have found reminiscences of Piero di Cosimo in his earlier works, and have seen that Durer had aroused his liveliest admiration; and we know that the frescoes of Masaccio were the constant study of his youth, and must have determined, to a large degree, the colourist Del Sarto was yet to be; but these were but passing influences, while the only abiding inspirer of his art was, and ever remained, Nature herself!" Surely such methods of criticism carry us back to the early Victorian age, when modern painting was still thought to have been suddenly brought into the world in the person of Raphael.

57. *The Van Dyke exhibition.*⁵⁷

When Reynolds went to see Gainsborough at his request on his death-bed, the dying painter parted from his great rival with the words: "We are all going to heaven, and Van Dyck is of the company!" Overwrought, no doubt; the exclamation was yet no merely idle, or sentimental, utterance of a dying man : on the contrary, a very real criticism, both of his own, and of Reynolds', art was implied in it; for the influence of Van Dyck had as entirely determined the whole course of that period of English portrait-painting which culminates in the work of Gainsborough and Reynolds, as the influence of Holbein had determined the character of that earlier school of portraiture in this country, the last vestiges of which Van Dyck himself had dissipated. The secret of this immense influence is largely to be traced to the peculiarly English character of the portraits which Van Dyck painted in this country towards the end of his career: indeed, we have come to regard him, and with reason, not only as the founder of our great school of English painting in the last century, but almost as an English painter, if not an Englishman. We are not much given in this country to the public celebrations of our great men ; but we could hardly have ignored the tercentenary of Van Dyck's birth, since it was celebrated in so magnificent a manner at Antwerp last year. No better way of commemorating it could have been

⁵⁷ H.P. Horne, *The Van Dyke exhibition*, in "The Review of the Week", January 6, 1900, p. 265 - 266.

found, than by following up the exhibition of Van Dyck's pictures at Antwerp by the present exhibition at Burlington House.

We cannot commend the exhibition more highly than by saying that it is entirely worthy of its predecessors: indeed, the Winter Exhibitions of Old Masters now furnish the only real pretext why the Royal Academy should any longer continue. It was to be expected that the exhibition would not be a completely representative one; it is, however, fortunately deficient in the kind of pictures in which Van Dyck is least successful. If the historical pieces at Burlington House are few, the altar-pieces are still fewer in number, and, for the most part, less fine in quality. The large "Crucifixion," No. 115, exhibited by the Rev. Langton Vere, does not even recall Van Dyck's manner; and the other large "Crucifixion," No. 120, sent by Prior Park College, is scarcely worthy of a place in the exhibition. On the other hand, there are several admirable sketches for altar-pieces, namely, Sir Francis Cook's "Betrayal," No. 85; Captain Holford's "St. Martin Dividing his Cloak," No. 22; and the Earl of Normanton's "Miracle of St. Benedict," No. 23. Again, there are one or two pictures here which are admirable works of their kind, but not by Van Dyck. Messrs. Lawrie's "Anna Maria de Schodt," No. 107, when it was shown at Antwerp last year, was already recognised as an excellent portrait by Jordaens; the "Lute-Player," No. 86, from Lord Northbrook's collection, is an able work, but does not recall any phase of Van Dyck's art; and doubts have been lately expressed as to whether the so-called portrait of the "Count of Nassau Dillenbourg," No. 51, sent by Lord Ashburton, is by Van Dyck's hand, though it is unquestionably a most powerful and accomplished work.

Born in 1599, Anthony van Dyck was put apprentice as a boy of ten with the painter, Hendrick van Balen. Two years later he was placed with Rubens, in whose studio he worked for nearly six years. Of his prentice-work there is no example at Burlington House. In 1620 he is said to have paid a brief visit to England; and, on his return to Antwerp, became one of Rubens' assistants. The "Portrait of a Lady and Child" lent by Earl Brownlow, No. 11, is perhaps the most remarkable work here of Van Dyck's first, or Flemish, manner. Although of extraordinary accomplishment for so young a man, and Flemish to accomplishment degree of dryness (in sentiment it recalls the portraits of Jordaens rather than Rubens), we already see in it that

aristocratic elegance and distinction which was afterwards to characterise his portraits. In 1621, on the advice of Rubens, Van Dyck set out on a visit to Italy. Tradition has it that Van Dyck's parting gift to his master was the famous "Betrayal of Christ" which remained in Rubens' possession till his death, and which is now in the Prado. The sketch for that picture, brilliant to a degree of bravura, has been lent by Sir Francis Cook, No. 85; another version of the Madrid picture, equally genuine with the sketch, but of far less pictorial interest, comes from the collection of Lord Methuen, No. 30. Van Dyck arrived towards the close of the year 1621 at Genoa, where he remained during the greater portion of the four years which he spent in Italy. The solemn, imposing, rococo art of Genoa brought about an entire change in his manner; indeed, the numerous portraits which he painted there form a distinct group by themselves. The "Portrait of Princess Balbi," No. 70, belonging to Captain Holford, is an especially characteristic work of this period. Entirely Italianate in the stateliness and solemnity of its conception, very low in tone and dark in colour, it needs, perhaps, in order to produce its due effect, to be seen in one of those vast baroque halls of the Genoese palaces, with their shadowed, but brilliant, light. The "Portrait of the Marchesa Brignolé-Sale," No. 62, lent by the Duke of Abercorn, with its golden colouring, is, perhaps, the most engaging work of this time to be seen at Burlington House. The "Marchese di Spinola," lent by the Earl of Hopetoun, No. 60, a tour-de-force of brilliant yet solid painting, surprises rather than pleases; and the famous "Prince d'Angri," No. 124, from the collection of Mr. George Salting, is a little theatrical in pose. In all the portraits of this Genoese period the relief of the figures is full and solid, the heads are very simply modelled, the colouring less transparent than that of his later works, and the sentiment more restrained. From Genoa, Van Dyck went to Venice, where, like Rubens before him, he copied many of Titian's pictures; and after having visited Mantua, Florence, and Rome, he returned to Antwerp at the close of the year 1625. From that time until his arrival in England Titian and Rubens were to be the lucida sidera of his firmament. Lady de Rothschild's "Virgin and Child," with a donor, No. 24, is, perhaps, the most remarkable example here of the influence which Titian at this time exercised over Van Dyck, not only in colouring and chiaroscuro, but also in the actual treatment of the subject. In the "Rinaldo and Armida," No. 67, a somewhat later work, belonging to the Duke of Newcastle, the influence of Titian and Rubens is mingled in an amusing fashion; and in

the “Jupiter and Antiope,” lent by Mr. Edward Pye-Smith, No. 109, the influence of the Venetian master is less obvious. All these pictures, the chiaroscuro and colouring of which are brilliant in the extreme, are highly characteristic of his manner at this time, which, to use Reynolds' phrase, “supposes the sun in the room.” Among the portraits executed during this period, in which so many altar-pieces and historical paintings were produced, may be cited the - Portrait of a Man in Armour,” No. 8, lent by Sir Samuel Montagu, a most brilliant piece of painting which still recalls Van Dyck's Genoese manner; the “Portrait of an. Artist,” which hangs close by, No. 7, lent by the Duke of Sutherland, scarcely no less brilliant, but more restrained and Titianesque in treatment ; the Earl of Hopetoun's “Infanta Isabella,” No. 43, the cold colouring and treatment of which mark Rubens' influence; Captain Holford's “Abbé Scaglia,” No. 66, and, perhaps, Earl Cowper's “Charles de Malory,” No. 118. But I have no space to discuss in detail the very various characteristics of these pictures. There is, however, a portrait of the painter by himself, No. 87, to which we would briefly allude. Like the “Portrait of Liberti,” No. 92, it comes from the collection of the Duke of Grafton. Both pictures are painted under the influence of Rubens, and both are marked by a certain exaggeration of sentiment. This portrait of Van Dyck, judging by the age at which he is represented, must have been painted shortly after his return from Italy, at which time he was in his twenty-sixth year. It reveals to us how fastidious and delicate a creature was this “miracle of a youth,” who had astonished all Italy by his genius, and who by his splendid mode of life had gained himself in Rome the name of *Il Pittore Cavalleresco*.

58. The genius of Ruskin⁵⁸

In the death of John Ruskin passes away one of the most brilliant and perplexing figures of the century, the man whose genius, unquestionable as it was, is at the present moment more difficult to estimate justly than that of any of his contemporaries. To have known the full power of Ruskin, to have felt the range and charm of his aspirations and enthusiasms, his almost inspired flow of language, one must have been still young in the fifties, or an undergraduate at Oxford when, in 1870, he was first made Slade Professor. Those who came across him at that time, who, as young men, heard his lectures in the Sheldonian, or studied under him in his

⁵⁸ H.P. Horne, *The Genius of Ruskin*, in “The Review of the week”, January 27, 1900, pp. 343 - 344.

drawing-school, remember him above all things as a teacher, with a gift of speech not possessed by other men. When, after his first serious illness, he returned, the mere shadow of himself, to lecture again at Oxford, in 1878, the old fire had gone out of him; but, in those earlier days, his power of swaying an audience, of making them laugh and weep with him, of sharing now his scorn, now his enthusiasm, was not a thing quickly forgotten. In person, he was slight, one might almost say little, with an old-world, courtly manner; but, when he began to speak," he seemed to increase in visible stature," (so one of his hearers reports of him) and, as he warmed to his discourse, every sentence would be uttered by him like some eternal verity, which at that moment had been first revealed to him. To follow Ruskin at that time was to suffer a sort of social martyrdom. I remember one of the ablest heads of our day, whose name has been bruited abroad in connection with far other things than those which are associated with the name of Ruskin, saying that if ever a man seemed to possess the power of founding a new religion, it was Ruskin.

Such was the impression which Ruskin left on those who had the good fortune to know him in his prime. In the interval which has elapsed since he began to write, a great change has come over our attitude, as a people, towards life. When Ruskin first published, as "a graduate of Oxford," the beginnings of "Modern Painters," in 1843, the Tractarian Movement was still fiercely exercising the religious conscience of the country; and Newman had not as yet gone over to the Roman Church. To-day, as he lies dead, we cannot help smiling, somewhat grimly and ominously, at the inhibition of Professor Mivart by the Holy Catholic Church, as a proper sequel to her attitude in the Dreyfus Case. How great a force was the teaching of Ruskin in that liberation of national thought, particularly in religious and social matters, which has been brought about since the days of the Tractarian Movement, we, who enjoy the liberty of it, are too apt to overlook; and, in overlooking this side of Ruskin's achievement, too often only remember the many unbalanced, petulant things which disfigure so much in his writings, especially in those of his later years. The clue to the elucidation of Ruskin's genius and character, is to be found, as I think, in that delightful piece of autobiography, "Praeterita," in which he relates the story of his early years, and the manner in which he was brought up. As we read there the story of his youth, and see how all his early training was rather an appeal to the heart and the imagination than any

well-ordered intellectual discipline, we divine the causes which lie at the root of Matthew Arnold's famous distinction "between Mr. Ruskin exercising his genius, and Mr. Ruskin exercising his intelligence." In his effort to escape, on the one hand, from the narrow, unlovely religion in which he had been brought up, and on the other, "from the Romanist and Tractarian tendencies" of the time, Ruskin gave utterance to that lofty body of high aspirations and enthusiasms, whose very inconsequence seem to have something of the inspired in them. But throughout his life, in all that he did, one element in his early training dominated every other bias and instinct of the man. If the first volume of "Modern Painters" was deliberately written in imitation of Hooker, it is our English translation of the Bible which is recalled to mind by nearly every great passage of Ruskin; but not merely the style and prophetic note of the Bible influenced him. From the Bible he also got that overwhelming sense of the importance of conduct in human life. Here, surely, is the dominant colour of his work! It is as a great and inspired innovator in personal and social morals, that Ruskin, I think, will finally be remembered ; a teacher at once heterodox and orthodox, after the manner of Sir Thomas Browne, the true successor of the great English moralists of the seventeenth century. His greatest and most original efforts of the kind were directed against the Commercialism of the present day; and his finest single work is a little work called "Unto this Last," which in its serial form caused such a flutter among the good readers of the Cornhill Magazine. The political economist, of whatever camp he be, will object that Ruskin's social teaching was a wholly impracticable-*nay*, an impossible--thing; but the same objection might be urged with equal truth against the Sermon on the Mount. And herein, perhaps, the lasting value of Ruskin's social teaching lies, since it sets forth an idea, not a cut-and-dried system, like State Socialism, which, it is just conceivable, might one day be clapped upon us by way of ready-made spiritual clothing. Lying before me on my table as I write, is a little pamphlet which marks one of the most important influences of Ruskin's social teaching. It consists of certain passages out of the "Stones of Venice," re-printed in 1854, in connection with the "Working Man's College," under the title, "On the Nature of Gothic Architecture and herein of the True Functions of the Workman in Art." Both Ruskin and Rossetti, and later Madox Brown, held drawing classes at the college. These chapters out of the "Stones of Venice" formed the text-book of William Morris's Socialism, and were afterwards

reprinted by him at the Kelmscott Press. The gist of all Morris's Socialistic beliefs is to be found in the moral principle which Ruskin there lays down, that the workman is not a machine, but a human creature.

To-day, we who feel a little uncomfortable at what we are pleased to call the “nobly-wrong” social teachings of Ruskin, prefer to think of him as an art-critic. But the truth is, that Ruskin was never really in sympathy with Art; certainly, never with Art in the sense in which it was understood by the early Italian masters, about whom he has written so much. He does not seem to have stopped to inquire what were the real aims of the Florentine painters. A picture afforded him some point of illustration of some point of morality, and upon a mere suggestion of the kind he would fall into one of those splendid pieces of rhetoric, in which praise and blame, tears and laughter, emulations, enthusiasms, or bitter invective, followed one another in brilliant succession. In this way, the frescoes of the Spanish Chapel, in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella, at Florence, which, it must be confessed, are the work of some very second-rate Giottesque painter who has freely borrowed his motives from earlier painters of infinitely greater genius than himself, become for Ruskin works in importance to other genuine works of Giotto; Luini is “ten times greater than Leonardo”; Tintoretto the author of “the most precious work of art of any whatsoever now existing in the world”; Michelangelo “chief captain in evil.” Such judgments bear no relation to the works with which they are professedly concerned; and the true lovers of Ruskin will come to regard them, not as criticisms of the painters in question, but of the writer himself. No, Ruskin was never really in sympathy with Art. I do not know whether he has anywhere stated the fact in print, but he certainly told more than one of his pupils who studied drawing under him that the human figure had no interest for him as an artist, in the sense that flowers, or rocks, or natural scenery interested him. How far removed was such an attitude towards Art from that of the Florentine painters, even of the earlier and more mediæval masters, such as Giotto, Masaccio, or Angelico! Again, Ruskin's own drawings, exquisite and accomplished as they are, furnish a further proof of this. His studies of flowers, or trees, or mountain ridges, are purely analytical, scientific, in their purpose: his copies after the early Italian painters were always analytical studies of some passage or another, a fold of drapery, a flower or weed in the foreground of the picture, never of the picture as a sympathetic whole.

I cannot close this hasty attempt to indicate the real character of Ruskin's genius better than by quoting a passage out of the third volume of "Modern Painters," which was written at the time of the war in the Crimea. We may find in it all the beauties of Ruskin's prose, his Biblical, prophetic note, his fine lucid English, his high morality. "I believe war is at present productive of good more than of evil. I will not argue this hardly and coldly, as I might, by tracing in past history some of the abundant evidence that nations have always reached the highest virtue, and wrought their most accomplished works, in times of straitening and battle; as, on the one hand, no nation has ever yet enjoyed a protracted and triumphant peace without receiving in its own bosom ineradicable seeds of future decline. I will not so argue this matter; but I will appeal at once to the testimony of those whom the war has cost the dearest. I know what would be told me by those who have suffered nothing, whose domestic happiness has been unbroken, whose daily comfort undisturbed; whose experience of calamity consists, at its utmost, in the incertitude of a speculation their fortune which they could meet fourfold withouts of a luxury, or the increase of demands up convenience. From these, I can well believe, be they prudent economists, or careless pleasure-seekers, the cry for peace will rise like vociferously, whether in the street or senate. But I ask *their* witness, to whom the war has changed the aspect of the earth, and heaven, whose hopes it has cut off like a spider's web, whose treasure it has placed, in a moment under the seals of clay. Those who can never more see sunrise, nor watch the climbing light gild the Eastern clouds without thinking what graves it has gilded, first, fr down behind the dark earth-lines, who never more shall see the crocus bloom in the spring, without thinking what dust it is that feeds the wild flowers of Balaclava. Ask *their* witness, and see if they will not rely that it is well with them, and with theirs, that they would have it no otherwise; would not, if they might, receive back their gift of love and life, nor take again the purple of their blood out of the cross on the breast-plate of England. Ask them: and though they should answer only with a sob, listen if it does not gather upon their lips into the sound of the old Seyton war-cry — 'Set on.'"

59. *Our National Gallery*.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ H.P. Horne, *Our National Gallery*, in "The Review of the Week", January 27, 1900, pp. 357- 358.

The National Gallery. Edited by Sir Edward J. Poynter, P.R.A., D.C.L., Litt.D. Two volumes. Cassell and Co.

The project of a completely illustrated catalogue which should give a reproduction of every picture in our national collection was certainly an excellent one, and a scheme which even the more enterprising directors of the great continental galleries had not, as yet, attempted. The two volumes under review contain the whole of the pictures exhibited at Trafalgar Square; and a third volume, which is to follow in the Tate Gallery.

Both the process-blocks by which the illustrations are rendered, and the printing of them, are as excellent in their kind as any we remember to have seen; but from a practical point of view, the book has unfortunately one very grave defect, which is the extremely small dimensions of the bulk of the illustrations; indeed, the greater number of them are so small that they convey little more than the composition of the pictures. Even so, the book forms a very useful sort of *memoria technica* for any one who is more or less acquainted with the Gallery; but the painter and the student of painting requires more than this, if the book is intended to take the place of a collection of photographs. The letterpress which accompanies the illustrations is mainly drawn from the catalogue of the Gallery. "To the descriptive text taken from the Official Catalogue," says Sir Edward Poynter, in his introduction, "I have, in some instances, added a short comment of my own. I have also, where I thought it necessary, pointed out a doubtful attribution, and, in a few cases, have forestalled the next edition of the Official Catalogue by the alteration of a name." The administration of the National Gallery, under the present Director, has left so much to be desired that one naturally looks with some anxiety to any utterances that may forestall an amended edition of the Official Catalogue. To the satisfaction and amazement of German experts, one important picture after another has passed out of this country to the Gallery at Berlin; while the President of the Academy has secured for our own National Collection either indifferent works by third-rate painters, such as Lelio Orsi or Filippo Mazzola; or pictures which are not by the masters to whom they are attributed; as the so-called Cotman No. 1458, or the Canaletto, No. 1429; or pictures which are mere copies of well-known originals, as the Perugino, No. 1431, or the Madame le Brun, No. 1653. One reason which Sir Edward Poynter urges for

having included a reproduction of every painting in the Gallery is that “there are, perhaps, not twenty pictures which common consent would spare from the collection.” That may be so; but we fear that at least one-third of the twenty pictures would prove to be purchases which Sir Edward Poynter himself has made.

If the letterpress of the volume before us may be taken as an indication of what is to be, the next edition of the Official Catalogue will contain as few emendations as the last; and even these few corrections promise to add considerably to the confusion and the numberless errors which have long been a characteristic of that truly British official document. True to his grand principle that discretion is the better part of official ineptitude, Sir Edward Poynter rarely commits himself; but when he does so he invariably betrays a real gift for making an effective *faux pas*. In the introduction to the present volumes, he remarks that though the Gallery in Trafalgar Square contains few of the so called masterpieces of the world, the collection, as a whole, is more widely representative of the best masters of all countries, and of a higher general excellence, than any of the great European Galleries. “So wide, indeed,” he adds, “is the range of works in our splendid collection, that only three names of universal recognition are absent from the catalogue—those of Albert Dürer, Fra Bartolommeo, and Watteau.” Thanks to the ‘supineness of the authorities at Trafalgar Square, three of the finest Dürers in the Gallery at Berlin have been obtained in England within the last few years; and among them what is undoubtedly Dürer's masterpiece, the Carpaccesque portrait of a woman. As to Watteau, he is already well shown at Dulwich, and will be even better represented at the Wallace Museum. But what is one to think of the rest of this astonishing statement! Time was when Fra Bartolommeo was thought one of the great painters of the world; but, without be-littling him, one can say, without fear of contradiction, that there are masters infinitely greater than either Fra Bartolommeo, or even Watteau, as *painters* greater even than Dürer, who are unrepresented in the collection at Trafalgar Square. There is Giotto, and there is Masaccio, who are the true *fons et origo* of modern painting, great among the greatest of masters; and there is Giorgione, whom nobody but the Director of the National Gallery believes to be represented there. (There are, by the way, genuine, if not highly important, examples both of Giotto and Masaccio, in private collections in this country.) To attribute, as the Director attributed in the last edition of the

Official Catalogue, the little "Adoration of the Magi," No. 1160, to Giorgione, is to go in the face of all that the best modern criticism has been able to contribute towards the study of Giorgione, since Morelli first indicated the lines on which it should proceed. But, in the book before us, Sir Edward Poynter commits a yet more unpardonable error of judgment, in his note upon the little "Venus and Adonis," No. 1123, which came from the Hamilton Palace Collection. The qualities of colour and painting in this picture," he remarks, "so closely resemble those of the famous *Fête Champêtre* by Giorgione in the Louvre, that it is difficult not to believe that the two pictures are by the same hand, and that, if the Louvre picture is rightly named, the original attribution to Giorgione may be correct." Now the first quality which is necessary to the making of a real connoisseur of pictures, and, still more, of the director of a great Gallery, is, surely, the power to see pictures as they are in themselves, and not to be led away in his own judgment of them by association or sentiment. Giorgione, in the essential qualities of his genius, was a purist, a Quattrocentist of the naturalistic school of the Bellini: and the little "Venus and Adonis," though undoubtedly a work of Giorgione's school, is as obviously a manneristic work of the sixteenth century, clumsy in drawing, and "syropy" in colour, with nothing of Giorgione's naturalism in the one, or purity in the other. A connoisseur who could speak of this picture as Sir Edward Poynter speaks of it, confesses himself to be incapable of really seeing a picture; but this, of course, is all of a piece with the Director's purchases of copies for originals, and with his observations in general of the pictures under his care. In the volumes under review, the Director professes to draw attention to the state of a picture, where its condition calls for any remark. Thus, of the beautiful "Nativity," No. 908, by Paroie della Francesca, we read, "This picture was either never finished, or has been partly destroyed by an accident, and has been much restored." The picture, clearly, was never finished; but, on the other hand, although it has undergone some local re-touching, it is, for a picture of that time, in a very fair state of preservation. Of the portrait of a boy by Domenico Ghirlandaio, No. 1299, Sir Edward Poynter says nothing, though the whole of the picture has been so completely repainted that, in its present condition, it can only be regarded as an admirable specimen of the modern Florentine school of the picture-restorers. Indeed, the Director would have done well, if to his list of masters which are unrepresented at Trafalgar Square, he had added the name of Domenico Ghirlandaio ; since the

only other work attributed to him there, "The Head of a Girl," No. 1230, is clearly a work by Bastiano Mainardi. But to expect so much of Sir Edward Poynter is a little unreasonable, for was it not he who allowed what is undoubtedly Ghirlandaio's masterpiece, the portrait of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, to pass from the National Gallery; though it has since changed hands at a price many, many times greater than that at which it might have been secured for the National Collection? Again, it was only last year that the Director let slip out of his hands a work by another great painter, who is unrepresented at the National Gallery, Gentile da Fabriano. The altar-piece in question was a much-damaged work, it is true; but still, the only work which, so far as Gentile's pictures are known to students, has not found a permanent resting-place in a public gallery. Among the other emendations, we note that Sir Edward Poynter has at last discovered that the *tondo*, No. 226, is a copy of a picture by Botticelli, in the Rospigliosi Palace at Rome;" though no one but Signor Venturi imagines the picture at Rome to be other than a work of Botticelli's school. Again, in a note on the "Adoration of the Magi," No. 1124, which came from the Hamilton Palace Collection, we are told that "this and the preceding pictures, No. 592 and No. 1033, were unquestionably by Botticelli, and in this opinion as long ago as 1883, pointed out that No. 592 and No. 1033, were unquestionably by Botticelli, and in this opinion he has been followed by Dr. Frizzoni, Dr. Richter, Mr. Berenson, and even such belated writers as Dr. Ulmann: but no critic of any authority has ever attributed the panel from the Hamilton Palace Collection, No. 1124, to Botticelli. This is a good illustration of how in the course of more than a quarter of a century the latest opinions and research find their way to Trafalgar Square. But the "gem" of Sir Edward Poynter's emendations (a discovery of his own, be it whispered) is that the angel in one of the wings, No. 1661, of the altar-piece formerly in the church of San Francesco, at Milan, "was probably begun by Leonardo himself, and finished by Ambrogio." But here, in obedience to the Mitonic behest, touching "a cheerful hour," we refrain.

60. *The tomb of St. Peter*.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ H.P. Horne, *The tomb of St. Peter*, in "The Review of the Week", February 3, 1900, pp. 382 - 383.

The purpose of this volume, its writer tells us, is to contribute “something to the historical basis on which we [i.e., the members of the Roman community hold it to be a certain fact that the Prince of the Apostles lived and died in Rome, and lies buried beneath the glorious dome of the greatest church that Christendom has ever known.” Treating the whole question as a piece of archæology, Father Barnes attempts by the methods of the modern archæologist to establish upon historic grounds the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome, and the unbroken custody of his relics by his successors. Without attempting to decide how far Father Barnes has succeeded in accomplishing what he has set about to prove, we may say at once that he has made a real contribution to the architectural history of St. Peter's in particular and the study of human beliefs and superstitions in general. The opening chapters of the book deal with the tradition so necessary to the “position” of the Roman Church of St. Peter's presence in Rome, which was first denied by the Protestant Reformers at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There is abundant evidence to show that this tradition goes back to the beginning of the second century, and so high an authority as Professor Lanciani has declared that “for the archæologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely monumental evidence.” All the most ancient authorities are in agreement that the martyrdom of St. Peter took place, not on the Faniculum, as the popular legend has it, at the spot now covered by the beautiful tempietto of Bramante, beside the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, but on the Vatican hill, near the place where his body was afterwards buried, and precisely, according to Father Barnes, in the circus of Nero. St. Paul (and on this point tradition is undivided) was beheaded on the Ostian Way, near the spot at which the great Basilica of S. Paolo fuori le Mura was afterwards built. The bodies of the two Apostles, to epitomise briefly the conclusions at which Father Barnes arrives, were, at first, hidden together in a tomb in the Catacombs of S. Sebastiano, on the Appian Way. When the first persecution of the Church had ceased with the death of Nero, A.D. 68, “steps were taken to prepare separate tombs for each of them, on the nearest available spot to the places of their respective martyrdoms.”

The tomb of St. Peter was built on the north side of the Via Cornelia, according to an early authority, “near the obelisk between the two goals” of the Circus of Nero, which flanked the other side of the road. The original site of this obelisk, now in the centre of the piazza before

St. Peter's, is marked by a slab in the pavement of the sacristy of the church. Father Barnes argues that the tomb of St. Peter on the Via Cornelia originally consisted of a subterranean vaulted chamber, some 17 ft. long by 14 ft. wide and 14 ft. high, approached on the south side by a flight of steps leading from the road. Above this chamber Pope Anacletus, who had been "ordained priest by blessed Peter," built a memoria, or upper room, to serve as a chapel for the increasing numbers of the faithful who came to visit the tomb ; and surrounding and touching the sepulchral chamber of St. Peter he prepared places in which he and a number of his successors might be buried," as his predecessor, St. Linus, had been. "All the Popes who died in Rome up to the beginning of the third century, when the papal crypt of St. Pallisto was made, were buried in this way round St. Peter." In A.D. 258, in consequence of a decree of the Emperor Valerian forbidding the use of the cemeteries as places of meeting, the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul were brought back to their original hiding-place in the Catacombs of S. Sebastiano, on the Appian Way, where, according to more than one early notice, their relics "rested forty years." Finally, Father Barnes, by a proposed emendation of an ancient authority, argues that in 306 St. Lucia restored the relics of St. Paul to the tomb on the Ostian Way, and the Pope Marcellus those of St. Peter to the tomb on the Via Cornelia, "among the bodies of the holy Bishops." All this is a very ingenious interpretation of evidence which as Father Barnes himself confesses, "is not easy to put together into a consistent story." Since we do not pretend to be connoisseurs of relics we to answer Father Barnes on his own ground; fortunately, however, his book has another, and more human, interest for us. In the tomb and memoria of St. Peter on the Vatican, we have, unquestionably, the origin of "the greatest church that Christendom has ever known." Above this humble sepulchre, Constantine the Great, built famous Basilica of Old St. Peter's, erecting the south wall and the colonnades of the south aisles of the church o the foundations of the seats on the north side of the Circus of Nero. The original tomb of St. Peter was preserved intact, in the centre of the chord of the apse.

Constantine, the "Liber Pontificalis" records, enclosed the stone coffin containing the body of St. Peter, with bronze from Cyprus," and according to Dr. Barnes's reading of the rest of the passage, though here, we confess, that he seems to be treading on very debatable ground built up the whole intervening space around the coffin with solid masonry, leaving a door and passage

for visits to be made *ad corpus*. The *memoria* above was next unroofed, and filled up with masonry to a depth of some 5 ft., to the level of the pavement of the new basilica; above this, immediately over the coffin of St. Peter, was then erected a mass of masonry some 7 ft. thick, extending across the entire width of the *memoria*, to form a sub-structure for the high altar of the Basilica. This belt of masonry was almost pierced by a narrow, arched recess, terminated by an apsidal end, and opening out towards the great door of the Basilica. This is the celebrated *confessio* of St. Peter, which remains to the present day, below the high altar of new St. Peter's, in the centre of Michelangelo's dome.

St. Gregory, of Tours, writing in the sixth century, relates how the sepulchral chamber containing the relics of the Apostle "was exceedingly rarely entered, but if any one desired to pray, certain gates were opened, and he "went in above the sepulchre," that is, into the *confessio* of St. Peter's, "and then, having opened a little window puts his head within and makes request concerning his needs." This little window "is the *billicum*, or supper "cataract," which is still to be seen in the floor of *confessio*, and by which handkerchiefs, to be carried away as "blessed pledges" of the shrine, as St. Gregory tells us used to be let down to the second "cataract," or "grating" immediately above the coffin of St. Peter. The apsidal end of the *confessio* is still covered by the mosaic of the Saviour, which Leo IV placed there after the basilica had been plundered by the Saracens, in 847. The *billicum* itself is ordinarily covered by the gold casket, the gift of Benedict XIV., containing the *pallia*, and is only opened on very rare occasions. According to an account of what was found when it was laid open in 1891, the *billicum*, or little bronze door, forms the mouth of a rectangular well lined with bronze, and measuring about 8.5" by 6.5" which, at a short distance, opens into a larger chamber and this, at a depth of a couple of feet or so is chocked with loose stones and broken masonry. The sepulchre chamber below, which is said still to contain body of St. Peter has been walled up and unvisited for centuries. Father Barnes suggests that it was closed, and the well of the *billicum* choked with stones, to prevent the relics against the invasion of the Saracens in 847. The last occasion on which the tomb of St. Peter is said to have been seen was when the altar originally erected by St. Gregory against the back wall of the *confessio* was being repaired by the architect Della Porta. "This man one day reported to Pope Clement VIII. that an opening covered by him, through

which the tomb of St. Peter could be seen." The Pope went with three cardinals to the place, and, by the light of a torch held by the architect, the golden cross which Constantine had placed above the brass-bound coffin of St. Peter could be made out in the darkness. Father Barnes believes that the sepulchre chamber and its contents, except for the translation of certain relics, still remain in the condition in which they were left by Constantine. His book, certainly, is not only ingenious and scholarly, but, in all that relates to the tomb of St. Peter, architecturally possible. There is but one answer to it. In the last chapter, entitled, "Can the Tomb still be reached?" he endeavours to show that the remains of the ancient entrance to the sepulchral chamber are yet to be traced in the chapel of S. Salvatorino, in the grotti vecchie, or crypt, of St. Peter's; "it is here," he adds, "if anywhere, that we may hope to solve the enigma which St. Peter's tomb presents, and to find out whether there is any possibility of pilgrims once again being permitted to descend into the sepulchral chamber to lay their hands on the actual sarcophagus in which the body rests, and to see with their own eyes the gold cross which has rested ever since the far off days of Constantine and his mother Helena. What is to prevent the excavations necessary to this end? They alone would afford a complete answer to Father Barnes' book.

61. *August Rodin*.⁶¹

As a sculptor, the name of Auguste Rodin is, perhaps, more widely known in this country than his works; as a draughtsman he may be said to be hardly a name. Indeed, we believe that the little exhibition, which is now on view at Messrs. Carfax's Gallery, in Ryder Street, is the first occasion on which any of his drawings have been seen in London. Some thirty studies and some half-dozen bronzes form the sum total of this little show. The drawings, it goes without saying, are drawings entirely in the sense in which the old masters, and especially the Italian masters, understood such things. As the eye falls on such subjects as "Ugolin," "Les rochers en mer infernale," or "Des ombres qui s'approchent de Dante et de Virgile en parlant, one involuntarily recalls (less by reason of subject than treatment) that copy of the "Divina Commedia," long since, alas! among the spoils of the sea, the margins of which Michelangelo had covered with

⁶¹ H.P. Horne, *August Rodin*, in "The Review of the Week", February 10, 1900, pp. 405 - 406.

drawings in illustration of the poem. But though the drawings of M. Rodin recall the design of Michelangelo, it is not in the way in which the sculpture of Alfred Stevens (to take a modern instance) recalls the sculpture of Michelangelo. Stevens imitates the exterior traits of the great Florentine's work, the un-English type which, in his hands, becomes merely manneristic, or the imposing attitude which he reduces to a convention; but the naturalism of Michelangelo, the profound knowledge and unflinching truth with which he represents the human form, his brooding melancholy, his sense of fate in things, in short, all the interior, essential traits of the Florentine escape the English sculptor. These interior traits, on the contrary, are the very things which attract M. Rodin. In his men and women, he adheres to the French, or, indeed, the Parisian type, with a naturalism as unswerving as that of Michelangelo; the attitude and disposition of his figures are the due expression of his mood, or temper, in which he would convey his subject. But even this mood, or temper, when we come to look more narrowly into it, has, essentially, more in common with the "Fleurs du Mal," than the Divine Comedy. We see this in that strange conjunction of ideas which has suggested the design, No. 8, "Ugolin et Niobe." The influence of Michelangelo argues, only too often, a merely conventional or academic manner; but M. Rodin is not only the most modern of naturalists, but the most French of modern French masters.

Drawn, in the first instance, with the pen, generally on tinted paper, and afterwards washed in with bistre and white, applied in a blotted way of his own, M. Rodin seeks principally to convey in his drawings that sense of mass and its subtle modulation which forms the great characteristic of his work in relief. The actual line of his pen-stroke often tends, as in the first drawing of the series. *Trois Paques*," to become somewhat too rounded and too little expressive of actual form; but the gist of his draughtsmanship lies in his sculpturesque use of the washed *chiaroscuro*. Some of the drawings, such as No. 5. "Centaure et femme," one of the finest things here, are clearly projects for reliefs; others, such as the design No. 18. of the ghosts talking with Dante and Virgil, the two variations, Nos. 7 and 25, on the theme of Ugolino de Gherardeschi, and, perhaps some of the others, are studies which seem to have had their origin in the masterpiece of M. Rodin's life, the celebrated, but yet unfinished "Portes d'Enfer." In other designs, again, as in No. 3 "Transformation, reptils et homme," or No. 9, "Ombres se dévorant," we meet with a certain imaginative element, which recalls other northern students of Dante and

Michelangelo, artists in other respects as wholly unlike M. Rodin as William Blake, who seems to meet for a while in a common world of spectres.

Nor must the bronzes be overlooked: the fine head, No. 30, "L'homme au nez cassé"; No. 27, the study for the head of Balzac, and the three statuettes, Nos. 28, 29, and 31, the last of which, by the way, remains in the plaster. In such things, even more than in his finished marbles, do we find that extraordinary sensuousness and subtlety of modelling which distinguishes M. Rodin's work from other French work of his time, and easily proclaim him to be the first living sculptor of France.

62. *A newly discovered Botticelli.*⁶²

Last year, all Rome was vastly exercised because the only picture by Sandro which, according to Morelli, was to be found in the Eternal City, outside the walls of the Sistine Chapel, had been sold by Prince Chigi to some mysterious collector; and despite of an undertaking on the part of the purchaser that the painting should not leave the country, both buyer and picture had disappeared. This year, Florence is congratulating herself that if Rome is poorer for the loss of one Botticelli, she is richer by the discovery of another, and that, too, in this most unexpected way. The credit of the discovery is due to Signor Guglielmo Cornish, the keeper of the Palazzo [sic] Pitti, who had noticed among a number of pictures, of little or no value, which are stored away on the second floor of the palace, an early tempera-painting on panel, which had been completely daubed over with oil-colour, in the last century. The re-painting having been removed, the original picture was found beneath, in a fairly good state of preservation. The picture is a "tondo," or circular panel, measuring some 44 inches in diameter; and represents the Virgin kneeling almost in profile, towards the left, and adoring the Child, who lies before her on a part of her robe, and is supported by two kneeling angels. On the other side of the painting, behind the Virgin, are two other kneeling angels, and behind the figures a hedge of roses is seen silhouetted against the sky. The foreground of the picture is painted with daisies, strawberries, and violets. The panel retains its original frame, painted with arabesques in gold, on a black

⁶² H.P. Horne, *A newly discovered Botticelli*, in "The Review of the Week", February 17, 1900, pp. 433-434.

ground, broken at intervals by gilt bosses. Of its history, nothing is known, beyond the fact that it was brought in 1869 from the Palazzo Granduca, at Leghorn. One thing, however, is beyond dispute, that it is entirely in the manner of Botticelli. Meanwhile, the directors of the Florentine Galleries have come to the conclusion that it can be by no other hand but that of Sandro himself; and so, having been duly dubbed the "Madonna delle Rose", to distinguish it from the other tondi of the "Madonna del Magnificat" and the "Madonna della Melagranda" in the Uffizi, the picture is exhibited at the Pitti, as the latest of the numberless mirabilia of the Tuscan city.

The kneeling figure of the Virgin, with her hands clasped in adoration, closely recalls the same figure in the little "Adoration of the Shepherds," the only signed picture which we possess by Botticelli, in our National Gallery, No. 1,034: it is dated 1500. In an equally genuine drawing in the Gallery of the Uffizi, at Florence, Frame 53. No. 209, of a "Nativity," the figures of the Virgin and Child offer yet closer points of resemblance with the new "tondo" in the Pitti. But the resemblances are only those of motive and general design; the actual forms in the Pitti "tondo" being far more mannered and lifeless than those of either the picture in London, or the drawing at Florence. For closer resemblances, we must turn not to the genuine works of the Master, but to those of his disciples and imitators. In the collection of Lady Ashburton, at Kent House, Knightsbridge, is another "tondo" of the school of Botticelli, in which the Virgin is represented kneeling and adoring the Child who lies before her, as in the Pitti "tondo:" behind these figures are five kneeling figures of angels, who hold branches of rose and olive against the sky. The foreground, also, is painted with strawberries, violets, and other flowers. This picture, which was exhibited at Burlington House, in 1871, is far finer in drawing and decorative effect than the new "tondo" at Florence; but in the general design and arrangement of the figures, the two panels are closely similar. Besides this picture, there are a series of "tondi," large and small, by various imitators of Botticelli, which are closely allied in design with the principal group in the "Adoration of the Shepherds," in the National Gallery, and with the drawing of the "Nativity," at Florence. Among these may be mentioned the large panel in the collection of Mrs. Austen and Mr. Fuller Maitland, in this country; and of the Duca di Brindisi and the Marchese Baldovinetti, at Florence. Here it would be out of place to discuss in detail all the points of comparison which these various pictures offer to the student: it is enough to say that they all unquestionably prove

that the new “tondo” in the Pitti Palace was executed by some immediate disciple of Botticelli during the last years of the fifteenth century. But the picture is not on that account to be passed over as a thing of no importance -- it is one of the more charming and effective of those incomparable pieces of decorative furniture, the panel-pictures which came from the workshops of the numerous imitators of Botticelli, during the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. Having been taken out of Italy in large quantities and brought chiefly to this country, the pictures of Botticelli’s school have not been adequately represented in the Florentine Galleries, where the greater number of Sandro's masterpieces still remain. The new “tondo” will form, therefore, a welcome addition to the Florentine Galleries, and Signor Cornish is to be congratulated upon his discovery.

63. *Art Notes [On the Society of British Artists; the New English Art Club and Charles Conder at Messrs. Carfax]*.⁶³

It would be difficult to find two exhibitions more unlike one another in aim and character than that of the Society of British Artists, which opened last week, and that of the New English Art Club, which opened on Monday. Time was and it seems but yesterday, when the Society in Suffolk St. still clung too tenaciously to the traditions of the Middle Victorian period in which it had its birth that it remained severely oblivious of all the vagaries and foibles which the last 25 years have brought forth in the way of art. So long as the Society of British Artists avoided affectation and eccentricity and set itself to produce pictures in alarming quantities, no doubt distinguished for the propriety of their subjects, and the honest, painstaking thoroughness of their execution, there was still much to be said for the exhibition in Suffolk St., especially at a time like the present. But even an incorporated society is doomed to suffer change, and already the old order reveals signs of giving way to the new. This year, insinuated among the wonted gathering of pictures which worthily sustain the most cherished traditions of the society, are a small, but still an unmistakable, number of works which show how the tide is flowing. There is a “Triptych in illustration of the Absent-minded Beggar,” and there is a “Flora,” a nude of a discreet green,

⁶³ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On the Society of British Artists; the New English Art Club and Charles Conder at Messrs. Carfax]*, in “The Morning Leader”, April 10, 1900, p. 4.

surrounded by equally visionary flowers. A more astonishing production is the picture, No. 41, illustrating "How Sir Bors rescued a damsel in distress," sent by Mr. Arthur Stewart, who seems to have supposed that Tenniel's illustrations to "Alice in Wonderland," and the early watercolors of Rossetti were but various forms of the same kind of art, to be imitated indifferently at leisure. Such vagaries, however, are few and far between at Suffolk St. and it is to be hoped that in future years they may become even rarer.

But the great majority of the pictures exhibited here show that the Society, as a body, still remains true to its traditions. For the large number of its members painting is a comparatively recent art, which arose out of the improvement of colors and mediums [sic] at the hands of the artist's colourmen, during the earlier part of the century: just as for a certain section of musicians music is an equally modern art which had its origin in the invention of the pianoforte. The teaching of the drawing-school is never forgotten at Suffolk St. every one seems mindful of the principle that to do industrious and to produce painstaking work should be the chief aim of the painter. Now all this is very commendable, but it does not make for Fine Art; and so we find here the usual portraits and subject pieces, the usual landscapes and seascapes, all diligently painted with an elaborate, photographic disregard of Nature. Where so nice a level of mediocrity is sustained, it seems impertinent to single out any particular work for commendations. But there are a few exceptions, which call for notice. Mr. Bren's pretty Pastels, recalling the work of Russell and other makers of Pastels at the end of the last century, appear agreeably out of place here; and Mr. Livens' studies of "Fowls," No. 64 and 265, are pleasing bits of deep tone and rich color. The President, Sir Wyke Baylis, sends two drawings which stand out here, by reason of the particular kind of accomplishment which they possess. The more important of the two, No. 340, "The Interior of Milan Cathedral, however, singularly misses all the genius of building the size and weight of the columns, and the natures of the space spanned by the vault.

Of a very different stamp is the exhibition of the New English Art Club, at the Dudley Gallery. Although this little Society has not, perhaps, fulfilled all that some of us expected of it when it was first stated, it never fails to be interesting: and any failure, one should add, is largely to be attributed to the falling away of many among the most able of its original members.

Everyone here at least sets out with the determination to be an artist and to work out his own salvation in his own way, and unlike Suffolk St., one is troubled, not by an absence, but a multitude of traditions. Mr. Charles Condei with his "Summer. No. 81, and his still more charming "Afternoon," No. 75, by far and away the most delicate and original things here, easily takes the first place: but of Mr. Cooder I shall speak anon. Mr. Walter Sickert, besides a drawing of a girl, sends only a study of a street in moonlight, No. 60, with a title too long and irrelevant to be quoted here. The most ambitious canvas here is the "Portrait of Mrs., Cyril Butler and her children" No. 98, by Mr. P. Wilson-Stoer, which is very charming in arrangement and colour, but the head of the lady has been carried so far as to be out of keeping with the rest of the picture, especially the children's heads. Mr. Rothenstein sends a couple of decorative landscapes, of which the more successful, No. 76, "Le grand I Vert," is painted with admirable breadth and quality of handling and Prof. Federick Brown, No. 69, "Wind, Sun, and storm," which, as its name implies, is very vigorous landscape, but bravura has been carried in it a little too far, and the trees are somewhat formless. Mr. Wilson Steer, Mr. Bernhard Sikert, and Mr. Roger Fry also contribute some good landscapes. Following a custom which has obtained within recent years a few works by some older artists are included in the exhibition. Mr. Holman Hunt sends his well known head of D. G. Rossetti, No. 115, which takes us back to the fifties; as well as one of his more recent, but not more successful things, No. 131, "The Importunate Neighbor"; and there is also a fine landscape by Claud Monet, No. 132, "Ve theuil," dating from '72.

Nothing, perhaps, in the collection of the recent work of Mr. Conder, which Messrs. Farfax are showing this week at their gallery in Ryder St., St. James's, is quite so fortunate as his "Afternoon" No. 77, at the New English Art Club though the little painting in an oval, called "The Willow Tree," No. 8, at Messrs. Carfax, and some of the water-colors there executed in silk, No. 13, "The Pearl," or No. 3, "The Shadow," fall short of it, only because they are to be less important. Besides these, there are a number of fans, or rather drawings on silk for fans, a form of decoration for which Mr. Conder has a peculiar talent; but to attempt to describe them would be as futile as to attempt to convey in words the scent of a flower! With nothing of the seriousness, or as some would have it, the delicate satire [sic], which underlies a painting or drawing by Watteau, these paintings and drawings are rather comparable — if indeed, one can

compare a painting to a set of verses-to the “Fêtes Galantes” of Paul Verlaine in the world of Mr. Conder's imagination, it is always April:

“Avril, la grace, et le ris De Cypris.”

And Pierrot and Arlecchina, who people it, are as much the creatures of the spring as the flowers in the grass and the butterflies among the budding green of the trees. Mr. Conder's is a limited and evanescent form of art, if you will, but it contains in itself all the elements that go to distinguish fine art from mere craftsmanship. Everything that he does possesses tempermanent [sic] and charm linked with a real vision of things, which however partial and remote, is nevertheless actually of the world.

At Messrs. Carfax's, are also shown a collection of drawings by Mr. A. E. John. For the moment, Mr. John is chiefly interested in imitating Rembrandt; and extraordinarily able his imitations are. He is at his best, however, when he is most himself, as in the nude study of a child, in red chalk, No. 25, which shows an admirable fineness and decision of line. But Mr. John is still young enough to fall under other influences besides Rembrandt's, and finally emerge with a manner of his own. If he succeeds in accomplishing all that he promises, his will be a name to reckon with.

63. *The Waddesdon bequest.*⁶⁴

The collection of jewels, plate and other works of art, which Baron Ferdinand Rothschild bequeathed to the British Museum of which he was a Trustee, has been arranged in a room on the upper floor of the Museum, to be called in accordance with the terms of his will, the “Waddesdon Bequest Room,” and at last thrown open to the public view. The somewhat lengthy interval which has been allowed to elapse since the death of Baron Rothschild on 17 December 1898, and the exhibition of the bequest, has been amply justified by the admirable manner in which the collection has been arranged, and by the excellent catalogue which has been prepared by the keeper of the department, Mr. C. H. Read. What on the most cursory view must impress all who see the collection is that richness of workmanship and preciousness of materials form the distinguishing marks of its contents. The collection is obviously of a kind only to be put together,

⁶⁴ H.P. Horne, *The Waddesdon bequest*, in “Saturday Review”, April 14, 1900, pp. 456 - 457.

as Mr. Read observes, “by those who possess the amplest resources.” In this view the collection is an especially desirable addition to the Treasures of the British Museum; for it is rarely that the Trustees can see their way to expend the public grants in acquiring costly jewels and plate of this nature. Again, the bulk of the collection, and especially the plate and jewels, are of a kind which has hitherto been scantily represented at Bloomsbury. But on the other hand, it must be confessed that the monetary and antiquarian value of Baron Ferdinand's bequest transcends by far the artistic value of its contents. To quote Mr. Read again, “the prevailing tone of richness and splendour of colour evidences a taste rather for the fully-developed productions of the later Renaissance, than for the more severe Gothic or Quattro-cento styles, where the artist is fettered by the conventions of an immature art.” But does not the latter part of this statement require some qualification? Surely, the art of the Quattrocento in Italy was neither immature, nor fettered by convention. The art of the early Florentine goldsmiths, for example, as it has come down to us in the panels by Andrea Verrocchio and Antonio Pollaiuoli, in the silver altar of San Giovanni, now in the museum of the Opera del Duomo at Florence, surpasses a thousand times, whether in beauty of design or mastery of workmanship, the bizarre, over-ripe art of the later Renaissance which is chiefly represented in the Waddesdon collection.

But from generalities let us come to particulars. With a few exceptions, the whole of the fifty-four items which comprise the jewels are of German workmanship executed for the most part in the sixteenth century; gorgeous and baroque travesties of their Italian originals whose beauty and reticence of design they invariably lack. The two notable exceptions are the jewel for a hat, No. 171, said to have belonged to Don John of Austria, which appears to be of North Italian workmanship, though of somewhat florid design; and the famous Lyte jewel, No. 167, an oval pendant of gold, richly enamelled and set with diamonds. This beautiful specimen of English jeweller's work in the early part of the seventeenth century, was given by James I. “with gracious thanks,” to Thomas Lyte of Lyte's Cary, Somerset, who had traced the King's pedigree back to Brut. It was purchased by Baron Ferdinand at the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection for £2,835; and, like the miniature of King James which it contains, is probably the work of Nicholas Hilliard. A finer, or historically more interesting, example of the English jeweller's art of the time could scarcely be found ; nor one which could more fitly be placed in

the National collection. Of the same character are the cups in gold and hard stones, and the silver plate; these, again, with but few exceptions, are of German workmanship of the sixteenth century. The cup, No. 66, a bewildering galaxy of barbaric pearl and gold, half embroidery, half goldsmith's work, is highly characteristic of German art in the sixteenth century. German craftsmanship has sadly deteriorated in modern times, but German taste has always remained unchanged. The exceptional items, though few, are notable: first and foremost comes the antique chalcedony vase, set with Italian mounts of the sixteenth century, No. 68. This vase, with four somewhat similar but inferior, pieces, Nos. 69-72, were formerly in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. The mounts of the first piece, however, are of the most exquisite taste and workmanship. Amid the profusion of German plate, the comparative reticence of the French silver-gilt cup and cover, set with shell cameos, No. 118, comes as a relief. Two fine examples of late Gothic plate, also, call for notice: namely, the beautiful spoon for incense, of silver parcel gilt, with the rock crystal stem, No. 209, which is of Flemish workmanship, and came from the Abbey of S. Servatius at Maestricht; and the silver cover of a book of the Gospels, No. 87, wrought with great elaboration in high relief, which is said to have come from Bamberg.

The pieces of majolica, which with one exception come from Urbino, are few in number and late in character; and although they include the two vases, No. 61, bearing the signature of Orazio Fontana, they add nothing of real importance to the splendid collection of Italian majolica which the British Museum already possesses. The examples of glass are equally few in number, but they comprise two very remarkable pieces: No. 53 a goblet of clear glass, enamelled and gilt with a scene representing a prince with his attendants, of Arab workmanship of the early fourteenth century, mounted on a high silver gilt foot of French workmanship of about the same date, an object whose rarity surpasses the intrinsic beauty of its design; and the fine Arab mosque lamp, No. 54, which also belongs to the fourteenth century. The carvings in wood and stone are of very unequal merit, but they include two of the finest works of art in the collection; namely the little portrait busts, No. 261, of a man and woman carved in walnut wood. These busts are of German workmanship, c. 1530, and are treated with an almost Holbeinesque breadth and truth to nature. The devotional toy, carved in boxwood, No. 231, attached to a gold signet ring, apparently of English workmanship of the middle of the fourteenth century, is an especially

acceptable addition to the National collection, when the rarity of such examples of English Gothic art is taken into account. With one exception, and that a notable one, all the enamels come from Limoges, and are, for the most part, excellent specimens of their kind: but however extraordinary such things may appear from the point of view of craftsmanship, so gaudy and meretricious are they in design that they can never appeal to persons of taste. The armour and bronzes, equally few in number, only now remain to be noticed. Chief among the former is the celebrated shield bearing the signature of Giorgio Ghisi, of Mantua, and the date, 1554, No. 5, a miracle of inlaid and damascened metal-work, which formed a principal object in the collection of Prince Demidoff, at the villa of San Donato, near Florence. Such are the caprices of the collector, that while this shield is also beyond price, the prints executed by the same artist, many of which are quite equal to it in point of design, are still to be picked up in London for a few shillings apiece. Lastly, come the four bronze handles of a litter, with heads in relief, Nos. I and 2, of Greek workmanship of the third century B.C. The beauty of these heads, especially the larger ones, is such, that though mere craftsman's work, so finely are they endued with the Greek spirit, that the real lover of art, I cannot help thinking, will prefer them to anything else in the collection.

Although it would be hard sufficiently to applaud the munificence which has occasioned the gift of these splendid objets d'art to the Treasures of the British Museum, one cannot, at the same time, but regret that their collector was not guided in his choice of them by beauty of design and fineness of execution rather than by richness of workmanship and preciousness of material.

65. *Art Notes [On Baron Rothschild Bequest at the British Museum; the Barbizon school and others at Messrs. McLean; and other London exhibitions]*.⁶⁵

Munificent, indeed, proves to be the bequest of the late Baron Ferdinand Rothschild to the nation, now that the collection has been arranged, in accordance with the terms of his will, in a separate room, to be known as the Waddesdon Bequest Room, on the upper floor of the British

⁶⁵ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Baron Rothschild Bequest at the British Museum; the Barbizon school and others at Messrs. McLean; and other London exhibitions]*, in "The Morning Leader", April 17, 1900, p. 4.

Museum, and thrown open to the public. Not only has the collection been well arranged, but an illustrated catalogue of it, published at the modest price of sixpence, has been prepared by the keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, Mr. Charles Hercules Read, which leaves little or nothing to be desired even by the most fastidious connoisseur of such things. The scholarly publications which are issued by the authorities of the British Museum contrast strangely with the belated catalogue of the National Gallery, which is from time to time brought up to date by the addition of some further mistakes and surprising opinions of the present Director, or with the confessedly slipshod information supplied by South Kensington. The Rothschild collection comprises only 265 items, nearly all objets d'art of small dimensions, but the richness of the workmanship and the preciousness of the materials are such that even a comparatively small collection like this could only be formed by an amateur possessed of the amplest resources. The bequest is a peculiarly acceptable addition to the treasures of the British Museum, not only because the kind of art which it represents has hitherto been scantily represented at Bloomsbury, but also because, according to the present state of things, it is unlikely that the trustees could ever see their way to acquire out of the public grants such costly objects, which however desirable, are by no means necessary acquisitions; and especially so, since at South Kensington are examples, more or less fine and characteristic, of the kind of jewels, plate, carvings, glass and majolica of which the Waddesdon Bequest is chiefly Composed.

The jewels, the cups and vases in gold and hard stones, and the silver plate which form the chief portion of Baron Rothschild's gift, are for the most part of German workmanship of the sixteenth century; splendid, but baroque, imitations of Italian originals of far, more refined taste and beauty of design, of which the collection unfortunately, possesses few examples. One notable exception among the jewels is the famous pendant of gold, enameled and set with diamonds, known as the Lyte Jewel, No. 167. It contains a miniature of King James I and was given by the King to Thomas Lyte, of Lyte's Carey, Somerset, for having traced the royal pedigree back to Brut. This jewel, for which Baron Rothschild paid 2,835 at the sale of the Hamilton Palace collection, is not only one of the most historically interesting, but one of the finest examples of the English jeweller's art of the early seventeenth century.

Equally conspicuous among the cups and vases is the antique vase of chalcedony, with Italian gold mounts of the sixteenth century, No. 68, the design and workmanship of which are alike of great excellence. The few examples of glass include two pieces of Arab work of the fourteenth century, Nos., 53 and 54, of great beauty and still greater rarity. The majolica is late and florid in character, and adds little to the splendid collection which the British Museum already possesses. The enamels, with the exception of a fine early reliquary of champlevé work, No. 19, are all of sixteenth century Limoges work, the florid character of whose design is scarcely redeemed by the extraordinary skill of their workmanship. Among the carvings the two little busts of a man and a woman, No. 261, in walnut wood, executed by a German artist c. 1530, and among the armor the famous shield of steel, inlaid and damascened with gold, No. 5, are especially remarkable. The shield, which bears the signature of Giorgio Ghisi, of Mantua, and the date 1554, was one of the principal treasures of the famous collection of Prince Demidoffs at Florence. But I cannot help thinking that far and away the most lovely works of art of all this costly assemblage of treasures are the two bronze handles for a litter, No. 2, with heads of women in relief. They are but ordinary craftsman's work, and in base metal; but then they are the work of a Greek, in the golden age of Greek art.

The annual exhibition of Messrs. McLean in the Haymarket is of greater interest than usual. The inner room contains a very varied gathering of modern pictures, both English and foreign. Those who care for the faultless unrealities of M. Bouguereau or for Sir Laurence Alma-Tadema's scrupulously archeological observance of the letter, but grotesque disregard of the spirit, of the antique Roman world, will find here paintings by them, and other artists scarcely less skilfull in their own fashion, to their liking. But the interest of the collection lies in the pictures of the Barbizon school — or, rather, of that somewhat vaguely defined group of artists commonly referred to as the Barbizon school — which fill the first room. First and foremost is the "Hagar and Ishmael," No. 64, of J. F. Millet one of those early paintings in which he seems to unite the large design of the Florentines with something of that exquisite quality in the modelling of the flesh which distinguishes the smaller pictures of Correggio. Of the four Corots here, No. 61, "Early Morning on the Seine," is an exceptionally fine example: the fresh air and keen, delicate light which flood the scene by the river bank, are inimitably rendered. There is also a

fine Daubigny, NO. 62, "Soirée d'été;" and half a dozen charming little fantasies in color by Diaz. But after all, has not the Barbizon School proper and neither Millet nor Corot properly belong to the school — been unduly overrated? Were not Rousseau, Diaz, Daubigny and their fellows rather highly-gifted men who worked in a fine tradition, than artists of unmistakable genius, as Millet and, in a far more limited sense, Corot unquestionably were?

At the Holland Fine Art Gallery at 235, Regent St., are to be seen a number of good examples of the modern Dutch school, and among them a couple of excellent Joseph Israels; some church-interiors by J. Bosboom which convey a sense of the large space and diffused lighting of a Gothic building, which few modern painters succeed in rendering; and a small canvas of a woman bending over a child in a cradle, by Albert Neuhuys, possessing considerable charm of color and handling. But the finest thing here, unquestionably, is a drawing in black chalk of a girl at a spinning wheel, by Matthew Maris, an artist whose work has been so rarely seen that, in spite of a great reputation in his own country, he has remained little more than a name in England, even among amateurs. Like Leonardo, he seems to have been so haunted by the fear that no skill of hand could ever adequately express his ideas that he has scarcely ever been able to bring himself to finish a picture. Such a failure is the sign either of a very great artist or a very indifferent one. This drawing, however, will go far to support all that the admirers of Matthew Maris have proclaimed him to be. Charming indeed in conception, the large modelling of the figure, the exquisite fleshiness of the arms in the scintillating light, and the beauty of the actual draughtsmanship, all contribute towards producing an effect which is as delightful and distinguished as it is elusive of the work of his far more prolific and far less gifted brothers, J. and William Maris, are several good examples here.

The last of the many and admirable exhibitions of pictures which have been seen on the walls of the gallery of the Corporation at the Guildhall, is devoted to the work of living British painters. It was opened to the public this week; but my space is gone, and I must hold over my disquisition on this show.

66. *Correggio*.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ H.P. Horne, *Correggio*, in "The Londoner", April 21, 1900, p. 351 - 352.

Correggio. By SELWYN BRINTON, M. A. Great Masters Series. London: G. Bell & Sons.

The volumes forming this little series, though well printed amply illustrated, are, unfortunately, very unequal as regards the value of their subject-matter. The volume on 'Carlo Crevelli,' which appeared last month, was an unassuming and scholarly attempt to put together, for the first time all that modern criticism and research have been able to tell us about the painter of the March of Ancona, who has had so great a fascination for English amateurs. The writer of the present volume, on the contrary, is anything but a pioneer; and this book is written in English too florid and voluble to be characterized as either unassuming or scholarly. A crowd of books and miscellaneous studies, from Raphael Mengs' 'Life of Correggio' in the last century, to Corrado Ricci's sumptuous little volume, published by Mr. Heinemann a few years ago, present an embarrassment of riches to the popular writer who now essays to produce something on Correggio. In the purely technical criticism of pictures, and in all matters resting on documentary evidence, Mr. Brinton has wisely followed in the paths of Morelli and Ricci; but his 'appreciations' and 'cameos of description' are harder to characterise. They curiously resemble the lucubrations of Mengs couched in the language of Dean Farrar. But to be fair to Mr. Brinton let us quote a characteristic passage. He is speaking of the vast fresco that fills the cupola of the Cathedral at Parma, 'the most perfect thing of beauty,' in his opinion, that Correggio has conceived: "Imagine--I wrote elsewhere' (Mr. Brinton delights in quoting from himself) -- 'a mass of figures, of interlacing limbs and lovely forms, of sparkling eyes and floating tresses of long hair, all moving upwards in a haze of golden light, circling, as if seized with a frenzy of glad rapture, around the central figure of the ascending Madonna. They form and re-form, spread out their arms, and leap headlong into the clouds; their white forms quiver with the very ecstasy of movement; sometimes amid the changing groups the figures of Bible history appear. Eve extends the mystic apple, Abraham is there with Isaac, Judith carries the head of her country's tyrant--all share in the rapture of glad adoration; and around them the lovely spirits revel in the golden light, play lutes or mandolines, or clash the cymbals, rush, mad with joy, into each other's arms, or circle above, below, around the upsoaring Queen of Heaven.' Apart from the question whether or not prose as Corinthian as this is capable of conveying a true description of Correggio's fresco, rhapsodies of this kind do not enable their reader to see a painter more

clearly or more deeply for himself. Mr. Brinton has passed over everything here which is most individual in Correggio's genius--all those peculiarities, in short, by which his manner is to be distinguished and understood. On the other hand, he dismisses such a picture as the incomparable 'Vierge au Panier,' in the National Gallery (No. 23), in a couple of lines. Of Correggio's handling, or 'manner of leaving the colours,' of which this picture is so conspicuous an example, he has nothing to say; yet, in the inimitable way which Correggio possessed of so leaving his colours that they still appear fresh and liquid, like cheese or cream, lies largely the secret of his unsurpassed effects of light and gradation, incommunicable qualities denied to his imitators. Again, Mr. Brinton dismisses Correggio's drawings with the remark that they are mostly mere hasty sketches--steps in the ladder by which the great work was reached.' Had he attempted to distinguish the genuine drawings of the Master from that 'mass of apocryphal work' which has been, and is still, attributed to his hand--a most desirable but most difficult task, which Mr. Brinton makes not the slightest attempt to solve the student of Correggio would not only have had reason to be grateful to him, but would also have possessed some ground for estimating Mr. Brinton's claims to be considered an independent critic. His sense of humour, by the way, appears to be somewhat slender; it is thus that he solemnly begins one of his chapters: 'We now come to that period of Correggio's life to which belong the ripest works of his genius; these are the masterpieces which are characteristic of his completed style, and it is to them, above all, that belongs the quality which has been sometimes called, though the phrase is perhaps a little forced, the Correggiosity of Correggio.'

67. *The pictures at the Royal Academy I.*⁶⁷

That Mr. Sargent would cut incomparably the most brilliant figure at this year's Academy, and that the single work which Mr. Orchardson and Mr. Watts each contribute would be, in neither case, one of their more fortunate achievements, was a foregone conclusion, about which both the critics and the public at large could scarcely help being in agreement. For the moment, however, I wish to speak of other things than Mr. Sargent's amazingly skilful [sic] portraits, though they form by far the most notable contribution to this year's show. It is with certain

⁶⁷ H.P. Horne, *The pictures at the Royal Academy I*, in "The Londoner", April 21, 1900, p. 151 - 152.

pictures more generally characteristic of the exhibition as a whole that I am now concerned. The bulk of the paintings at the Academy strangely calls to mind the definition to be found in the latest of our classics, 'Department for Dukes': 'The art of *conversation de société* consists in following the obvious to no conclusion.' The absence of any point of view, artistic or otherwise, is the only thing that can be noted with any certainty in nine out of every ten paintings at Burlington House. By far the larger number appear to have been painted merely with some vague ambition of figuring on the walls of the Academy; just as the art of conversation is pursued by smart society for every purpose in the world except that of expressing ideas. The number of pictures painted from a definite artistic point of view is indeed small; and even discussing this small number it becomes necessary to draw a sharp distinction between the few works which Seriously concerned with 'presentation' (if I may borrow convenient label from a much-abused, criticised writer) the larger number which are concerned with representation; between the work of the artist whose aim is vain to a fine vision and presentment of the outward of things, for their own sake, and the work of the accomplished craftsman who is merely concerned with illustration, the effective setting forth of some scene or incident, for the sake of the associations which the situation evokes.

In the front rank of the former category must be placed the work of that group of the artists, with Mr. George Clausen at their George at their head, who set out as vigorous opponents of the Academy, but who have long since purged their offense and been reconciled to that august body. Of the six pictures which Mr. Clausen exhibits, 'The Dark Barn' (No. 291), Study of brilliant sunlight breaking through the crevices of an old barn, and 'Making a Rick' (No. 780), a little picture of two boys and a man unloading a waggon of hay seen in clear sunlight under a blue sky — things which have a real sense of the country about them— are perhaps the more fortunate, though there is little to choose between them. Mr. La Thangue sends a portrait of a child, with a doll, in a lavender dress — 'Margaret Frances Greaves' (No. 68)—and three other figure-pieces, of which 'The Dawn' (No. 199), a study of a girl gathering mushrooms in a field, should especially be mentioned. Mr. La Thangue's colour, however, possesses little of the clear, luminous quality, and his handling little of the charm, which distinguish Mr. Clausen's pictures. Another picture of the same kind is Mr. Edward Stott's 'Saturday Night' (No. 867), of peasants

returning home at dusk. All these pictures are distinguished not only by their genuine observation of tone and colour and atmosphere, but also by their deliberate selection and admirable and fastidious workmanship—qualities which, though of the very essence of painting, are among the rarest to be found at Burlington House. Admirable as these pictures appear at the Academy, the type which their painters affect in their figures, and, indeed, the whole method and handling of their work, constantly reminds us that, had it not been for certain modern French painters, they could never have produced the work which they do. That is the worst that can be urged against them—that they are too little original, and never entirely English.

From these genuinely artistic, if not highly original, paintings let us turn to Mr. E. A. Abbey's 'Trial of Queen Katherine' (No. 96), which after Mr. Sargent's large portrait group is, undoubtedly, the most brilliant and effective piece of painting in the whole exhibition. From its own point of view it is admirably accomplished: the arrangement of the figures, the disposition of the light and shade, of the masses of brilliant colour, are managed with assured skill; the details of the elaborate costumes have been collected from authentic sources and carefully thought out; all the heads have been studied from contemporary portraits; and yet how unlike in spirit is the conception of the scene which this picture embodies to the account of it which George Cavendish has given us in his 'Life of Wolsey.' Who would guess from Mr. Abbey's picture that the King had, like Katherine, been cited to appear before the Cardinals who held the commission of the Pope? In ignoring the minute description which Cavendish has left of the arrangement of the Court Mr. Abbey has missed the real significance of the scene he has attempted to paint in his eagerness to produce a striking effect; in other words, the conception of his painting reveals the imagination, not of the serious painter of history, but of the brilliant scene painter, the stage-manager. Equally effective, equally melodramatic, is Mr. Abbey's smaller canvas of the 'Penance of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester' (No. 147). But if we would estimate Mr. Abbey's claims as a painter, apart from his undeniable gift for illustration, let us look for a moment, at his Diploma picture, 'A Lute-player' (No. 5). We will not insist on its faults as a piece of illustration (for a lute is neither struck with a plectrum, like a mandoline, nor played close under the finger-board), but will examine it merely as affording us an insight into his methods of work. The hair and dress are painted with a somewhat coarse definition, while the face is painted

in a blurred, *sformato* fashion, without any definition at all. That the handling of the several parts of a picture should be in 'keeping,' that is, in a due relation to one another, has always been held by all the schools as a self-evident axiom of all fine painting; and Mr. Abbey appears to have adopted the practice of painting his flesh in a way that bears no relation to the rest of the picture, merely to produce a certain novel and striking effect. For the finer and more serious qualities of painting he has no concern; fine draughtsmanship or fine handling, for their own sake, signify nothing to him. The red pigment of the dress of his 'Lute-player' is already splitting and parting, though the picture is destined for the Diploma Gallery. And yet how clever and accomplished a master is Mr. Abbey of the kind of art which he sets out to do, in comparison to Mr. Frank Dicksee, whose picture, 'The Two Crowns' (No. 167), has been purchased for the nation this year under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest. That boundless imagination which Mr. Bernard Shaw once noted as the grand characteristic of the works of Miss Marie Corelli is not less a characteristic of Mr. Dicksee's work. Equally imaginary are the wicked king on the prancing steed, the gilt armour in which he is clad, the voluptuous maidens who scatter roses under the very hoofs of his horse. It, too, in its way, is clever and effective; but how entirely wanting is any element of fineness in the picture—any fineness of draughtsmanship, of colour, of handling, and, what is more to be deplored, any fineness of conception. Yet, in its want of any fine or artistic quality, in its mere appeal to the crowd, Mr. Dicksee's picture becomes characteristic of much that is to be found at Burlington House; and it is no less a sign of the condition into which painting has fallen at the present day that the Academy should have selected it as the picture to be acquired for the nation under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest.

68. *The pictures at the Royal Academy II.*⁶⁸

The precise application of the sentence from Ben Jonson which appears on the title — page of the Academy catalogue this year 'It is only the disease of the unskilful to think rude things greater than polished' — is not very evident. May it be that Jonson's apothegm is intended as a vindication of the art of the President and Sir W. B. Richmond, in contradistinction to that of Mr. Sargent and his imitators? Certainly, if mere polish be the great excellence of painting, then,

⁶⁸ H.P. Horne, *The pictures at the Royal Academy II*, in "The Londoner", May 12, 1900, pp. 152 - 153.

in the 'smooth, enamelled' paint which is the one distinctive trait in the portraits contributed by Sir Edward Poynter and Sir W. B. Richmond we have exemplified the highest quality of painting in its greatest perfection; smoothness could scarcely be carried further. For my own part, however, I am content to remain among the number of the unskilful. But to turn to the portraits which are of some account. Mr. Orchardson exhibits but a single work this year — the vast group of the Royal Family, which he calls 'Windsor Castle, 1899: Portraits' (No. 143). The picture, like everything which Mr. Orchardson does, is the work of an artist, conceived and worked out with definite intention, charming in colour and handling, and everywhere touched with a fine and reticent temperament; and yet the picture is by no means one of his most fortunate things. Mr. Orchardson, I think, would have succeeded better if he had painted it on a smaller scale. sufficiently vigorous to make so large a picture appear effective when seen at the distance from which a picture of its dimensions ought to be seen. Frock-coat and trousers evidently do not commend themselves to Mr. Orchardson, with all its faults, the picture, both in intention and in actual achievement, is on a higher level than anything else in the exhibition. It fails precisely where Mr. Sargent succeeds, and succeeds where Mr. Sargent fails. A comparison of the work of the two men is instructive. Mr. Orchardson's picture would no doubt appear to advantage properly hung by itself; but Mr. Sargent's traits are all skilfully [sic] calculated to appear at their best in the Academy.

Let us look at the brilliant sketch, "An Interior Venice" (No. 729), which Mr. Sargent has deposited as his Diploma work on his election as an Academician, and afterwards at his large and equally brilliant group, "Lady Elcho, Mrs. Adeane, and Mrs. Tennant" (No. 213). The smaller picture has all qualities which are proper incidental to a sketch: freshness of vision, spontaneity of handling, a certain exaggeration of the light and shade — a care for the more striking or essential traits of the subject rather than a complete realisation of it. These qualities which are of the very essence of a sketch, and which render Mr. Sargent's little picture a masterpiece in its own way are no less characteristic of his large portrait-group; only there the vein of exaggeration which runs through the picture is more obvious and more persistent. He extends it even to the drawings of the heads, where the almost imperceptible exaggeration of character — which, after all, is the essence of caricature — served to give a piquant, if not unpleasant, sense of truth in the portraits.

Again, in order to heighten the brilliant tone of his flesh, he leaves a line of dark colour round the profile of the standing figure, and avoids the exact perspective of the room, which a picture on this scale surely demands, in order that he may obtain a more striking effect of improvisation. Mr. Sargent is perpetually reminding us by some pose and piece of *bravura* of Velasquez or Franz Hals; but of their power of finishing a picture, of giving complete expression to a completely realised conception of a subject without loss of spontaneity or freshness, Mr. Sargent has nothing. His pictures remain sketches; he obtains his effect too soon, and is afraid of carrying a painting farther, lest he should lose that air of brilliant improvisation by which he chiefly obtains his effects. And yet he has the power of imparting to his portraits a sense of vitality which is denied to the ablest of his fellow-exhibitors at the Academy. Of his own particular way of painting Mr. Sargent is a consummate master. But can a way of painting which takes no count of the beauty, either of form, colour, or handling, or of the fine draughtsmanship and subtle delineation of character, which are among the chief excellences of Velasquez's art — can a way of painting, however skilfully managed, which relies for its effect on the mere *bravura* of its execution and certain exaggerations of drawing and tone, be called anything but a brilliant trick? The three portraits which Mr. J. J. Shannon sends to the Academy this year are far finer and more serious attempts at portraiture than the voluptuous paintings which he sends to the New Gallery; indeed, his 'Lord! Manners' (No. 50), the best thing of his I remember to have seen, appears as a serious rival to Mr. Sargent's 'Earl of Dalhousie' (No. 44), which hangs on the same wall. There is something unpleasantly Parisian in the two portraits which M. Benjamin Constant sends; yet it is impossible overlook the skilful [sic] workmanship which characterises the portrait of the "Princess Demidoff" (No. 1035) But how, with any tolerance, can one speak of the vagaries of Mr. Herkomer? He sends, among other things, two portrait women — "Lady Armstrong" (No. 15), and "Miss Elena M. Grace" (No. 668). They cannot be said to be blonde in tone because they possess no tone at all, and their colour is kind that one ordinarily associates with a pastry-cook's shop. Of their drawing, the less said, the better.

I would yet speak of one or two of the landscapes. It seems incredible that the unrivalled school of Bus landscape-painting which had its beginnings a little than a century ago in the work of Gainsborough, Wilsons and Cozens, should have wholly and utterly passed away; yet there is

scarcely a picture in the Academy in which a trace of any tradition of that great school is to be found. A love of meaningless photographic detail, and a method of execution which resembles an oleograph, are the distinctive characteristics of nine-tenths of the landscapes here. The landscapes of Mr. Alfred East possess a certain sense of style and decorative colour; his "Lake Bourget' from Mt. Revard, Savoy" (No. 544), appears attractive among its surroundings, but it is too artificial in colour, and too little observant of the fine forms with which nature abounds. On the same wall hangs another landscape, called 'winters' sleep (No. 538), by Mr. Harry W. Adams. Unlike Mr. East's picture, it is unpleasant in colour and handling; but the painter has seen and realised a real and definite moment in the appearance of a December landscape, when the snow is on the ground: a virtue denied even to Mr. East. "The Old Bridge in Verona" (No. 365), by M. Fritz Thanlow, is painted with a certain distinction and sense of colour which are rare in Burlington House. But the one landscape which calls for especial notice is Mr. Sant's little picture, 'Part of the Ruins of the Cistercian Nunnery, North Berwick, N.B.' (No. 856). It may seem a piece of extravagance to say that this diminutive landscape is the most genuinely artistic painting in all this year's Academy, yet I say it deliberately. The observation and selection, the colour and handling, in this little picture have all equally been determined by the fine mood of the artist. There is a real sense of tradition here, as, in a less pleasing way, there always is in Mr. Sant's portraits—a tradition of what paint really is. But the originality of our younger generation Painters who aspire to shine at Burlington House is of a that enables them to dispense not merely with tradition, but often even with sanity itself.

69. *Art Notes [On Monticelli at the Goupil Gallery; Sir John Tenniel, R. Ponsonby Staples and others at the Fine Arts Society; A.E. Enslie at Old Water Color Society]*.⁶⁹

Exhibitions of pictures, old and new, have been opened in such rapid succession during the last two or three weeks that, while attempting to notice the more important ones in some sort of adequate fashion, I have been obliged to let several of the minor shows go by default for the

⁶⁹ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Monticelli at the Goupil Gallery; Sir John Tenniel, R. Ponsonby Staples and others at the Fine Arts Society; A.E. Enslie at Old Water Color Society]*, in "The Morning Leader", May 15, 1900, p. 20.

moment. At the Goupil Gallery, in Regent St., a series of more than 50 pieces by that fascinating though erratic painter, Monticelli, have been brought together. As with many a master of a surprisingly original manner, Monticelli's way of painting was not a sudden invention, but the gradual development of many years of study. He began to paint in a fashion tame and insipid enough, as the "Portrait of a Lady" (No. 30), which is dated 1854, shows. It contains not a single trace of that florid richness of color and handling which distinguish the so-called "Meeting in the Park" (No. 41), which is dated 1874 — the largest and, on the whole, the finest work here.

Why it should have been thought necessary to bestow a name on a picture for which no name was obviously adequate I do not know. Mere subject, for Monticelli, was but an excuse to produce some effect of tone and color; and in the rendering of certain intense gem-like qualities of light and color he is unrivalled. At one period he affected [sic] to load the lights and shadows of his pictures with an equal degree of heaviness — a method which is apt to impart to them the effect of an embroidered rather than of a painted surface. A similar effect, though produced by a very different manner of painting, is to be seen in some of the latter pictures of the Milanese painter Segantini. Among the finer examples of Monticelli to be seen at the Goupil Gallery the "Nymphs in the Wood" (No. 46) may especially be mentioned. I presume that M.M. Boussod and Valadon have satisfied themselves as to the genuineness of all the pieces which they exhibit here; but one cannot but remark the inferiority of some of the pictures.

Sir John Tenniel's weekly cartoon in "Punch" is one of the most generally applauded, though not one of the most ancient, of British institutions; and the exhibition of his original drawings at the Fine Art Society's galleries is likely to attract many other visitors than the usual frequenters of the galleries. Sir John Tenniel is eighty years old, and has drawn for "Punch" for half a century; but as yet he shows no sign of relinquishing to other hands the political cartoon which is inseparably connected with his name. The pencil drawings, to the number of a hundred and fifty or more, which are on view in Bond St., have been selected from the drawings executed for the "Punch" cartoons from 1895 to the present year. Much that in the woodcuts one might be inclined to attribute to some failure of hand on the part of the draughtsman is now seen, from the drawings, to be due to the faulty workmanship of the engraver. Indeed, when we remember Sir

John Tenniel's great age, we cannot but marvel at the feat of producing week after week and year after year, not merely drawings as equal as these are in execution, but jests so unflinching in their genial good humor. With the drawings for the cartoons are also shown a few of the sketches for Sir John's chef d'oeuvre, the illustrations to "Alice in Wonderland."

Pastel, no doubt on account of the ease with which a certain solidity of tone and fulness of color can be obtained, is becoming a common medium among the authors of "one-man shows." At the Fine Art Society's Galleries Mr. Charles M. Horsfall exhibits a number of able, if not very distinguished, portrait heads in pastel; and at Messrs. Graves' galleries in Pallmall Miss Mary Helen Carlisle more than a hundred sketches in pastel of the country and gold mines of Inodesia [sic]. Those who may wish to realise something of the character and color of Mr. Rhodes' Eldorado cannot do better than visit Miss Carlisle's little exhibition. Pastel also, to a certain extent, is the medium employed by Mr. R. Ponsonby Staples in his portraits of one hundred Men and Women of the Time, which are also on view at Messrs. Graves' Gallery. The most remarkable thing about Mr. Staples' "Souvenir of the Century," as he calls his collection of portraits, is the number of well-known persons whom he has either persuaded to sit to him, or of whom he had managed to snatch a likeness during the course of some public meeting. From Miss Evie Green and "Charlie Clarke" to William Morris and the Archbishop of Canterbury, all is grist to his mill. Mr. Staples, moreover, has his own theories of portraiture: "A face," he remarks, "shows" as many definite impressions as there are instants of vision. You must choose what look, what aspect of the subject you wish to paint. If you can do this with the right constructional and color quality of your subject —the latter perhaps of the greatest value — you may make a fine portrait. No doubt: still the path which Mr. Staples marks out for the portrait-painter has its pitfalls, as his own practice shows: for in his eagerness to catch the "right color quality" of his subject, he is apt to overlook even the elements of construction in the drawing off his sitter's head. Charm or distinction, not to mention other qualities, are ingredients which have no place in Mr. Staples' recipe.

Mr. A. E. Emslie, who is an associate of the Old Water Color Society, exhibits at the Egyptian Hall a series of nine large oil-paintings, illustrating the life of Christ on earth, and some

40 watercolor drawings of Palestine and the Holy Land. In his drawings, Mr. Emslie shows considerable skill in recording the character and color of some landscape or street-scene; but the sort of accomplishment which carries such things to a successful issue, goes but a little way in handling on a large scale such subjects as Mr. Emslie attempts to handle in his oil paintings. The second picture of the series represents the angels ministering to Christ after his fasting in the wilderness. Christ is represented by a painfully emaciated figure prostrate with bodily suffering; at his feet sits a cupid picking the thorns out of his flesh, while the angels are literal transcripts from a well conditioned model in a gauze robe. In the painting of the Crucifixion, Christ is represented writhing with bodily anguish, while the crowd below thrust out at him a forest of monstrous, gesticulating hands: a piece of cheap melodrama of which the significance is not very evident. But of imagination or spirituality of temper, which are surely among the first qualifications of the painter of religious pictures, there is scarcely a trace in these paintings, nor does Mr. Emslie make good this deficiency by any conspicuous talent for composition, draughtsmanship or color. Indeed, the power of observance which distinguishes his water-color drawings, seems to fail him when he comes to attempt historical painting.

70. *The Royal Academy, Second notice [On Frank Dicksee, La Thangue and others]*.⁷⁰

It is difficult to credit the president and council of the Royal Academy, who are the trustees under the will of Sir Francis Chantrey, of the fund known as the "Chantrey Bequest," with a higher motive than a desire to make a bid for popularity, when they elected to purchase Mr. Frank Dicksee's picture, "The Two Crowns," No. 167, in accordance with the terms of the bequest. Among the Chantrey pictures now in the Tate Gallery there is already as typical a specimen of Mr. Dicksee's art as his most enthusiastic admirer could wish to find there, the once widely popular work called "Harmony," which was purchased in 1877. Mr. Dicksee's pictures doubtless have accomplishment of a sort, but so had that notorious ballad "The Lost Chord," or the dramatic productions with which Mr. Wilson Barrett has scored his successes. But surely the picture-seeing public of London (I mean greater London, not merely Belgravia), have come

⁷⁰ H.P. Horne, *The Royal Academy, Second notice [On Frank Dicksee, La Thangue and others]*, in "The Morning Leader", May 23, 1900, p. 15.

across in various exhibitions, enough good pictures by this time to suspect that Mr. Dicksee's paintings, however attractive some of us may have found them, are not after all quite the sort of thing which we ought to lay up in museums for the edification of our descendants. There are some forms of art which never grow old, and ripen with time, as all good wine does (and for that matter, all good books, pictures, and objects of vertu); but which, on the contrary, grow more and more hopelessly belated, and dingy, and out of fashion. That is the fate which is slowly overtaking Mr. Dicksee's once famous picture of "Harmony," and which in another 25 years must overtake his latest production, "The Two Crowns." It is enough to add that the latter picture equals the former in the unreal nature of its conception and in its nebulous sentimentality, and surpasses it in the showy theatricality of its details.

It is pleasant to turn from this meretricious painting to the work of a group of men, who, though now of the Academy, owe little of their art to the teaching of or traditions of that body. Indeed, one regrets that not only in their method of painting, but even in their forms, especially in the type of their figures, they still plainly betray that they owe their inspiration to certain French painters of the plein air school. I allude [sic], of course, to Mr. George Clausen, Mr. La Thangue, and Mr. E. Stott, whose pictures, if not highly original, are certainly among the most genuinely artistic to be found at the Academy. The effect of bright sunshine breaking into secluded shade, which Mr. Clausen has attempted in "The Dark Barn," No. 201; of fresh breezes and clear air in his "Making & Rick," No. 780, and of "the gradual dusky veil," of approaching night, in his "Solitude," No. 185, are rendered not only with a charm of handling and a sense at once of the naturalistic and decorative qualities of color, but with the definite vision of the painter who really possesses the power of seeing things for himself. Of the pictures sent by Mr. La Thangue, the "Margaret Frances Greaves," No. 68, a portrait of a little girl with a doll, calls for more than a passing notice; as also does Mr. Stott's "Saturday Night," No. 867.

For the rest I must be brief. Mr. Waterhouse sends only one picture, this year, "The Awakening of Adonis," No. 155 which is pretty enough in conception, but otherwise not remarkable. Mr. E. A. Abbey's "Trial of Queen Katherine," No. 96, an astonishingly able piece of work, embodies in a remarkable manner the kind of conception of the scene which Sir Henry

Irving would, if it were possible, put on the stage of the Lyceum Theatre for our edification. Among the landscapes, Mr. Alfred East sends several canvases which are more agreeable in color than really fine in design: Herr Fritz Thaulow's "Old Bridge in Verona," No. 365 and Mr. Sant's "Ruins of the Sisteraian Nunnery at North Berwick," No. 856, Are in their several way more serious attempts at this kind of painting.

The most important work to be found in the sculpture galleries at the Academy this year, is the model by Mr. Brock for the "Tomb of the late Lord Leighton, P.R.A.," No. 2,063, which is to be executed in bronze and marble, and placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. It is a scholarly piece of work, simple and dignified in its general design, a little dull and academic in the way in which the figures are modelled. One fault the design has, which is of a kind that no Italian of the great time would have committed: I allude to the fragile character of the symbols held by the two figures which are seated at he head and foot of the sarcophagus, The same error of taste detracts from the due effect in the figures which decorate the pedestal of the model for the statue of "The late Maharajah of Mysore," by Mr. Onslow Ford, which has been set up in the quadrangle of Burlington House. Details as fragile as these not only convey the unpleasant sense that they must inevitably be damaged in the natural course of things, unprotected as they are from their position, but they also detract from the monumental character which such pieces of sculpture ought to possess, of the three works which Mr. J. M. Swan sends this year, two are not only unimportant, but hardly worthy of his reputation; the third, however — a group, intended to be cast in bronze, of a "Puma and Macaw," No. 1,938, is a work in which the sculptor's intimate knowledge not only of the form and structure of animals, but also of their character and movement, are admirably seen. In such works Mr. Swan bids fair to become a serious rival to that great French sculptor of animals, Barye, The "Baptismal Font," No. 2,051, exhibited by Mr. Gilbert, is distinguished by an utter want of the architectural sense, which surely is a first requisite in a work of monumental sculpture such as this. No one who had not been informed, could divine for what uses it is intended. It is a mass of shapeless protuberances, of mouldings that are no mouldings — but I desist. Mr. Gilbert, I believe, is the most fashionable and therefore, it is to be presumed, the first sculptor in England. Well, I suppose that I have lived too long in Italy, and

have formed my notions of what modern sculpture ought to be from the works of I confess it — Donatello and the Florentines!

71. *Art Notes [On C.H. Shannon at the Dutch Gallery; and on several other London exhibitions]*.⁷¹

It is some three years since Mr. C. H. Shannon exhibited his first subject-picture “The Wounded Amazon”: his second attempt of the kind is now on view at the Dutch Gallery, in Brook St. The subject is purely pictorial in its motive, a variation on a theme which Mr. Shannon handled in more than one of his lithographs. In the foreground of the picture are two crouching figures of youths who have newly come from diving after coral in the bay which forms the background of the painting: one of them stretches forth his hand into the light, to offer a spray of coral to a woman whose half-draped, standing figure is partially seen on the extreme left of the picture. To the right, in the distance, other nude figures of men are seen diving into the blue circle of the little bay. In his paintings Mr. Shannon does not as yet show that entire independence which he has shown in his lithographs and his drawings: in design, in color, and in technique, the influence of Mr. Watts is here, perhaps, a little too obvious.

But that is a fault (if indeed it be a fault) which one would scarcely wish to be otherwise, for Mr. Shannon has borrowed nothing without making it his own. There is something alike in his design, color, and | handling which is peculiarly individual; and the present picture affords another proof that he occupies a place apart among the young generation of painters. Of the eccentricity, and fantastic straining after originality which mark so much of our latest art, there is no trace in his work; he is above all things concerned with the purely pictorial qualities of painting — with the beauty of form and color, of arrangement and handling. A certain Italian connoisseur whom I happen to know used to speak of him, twixt earnest - and jest, as “Il Giorgione Irlandese.” There was much truth in the pleasantry: for no English painter since Mr. Watts has been able to approach so nearly to the point of view of the great Italian, to turn his sights aside so entirely from the literary and illustrational by-ways of painting, and to give

⁷¹ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On C.H. Shannon at the Dutch Gallery; and on several other London exhibitions]*, in “The Morning Leader”, May 29, 1900, p. 17.

himself so completely over to a finely sensuous apprehension of such things, as Mr. Shannon has done.

A New Mezzotint

Mr. Frank Short has finished a large plate in mezzotint, after Mr. Watts painting, called "Love and Death." Of Mr. Watts's famous picture it is unnecessary to speak: it is not only one of the first masterpieces of our English school, but it is a painting which is widely known and appreciated. In these days, when most reproductions are made by photographic processes, the appearance of a plate in pure mezzotint after a living painter is an event which by all means deserves our attention. Messrs. Dunthorne, by whom the plate is published, claim that in point of technical excellence, Mr. Short's mezzotint compares favorably with the best work of Mc Ardell, J. R. Smith, and other eighteenth-century engravers, that is to claim a very great deal for it. The mezzotint engravers of the last century by reason of their incessant practice of the art attained not only to a rapidity of execution, but also to a freedom of hand in which actual physical strength — was united with the greatest subtlety and sureness of touch; an effect of spontaneity, of brilliancy and depth of tone, was thus obtained, which must necessarily be denied to men who have not had the advantage of the same vast practice, especially at a time when the tradition of this form of engraving is no longer a living thing, but with this reservation we can give Mr. Short's plate very high commendation indeed. It is not only quite equal in every way to his fine plate of "Diana and Endymion," after another of Mr. Watts's masterpieces, which appeared in 1894, but it is undoubtedly one of the best mezzotint which have appeared in recent years.

Royal Patronage

At Messrs. Graves' Galleries in Pallmall are exhibited a series of water-color drawings of Madeira, Italy, and English gardens, by Miss Ella du Cane. One of the drawings has been lent by the Queen; two others have been bought by the Prince of Wales, and a couple more by the Princess. With a few exceptions, the whole of the drawings exhibited have been purchased by members of the Royal Family, or by the aristocracy. In extending her patronage to the work of

Miss Ella du Cane, the Queen, no doubt, has been prompted by most excellent motives, but they can hardly be supposed to have originated from any consideration for the fine arts.

Some Decorative Paintings

Messrs. Maurice and Edward Detmold are two young painters who endeavor to unite in their work the decorative conventions of Japanese art, with a Ruskinian minuteness of naturalistic detail. Of the water-colors and etchings which they are now showing at the Fine Art Society's galleries at Bond St., the drawings undoubtedly are the more successful; and, further, their renderings of fishes and birds are more successful than their rendering of animals. To represent the great cats with success, something more is required than a swinging line and an eye for their markings. Again, their drawings are apt to be monotonous and unpleasantly black in color. With so much naturalistic detail one feels the want of greater naturalism in the coloring: at least, in one respect, for Nature is never turbid or sooty in her pigments. In spite of these shortcomings, Messrs. Detmold's work shows considerable ability, and is much above the average of the many recent attempts of the kind at decorative painting.

Black and White

At the Cutlers' Hall, in Warwick-lane, Messrs. Cassell and Co. are holding their eighteenth annual exhibition of drawings in black-and-white which have been executed for their publications. It must suffice to say that drawings by Mr. Alfred East, Mr. MacWhirter, Mr. Fulleylove, Lady Stanley, and Mr. Byam Shaw are to be found in the collection, which includes nearly four hundred examples.

72. Art Notes [On the Dudley Gallery Art Society; early Italian, Flemish and Dutch schools at the Dowdeswell Gallery; and on several other London exhibitions].⁷²

At the Egyptian Hall the New English Art Club has given place to the Dudley Gallery Art Society, the aspiring genius, intolerant of the beaten paths of art, has retired before the amateur in

⁷² H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On the Dudley Gallery Art Society; early Italian, Flemish and Dutch schools at the Dowdeswell Gallery; and on several other London exhibitions]*, in "The Morning Leader", June 13, 1900, p. 23.

all its manifestations (though usually of the gentler sex), masquerading as the most orthodox and respectable of professionals. The transformation is certainly striking, not to say disconcerting; indeed, it left me under some apprehension whether I possessed all the qualifications necessary to the adequate review of the Dudley Gallery Art Society's summer exhibition of water-color pictures and sketches. It was plain that, to revert to the blunt outspokenness of one's personal opinion which commonly passes under the euphemism of art criticism, would at least be "bad form" in approaching the work of the "Duchess as amateur," or in discussing the drawings of the frequenter of smart house parties who never descends to sketch anything but the houses and gardens of the aristocracy. What adds to my confusion is that that invaluable work to which I invariably turn in such cases of emergency — I refer, of course, to the "Department for Dukes" — has most unaccountably omitted to say anything about this important matter. I observe, however, from the examples before me that in drawing the halls and gardens of baronial seats only genuine ultra-marine and the best cadmium should be used, applied only with real sable brushes with faultless points: but emerald green may be used with such freedom as one's company may allow, for the foliage and grass.

Some Modern Dilettanti

I fear I have not space enough to enumerate all the various forms in which the amateur is to be seen at the Dudley Gallery. One contributor sends an imitation of Sir L. Alma Tadema — or may it be Sir Edward Poynter ? — and this hangs immediately above a very British recollection of the Barbizon school. Another lady has the audacity to send a very small drawing which remotely recalls the modern Parisian school; but with this exception there is nothing in the exhibition which would cause even a flutter at the most proper of tea parties. Occasionally one comes across a drawing which is distinctly out of place here, and not amateurish at all. The drawings of Cecilia Faquet, especially "Watchbell Square, Rye," No. 64, show a sense for the quiet and beauty of our old towns, which recalls the charming drawings of the late G. P. Boyce. Miss Constable's drawing, "Leaving Work," No. 77, is freely handled, and shows a gift for design; and Mr. Alexander's "Wood Nymph," No. 238, possesses a certain distinction which is rare in the gallery.

The Patron as Amateur.

But I omit what is after all the most considerable form of the amateur, the amateur who has frequented the studios of painters of real talent. Of this manifestation of the amateur Sir William Eden is the only representative at the Dudley Gallery. He sends four drawings, all of which are good, and one is excellent — I mean No. 165, "The Entrée, Buckingham Palace." It shows a genuine gift for making a picture out of a very unpromising subject. There is no aspect of the external world, as Constable once said, so ugly as not to possess an element of beauty somewhere in it; and the bald, frigid architecture of the side entrance of Buckingham Palace, the insignificant grass patch, and tasteless gas lamps and iron railings before it, possess a real beauty of color and atmosphere and perspective, as Sir William Eden has seen them. This drawing is not only a charming thing in itself, but out of all proportion — the most accomplished and individual thing in the exhibition. Sir William Eden is to be congratulated that his late friendship with Mr. Whistler has been productive of other things beside his famous quarrel with the artist.

Old Masters

Among the pictures of the Early Italian, Flemish, and Dutch Schools which Messrs. Dowdeswell are showing this week at their gallery in Bond St. is the fine portrait by William Dobson, No. 5, said to represent the artist himself, which was one of the Peel heirlooms sold last month by Messrs. Robinson and Fisher. It is even finer, more forcible in its modelling, and more refined in its color than the portrait of Endymion Porter, which is the only example of Dobson's work in the National Gallery. One regrets that the picture could not have been bought for our national collection; another fine example of the man who was not only the most individual pupil of Vandyck's, but the first Englishman of ability who painted portraits in the modern sense, as opposed to the work of the English school of Holbein and the miniaturists, would have made a very desirable acquisition to the gallery. Among the Italian pictures at Messrs. Dowdeswell's is a large triptych, No. 11, by Macrino d'Alba, dated 1495. It is an unusually fine and well preserved work of a master whose pictures have rarely come to this country. He is represented in the National Gallery by two panels, from a similar altarpiece, Nos. 1,200-1,201. At the gallery at Turin, at Alba, the birthplace of the artist, at Arti, and other neighboring places in the Piedmont,

his pictures are still to be seen and frequently met with. Another interesting fifteenth-century panel, of an angel crowned with a wreath of roses, No. 9, which has evidently formed part of an altarpiece, might be attributed, I think, to the Florentine painter Francesco Botticini.

Some Minor Exhibitions.

“Sea Pictures and Studies,” by A. F. Warne-Browne, are exhibited this week at Messrs. Graves's Galleries, and a collection of water-colors by H. L. Norris at the Fine Art Society's. The latter are fresh in color, and accomplished enough in their own way; but Mr. Norris's want of a real perception of tone, coupled with his system of washing, and his avoidance of all definite form, is apt to lend to his drawings the appearance of very superior chromo-lithographs. This is a pity, as he often has an eye for the character and fresh-color of subjects he paints.

*72. Sculpture at the Royal Academy.*⁷³

One fortunate transmutation has come over the Sculpture Gallery at Burlington House during the last twenty or thirty years: the life-sized figures in chill, glittering Carrara marble, which were once the ideal achievement of every British sculptor, have gradually given place to bronzes, or projects for bronzes, whose dimensions for the most part have some relation to the houses we live in. The advantage brought about by this change of fashion is twofold. Vast marble figures may be all very well in an Italian villa, but in a London house, even in a Park Lane mansion which can boast a picture-gallery, they appear strangely forbidding and out of place. That is one advantage; the other is even of greater moment. We have produced many a capable modeller, but we have never yet produced a carver. Both Flaxman and Alfred Stevens could model interestingly enough (they could draw far better, though), but neither could carve; indeed Flaxman, like the greatest sculptor now alive, Auguste Bodin, was content to leave the carving of his statues to Italian workmen, and when finished, by means of a few magic touches, to invest them with artistic merit. To possess the secret of carving marble one must have been born and bred in a stone quarry. The gift which every French stone-cutter possesses is denied even to a Bodin. ‘Tirai dal latte della mia balia,’ said Michelangiolo, ‘gli scarpe gli e ‘l mazzuolo con che io fo le figure.’

⁷³ H.P. Horne, *Sculpture at the Royal Academy*, in “The Londoner”, June 16, 1900u, pp. 216 - 217.

Mr. Sargent does not stand apart more conspicuously in the picture galleries than Mr. F. M. Swan in the Sculpture Gallery; but the sculptor is far more of an artist than the painter. Mr. Swan contributes three items to the present exhibition: No. 2014, 'Fata Morgana —statuette, bronze, cire perdue,' and No. 2019, 'Matthew Maris, Esq.—medallion.' The introduction of the crystal ball among the bronze work at the feet of the figure is a mere trick, which destroys the continuity of expression belonging to any one substance — bronze, marble, or what not, when consistently used—with out adding any further artistic quality to a form of expression already complete in itself. There is much interesting modeling in the diminutive medallion; but the plans of the head are not in relation to the plane of the background and in the skilful management of this relation lies the secret of the art which produced not only the Greek coins, but the medals of Pisanello, and, in fact, all fine early Italian low-reliefs. But Mr. Swan is at his best in his animals, not his figures; and in the 'Puma and Macaw,' No. 1938, he makes ample amends for any shortcomings that may be found in his other contributions. This group recalls the bronzes of Barye, but recalls them in its essential, and not in its extraneous qualities: in the immense knowledge of form and structure which is shown in the modelling of the puma, and in the princable which has determined both the conception and the execution of the group--that sculpture is first and chiefly considered with the physical, not the sentimental, presentation of its subject. But the rendering not only of the form and structure, but also of the movement and character animal, is throughout admirable, and the modelling perfectly adapted for casting. Mr. Swan's pictures are always interesting, but in view of this masterly group one cannot regret that he sends no painting to the Academy this year.

To pass from Mr. Swan to Mr. Gilbert is a descent as precipitous as the gulf between Mr. Sargent and Mr. Abbey--or shall we say Mr. Dicksee. Mr. Gilbert exhibits two heads which do not call for any special notice, and the 'Baptismal Font,' No. 2051. He is not only our most fashionable living sculptor, but a sculptor who is credited with a special gift for works of a monumental nature. It is now many years ago since he put up his famous fountain in Piccadilly Circus. Mr. Gilbert has a great contempt for the traditions of architecture, and still more for traditional mouldings; he has his own theories about such things. Well, these theories he put into practice when he made the fountain in Piccadilly. Being a fountain, the authorities in charge of it

naturally thought it was intended to be used; but they were soon convinced of their mistake. Without any wind at all the immediate vicinity of the fountain was speedily reduced to a swamp, and a light breeze transformed all that part of the Circus which lay in its direction into a most effectual shower-bath. Since that day a few of the lower jets only have been allowed to gush at intervals, with discretion. When first erected the fountain was enclosed by a broken plinth, the use of which no one was able to divine, until the street authorities discovered that it formed a central and capacious receptacle for all the filth of the neighbourhood. They objected and removed it. Next it was Mr. Punch who revealed to why the “basic archer” was perched on the top of fountain. We all remember his amusing drawing of unlucky cabby who had been caught by one of its arrows but not like Achilles. But no one has every to find out why Mr. Gilbert made all the architectural mouldings and members of his fountain—or, rather, what the fountain stand for architectural mouldings--so like the nodes and protuberances of branches or roots of trees. One can only suggest that he wished to avoid any architectural effect in it.

Mr. Gilbert has designed and executed his font at the Academy on precisely the same principles in which he designed and executed his fountain. Tradition, one thought, was an essential element in all the works of art intended for ecclesiastical uses; but his font resemblances nothing that has ever been used for a font in a Christian country. What it was intended for would be hard to say except for the assurances of the catalogue. Nor is it more practical than the fountain. How the heavy lid is to be constantly removed without damage to the castings is a question which might excusably present itself to a practical mind. But to come to objections of a purely artistic nature. Like the fountain, the ornaments and mouldings—or rather, the gnarled, gibbous and vermicular forms which take their place--produced a confused mass of lights and shadows, without proportion, meaning, or effect. Indeed, coupled with the little frosted figure of Christ on the top, these excrescences suggest that the whole thing is a huge twelfth cake which has bronzed by accident. But where the true artist shows himself is in the actual quality of the material he employs and the workmanship which he puts into it and the quality of Mr. Gilbert’s sand-casting is not improved by the random way in which it is splashed with what has the appearance of Dutch metal. Between the actual quality of his workmanship and the workmanship of the Bronze work on Verrocchio’s tomb in San Lorenzo, for example, where the

screen in the chapel of the Asitola at Prato, there is as great a difference between a fine claret and the 'vin ordinaire' of a fifth-rate Paris restaurant. But I have said more than enough. Mr. Gilbert has, no doubt, a real talent for modeling on a small scale, as the figures and fishes on the lower part of his fountain show; but when he comes to attempt works of an architectural character he shows a want of duly trained intelligence, which alone can save a man from the absurdities on which I have touched.

A word of praise is due, in conclusion, to Mr. Brock's model for the tomb of Lord Leighton, to be placed in St. Paul's Cathedral, No. 2053. It is a simple and dignified work, though a little frigid and academic; but the fragile and somewhat petty character of the symbols which the figures at the base are holding detracts somewhat from its monumental character; and the same fault is to be observed in the model for Mr. Onslow Ford's Asiatic statue, which has been erected in the courtyard of Burlington House.

74. *A disagreeable genius*.⁷⁴

Carlo Crivelli. By G. M'Neil Rushforth, M.A (Great Masters Series.) BELL.

The works of Crivelli possessed a special fascination for English collectors of Italian pictures in the earlier part of this century. Until the great altar-piece, formerly in the church of the Osservanti at Fermo, passed from the Dudley collection to the Gallery at Berlin in 1892, the whole of the works of Crivelli out of Italy, with the exception of some five or six panels of minor importance, were to be found in this country, and at the present day no gallery, even in Italy itself, can boast such a splendid series of his works as our National Gallery. Like the pictures of Botticelli's school, which were brought to this country in such numbers, the paintings of Crivelli were doubtlessly acquired by the connoisseurs of this country on account of their splendid decorative qualities, in which they are unrivalled in their own way. A volume on Crivelli has, therefore, a peculiarly appropriate place in an English series dealing with the Great Masters. "Crivelli," says Mr. Rushforth in his preface "can hardly be said to provide a very attractive subject for the biographer, owing to the paucity of material. Up to the present time the account in Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History has remained the most complete treatment of the

⁷⁴ H.P. Horne, *A disagreeable genius*, "The Review of the Week", June 16, 1900, pp. 862 - 863.

painter, and in its main features their careful compilation leaves little to be desired. The present volume is an attempt to put together all that is known about Crivelli and his works. On great deficiency may be acknowledged at once. No editions have been made to the scanty documentary evidence about the painter which has up till now been available. It is possible that a diligent search among the archives at Ascoli, and the other towns with which Crivelli was connected might reveal further information. For such researches I have had neither time nor opportunity, all that I have been able to ascertain of this nature there exists nothing obvious or known to the local authorities.'

We may say at once that Mr. Rush succeeded in achieving what he set about to do -- namely, "to put together all that is known as and his works." As for original research, it is scarcely to be looked for in a book of this nature nor would notarial documents in Mediæval Latin be in even were they forthcoming. The illustrations are abundant and of more than ordinary interests, since they reproduce for the first time several of Crivelli's pictures. The catalogue of works at the end of the volume is comprehensive and accurate; but few of Mr. Rushforth's attributions should we be inclined criticise. Where his book fails somewhat is in his concluding estimate of Crivelli's genius. What, he asks, is the impression which the works of Crivelli leave on our mind? 'A disagreeable but most talented painter' is the verdict of the principal modern historians of Italian art (Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle). The depreciatory epithet we can hardly accept. That side--and it is only one side of Crivelli's genius which expressed itself in his feeling for strength of character and strength of emotion, led him to delineate types which are severe rather than beautiful, realistic rather than attractive. But genuine art can never be unpleasing, and all Crivelli's productions are in the truest sense artistic. His forms may be hard, but they are never repulsive. Let us rather be content to say that in everything he did we feel the true artist. Would that it were possible to lift the veil which conceals the mystery of his personality and see the man behind. Perhaps we should discover not only a great artist, but also a great character."

This is all Mr. Rushforth can find to say of Crivelli's genius. But surely the great artist is to be seen in his works, and in his works alone. Now nearly all that we know about Crivelli is to be learned from his painting, and this, fortunately, is all that we need to know in order rightly to

understand his art. Crivelli, as Mr. Rushforth rightly says, must learned his art under the Vivarini of Murano; and like Bartolomeo Vivarini, he fell under the influence of the Squarcioneschi of Padua, the school which produced the great Andrea Mantegna. But there were other influences at work which went to mould Crivelli's genius namely, the influence of Bellini, in the matter of composition at least, which Mr. Rushforth seems inclined to deny, and the yet more pronounced influence of art. The resemblance between the little painting of the "Blood of the Redeemer," by Giovanni Bellini in the National Gallery, No. 1,233, and the panel of "Christ and St. Francis" by Crivelli in the Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, at Milan, which Mr. Rushforth produces, is surely more than an accidental one; and as much could be said of the "Pietà" in the Gallery at Rimini, and more than one painting of the same subject by Crivelli. But the influence of German art over Crivelli is far more obvious and radical. As an example of it may be cited the panel of the "Crucifixion" in the Brera, at Milan. One of the partners of the Vivarini, "Johannes Alamanus," was a German, but then German art of all kinds influence at Venice. Thus equipped, Crivelli left Venice to work in the March of Ancona, where he seems to have lived for the remainder of his life.

His earliest dated picture is the Altarpiece at Massa executed in 1468; his latest the "Coronation of the Virgin" in the Brera which is dated 1493 in the March of Ancona, the painter, unconscious of or indifferent to, all the changes which painting was undergoing at Venice, went on refining and refining upon the archaic manner which he had formed under the Vivarini and the Squarcioneschi. These problems of naturalistic painting, not only in the matter of form, but of colour and chiaroscuro, which held with absorbing interest the forerunners of Giorgione and Titian, apparently had no interest or significance for him. He worked on, among the towns of the Marches, careless of the new ideas that the Renaissance was bringing into the world — the most engaging and divinely-gifted of all provincial painters. Yet provincial — away from the centre — the art of Crivelli certainly was.

This is not the place to pursue such an estimate of Crivelli's genius at the length it deserves; but I would add a word in regard to certain qualities of Crivelli's pictures. Archaic and conventional as his design is, there is always underlying the most mannered of his forms a definite adhesion to something which he has observed; and herein, as I think, lies the secret of the vitality of his art. In the exquisite refinement of his line Crivelli recalls the greatest of the

Sieneſe, and in his unique decorative uſe of gold and colour, much of his work might be compared to fine Japanese lacquers. Considered from the point of view of mere ſubject matter, even a lover of Crivelli might find himſelf agreeing with Meſſrs. Crowe and Cavalcaſelle in the opinion that Crivelli is “a diſagreeable painter.” His types are often harſh and unpleaſing; and in his effort to expreſs character he is apt to portray his figures with the kind of truth which, in common parlance, we call “brutal.” But could not one ſay as much of no little of the fineſt Japanese art? Such a view is obviously ridiculous, and, like Japanese art, we admire the pictures of Crivelli chiefly for their æſthetic and decorative qualities.

75. Art Notes [On Rembrandt and his ſchool at the Burlington Fine Arts].⁷⁵

The little exhibition of pictures now on view in the gallery of the Burlington Fine Arts Club affords a freſh proof of the endless treaſures of art contained in the private collections of this country. The exhibition is confined to the works of the Dutch maſters of the ſeventeenth century, and all the pictures are not only firſt-rate examples of their kind, but for the moſt part have rarely or never been ſhown in London. Owing to the comparatively limited wall-ſpace of the gallery the pictures exhibited, ſome 58 in number, are, with two or three exceptions, all ſmall “cabinet works,” as the phraſe goes.

Rembrandt and his School

Only two pictures by Rembrandt are to be found at the Burlington Fine Arts: No. 19, the portrait of Coppenot belonging to Lord Aſhburton; and No. 48, a girl’s head, lent by Sir Charles Turner; but this is ſcarcely to be regretted, ſince at the Rembrandt Exhibition which was held at Burlington Houſe laſt year was ſeen nearly every work of note by the great Dutch maſter which exiſts in private hands in this country. On the other hand, the work of his followers — not the men like Ferdinand But and Gerbrandt van der Etkhout, who imitated what was merely exterior, or of the time, in Rembrandt’s art — but men like Nicolaus Maes and Philip de Koninck, who were attracted by the more human and enduring traits of his pictures and by his larger qualities as a painter, are well represented. By Nicolaus Maes are two little pictures, No. 25, a Woman

⁷⁵ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Rembrandt and his ſchool at the Burlington Fine Arts]*, in “The Morning Leader”, June 19, 1900, p. 34.

nursing a child, lent by Mrs. Joseph, and No. 52, a girl eating porridge beside a baby in a cradle, from the collection of the Marquess of Lansdowne. But how sharply the unaffected human interest which the painter evinces in these homely subjects, to say nothing of his large, free handling and deep, jewel-like coloring, bring these pictures into contrast with the work of another of Rembrandt's pupils, Gerard Dou, who is also represented there by two fine works. Unlike Nicolaus Maes, this painter must have already formed his manner before he came to Rembrandt's studio; and he reflects only some of the least admirable and merely exterior traits of the great master. For Gerard Dou, the human figure was but one of the many forms of still-life which he delighted to paint, merely because such things afforded him scope for the display of that extraordinary minuteness of finish of which he was so consummate a master. But what a petty and inartistic form of painting! Take the famous picture of the "Flute Player" here, No. 27. How trivial and unreal in conception it is; how entirely the interest of the painter is centred in his own technical skill!

The Dutch Giorgione

But of all Rembrandt's followers, the only one who for a moment enters into serious rivalry with his master is Jan Vermeer, of Delft, a painter almost as individual and self-centred as Rembrandt himself. Whereas the clever craftsmanship of Gerard Dou has always aroused the admiration of the mob in general, and the wealthy amateur in particular, the pictures of Vermeer passed almost unnoticed, until the distinguished French critic known as W. Bürger first drew attention to them in 1866. Of all the Dutch painters, Vermeer approaches most nearly to the point of view of Giorgione — of the painter pure and simple; and his works are almost as rare as those of the Venetian master. At the Burlington Fine Arts, however, no less than three pictures by him are to be seen. "The Music Lesson," No. 23, lent by Mr. Lewis Fry, recalls the large early picture of "Les Courtisanes" of the year 1656 at Dresden, by reason of its deep, yet blonde, coloring and its delicate sfumato handling. More attractive in subject, but by no means perfectly preserved, is "Le Soldat et la Fille qui Rit," No. 18, exhibited by Mrs. Joseph. The third and finest of the three is the picture lent by Mr. Salting, No. 15, which closely recalls both in subject and execution the one picture by Vermeer in the National Gallery. It represents a girl playing, not a clavichord, as

the catalogue states, but a square virginal, as the depth of the instrument shows. Like the picture in the National Gallery, it is painted with the particular kind of breadth that is only obtained by great directness of execution; and it is characterised by the extraordinary truth of relation in the matter of tone and color — of the flesh and drapery, for example, of the girl, with the painted flesh and drapery of the picture on the wall behind her — and by its extraordinary sense of form. How few painters have caught just the right quality and beauty of the curves of an instrument as Vermeer has here caught the form of the tine viol da gamba which lies in the corner of the picture! The way in which the character of the painted marbling on the case of the virginal has been rendered is another indication of the same aspect of Vermeer's art; but to appreciate the other side of his art at its very best one must go to Brunswick, or, better still, to Dresden, where in the little picture of a girl reading a letter in a room before a window, Vermeer's coloring is seen in all its beauty and distinction, and his unfailingly sensuous and painter like apprehension of "the outward shows of things" affects us (as has been said of Giorgione) like fine music.

Landscape Painters

It is impossible within the limitations of these notes to do justice to all the first-rate things in this exhibition. I cannot, however, pass over the two admirable pictures by Gabriel Metsu, lent by Mr. Beit, No. 49 representing the gentleman writing the letter, and No. 46 the maid delivering it to the lady. The latter picture, one of the most attractive pictures here, reveals in its broad treatment and blonde coloring the influence of Vermeer. Of the landscapes, besides two famous Hobbemas, the long view of "Dordrecht," No. 31, by Aelbert Cuyp, one of his masterpieces and an inimitable rendering of cool sunlight, and one of the richly colored birdseye views of Philip de Koninck, No. 9, especially remain with me. Jakob Ruysdael is another famous painter who is well represented here. But surely his is a reputation which will not bear to be examined in the light of really great landscape painting. His broken skies, his Spotty trees, his waves and water like Cotton-Wool, the want of any effect of space or solidity of mass in his pictures, are surely the signs of a very second-rate painter; and yet the textbooks speak of him as beyond all dispute the greatest of the Dutch landscape painters."

76. *The Wallace Collection, first notice [On Titian's Perseus and Andromeda among others]*.⁷⁶

Even to those who can remember the exhibition of Sir Richard Wallace's pictures at Bethnal-green in 1871-5, or have had the good fortune to gain admission from time to time to the gallery of Hertford House, the Wallace Collection, note that it is seen in its entirety, must come as a surprise, not only on account of the inexhaustible quantity, but also of the almost universally fine quality, of the works of art which it contains. As Lord Rosebery said on the opening day, it is the greatest gift that has ever been given by an individual to our country. But this magnificent gift is doubly acceptable on account of the important lacunæ which it fills in our national collections. Of Watteau and Fragonard, the two most considerable figures among the French “peintres galante” of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the National Gallery does not possess a single example; of Boucher but one picture, and of Pater nothing. At Hertford House there are no less than nine works of Watteau, nine by Fragonard, fourteen by Pater, and a long series of paintings by Boucher. London, then, from being a place where such masters were very imperfectly seen, or not at all, is suddenly possessed of a collection which rivals the Louvre itself in this respect. But such pictures form only one section of the paintings; Rembrandt and the Dutch painters are as finely represented as Watteau and the French masters; while of Velasquez, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Guardi, and other painters, old and new, too numerous to mention, there are endless masterpieces. Not less important in their own way are the majolica, enamels, ivories, and other such objets d'art, the Sèvres china, the snuff-boxes, the miniatures. The collection of French furniture of all kinds is said to surpass every other collection, public and private, whether in England or in France and all the famous collections of armor which have been dispersed during the last fifty years have contributed most of their important pieces toward the Armory at Hartford House, which is unrivalled in the beauty, richness and rarity of its contents.

Hertford House as a Museum.

The determination of the authorities to transform Hertford House into a permanent home for the Wallace Collection, and not to erect a new building has proved a most fortunate

⁷⁶ H.P. Horne, *The Wallace Collection, first notice [On Titian's Perseus and Andromeda among others]*, in “The Morning Leader”, June 26, 1900, p. 26.

experiment. The result is a museum entirely unique of its kind in this country. The forbidding atmosphere of the great storehouse in Bloomsbury has been avoided on the one hand, and on the other, the superior air of South Kensington, ever anxious to treat the entire world as an assemblage of art-students in search of the questionable information which the authorities there have to offer. To find something comparable to the new museum one must turn to Milan, to the delightful little Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, where, as at Manchester Sq., pictures and furniture are seen as far as is possible in the surroundings for which they were intended. A painting by Fragonard is obviously a thing not to be labelled for our instruction, but to be seen and enjoyed; and at Hartford House everything of note has been not only arranged so that it can be seen, but also enjoyed in a way that is denied one at the British Museum or South Kensington. Where I think a mistake has been made is in the profuse gilding of the cases, and in the use of bright lacquered brass in proximity with the fine water-gilt mounts of the cabinets and other pieces of furniture. But with these exceptions, one has nothing but praise for the way in which the collection has been housed.

A Lost Masterpiece.

Let us first turn to the Italian pictures. They are few in number, but by no means unimportant. Hung somewhat high at the end of the large gallery is the "Perseus and Andromeda" of Titian, No. 11, which, so the catalogue tells us, has been lost to the world for something like a century. When the Wallace collection was handed over to the nation, this painting was found hanging discarded in the bathroom of Hertford House. On being cleaned it became evident that it was the "Andromeda bound to the rock, while Perseus delivers her from the sea-monster," of which Vasari declared, in his delightful hyperbole, "that a painting more beautiful than this could not exist" adding that it was painted for "the Catholic King" Philip II. of Spain, together with the "Venus and Adonis," still at Madrid, and the "Rape of Europa" which lately passed from the collection of the Earl of Darnley into that of Mrs. J. L. Gardner, of Boston, USA, at the price of £20,000. At a later time it formed part of the famous Orleans Gallery, which was brought to this country in 1792, and at the dispersion of the Orleans pictures was sold in 1798 to Mr. Bryan, the picture dealer.

Perseus and Andromeda.

The picture belongs to the transitional period of Titian's art, when he was forming his last manner — a period at which he was chiefly interested in strong chiaroscuro. Mr. Claude Philips thinks that it was painted about 1562, when Titian was eighty-five. Unlike the earlier, more sensuous, and more richly-colored "Rape of Europa," which was exhibited at Burlington House some years ago, the "Perseus and Andromeda" inclines to black in the shadows, while the lights are of great brilliance. Furthermore, both the attitude of the female figure, and the foreshortening of the Perseus betray the influence of Tintoret, whose works were the embodiment of the maxim which he wrote on the wall of his studio, "The design of Michelangelo and the coloring of Titian." And here, perhaps, we may discover the reason of Vasari's partiality for the picture. The "Perseus and Andromeda" is, unfortunately, not perfectly preserved; and, as I have said, it is hung somewhat high, in deference, I believe, to the wishes of the trustees. But there can be no doubt that the picture is one of the greater treasures of the Wallace collection: the painting of the flesh of the Andromeda is still wonderfully brilliant, and the way in which the shells and corals at the feet of the Andromeda, and such detail as the waves, have been put in, show Titian's hand at its best. It is to be hoped that the authorities will see their way to bring down the picture on the line, where it may be properly seen; and find another place for the doubtlessly genuine, but, it must be confessed, very dull, "Madonna and Child," by Andrea del Sarto, No. 9.

Venetians and Florentines.

Among the remaining Italian pictures must be noticed the fine Cima da Conegliano, St. Catherine of Alexandria, No. 1 and the early Crivelli, No. 521, a little figure of St. Roch. The famous drawing, No. 525, which bears the name of Antonio [?], can only be considered an early copy of some lost original by that master: the broken line in which the figures are drawn is wholly unlike the vigorous, yet nervous way of drawing which is characteristic of the "Adam and Eve," or the "St. John the Baptist," in the Assisi. The furniture panel, by the way, No. 556, can hardly be ascribed to the Florentine school, but rather to some North Italian painter. Lastly, if the series of pictures bearing the name of Canaletto" are disappointing — with one possible exception they are all school works of the kind of which there are so many examples in the

National Gallery — the Guardis, no less than nine in number, are unsurpassed in beauty, quality and state. He is the Whistler of the eighteenth century.

*77. The Wallace Collection.*⁷⁷

By the time that this notice appears in print all London will have agreed with Lord Rosebery, that Lady Wallace's bequest is the greatest gift that has ever been given by an individual to our country; and half London will have flocked to Hertford House to see this unparalleled piece of munificence for themselves. Even people who have never heard of Watteau before will be acquainted with the fact that, though the National Gallery does not contain any picture by him, there are in the Wallace collection no less than nine of his paintings;—that at last, in spite of the authorities at the National Gallery, the nation has been let in for a Corot, though it has providentially escaped the possession of a Millet. Laudations and descriptions of the Wallace collection, enough and more than enough, will have appeared in the papers, and so from such things I may well be excused. But how is one to review, however briefly, in an article of this nature a collection so vast and so various in its contents: where every other painting, or objet d'art, is a masterpiece of its kind, and where there is scarcely anything without some kind of importance ? Frankly, it is impossible; and I shall not attempt to do more than jot down a few of the thoughts which occurred to me by the way on a first visit to the Wallace collection.

To begin with, there is no doubt that the authorities in determining to transform Hertford House into a permanent museum for the Wallace collection did the very best thing in their power. In no building that was likely to be erected—another National Portrait Gallery, or even another Tate Gallery--would the contents of the collection have appeared to the same advantage. "We have tried," said Sir John Murray Scott on the opening day, 'to preserve as much as possible the precise character of Hertford House as an old English home rather than as a museum.' If the expression 'an old English home' scarcely characterises Hertford House as we now see it, the building has at least been transformed into something very different from the common notion of a museum. It is unique of its kind in this country, and for anything comparable to it we must turn

⁷⁷ H.P. Horne, *The Wallace Collection*, in "The Londoner", June 30, 1900, pp. 247 - 248.

to the little Museo Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan. In general, the arrangement is admirable; and, in particular, there are few things with which one would be inclined to find fault. The rooms decorated in green, in which the French pictures are hung, are especially pleasing in effect; and there is no doubt that such a colour might be far more frequently used than it is in our galleries. One should add, though, that the cool green of these rooms is a very different colour from the hot, unpleasant green which has been introduced into the National Gallery. The reds used in the large gallery at Hertford House, and the room where the Guardis are hung, are less fortunate; but our London atmosphere will no doubt soon reduce their tone and colour. I cannot, however, help thinking that it was a mistake to have gilded all the show-cases, and to have used lacquered brass for the standards of the ropes enclosing the furniture. The glitter of bright modern gilding and lacquered brass is always unpleasant and distracting to the eyes: and where such things occur in juxtaposition with fine metal-work, and especially with the fine water-gilt mounts of the French furniture, they entirely destroy the beauty and delicate colour of the old gilding,

But to turn to the Italian pictures. The 'Perseus and Andromeda' of Titian, No. 11, which has been lost to sight ever since it was bought by an English picture-dealer in 1798, out of the famous Orleans collection, is hung somewhat high at the end of the large gallery. It is to be hoped, however, that this is not to be its permanent place in the gallery, for it is impossible to see the picture as it should be seen in its present position. It does not appear to be perfectly preserved; but Titian's inimitable touch can still be seen in the head of the Andromeda, in the brilliant painting of her flesh, and of the shells and corals at her feet. The sea-monster is a delightful piece of invention of the kind which Piero di Cosimo would have entirely approved.

Mr. Claude Phillips ascribes the picture to as late a period in Titian's career as 1562. Hanging near it is a Cima da Conegliano, a full-length figure of 'St. Catherine of Alexandria,' No. 1, by far the finest and most important of all the Italian pictures of the Quattrocento in the Wallace collection. In its treatment it closely recalls a similar figure of a saint in one of the Milanese galleries by Alvise Vivarini, thus affording a striking proof of the dependence of Cima in his early years on Alvise. This panel of St. Catherine was bought by the last Marquis of Hertford, at the sale of Lord Northwick's collection in 1859, for 840*l*. Another picture which Lord Hertford bought at the same sale is the 'Venus disarming Cupid,' No. 19, a beautiful wreck, of which

scarcely an inch remains undamaged or free from repaints. Like the 'Perseus and Andromeda,' it was formerly in the famous Orleans Gallery; and up to the time of its sale in the Northwick collection it had always passed as an undoubtedly authentic work by Giorgione. Lord Hertford paid no less than 1,312*l.* 10*s.* for it—a large sum as prices went then. What it may once have been it is now impossible to say; but such traces as remain are entirely in Giorgione's manner. An early Crivelli, a little figure of St. Roch, No. 521, which doubtless came from the predella of an 'ancona,' and a drawing famous among students, bearing the name of Antonio Pollanioti, No. 525, also call for notice. The latter, however, can only be considered an early copy of some lost original by Antonio. The indecision and the broken line of the draughtsmanship sharply separate it from the undoubted drawings of this great master. Apart from the question of its intrinsic value as a work of art, it remains a document of the highest interest in the history of Florentino art. No other design by Antonio shows more clearly how Luca Signorelli was indebted to him in his paintings of the nude. The subject, moreover, is an interesting puzzle; for my own part I should turn to the classics rather than to the legends of the Saints for its solution. May it not represent the dead body of Cæsar exposed in the Forum ?

Among the works of the Spanish school the paintings by Vélazquez take, of course, the first place. Of the eight pictures bearing his name not more than three can be ascribed to his hand. Of these the most famous is the 'Femme à l'Eventail,' No. 88. More attractive perhaps in subject, if less solidly painted, is the 'Don Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School,' No. 6, of which a somewhat different version is at Grosvenor House. The version at Hertford House was formerly in the collection of Samuel Rogers, the poet, and was bought for him in Spain by Woodburn, the dealer, at the recommendation of Sir David Wilkie. Lord Hertford paid 1,270*l.* 10*s.* for it at the sale of the Rogers collection. Of the pictures by the Dutch and Flemish painters it is only possible here to allude in the briefest way. By Rembrandt and Franz Hals, Rubens and Van Dyke, there are many masterpieces; and if there be a plethora of such debatable artists as Mieris, or Berchem, if there be no Vermeer of Delft, there is at least a Pieter de Hooch of the first water, No. 23; an Adriaan Brouwer, No. 211, which unfortunately is difficult to see; and a fine example of a still rarer master, Esaias Boursse, No. 166; to say nothing of the Metsus, Terborchs, Cuyp, Hobbemas, and the rest. But I have already exceeded my space, and have not yet come to

what will prove for many the most attractive part of the Wallace collection the French and English pictures.

78. *Thomas Girtin*.⁷⁸

Thomas Girtin: his Life and Works. An Essay by LAWRENCE BINYON. With twenty-one reproductions in auto-type. London: Seeley & Co. 2*L.* 2*S.*

England, as Mr. Binyon puts it, sometimes ‘needs to be reminded of those who have brought her honour in the past; men who in other countries, where perhaps the prospect of to-day discourages, would have been paid the full homage of admiration and criticism.’ ‘The name of Girtin has scarcely’, he adds, ‘ever travelled beyond the borders of Britain. Even in his own country he is little more than a name. This unfortunately is very true; and we owe it largely to the influence of Mr. Ruskin, not merely as a result of his unmeasured and unreasoning admiration for Turner, but also on account of the fashion which he set for the kind of false art which is represented by William Hunt’s drawings of plums and bird-nests, that Girtin has remained little more than a name among us, and that a greater landscape painter than he, John Robert Cozens, has been entirely lost sight of. Ruskin, I believe, makes but one reference in his published works to Cozens, and then he mis-spells his name; yet it would be difficult to say whether Turner owed more to Cozens or to Girtin in his early years. In spite of their influence, Turner remained almost up to the time of Girtin’s death in 1802, the youngest and most gifted of the topographical draughtsmen then so much in vogue, artists such as Thomas Malton, his master, Edward Daves, who was Girtin’s, Michael Angelo Rooker, Thomas Hearne, or Paul Sandby. Girtin, on the contrary, almost at the beginning of his career, had genius enough to free himself from the narrow interests of the school in which he had been taught, and rapidly became an artist of the calibre of Wilson and Cozens. Canaletti, no doubt, was the chief liberating influence at this time. The fine ‘View in Venice’ by this master, now in the National Gallery, No. 127, then belonged to Sir George Beaumont, at whose house Girtin must have seen and studied it. ‘If any single

⁷⁸ H.P. Horne, *Thomas Girtin*, in “The Londoner”, August 4, 1900, p. 332.

picture,' says Mr. Binyon, 'more than another can be said to be the starting-point of Girtin's art, it is this.'

In 1794—he was then nineteen—Girtin exhibited for the first time at the Academy, a drawing of Ely Cathedral. His architectural drawings, however, fine as they are, never quite possess the felicity of Turner's; and it was not till 1796, in returning from a journey to Scotland, undertaken it is said in company with Morland the painter, that Girtin found in the hills and moors of Yorkshire and Northumberland, the scenery which touched the finest and deepest chords of his genius. It is in such a drawing as the Stepping-stones on the Wharfe, which Mr. Binyon reproduces in his book, that we see Girtin's genius at its best. In the unaffected simplicity and depths of feeling with which he has represented what was grandest and most significant in this scene—the mass and lie of the hills, the solemnity of their tone and colour—there is something which in its own way Turner never approached; something which recalls the descriptions of Wordsworth. Such drawings, to use Ruskin's phrase, impress us 'like Nature herself.' The rest of Girtin's story is soon told. Subsequent visits to the north of England, to Wales and Devonshire, produced a long series of admirable drawings. Up to this time he had been living in the vicinity of Covent Garden; in 1800 he married and set up house in St. George's Row, Tyburn. But he was already a doomed man. The following year, his malady, which is variously spoken of as asthma and consumption, had gained hold on him. He was urged to spend the winter abroad, but went no further than Paris, where he made the drawings for his famous set of aquatints of views of Paris, the outlines of which he etched with his own hand. In May, 1802, he returned to London, but only to die in the following November, at the early age of twenty-seven.

The names of Gainsborough, Wilson, Cozens, and Girtin stand pre-eminently apart among the English precursors of Turner in the art of landscape painting; but to the landscapes of Gainsborough alone 'the full homage of admiration and criticism' has, at somewhat late an hour, been yielded. In his 'History of the Old Water-Colour Society,' Mr. Roget has given us a full and careful account of Girtin's career, but its aim is scarcely of a critical nature; and to Mr. Binyon must be allowed the distinction of having first attempted a complete estimate of Girtin's genius

as a painter, of tracing the influences that went to form his art, of discussing its nature, its excellences and its limitations. His essay is a lucid and scholarly piece of writing singularly free from any special pleading, or extravagant praise; and the illustrations which accompany it are well chosen and well rendered. They include reproductions of many of Girtin's best drawings in the British Museum—the only public collection where his work can be properly studied as well as several fine examples in the Whitworth Institute at Manchester, and the collection of Mr. George Girtin, the painter's grandson; together with the drawing in the collection of Mr. H.L. Micholls, 'The White House at Chelsea,' which Turner considered Girtin's masterpiece. The thanks of every lover of English art are due to Mr. Binyon for his attempt to gain for Girtin the place which is assuredly his.

79. The Royal Academy. First Notice [On Watts Orchardson and others].⁷⁹

At a dinner of the Article Club the other night the debate fell on the relations between art and Commerce; and among other distinguished speakers Sir J. F. Donnelly is reported to have said, that "From the Royal Academy and the New Gallery the number of pictures sold last year at over £30 was only eighty-five, And at over £100 only fifty-nine." He went on to expatiate as to a small amount of money spent on pictures by living painters in comparison to the large sums paid for the old masters; and added that it was small encouragement to a struggling artist to reflect that if he could only live a few years after his death he would have plenty of money. It is true that in many years past the sales at the Royal Academy have dwindled and dwindled away until they reached their lowest ebb the year before last. Last year things mended a little, but to what a past a past they have come Sir John Donnelly's statistics are sufficient to show. It is equally true that the prices paid for Old Masters during the same period have enormously increased, not only in the case of your Botticellis, Titians or Rembrants, but equally so in the case of Gainsborough, Reynolds, or Romney. In typical patron of the Academy of the fifties and sixties has sprung up the African millionaire who relying upon the best advice that modern expert knowledge afford him will buy nothing but the works of the first Masters no matter at what cost. It is he who sets the present fashion of picture buying: and the bulk of the works of art exhibited at the Royal

⁷⁹ H.P. Horne, *The Royal Academy. First Notice [On Watts Orchardson and others]*, in "The Morning Leader", May 5, 1900, p. 28.

Academy remain unsold, not because they are by living masters, but because in the unanimous opinion of those who are best fitted to judge, and on whose judgment and the modern buyer of pictures largely relies, they are possessed of little or no artistic merit, but the moment a man is possessed of real talent, a Watts, a Bure Jones, or even a Sargent he is able to command prices which few, indeed, of the old masters ever enjoyed. A fact like this, I think, appeals more nearly to the public at large than many criticisms.

No one, I imagine, now goes to the Royal Academy in the hope of discovering a budding genius: youthful talent, as we all know by experience, is not encouraged there: but some fine portrait or composition by Mr. Watts, a piece of *genre* by Mr. Orchardson, and the latest of Mr. Sargent's brilliant portraits — to name only one's greater expectations — one at least looks forward to find there. Mr. Sargent alone does not disappoint us; his paintings are as numerous and brilliant as ever. Mr. Orchardson sends only his vast portrait group of the Royal Family; and Mr. Watts also sends but a single picture, 'The Return of Godiva', No. 207, fine in conception, but as a piece of painting in no sense comparable to the splendid landscape, and the two portraits, which are at the New Gallery, Mr. J. N. Swan does not exhibit any painting this year, but only a small bronze and a group among the sculpture. M. Benjamin Constant and Mr. J. J. Shannon also send some serious attempts at portraiture. Besides these larger pictures are a certain number of smaller works by Mr. George Clausen. Mr. Edward Stott, Harr Thaulow, Miss Flora Reid, and one or two others, which are painted with a definite, artistic intention. But after these we most descend from the upper realm of Fine Art to the middle region of mere illustration. The first place must be given to Mr. E. A. Abbey's two clever canvases — the large "Trial of Queen Katherine," No. 36, and the "Penance of Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester," No. 147. In comparison to these effective and entertaining productions, the attempts of Mr. Frank Dicksee and other painters of his ilk, in the same walk of art, appear dull and uninteresting. Sir L. Alma Tadema, like many another Academician, sends but a single picture this year, "Goldfish," No. 226, a small painting of the merited English model with the Roman accessories which one is accustomed to see in his pictures. Mr. J. R. Keid sends a piece of sterling English work, "The Sale of Old Dobbin," No. 503; and M. Bouguereas, a "Vierge aus Lys," No. 297, one of his pieces of faultless commonplace, which must be the wonder and despair of the President and three fourths at the

academy. These pictures excepted, the rest of the Academy presents a veritable limbo of dulness and inefficiency, relieved only by the bad workmanship of Sir W.B. Richmond or the pretentiousness of a Hubert von Herkomer. As an example of what the Academy is capable, no more unfortunate one could be found than Sir W. B. Richmond's diploma work, "Orpheus Returning from the Shades," No. 138, of a impossible anatomy "tight" and exhausted in execution with the color and texture of the flesh painting like inflated wash-leather, such is the picture which in the Diploma Gallery will preserve to posterity the measure of the man who adorned the interior of St. Paul's.

In deference to the general consensus of opinion, the picture of the year will, no doubt, prove to be, largely by reason of its subject, Mr. Orchardson's "Windsor Castle, 1899," No. 143. Like everything which Mr. Orchardson does, it is painted with a sense of quality and harmonious color which are peculiarly his own; but his way of painting is not sufficiently forcible to make so vast a canvas appear effective when seen from a distance proportionate to its size.

The portrait of the Queen, who is seated in an armchair to the left, is the most successful passage in the picture. The figure is conceived with all Mr. Orchardson's charm: it is well constructed and placed in the space of the room, against the rich furniture and sculpture in the background. The group on the right represents the Duke of York leading forward the young Prince Edward of York, who holds a bouquet to present to the Queen, while the Prince of Wales stands by. The portraits of the Duke of York and the Prince of Wales are far less fortunate than that of the Queen: indeed, they are the weak passages in the picture. I cannot help thinking that if Mr. Orchardson had painted his group on a smaller scale, he would have succeeded better. In the same room hangs Mr. Sargent's large group of the three sisters, "Lady Eleho, Mrs. Adeane, and Mrs. Tennant," No. 213, a tour-de-force so brilliant that it makes everything else in the gallery appear dull and insipid. Even more astonishingly brilliant, if it were possible, is Mr. Sargent's diploma work, quite a small canvas, called "An Interior of Venice," No. 729, a study, if I mistake not, of the fine seventeenth century ballroom in the Palazzo Barbaro. Mr. Sargent's work is so vivacious and accomplished that he forces us to compare it with the work of the great masters. But set this "Venice Interior" beside some kindred piece by Velasquez, or even by one of the later Venetian masters, like Pietro Longhi, or Tiepolo, and then one realises how they would have

given to every touch, not only its full meaning of tone and color, but also of definite constructed form. On the walls of the Academy Mr. Sargent appears a giant, a veritable master; but in the presence of the masters who survived the ordeal of time we time him to be the master only of an astonishingly brilliant and clever trick.

Next week I shall continue my lucubrations on the rest of the paintings, and speak of the sculpture and architectural designs. Meanwhile let me say, by way of an “interim appreciation,” that I doubt whether in any former exhibition at the Academy the general average of excellence has been so low, or memorable pictures so few and far between.

80. Art Notes [On Watts, Sargent and others in the summer exhibition at the New Gallery].⁸⁰

I went to the Summer Exhibition at the New Gallery with the expectation of being neither surprised nor disappointed; and I did not come far short of my expectations. I expected to find at least one picture by Mr. Watts, and I know that any exhibition which contains a work by such a master would not fail to contain something of the highest interest. I expected to find some able portraits by Mr. Sargent, Mr. J. J. Shannon, and other fashionable portrait painters. I knew that the imitators of Burne-Jones and the pre-Raphaelites – a following which is growing as painfully old-fashioned at the mahogany period was in the days of aestheticism – would be represented in goodly numbers; and I knew that I should find a certain number of pictures which, if they could not lay claim to great originality or technical excellence, would at least be marked by an absence of careless workmanship and bad taste.

It has become the fashion to speak with admiration of Mr. Watts as a painter, rather for what he has been, than for what he is. The pictures which he now exhibits, we are told, are no doubt highly interesting as the work of so distinguished an artist at so advanced an age, but such and such a passage is hardly successful in detailed drawing, and so forth.

Some of our contemporaries, I see, in their notices of the New Gallery, think it only decent, out of their regard for Mr. Watts as a man, to pass over in silence his work as a painter. The pictures which Mr. Watts now exhibits, no doubt lack some of the qualities of the pictures which the

⁸⁰ H.P. Horne, Art Notes [On Watts, Sargent and others in the summer exhibition at the New Gallery], in *The Morning Leader*, April 29, 1901, p. 4.

painted twenty or more years ago; but the loss of these qualities does not necessarily argue a deterioration, a mere giving out of old age. On the contrary, his pictures of recent years, if they lack certain qualities, nevertheless have gained certain other qualities which are among the rarest to be met with, even in the old masters.

Such is human perversity, that the last thing which we look for, when we are brought face to face with any work of art, are the peculiar qualities which distinguish the art in question from every other. Ours is an age of music-dramas and prose-poems. To put it bluntly, we delight in the mongrel in art. A portrait of a pretty women, an allegory by Mr. Byam Shaw, or an historic incident in Mr. Abbey's best Lyceum manner; any picture, in short, that happens to reflect the vague and abstracted sentimentalities in which most of us indulge. Immediately satisfies us, and we dissolve in admiration; whereas so far from having really seen the picture, we have only been admiring, as in a glass, our own excessive feelings. To be quit of these Idols of the Den, to see a picture as in itself it really is, is surely not so easy a mental process that we can afford to ignore the obviously right way of accomplishing it. After all is said and done, composition, modelling, coloring, and handling still remain the qualities which are peculiarly distinctive of the art of painting, and therefore the first test of its excellence.

Mr. Watts sends four pictures to the present exhibition: a decorative panel of flying putti, No. 124, which he calls "Trifles Light as Air"; two allegorical pictures, No. 123. "The Slumber of the Ages, and No. 127. "Greed und Labour," and a portrait, No. 128, of Miss Geraldine Liddell. In all these pictures Mr. Watts is seen to be a colorist of the highest order: indeed, as to quality of color, in contradistinction to mere pigment, there is nothing in the present exhibition that is at all in the running with these four works in point of beauty or originality. In their local color they possess that subtle, almost evasive correlation which we see in Nature in her fluest moods. But these pictures differ chiefly from Mr. Watts's earlier works in their effort after a peculiar simplification of form and mass, a simplification such as we find only in the last works of a few great artists who have lived to a patriarchal age, such as Michaelangelo and Titian. Just that dryness and bluntness of form which offends so many of us in these pictures of Mr. Watts's, puts me in mind of such drawings of Michaelangelo as the "Pieta," in the British Museum, which

came from the Warwick Collection, and such paintings by Titian as the “Virgin and Child” in the Mond Collection, to name things here in London.

It seems to me that in criticising such exhibitions as that at the New Gallery, we are apt to overlook the fact that Mr. Watts is one of the very few living English masters, certainly the only exhibitor in the present show, who succeeds in keeping alive a tradition of great painting. Take Mr. Sargent, for instance, who sends two portraits, one of them, No. 229, “Mrs. Garrett-Anderson,” in this very best vein—in spite of his great talent for expressing in an It seems to me that in criticising such exhibitions as that at the New Gallery, we are apt to overlook the fact that Mr. Watts is one of the very few living English masters, certainly the only exhibitor in the present show, who succeeds in keeping alive a tradition of great painting. Take Mr. Sargent, for instance, who sends two portraits, one of them, No. 229, “Mrs. Garrett-Anderson,” in this very best vein—in spite of his great talent for expressing in an extraordinarily vivid and vivacious manner some momentary impression of his sitter, he has no power of seeing either very finely or very profoundly. How wanting in subtlety is his light and shade; how unrefined his modelling: how crude his color! Or to pass to an extreme instance, in the other direction, take No. 66, “New Lamps for Old,” by Mr. Joseph E. Southall, one of several painters here who work in tempers, and try to imitate Italian masters of the fifteenth century. No doubt there is a great deal of clever work of a sort in Mr. Southall’s panel; but so far as all essential qualities of painting are concerned, how vast a gulf lies between Mr. Southall and his originals! Mr. Sargent has at least this in common with the old Italians, that he possesses his own distinctive vision of the world around him, whereas Mr. Southall and his confrères have merely looked at pictures which they have neither the power of seeing, nor understanding. Dora Mr. Southall imagine that Pisanello, or Bellini, concocted their pictures out of studio properties, without rhyme or reason?

81. *The Royal Academy. First notice [On Watts, Sargent, Benjamin Constant, George Clausen and others]*.⁸¹

⁸¹ H.P. Horne, *The Royal Academy. First notice [On Watts, Sargent, Benjamin Constant, George Clausen and others]*, in “The Morning Leader”, May 6, 1901, p. 4.

Is there a good show at the Academy this year? Is it up to the average? everyone is asking. But that is a question which I feel myself neither competent, nor inclined, to answer; at least, not in that form. Of the great mass of pictures that have gone to eke out bygone shows at Burlington House, even within my own recollection, I retain no impression whatever. Mediocrity in art is distinguished only by the insignificance and indifferent workmanship of the mediocre; and when I think that with the most assiduous study I can hope to know and remember only a small part of the really significant pictures in the World, why, I ask, would I be called upon to remember the indifferent pictures of past years, or to discuss the equally indifferent pictures of this present year of gage? Besides, mediocrity at Burlington House has not even the advantage which mediocrity at a French “Salon” possesses, The average English painter, unlike the average French painter, has never had a proper training; he does not, in fact, know his business. Indeed, the bulk of the work at the Academy is of a kind “that would have made Sir Joshua gasp and stare.” No, I prefer to put the question another way: Are there any really memorable pictures in this year’s show at the Academy?

Among the Academicians one naturally turns first to the name of Mr. Watts; but following his custom, the painter has bent all this best work to the New Gallery: and the single picture, No. 156. “In the Highlands,” by which he is represented at the Academy, is neither very important nor especially interesting in subject or treatment. It represents A girl seated on some rocks, with her lap full of flowers, before a mountainous landscape. But if it is not especially notable as a work by Mr. Watts, it nevertheless rises, by reason of its fine painting and colour, to a height to which, perhaps, nothing else in the exhibition attains. Mr. Sargent sends seven portraits and a large crucifix in relief, it is the first time, I believe that he has made this appearance as a sculptor: And for this critic this crucifix forms a striking commentary on Mr. Sargent's painting. His portraits, however, continue to dominate every thing else at Burlington House; as a piece of skilfull brushwork his “Daughters of A. Werelheimer, Esq.,” is a masterpiece in his own way, and for the *amateur* will doubtlessly prove the picture of the year. Mr. J. M. Swan exhibits only the bronze casting of the “Puma and Macaw,” of which he sent the model last year. Mr. Orchardson sends two little subject-pictures, which are pleasing enough, but not very important; and two portraits of men. Sir Edward Poynter, Mr. Abbey, and Sir Edward

Poynter, Mr. Abbey, and Sir W. B. Richmond are each represented by a single work. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema sends two pictures and Mr. Waterhouse three: while the landscape-painters are much in evidence; and Hubert von Herkomer is as copious as ever

From the point of view of the public at large, the picture of the year in doubtless M. Benjamin Constant's portrait of "Her late Majesty, Queen Victoria." N, 149, exhibited by command of the King. It hangs by itself in the great gallery, in middle of one of the walls, which has been draped with purple and blue, veiled with crape. It is not necessary to describe the picture at any great length: many of us saw it last year at the Paris Exhibition, and all of us have read about it in the papers. It is, as M. Constant has himself explained to us, a portrait with a poetic, or shall we say, a symbolical idea. The aged Queen, dressed in black velvet and white lace, and wearing the blue riband of the Garter and the little crown that she used to wear at Drawing Rooms, is seated on the throne of the House of Lords, as the gold wats of the sining sun strewn through the gothic windows. The allusion is obvious. Unlike Phillip of Spain, or our own Charles I or even George II, and his family, Queen Victoria will not be remembered for her portraits. It might have been otherwise if Mr. Watts in the days of his zenith, or even Millais, had been called upon to pain her, but they were not. And whatever its faults may be, M Constant's picture will amply hold its own, as a work of art, with the portraits of the Queen by Winterhalter, Von Angeli, or Landseer. But, perhaps, the most notable thing in connection with the picture, is the tact which the King has shown in selecting this portrait to officially celebrate the late Queen at the Academy. The caricatures which appeared in "Le Rire" are now, happily, a mere matter of bygone history; but in giving the place of honor, on such an occasion, to the work of a French painter, the King has paid a compliment to the French nation the full meaning and significance of which will neither be overlooked, nor misunderstood, by our friends across the Channel.

Last year Mr. George Clausen achieved one of the principal successes at the Academy with his picture of the "Dark Barn": this year he falls into the mistake of repeating the same subject in his most important work, No. 57, "The Golden Barn." Of the three other canvases which he exhibits this year, the most original in conception, and indeed, the most pleasing is No. 652. "The Spreading Tree," a picture of two little girls in white frocks sitting in a meadow under

the branches of a great green tree: it is one of those quiet places where the mind, as Marvell has it,

Withdrawn into its happiness...

Annihilating all that's made

To a green thought in a green shade."

But Mr. Clauseu, although he is apt to repeat himself, possesses a sense for real color such as few men who exhibit at the Academy possess; it is the sense for color which finally distinguishes him from such painters of his own school as Mr. La Thangue, Mr. Tuke, and even Mr. Stott. But of these painters I must speak in a future notice.

82. *The Royal Academy. Second notice [On J.J. Shannon, Sargent, Hubert von Herkomer and others]*.⁸²

Second Notice, by H. This year Mr. J. J. Shannon's "Flower Girl," No. 74, has been bought for the nation out of the Chantry bequest The treatment of this "Madonna" of the people with her child at her breast is more artistic in intention, perhaps, than in execution, but at the Academy the effort to become an artist is a mark of no little distinction in a man. Things being as they are, and the funds of the Chantry Bequest remaining in the hands of the Academicians for the purchase of pictures out of their annual exhibition, their choice is, on the whole, as good as any that they could reasonably have been expected to make. In comparison with the surprising achievement of Mr Dicksee, on which the choice of the Academy devolved last year, Mr. Shannon's picture appears a work of art; and when it eventually takes its place among the Chantry pictures at the late Gallery the very genuine, and indeed artistic, interest which the painter has taken in his subject will go far, I think, towards palliating the floweriness of his manner, and enabling the picture to take a creditable place in that motley collection.

Like Mr. Sargent, Mr. Shannon is, I believe, an American by birth; but whereas the country of his adoption has had very little influence on Mr. Sargent's painting, Mr. Shannon, on the contrary, shows in his portraits that he is far from being insensible to that peculiarly English

⁸² H.P. Horne, *The Royal Academy. Second notice [On J.J. Shannon, Sargent, Hubert von Herkomer and others]*, in "The Morning Leader", May 22, 1901, p. 4.

charm and good breeding which is one of the great characteristics of English portraiture of the end of the last century Could Mr. Shannon only bring himself to cultivate a less florid manner of painting, and greater severity in this composition and draughtsmanship. He might succeed in producing something better than very able and very fashionable portraits. Charm, however, is a quality which Mr. Sargent appears to hold in vast contempt. Certainly it is the last thing which could possibly be suggested by his brilliant portraits of the two “Daughters of A.

Wertheimer, Esq..” No. 178. Mr Sargent has never painted anything more brilliantly assertive than this picture: It make every thing else in the large gallery, where it hangs, look as fat as a tea-tray. Two, or was it three years ago, the world, or at least that part of it which frequents Burlington House, was startled by Mr. Sargent’s portrait of Mr. A. Wertheimer, the famous Bond-St. dealer. According to our humor, some of us regarded that portrait as a very subtle study of character, while others took it less seriously but Mr. Wertheimar, himself, it would seem, was not merely pleased with it, for now he has employed Mr. Sargent to paint his daughters. The younger Miss Wertheimer is attired in deep purple velvet: she stands facing the spectator, with an open fan, which is seen foreshortened in her right hand. Every critic of the Academy has remarked the painting of that fan, which is certainly very extraordinary, but by no means the most remarkable thing in the picture. Her elder sister stands by her side, dressed in white satin, with one hand round her waist, and with the other resting on a large china vase, at the side of the picture In the background are seen various objets d’art, of the sort which their father has so successfully purveyed. In the younger Miss Wertheimer, that “fatal” Semitic beauty is still in the bud; she has not quite thrown off the shyness of her hoyden days. In the elder Miss Wertheimer, that same beauty is ready to break into flower: there is no trace of shyness about her; she is completely self-reliant, and perfectly assured of her powers of fascination. Her figure and carriage already foretell the woman that is to be. We all remember Mr. Sargent's famous portrait of “Carmencita” in the Luxembourg — with what skill he rendered in that picture the opacity which the paints and powders of the stage lend to flesh. In the picture before us he has suggested with even greater subtlety those more delicate art of the toilet which are necessary to counteract the glare of the ball-room or the opera-house. In its way the picture is a masterpiece.

Yet, is it a picture which a really great artist would have painted? Does not the mere fineness of interest which the greatest masters of portraiture — Titian, Velasquez, Rembrandt—take in their sitters force us into sympathy with their presentations of them? In this lies, as I take it, the essential difference between fine portraiture and caricature; and it is for this reason I think, that Mr. Sargent's portrait of "C. S. Loch, Esq." No. 676, though a far less obviously brilliant and striking performance, is a more considerable work of art than his portrait of the Misses Wertheimer. The painter had been interested finely and artistically interested-in the head of the secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, and he has rendered it with a directness at once vigorous and delicate, showing how much its painter is indebted to his study at Frans Hals. A more ornate and decorative piece is his portrait group of "Sir Charles Sitwell, Lady Ida Bitwell, and Family," No. 811; but in his effort after style Mr. Sargent has failed to give to his figures those easy and natural attitudes which he ordinarily succeeded so well in portraying; nor is the sense of constraint in the figures lessened by the device of representing Sir Charles in a shooting-coat and Lady Ida in a low-out dress and picture-hat, as if she were sitting for bar photograph.

It is easy thus to criticise Mr. Sargent's painting, but if we would really appreciate his merits let us turn to the works of Prof. Hubert von Herkomer. Rarely do we find such assured coarseness of vision so ably expressed by a proportionate coarseness of execution. Professor Horkomen's painting of "A Zither Evening with my students in my Studio," No 605, is one of his rapid studies painted at night, apparently in a couple of hours. The subject and its treatment are of a piece the ability of the picture is undeniable. It is an epitome of his entire art as a painter. His portraits are but studies of the same order writ large. Let us turn to No. 174. At first sight we might take it to be the counterfeit presentment of a Lyceum "super" in a Shakespearean play; but on referring to the catalogue we find that it is the portrait of "The Duke of Somerset." Had Mr. Herkomer appended an intimation to the effect that this portrait was also painted in a couple of hours I should readily have believed him.

In comparison with Professor Herkomer, Mr. Sargent appears a Frans Hals, a Velasquez, or what you will. Even his detractors must admit that he compels us to judge him by the criterion of the great master; whereas for all that one could deduce from nine-tenths of the pictures At

Burlington House, the art of Painting might have had its origin in the Schools of the Academy. But it has happened with Mr. Sargent, as with others: his strength and his weakness run perilously near together. If Velasquez painted for palaces, or Frans Hals for more ordinary houses, Mr. Sargent paints exclusively for the Exhibition. In the Exhibition he dominates everything; wherever you turn you see a picture by Mr. Sargent, brilliantly assertive, and completely overpowering by its mastery of effect whatever hangs in sight of it. The range of the large gallery at Burlington House is child's play to him: his picture of the Misses Wertheimer makes everything else there appear flat and insipid, or merely foolish. But the picture of the Misses Wertheimer cannot always hang in the great gallery at Burlington House: and I am not sure that I can realise what would be the effect of it in a drawing-room or & bondoir.

83. *Drawings at the British Museum [On drawings by Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Watteau, Hogarth and others included in the Henry Vaughan Bequest].*⁸³

The exhibition of drawings which will be thrown open to the public this week at the British Museum is remarkable for more than the intrinsic value and interest of its contents. It contains nearly five hundred, drawings, all of which, with very few exceptions, have been acquired for the Print Room either by purchase or bequest between 1896 and 1901. About half of the drawings exhibited has been left, or given, to the collections. Of these, the majority form part of the bequest of the late Mr. Henry Vaughan, who died in January, 1900, and who left works of art not only to the British Museum, but also the National Gallery, the South Kensington Museum, and other public collections. The drawings acquired by purchase are bought by the keeper out of the annual Government grant, which varies from year to year, but which amounts on an average, I believe, to about £1,200 a year. This meagre grant has to cover the cost not only of the mounting of all prints and drawings, and the purchase of books of reference, both very considerable items, but also the purchase of additional prints.

Thus only a few hundreds a year are at the disposal of the keeper for the purchase of drawings, and yet, in addition to the Warwick "Michelangelo," which alone cost £1,400, Mr.

⁸³ H.P. Horne, *Drawings at the British Museum [On drawings by Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Watteau, Hogarth and others included in the Henry Vaughan Bequest]*, in "The Morning Leader", May 27, 1901, p. 4.

Colmn [?] has managed, during the last five or six years, to buy a series of fine early Italian drawings, including examples by Carpaccio, Cima, Andrea del Sarto, Bonsignori, and others; one of the most important, drawings by Goya in existence, fine examples of Rembrandt, Brouwer, Rubens, Van Dyck; may fine French drawings; and an important series of examples of our English masters. Not only have all these numerous drawings, almost without exception, been well bought, but they have been bought in the majority of cases at very moderate prices. For instance, one of the most charming drawings by Gainsborough to be seen in the exhibition, or, indeed, anywhere for that matter, was bought for a couple of pounds! This is a very different state of things from that which obtains, alas! at the National Gallery.

Among the first lungs in the show to rest our attention are three of the missing leaves of "Picture-Chronicle" of Maso Finiguerra, No. a 2-4. These leaves, which had been detached from the volume by Mr. Ruskin before he sold it to the Museum, in 1888, were found among his effects after his death by Mr. and Mrs. Severn, by whom they have been presented to the Print Room. Like the other drawings of the Chronicle, their historical interest is greater than their artistic value. From the Vaughan bequest comes a small but genuine drawing of the head of an old man, by Leonardo da Vinci, No. A 6; as well as four drawings ascribed to Raphael. Of these, the slight but vigorous study in red chalk, No. A 13, alone possesses that grace of line which is peculiarly his. The study in black chalk of the "Madonna di Foligno," No. A 14, shows the hand of some Florentine, or Sieneese; imitator the other two drawings are, frankly, school works.

Of first-rate excellence are the two sheets of studies in red chalk by Andrea del Sarto, Nos. A 9 and 10, which came from the collection of Lord Leighton, but incomparably the most beautiful and important drawing by an Italia master here in the "Pietà", by Michelangelo No. A 11, which was acquired at the sale of the Earl of Warwick's drawings. Its grand, intricately simple composition, and the beauty of its modeling and relief, especially in the torso of the dead Christ, the helpless weight of which is expressed as only a great master could have expressed it, render this "Pietà" perhaps the finest and most important drawing by him at extant. By the side of it is shown another slighter, but admirable, sheet by the same master, No. A 12. It is a study for Virgin in a design of the "Annunciation," which he made for Marcello Venusti, whose painting after it still remains in the Church of St. John Lateran, at Rome. Of the Venetian schools are

many good examples—namely a study for a background in one of the St. Ursula pictures at Venice, by Carpaccio, No. A 36, and a sheet of landscape studies by Cima da Conegliano, No. A 37, among others. A study in red chalk of the figure of “putto,” sketched over an earlier and unfinished version of the same figure, and attributed somewhat unaccountably to Correggio in the catalogue. No A 27, is a most interesting production of the school of Titan, if not a study by the master himself!

Among the more important drawings by Dutch and Flemish masters are six sheets by Rembrandt, all of which are drawn with the pen, with one exception. This is a study in red chalk, No. A 114, of the two groups of Apostles, on the right of Christ, in Leonardo da Vinci's famous wall painting of the “Last Supper.” Rembrandt was never in Italy, and, therefore, he must have done this, and two other studies of the complete Composition which are known to exist in Continental collections, from some print, or copy, after the original. Nor are these drawings the only proofs we have of the study which Rembrandt gave to the great Italian master another Dutch master, contemporary of Rembrandt and a pupil of Frans Hals Adriaen Brouwer, is admirably represented here by four drawings of Boors and Tavern Scenes. Nos. A 107-110 they are drawn with the brush, and are extraordinary instances of how a few strokes and blots rightly placed may be used to express not only character and action, but also form and mass, finely and deliberately seen.

Among the French drawings are four admirable sheets of studies by Antoine Watteau which come from the Vaughan bequest. Nos. A 142, 143, 144, and the first of these, a sheet of heads of four women and a man, in red, black, and white chalks, is unusually fine and nervous in quality. “Scarcely any drawing of the master,” remarks Mr. Colvin in his catalogue, “illustrator more completely than this the unrivalled combination of force, delicacy, and animation which characterise his draughtsmanship.” Among the more recent French painters, Delacroix is represented by one of his Algerian studies, No. A 156; Jean-François Millet by the study for his well-known etching of “Les Becheurs,” No. A 157, and by three other drawings in black chalk; and Daubigny by a landscape.

While the authorities at the National Gallery, with real Academic prejudice, refuse to allow the existence of such great painters as Delacroix and Millet, it is satisfactory to find that at

the British Museum these painters are gradually being well represented by their drawings. Of the drawings by English masters, I must speak at length on some other occasion. They include a series of 10 sketches by Hogarth for his famous set of engravings called, "Industry and Idleness," Nos. B 5-31; a head of a man ascribed on no very sufficient grounds to Reynolds, No. B 51; an admirable series of studies for portraits and landscapes by Gainsborough, Nos. B 34-42; and 22 drawings by John Robert Cozens, made during a journey through Switzerland in 1776, Nos. B 364. These beautiful and delicate landscapes furnish an admirable instance of what fine uses the art of watercolour drawing may be put to; while the greater part of the more modern English water-colours on the opposite wall of the gallery (the least valuable portion of the Vaughan bequest), afford an equally instructive importance of the genius of any artistic medium is ignored or misunderstood, the result cannot be other than disastrous.

84. *Art Notes [On drawings by Hogarth, Cozens and others included among the English drawings at the British Museum]*.⁸⁴

Having filled my, allotted space last week, I had to break off somewhat abruptly in my notice of English Drawings at the British Museum. In these days, when the critic has so few opportunities of giving any but very qualified praise to contemporary English painting, I may be excused, I take it, if I seize this occasion to speak somewhat at length of the really admirable art which this country has produced in the past. Our first truly great and entirely English Master was unquestionably William Hogarth. Like Charles Lamb, Hogarth's contemporaries admired him wholly for his moralities: they bought his engravings, but they would have nothing to say to his paintings and drawings. Horace Walpole, one of his earliest and most enthusiastic admirers, preferred to consider him rather "as a writer of comedy with pencil than as a painter." After a century and a half we have at last realized that, although much of his comedy is banal, and his morality trite, if not ready-made, Hogarth was one of the greatest painters of his age, either at home or broad. He is a far greater artist than Pietro Longhi, his Venetian contemporary, whose work, except in its freedom from any attempt to point a lesson chiefly suggests a parallel to that

⁸⁴ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On drawings by Hogarth, Cozens and others included among the English drawings at the British Museum]*, in "The Morning Leader", June 8, 1901, p. 4.

of Hogarth. The 16 drawings for the well known series of engravings of the Idle and Industrious Apprentices, which are exhibited at the Museum side by side with the engravings, Nos. B 5-31, might, so far as their mere subject matter is concerned, have been intended for the illustrations of some eighteenth century antitype of smiles's "Self-Help." Certainly the lesson to be learned from these designs is not of the highest kind, if I read it aright; it appears to amount to little more than this, that the aim of life is to become prosperous and be thought respectable by one's neighbors. But considered merely as drawings, how admirable they are! What beautiful compositions they make; how directly and expressively are they drawn, in spite of certain reminiscence of the meandering line of his master, Thornhill; how finely the construction and movement of the figures are realised!

So obvious is the beauty and charm of the drawings by Gainsborough here, that I will go on to speak of the series of view in Switzerland by John Robert Cozens, In order to realise fully the nature and scope of Cozens' art one must turn to the drawings of his father, Alexander Cozens the father proposed; the son accomplished. Alexander Cozens was the natural son of Peter the Great by an Englishwoman from Deptford, whom the Zar took back to Russia with him. Peter sent him to Italy to study art; and from Italy he came to England in 1748. Here he practised landscape painting, but he appears to have been forced to give drawing lessons for livelihood. A Book which he published, and the character which Edwards in his "Anecdotes" given of him as an artist, has led many writers on art who are little acquainted with his work, to conclude that he was merely a fashionable drawing-master with a foible. But Edwards was a dunce, and as little able to understand Cozens as Girtin. The British Museum posses a series of early drawings executed previously to 1746 which show that Alexander Cozens had been a careful and intelligent student of Claude; but his later work in adequately represented neither at the British nor the South Kensington Museums. I have it my mind a drawing of his which I have come across of a river and the bank beyond, seen in twilight through a wood, and another of A clump of trees by a pond in the same half-light; both very grand in idea and of an extraordinary originality

In his drawings of mountain scenery, Alexander Cozens, in the way in which he attempted to render their scale and mass and effect of light, proposed a wholly new order of

landscape painting; and inasmuch as many of these drawings must have been executed long before Gainsborough had freed himself from the influence of the Dutch landscape painter, Cozens must, in a certain sense, be regarded as the real father of English landscape painting. I say Alexander Cozens proposed a new order of landscape painting because the element of experiment always preponderates in his work. His son, John Robert Cozens, took up not only his manner and method of painting, but also his point of view, and worked it out with such success that Constable declared that "his works were all poetry," And that he was "the greatest genius that ever touched landscape. The drawing exhibited at the Museum, Nos. B 48-64, are part of a series of views of Switzerland, which he made in 1776, in his twenty fourth year, on his first journey to Italy. So delicate and reticent are they, both in temper and execution, that they demand on the part of the spectator a peculiar frame of mind for their full enjoyment. However, they suffer, both in tone and color, from having been mounted on tinted mounts. If Turner's landscapes may be compared to Shelley's, or Ooleridge's, descriptions of Nature, these drawings recall no less the descriptions of Gray, or Collins. Almost antique in their repose and breadth, Swiss scenery was, surly, never seen with more poetic eyes than in these drawings.

It was at the house of Dr. Monro, under whose care Cozens was placed after his mind became deranged, that Girtin and Turner first saw and studied his drawings: and his method of painting served as "a foundation to the manner" afterward adopted by them. Turner is known to have copied more than one drawing in this very series: indeed, one of the drawings exhibited here, the "Fall of the Reichenbach," was reproduced in some magazine, the "Portfolio." if I rightly remember, side by side with Turner's copy of it. Mr. Colvin would do well to secure this copy for the Museum.

I must pass over some admirable examples of Hopper, John Raphael Smith, Flaxman, and Blake. Flaxman, like Stothard, is abundantly represented among the Vaughan drawings: indeed, the Print Room might well have been spared a large part of the drawings by the later artist. The same criticism applies, unfortunately, to all but a few of the watercolor which form part of Mr. Vaughan's bequest. Among the more modern English drawings those by Millais and Ruskin are the most interesting. Millais' drawing of the "Deluge" No. B 280, is, as Mr. Colvin suggests, perhaps the finest of the artist Pre-Raphaelite period. We critics are always liable to over-reach

ourselves; however I could not help admiring (as, indeed, I have done before) at the subtlety of the "A.M." at the "Pall Mall Gazette", the other evening when she declared that this drawing of the "Deluge" was "shown recently in a somewhat less fine form at the Fine Art Society's." The fact is they are one and the same drawing.

85. *Art Notes [On Conder, Corot, Fantin-Latour and others]*.⁸⁵

To few "one-man-shows" do I find myself looking forward with such undisguised pleasure as to the little exhibitions of Mr. Charles Conder's fan and drawings on silk, which now take place periodically at Messrs. Carfax's, in Ryder St. It is a limited form of art, I allow; but still in Mr. Conder's hands it becomes an exquisite one, exquisitely managed; and who in these days is able to give us that, although artists are legion? For Mr. Conder, the fan, of course, is a form to be filed; and the art of fan painting lies largely in devising groups and Compositions to all this difficult space. Some people, I believe, are intrepid enough to have these paintings mounted as actual fans: but the wiser of us recognise that Mr. Conder's work is likely to outlast in interest the lifetime of a fan, and prefer to possess these charming pieces of invention for their own sake.

Never before, I think, has Mr. Conder shown such variety and originality of design. The finest, from this point of view, is undoubtedly the fan he calls "Fickle Love," No. 2. The arrangement of the figures and column against the distant bridge is almost classic in its largeness, and yet the delicacy and daintiness proper to such exquisite toys is never lost sight of. But how various he can be! Here, in "The Carnival Passes," No. 5, a long procession of figures is carried across the arc of the fan; here, in "The Magenta Fan," No. 13, we have an arrangement of plaquettes filed with little figure scenes in color, against a pattern of figures in magenta; in a third, "The Boudoir," No. 7, he relies almost entirely on a group of figures to fill the space. This last fan is admirable not only in color, but also in its suggestion of form and movement. But they are things to be seen and enjoyed, and are too poetic and evanescent in intention to be described.

⁸⁵ H. P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Conder, Corot, Fantin-Latour and others]*, in "The Morning Leader", June 21, 1901, p. 4.

Verlaine might have written another volume of "Fates Galasites", in their praise; but any less delicate attempt to speak of them is like breaking a butterfly on a wheel.

At Messrs. Obach's new galleries, which were opened last Saturday at 168, New Bond St., are a number of fine modern pictures chiefly of the Barbizon and Dutch schools. Were I a great admirer of Troyon, I should be enthusiastic about this "L'Heure de traire," No. 31, here; I prefer, however, Daubigny's "Soleil Couliant" No. 35, a picture which he exhibited in the Salon of 1859, and one of his finest works. There is also a little J. F. Millet here, "Churning," No. 5, full of that beautiful grey color and liquid quality of paint which his love and Study of Correggio enabled him to acquire. But the pictures here which above all others appeal to me, are a series of Corots of unusual interest.

The earliest of these in point of date is No. 33, "Banks of a River," seen just after sunset, the tone and color of which are rendered with extraordinary truth. It dates from the thirties, and still betrays the influence of our own painter Constable. An admirable work of the kind one more ordinarily associates with Corot's name is No. 36, "La Mare." Of unusual interest are four religious pictures: No. 22, "Adam and Eve Driven from Paradise"; No. 23, "The Baptist of Christ"; No. 24, "Mary Magdalen"; and No. 25, "Christ in the Garden of Olives." They are the original studies, which Corot afterwards worked up into pictures, for four wall paintings which he executed in a church near Paris. In all these paintings one seems to detect the influence of Goya; and Nos. 24 and 25 are especially remarkable for an austerity of conception, and a blunt, rugged handling which one little associates with the painter. Of Diaz, Harpignies, and others of the school, of Joseph Lraels and J. Maris, as of a younger painter, A. Vollou, there are also a number of good examples.

The number of artists who have succeeded in raising that most degraded of all methods of reproduction, to wit, lithography, into the region of fine art, has been very small. Among living men there are only three considerable names to reckon with — Mr. Whistler, Mr. C. H. Shannon, and N. Fantin Latour. But all three artists and their achievement in lithography are so considerable that we have little reason to complain of the paucity of attempts. The lithographs of M. Fantin Latour are far less well known in this country than Mr. Whistler's or even Mr.

Shannon's; but an admirable collection of them in proof state which is being shown at Mr. Gutekunst's Gallery, at King St., St. James', should succeed in making them known among us, as they deserve to be.

As a painter, M. Fantin Latour is represented by a single flower piece, in the Tate Gallery; and it is only on rare occasions that his charming figure-paintings are seen in London. In these he revives the romantic landscapes and the nymphs and classic figures of Claude and Pousain, in the spirit of the Second Empire. A number of his lithographs deal with compositions of this kind; others are illustrations to the musical compositions of Wagner, Berlioz, and Schuaia Du. But whether this subject be "Veus Anadyomeme," or the "Prelude to 'Loheugin,'" the lithographs of M. Fantin Latour always possess a beauty and interest of handling and that suggestion of color in the rendering of which the chief virtue of the lithographer's art lies.

86. *Art Notes [On Miss Fortescue-Brickdale, Byam Shaw and the "New Pre-Raphaelites"]*.⁸⁶

The latest adherent to the ranks of what may be called Neo-Pre-Raphaelitism is Miss Fortescue Brickdale; and the exhibition of 45 pictures in water-color by her at Messrs. Dowdeswell's galleries in New Bond St., together with the appearance of an article on her work in the "Studio" magazine, have succeeded in drawing more attention to this lady than débutantes ordinarily enjoy. As to the amazing cleverness of Miss Fortescue Brickdale's productions there can scarcely be two opinions. Two years ago, we are told, the difficult and slowly acquired art of water-color painting was, so to speak, an unknown language to her. Now she produces elaborate and ambitious figure-pieces by the Score with the ease and assurance that usually comes only from long study and much practice. To be able to do this is (as I say) to be amazingly clever; but | cleverness, like prettiness, in art is a quality of which I am, I suppose by nature, extremely suspicious.

Certainly neither cleverness nor prettiness were characteristic qualities of our English Pre-Raphaelites, of Rossetti, Madox Brown, or even Millais in his Pre-Raphaelite days. But these

⁸⁶ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Miss Fortescue-Brickdale, Byam Shaw and the "New Pre-Raphaelites"]*, in *The Morning Leader*, June 28, 1901, p. 4.

are not the only traits in which Miss Fortescue Brickdale differs from her originals. One Mr. Shaw Sparrow, who writes the article on her works in the "Studio," is so carried away by his idea of what the I woman as artist should be that, so far from being content with denouncing the least mannish tendency in her as "absurd and contemptible," he contends, in effect, that the ideal Woman-painter must be oblivious, not to say ignorant, of every work of art produced by that grosser creature man. Had Miss Fortescue Brickdale been ignorant of the works of Mr. Byam Shaw, to say nothing of the painters to whom Mr. Shaw has been so largely indebted for his inspiration, I fear that she would never have succeeded after a couple of years in producing these pictures and drawings. But the question which the present exhibition raises — and it is a question, I think, of real interest is, how does the Neo-Pre-Raphaelitism of Mr. Byam Shaw and the painters of the Birmingham school differ from the Pre-Raphaelitism of Rossetti, Madox Brown, and the rest?

The distinction between the fancy and the imagination was one which Coleridge and Wordsworth enlarged upon with, perhaps, too much insistency; and yet it is not merely a very real but an all important distinction in the criticism of art. The difference between the allegories of Mr. Byam Shaw and Miss Fortescue-Brickdale and such creations of Rossetti as his "Paolo and Francesca," or of Madox Brown as his "Christ Wash[ing] Peter's Feet," is precisely the difference between a flight of the fancy and a piece of real imagination. In the former, the figures are mere symbols; and their attributes go farther in telling the story than their attitudes or action; in the latter, the dramatic moment of the story is realised with extraordinary intensity, and the action of the figures expresses in a direct and unmistakable manner the burden of the drama. The Pre-Raphaelites were profoundly interested in life; and they realised that only by seeing finely and rendering with truth "the outward shows of things," could they hope to express and interpret their interest in human life.

The Neo-Pre-Raphaelites, on the contrary, have no real interest in life. They do not seek to represent human actions and passions, but to make decorative patterns and arrangements of figures, whose elaborate habiliments and accessories far outweigh the significance of the actors. Convention and decoration when properly employed as legitimate means towards the

presentation of nature, as they are in the finest Italian or Japanese art, become qualities of the highest value and significance; but when they become an end in themselves, the result cannot be other than mere pattern-making. This year at the New Gallery are to be seen a number of these figure-patterns in gold frames, chiefly by members of the Birmingham school. They are the work of painters who are possessed of no little ability and industry, and, one would imagine, of considerable intelligence; but how is it that men who deliberately take as their models the early Italian masters of the fifteenth century can so mistake the very pictures which they have set themselves to emulate, that their own work possesses not one of the many qualities which have enabled, and still enable, those old masters to appeal “to the immortal part of man”?

And yet many of these latter-day Pre-Raphaelites have undoubted talent. The talent of Mr. Byam Shaw is indisputable; besides, he has the advantage of being a far abler draughtsman than the majority of his school. If I am not much mistaken, Neo-Pre-Raphaelitism has set out on a blind road; and in spite of all her talent and power of imitation, unless Miss Fortescue-Brickdale will learn to draw, and cease to mistake facile devices of a purely literary order for pictorial qualities, I fear that she will prove merely a passing rival.

87. *Art Notes [On Clausen, Muhrmann, Rodin and others at the Pastel Society exhibition]*.⁸⁷

The present vogue of the pastel, I fear, is largely due to the fact that in no other medium can such an effect of full tone and color be produced at so small an expense of time and trouble as by that facile and fascinating compromise between the brush and the pencil. That of course, does not detract from its artistic value; for we have only to turn to the pastels of Degas in order to realise how fine a means of expression it may become in the hands of a great draughtsman; but it accounts for a great deal of the work which finds a place in the third exhibition of the Pastel Society at the Galleries of the Institute in Piccadilly. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of the Society, there is a far larger proportion of interesting work here than one is in the habit of expecting in any exhibition of the kind, except, perhaps, the New English Art Club. And then another thing which adds greatly to the enjoyment of the show, is that the Pastel society observe

⁸⁷ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Clausen, Muhrmann, Rodin and others at the Pastel Society exhibition]*, in “The Morning Leader”, July 5, 1901, p. 4.

the admirable rule of hanging the contribution of each exhibitor together, in a group by themselves.

If I am not to have fine design and draughtsmanship in a picture, a scheme of tone color which really conveys a sense of light, goes far towards reconciling me to the absence of other things. It is this quality more than any other, I think, which always enables one to return with pleasure to Mr. George Clausen's work. His subjects may be few, and his treatment of them limited, but there is always a sense of real daylight and a movement of air in his pictures. On the opposite wall of the gallery in which Mr. Clausen's drawings hang are some six or even pastels by Mr. Henry Muhrmann, for the most part studies round about London. All these drawings, and especially No. 188, "Hampstead Heath, Bank Holiday" (which is not without reminiscence of Velasquez's landscape of the Boar Hunt in the National Gallery), and No. 170, "Broadstairs," show a power of making a picture out of an unpromising subject, and a certain individuality of manner, which are denied even to Mr. Clausen. But with all his admirable qualities Mr. Muhrmann's color remains so sooty, and his atmosphere is so turbid, that the light which he succeeds in producing may possibly illumine [?] nether world, but was certainly never seen in this.

Of the six drawings which Mr. Clausen sends No. 108, "Making a Rick," is a study for the picture in last year's Academy, and No. 107, "The Threber," is still another version of the barn which has figured in two Academies; and yet these "variations on a theme" never fail to interest us, because Mr. Clausen is always able to see in them some fresh possibilities for a picture. Among Mr. Peppercorn's contributions is an admirable "Tea Study." No. 181, full of color and movement. Mr. Brabazon is another contributor; but I must confess that I prefer him when he is working in some other medium than pastel. His best things here are a "Souvenir of Turner," No. 120, and a "Study" No. 131, which might be called a souvenir of Rubens. But he is apt to be too slight, or to leave the pastel in a way that suggest the original crudeness of the material. Mr. Kettlehip also sends some good studies of animals; and among other notable contributors are Mr. Btoti And Mr. Take.

I yield to no one, I trust, and it do admiration to Mr. Rodin's art; yet I cannot help thinking that the pastel society were scarcely will advise to and including in their exhibition his

six working drawings for a “A Spanish Dancer,” No. 208-212. Only a master of course could have knocked off these slight but gruesome studies of movement and attitude, and in a representative exhibition of M. Rodin’s work they might very properly have found a place. But even by themselves they afford an occasion for the philistine to blaspheme on the one hand, and the pretender to talk nonsense on the other, which cannot in the long run help to advance M. Rodin’s recognition...[?]

88. *Art Notes [On the finances of the Royal Academy]*.⁸⁸

In spite of the war there has been a slight improvement in the sales at the Academy this year. Up to the middle of July they had amounted to nearly £16,500, that is, about £3,400 in excess of the sales of last year. How insignificant this sum of £16,500 is in comparison with the transactions of the great London dealers in works of art may be seen by the fact that a single portrait by second-rate English painter fetched in a London sales room this season, only £2,500 less than the total sales of the Academy for the year. It is true that the sum paid for this portrait was the highest price ever paid in the sale-rooms for a single picture; but during the last few years the amount has in several instances been exceeded, in private transactions. The fact is that the modern millionaire, unlike the Manchester or Liverpool merchant of old, who collected pictures under the advice of Mr. Agnew, will have nothing to do with the Academy picture. He is willing to pay unheard of prices for his Botticellis, his Fragonards, his Gainsboroughs; he is delighted to go to the private view of the Academy to see and be seen by the grand monde, but he has not the slightest ambition of becoming the envied possessor of the picture of the year.

For long the annual sales at the Academy had been gradually declining until 1898, when they reached their lowest point, producing 8 total of less than £14,000. The variations in the yearly sales between then and now are to be attributed to accidental causes rather than to any real inclination on the part of wealthy collectors to regard the Academy picture as a desirable investment. Nor is this state of things very difficult to account for. Since the days of the pre-Raphaelites the tendency of the academy has been to become more and more exclusive, and less

⁸⁸ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On the finances of the Royal Academy]*, in “The Morning Leader”, August 2, 1901, p. 4.

representative of the best in English art. The more intelligent of the critics have long and loudly inveighed against this injustice, and the dealers who formerly kept up the prices at the Academy, finding that they could do longer withstand the turn of the tide, have had recourse to a safer and more profitable commodity in old masters. The public at large still flock to Burlington House; they pay their shillings and discuss the pictures, but they do not buy them. In short, the crusade against the Academy has not been in vain. Outwardly, the Academy appears to be untouched by the assault, but in reality it has received a dangerous thrust in its most vital part. Election to its membership is a very different thing from what it was half a century ago.

Apropos of all this, the motion brought forward in the House of Lords by Lord Stanmore some ten days ago is matter to which we may well give a few moments reflection. Lord Stanmore proposed that a Royal Commission, similar in character and object to the Fine Arts Commission of 1849, should be appointed, with one or two thousands a year to spend on the arts. Happily, the scheme was proposed both by Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery: Lord Salisbury uttered his familiar warning that the entire Constitution would infallibly fall to pieces if any such attempt were allowed to undermine it; and added, as a sufficient excuse for any action on the part of the Government in the matter, that the British people do not care for what he was pleased to call "advanced art," a proposition, by the way, which is certainly truer of Lord Salisbury than it is of the British people. Lord Rosebery was of a somewhat different opinion, and contented himself by pointing out that whatever might be the merits of the motion, the House of Lords was at the place in which it ought to have been brought forward. He concluded his speech by drawing attention to the fact that all Governments, both Conservative and Liberal have alike done little or nothing for the National Portrait Gallery, which, after all, is the place where portraits of great statesmen should be preserved, and not the Houses of Parliament.

In the present connection, however, the point of his argument lies elsewhere "I do think," said Lord Rosebery, "that the Government does singularly little for art in this country, and, on the whole. I think it is a good thing "That hits the right nail entirely on the head. After all, the new Palace of Westminster is the best public building which we have succeeded in putting up in recent time. But even the Commission of 1892, which kindles such a sentiment of enthusiasm in the breast of Lord Stanmore, filled the building with paintings by Dyce, Cope, Horsley, Maclise,

and Poynter, when they might have filled it with works by Watts (there is, by the way one fresco by Watts), Millais, Madox Brown, Rossetti, and the other Pre-Raphaelites.

Certainly, on the whole, it is a good thing that the Government has done so little for art in this country. It is said that Canova, the sculptor, being asked while on a visit to England what had struck him most forcibly here, replied, "That the trumpery Chinese bridge, then in St. James' park, should be the production of the Government, while that of Waterloo was the work of a private company." The Academy the chief State institution of its kind, is another case in point. Since its first foundation, its influence on English Art has most certainly been for the worst: And now that it is no longer representative of our best Art it does infinite harm by lending a kind of official sanction in the eyes of the great mass of people who are unable to judge for themselves, to a vast number of second and third rate pictures, which are annually exhibited at Burlington House. Had Lord Stanmore brought forward a motion to suppress the Royal Academy, he would have done A real service to the arts in this country. But Lord Salisbury no doubt have regarded such a proceeding as a literal blowing-up of our Constitution.

89. *Art Notes [On the Spanish Exhibition, in particular Velasquez at the Guildhall]*, in "The Morning Leader".⁸⁹

In spite of Lord Salisbury's dictum that the British people do not care for art, the Spanish Exhibition at the Guildhall has proved so popular a success that the civic authorities wisely decided to keep it open to the public to the end of the present month. No doubt there to this element of truth in Lord Salisbury's contention, that in the past we, as a nation, have set too little store by the Arts of Design: yet, on the other hand, the success of such popular exhibitions is those at the Guildhall show that the failure has resulted not so much from want of inclination as from want of opportunity on the part of the public at large. Taste is to acquirement; we are no more born with a fine taste in painting than with a knowledge of the three R's. To have fine taste we must be conversant with the best pictures. I doubt whether any recent movement has done so much to arouse popular interest in art as the exhibitions at the Guildhall. For not only have these

⁸⁹ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On the Spanish Exhibition, in particular Velasquez at the Guildhall]*, in "The Morning Leader", August 19, 1901, p. 4.

exhibitions contained a large number of pictures that might worthily find a place in the National Gallery, but they possess the power of attracting the public in a way that none of the permanent museums and galleries are able to do; they possess the irresistible attraction of novelty.

Freed at last from the distractions of west-end show, I gladly availed myself the other day of the opportunity to review the Velasquezes at the Guildhall with a quiet mind. They are certainly a remarkable gathering; they only wanted the addition of the "Venus" from Rokeby, and the omission of a certain number of canvass, to render them, the finest series that could well have been brought together under the circumstances. The earliest period of Velasques' art is more than adequately represented by the two genere pictures from the collection of the late Sir Francis Cook, Nos. 102 and 104, and the famous "Water Carrier of Seville," Nos. 100, lent by the Duke of Wellington. The latter picture already shows the influence of the "Tenebrosi"; but inspite of all its fame, it really falls short of a fine Ribera. For myself, I prefer the earlier picture from Sir Francis Cook's collection, No. 102, of an old woman making an omelet. There, at least, we see the real germs of Velasquez's art as a painter. But, truth to tell, all these early pictures are chiefly Interesting as showing from what mediocre beginnings one of the very greatest masters of oil painting succeeded in developing himself.

In 1623, at the age of twenty-four, Velasquez was appointed Court painter at Madrid; and then at the Spanish Court a few years later he came across Rubens. The powerful and original grenius of Velasquez was already too formed to be outwardly influenced even by so potent a personality by the great Fleming; but there can be little doubt that, indirectly, Rubens was one of the influences that counted most in his later development. Certainly, the difference between the early works to which I have alluded, and the full length portraits of "Olivares," No. 136 and "Philip IV.," No. 124, lent by Captain Hollord, is amazing. The version of the former portrait, by the way, No. 129, lent by Mr. Huth, can only be regarded as a school-copy; nor can the portrait of the King, No. 130, from the same collection, be considered as other than a "bottega" version. Captain Hollard's "Philip IV.," on the contrary, is one of the finest examples of Velasquez's art in its earliest maturity. It does not possess the magic handling of his later painting, but the drawing, mass and broad relief of the figure are, indeed, admirable; and as a delinear of character. Velasquez already here shows himself a consummate master.

Somewhat later, dating from about 1635, is the beautiful silvery version of the young "Don Baltasar Carlos," No. 120, belonging to the Marquess of Bristol. Both in the scheme of its color and in its greater freedom of handling we already divide the entire character and the full power of the coming master. The Version, but with considerable variations of this portrait lent by the Duke of Abercorn, No. 14, is, again, is only a school-work, and of a somewhat late character. Yet more admirable in execution, more fascinating in conception, than Lord Bristol's picture is the Duke of Westminster's canvas of "Don Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School," No. 127. It was painted presumably about 1640. In the Wallace collection is another version of this by Velasquez's own hand; but the Date of Westminster's picture is undoubtedly the finer of the two. With yet greater certainty can a date be assigned to another picture, the portrait of "Pope Innocent X." No. 122, lent by the Duke of Wellington. This, beyond all question, is a study for the famous portrait painted in 1648, which is still preserved in the Doria-Pamfili Gallery at Rome. Painted with less "bravura" than the larger finished picture, it is less obviously striking, but, on the other hand, it is far more subtle, both in conception and expression. How keen and immediate is the vision recorded here! This image seems to tread, so to speak, on the very heels of the living originals, and yet there is no trace of effort in it, no vestige of the mere process of Art. It is of such masterpiece that Reynolds was thinking Aug when he exclaimed, "What we are all attempting to do with great labor, he does at once." In point of quality, this portrait of Innocent is, to my thinking, the finest work by Velasquez to be seen even at the Guildhall. I know nothing more magical and inscrutable as a piece of painting, nothing more subtle and profound delineation of character.

90. *Art Notes [On C. H. Shannon at the Dutch Gallery]*.⁹⁰

At the Dutch Gallery, at this time, some new work by Mr. C. H. Shannon is generally to be seen. This year, not only does Mr. Shannon exhibit three pictures; but Mr. Charles Ricketts, whose name has long been associated with that of Mr. Shannon, also sends three paintings. These, we believe, are the first oil-pictures which Mr. Ricketts has shown as yet. Hitherto, he has

⁹⁰ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On C. H. Shannon at the Dutch Gallery]*, in "The Morning Leader", June 20, 1902, p. 4.

best been known as the chief designer and engraver of the numerous woodcuts which decorate the pages of the books printed at the Vale Press. These fastidious woodcuts, and the few drawings by his hand which have been seen from time to time, would have led one to suppose that his oil-pictures would have recalled, in their technical method at least, the paintings, let us say, of Gustave Moreau rather than some of the freer or more robust modern masters. But the reverse is the case; and the three canvases at the Dutch Gallery are painted with a freedom and force which recalls Delacroix, or Mr. Watts, though it is difficult to tell precisely the sources of an eclecticism so wide and elusive as that of Mr. Ricketts.

Two of his paintings here, No. 8, "Centaur Idyl," and No. 13, "Centaur," recall, in conception at least, more than one woodcut which appeared in "The Dial," and which was obviously inspired by him, although not bearing his name. Unlike the centaurs of the Greeks, and still less of Dante, the centaurs of these paintings are rugged, woodland, almost satyr-like creatures. And not only in their character, but also in their forms, Mr. Ricketts is painting pictures wholly of his imagination, set in a world equally imaginary. He is chiefly interested in the "carpentry" of his designs, the invention of a silhouette, the arrangement of his masses, the distinction of the convention with which all this is expressed. The same characteristics are to be noted in the third and somewhat larger canvas, No. 3, "The Samaritan." Here one cannot help feeling that in order to obtain distinction of manner, character and even structure have been too freely sacrificed, as in the silhouette of the head of the Samaritan. However, there is a certain Michael Angelesque nobility in the design of the figures. The color-schemes of all three pictures incline to silvery blues, sea-greens, and browns; and the avoidance of any pronounced local-color is again characteristic of the painter.

The three pictures exhibited by Mr. Shannon, which hang side by side with these paintings, present some curious analogies with them, and some striking differences. More reticent in execution, more luminous in color, their author also is chiefly interested in design and style. One of the three pictures, No. 11, "Shell Gatherers," has been seen before, and Mr. Shannon has treated the same composition, if my memory does not deceive me, in a drawing. The extreme refinement of the silvery tone and color of the picture is admirable, but in the effort to obtain these qualities Mr. Shannon has lost something of the form and structure of the nudes

which I seem to remember in the drawing. More spontaneous, both in conception and execution, is the little painting, No. 9, "The Garland," of a boy who has clambered on the shoulders of a girl to fix a garland over a door, while a child stands by with another garland. There is a certain classic gaiety in this picture which few modern painters have succeeded in attaining.

The third picture, No. 10, "Woodland Venus," although it contains much admirable painting, is less fortunate as a composition. Along the lower margin of the picture lies this Venus of the woods asleep, and naked, clasping a baby satyr to her side, and holding an apple in her left hand, while some deer, of which only the heads are seen, have come to peep at her. The pose of the Venus admits of little more than the silhouette of her body being seen against the wooded background, and as an outline this silhouette hardly possesses sufficient interest to be quite satisfactory as the chief object in the picture. Perhaps when Mr. Shannon is able to free himself a little more from the influence of Mr. Watts he will find a truer expression in painting for that fine vision of things which he has already evinced in many of his lithographs and drawings.

The exhibition also contains several good examples of Fantin Latour, including an admirable piece of still-life, No. 5, "Un Coin de Table," of an azalea in flower, seen against the white cloth of a table, on which are placed a decanter and a glass of wine and various pieces of china and silver. It is an early work, and done in the best traditions of Chardin. Besides an early painting by Mr. Steer, and several examples of M. and J. Maris, there are several small bronzes and terra cottas by Mr. R. F. Wells, a young sculptor whose work has not before been exhibited. Especially remarkable for their sense of form and modelling are two little figures of babies, which possess a certain strength and largeness of treatment rarely to be found in English sculpture.

91. *Art Notes [On Steer and early Italian Pictures at Messrs. Carfax]*.⁹¹

The exhibition of Mr. Conder's fans at Messrs. Carfax's Rooms in Ryder St. has been followed by a show of paintings and drawings by Mr. P. Wilson Steer, and bronzes and sculpture

⁹¹ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Steer and early Italian Pictures at Messrs. Carfax]*, in "The Morning Leader", July 1, 1902, p. 4.

by J. H. M. Furse. Messrs. Carfax must certainly be complimented on their latest success, for Mr. Steer's drawings and paintings form by far the most remarkable "one-man show" that has been seen in London this season. Altogether there are some twenty water-color drawings and about a dozen pictures and sketches in oil.

Mr. Steer is one of the few original members of the "New English Art Club" who has remained a constant contributor to its exhibition from the first, and on the walls of the Dudley Gallery one has been enabled to trace his gradual development year by year. Of the drawings at Ryder St., No. 9, "Midsummer," carries us back to the early period of his career, when he was fresh from Paris, and still under the influence of the *vibristes*, whose vogue was then at its height. This drawing serves to remind us how Mr. Steer began as a naturalistic painter of the *plein-air* school. It is merely a study of some trees seen against the blue sky, in which the painter's principal aim has been to render the vibration of light and color. And although Mr. Steer has gradually come to seek for other qualities than these, he is still chiefly interested in *chiaroscuro*, in the modern sense of the word; that is, in the rendering of light and shade, which, as Benjamin West reminded Constable, when a student, "never stand still."

The greater number of the drawings and sketches here are, I believe, the work of last summer, and they show how Mr. Steer has gradually turned to such older masters as Constable and Turner, not only for the purpose of studying their methods of rendering light and shade, but also for their composition, the conventional arrangement of their *chiaroscuro*, their color as a scheme. In brief, the development of Mr. Steer's art is the exact reverse of Constable, who began by copying Claude, Wilson, and such masters of composition, and ended in devising the boldest and most original methods of rendering momentary effects of atmospheric *chiaroscuro*. The design not only of the forms and masses, but of the light and shade, in such drawings as No. 10, "Old Quarry, or No. 8, "Mills by the Teme," reveals Mr. Steer's increasing care for the composition of his pictures, and this tendency serves more and more to bring his work into greater continuity with the work of the older English masters of landscape.

In brief, the little exhibition at Ryder St. shows more plainly than even his various contributions to the New English Art Club have done the high place which Mr. Steer is destined

to take in English landscape-painting. Of all our countrymen who have elected to work in the tradition of Constable, he already promises to become the most striking and original figure. Want of space prevents me discussing the oil sketches, which, with the exception of No. 23, "Girl with Cat," and a couple of flower pieces, are all landscapes, and not inferior in interest to the drawings.

Mr. J. H. M. Furse, a number of whose bronzes and sculpture are also on view at Messrs. Carfax's, appears to most advantage as a modeller of animals in the vein of Barye and Mr. J. M. Swan. A "Group of Two Horses," No. 7, and the "Pumas and Turkey," No. 8, may be cited as examples of his work at his best. Modelled with considerable knowledge, and no little skill, they possess a certain sculpturesque quality which places them far above the average English work of the time; yet, nevertheless, they are deficient in that informing spirit which perfectly fuses the various elements of a work of art, and gives it real vitality.

In an upper room at Messrs. Carfax's are also to be seen some highly important early Italian pictures. The name of Piero di Cosimo is familiar to every reader of George Eliot's "Romola," yet to few, I fear, is that delightful painter more than a figure of fiction. In the National Gallery, however, may be seen his most fascinating work, "The Death of Procris." At Messrs. Carfax's are three early Florentine "cassone" panels, one of which is a "Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithae," by Piero di Cosimo. This painting, though far less attractive as a piece of illustration than the famous "Death of Procris," is nevertheless a greater work of art. Indeed it places Piero on a higher level as a painter than any other work by him which has come down to us. It shows him to have been an admirable painter of the nude, and no unworthy disciple of the greatest draughtsman of his age, Antonio Pollaiuoli, who is also represented in the National Gallery by two important works. It is much to be wished that the authorities of the National Gallery could see their way to secure this picture for the nation before it is snapped up for some American museum. Piero di Cosimo would then be seen to even greater advantage at Trafalgar Sq. than at Florence, where he is most completely represented. Such an acquisition would go far towards retrieving the series of blunders which the present Director has committed. No less than three bad mistakes have been made during the last year.

92. *Art Notes [On Tuke, Clausen, Muhrmann and others at the exhibition of the Pastel Society]*.⁹²

The exhibitions of the Pastel Society have come to be among the more pleasant of their kind; and this year's show at the Royal Institute of Painters is no exception to the rule. To begin with, there are comparatively few works exhibited; and though none of them is in any way a chef d'oeuvre, there are a number of genuinely interesting drawings here, all well shown, and not unduly outweighed by the mass of interior work which is an unavoidable element of the modern exhibition.

One of the first drawings to catch the eye is Mr. Tuke's "On the Beach," No. 4, a half-nude boy stretched on the shingle; one of those studies of flesh seen in brilliant sunlight — in this instance with the distant sea as a background — which the painter delights in giving us. Near by, hang two pastels by Mr. Edward Stott and two by Mr. George Clausen. Of Mr. Stott's two pastels, No. 6, a "Rustic Youth," is, perhaps, less interesting in handling than one might have looked for from his paintings. No. 7, "The Harvest Moon," a hilly landscape with a stubble field in the foreground, is, however, charmingly conceived and delicately colored. Mr. Clausen sends two of those studies of rustic figures in sunlight which he handles with unflinching variety and undiminished freshness. No. 5 is a drawing of an old man mowing in the dappled shade of some trees. No. 8, called "Raking the Little Field," represents a boy dragging a large rake in the foreground and the figure of a man standing by a rick in the middle distance. The latter drawing possesses something of that rhythmical quality of design which marks Mr. Clausen's picture - painting of boys with cart-horses, called "Homeward," in this year's show at the Academy. In this respect it is a far more pleasing composition than the "Study of a Mower," here.

But how essentially a pastellist Mr. Clausen has always remained! Even when working in oils, he has never really been able to throw aside the method, or to wholly transcend the limitations of drawing in pastel. This has unfortunately been the bane of much of the best modern painting, both in this country and on the Continent. Only the other day I read in one of the evening papers that a French painter, who, if my memory does not deceive me, is an exhibitor in

⁹² H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Tuke, Clausen, Muhrmann and others at the exhibition of the Pastel Society]*, in "The Morning Leader", July 11, 1902, p. 4.

this very show, had found out a method of preparing oil colors in the form of pastels which could be worked with the same rapidity, and which would produce the same solid effects, with an equal ease of execution. And this process, its inventor was pleased to tell us, was to revolutionise the art of oil-painting, and supersede its old methods. But how absurd, or what is more to the point, how inartistic, is such a contention! New and quite legitimate effects might well be produced by a new process such as that which the French painter professes to have discovered; but it is inconceivable that such a process would, in any sense, adequately take the place of oil painting.

In employing any method, such as pastel, or oil-painting, the true artist, will seek to use his materials in a manner best calculated to bring out the most peculiar and characteristic qualities which such materials are capable of producing. For instance, no quality more sharply distinguishes oil-painting from other mediums than the possibility which it affords of leaving the colors as if they were still liquid; "like cheese or I cream," to use Reynoldo's phrase. A dry, crumbling surface, on the other hand, is no less distinctive of a pastel, and the true artist will seek to put these several qualities to their most peculiar and effective uses. To confuse the two methods is to do what is radically inartistic, and yet this is a fault which disfigures the oil-pictures of many of the ablest men who exhibit here.

One of the worst offenders in this regard is Mr. Henry Muhrman, who sends six drawings — for the most part London studies. Mr. Muhrman is among the more remarkable landscape painters whose work has been seen in London exhibitions during the last few years. His oil-pictures, which possess many admirable qualities, and no little sense of style, are nevertheless, disfigured by a certain opaque, not to say sooty, quality of tone and color in the shadows, which I gives them not only an unpleasant but also an unreal appearance. The reason of these sooty shadows immediately becomes apparent when we turn to his pastels, for he uses both mediums as if they were one and the same. For instance, No. 133, a "Snow Scene," the most luminous and successful of all his drawings here, so closely resembles his oil-pictures in its color and handling that, at a little distance, and in other surroundings, it might at first sight easily be mistaken for one of them. But if a certain opacity of tone is difficult to avoid in a pastel, is that a reason that it should be imitated in an oil-picture?

Amid much inferior, the two fine heads in gold-point sent by Prof. Legros, Nos. 145 and 146, stand out as the work of a real master. Mr. Horace Mann Livens Talso, sends a number of drawings which 1 are remarkable for a certain solidity of modelling, and Mr. Brabazon, Mr. Mark Fisher, Col. Goff, and others are also among the contributors. Of Mr. Byam Shaw's drawing I hope to speak next week in discussing his show at Messrs. Dowdeswell's.

93. *Art Notes [On Byam Shaw at Dowdeswell's; and Miss William's private exhibition]*.⁹³

I ended my notes the other week with a passing allusion to Mr. Byam Shaw's portrait of "Miss Eleanor Fortescue. Brickdale," No. 109, in the Exhibition of the Pastel Society. This portrait is worth while examining with some care; for it forms a most interesting commentary on Mr. Byam Shaw's exhibition of pictures suggested by the Book of Ecclesiastes, which are now being shown at Messrs. Dowdeswell's Galleries.

In the portrait of Miss Fortescue Brickdale, Mr. Byam Shaw shows himself to be a realist of no little ability; but how uncompromising is his realism; how hard and obvious his vision! Nature, as Mr. Whistler long since put it to us, suggests as many different modes of vision to the painter as the key-board offers forms of harmony to the musician and for the painter to attempt to put into a single picture all that he sees is very much like sitting upon the piano. The same object may be seen finely, or it may be seen coarsely and to see things finely it is necessary to have a certain power of imagination. The Pre-Raphaelites, whose method of copying Nature, detail by detail, Mr. Byam Shaw imitates, saw things finely; but then they were men who, in their degree, all possessed the gift of imagination. Mr. Byam Shaw, on the contrary, lacks this quality of fineness to a degree which is remarkable in so able a draughtsman as he is but then his want of imagination is no less singular.

The thirty pictures which Mr. Shaw entitles "Sermons in stones and good in everything," at Messrs. Dowdeswell's, are, ostensibly at least, imaginative works which suggest a comparison with the early pictures of Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and Ford Madox Brown. The whole gamut of

⁹³ H.P. Horne, *Art Notes [On Byam Shaw at Dowdeswell's; and Miss William's private exhibition]*, in "The Morning Leader", July 30, 1902, p. 4.

Time, historic and prehistoric, is made to furnish Mr. Shaw with subjects. Here is an incident of the Stone Age, before fashions of any sort had become a custom: here the actors of the scene move in medieval garb, here in Elizabethan. The modes of the great exhibition, or of the present day, are equally at the painter's beck and call. All this, no doubt, appears very surprising; but what does it amount to?

Apart from the purely pictorial qualities of his pictures, Mr. Byam Shaw's conception of the themes he treats is extraordinarily unimaginative. No. 29, "For a living dog is better than a dead lion," is represented by a terrier on a lion-skin hearthrug; and No. 7, "But the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep," by a man in a dressing gown, creeping downstairs with a candle and revolver in his hands. That surely is the art of Linking exemplified. Think how William Blake would have handled such themes. But even with such a want of "literary" imagination, to use a hackneyed phrase, it is still possible to paint fine pictures. There is no doubt that Mr. Shaw possesses a marked ability to put together a mass of detail often, it must be confessed, mere detail of costume and bric-à-brac, so as to form an effective illustration of his theme but here he again fails. The Pre-Raphaelites, also, would build up a picture out of a mass of detail; but then, as I have said, they possessed imagination; and in their pictures this power of imagination fuses and refines the detail out of which their designs are built up. In Mr. Shaw's pictures all this detail remains unfused and unrefined. The parts remain parts, the detail detail. He sees the folds of a piece of drapery with as little imagination as he interprets the literary significance of his texts from Ecclesiastes. It is a pity that he cannot put his gifts, which are considerable, to finer uses.

Last week, a small exhibition of copies by Miss Williams was on view at her studio at Kensington. These copies of originals by Velasquez and Goya in the Prado, and of one of the Lemmi frescoes by Botticelli in the Louvre, are so much above the ordinary run of such things that I need not apologise for noticing them here; although I pass over in silence much that pretends to be new and original work. Miss Williams makes no attempt to reproduce her originals in their own medium: the "mat" surface of Botticelli's fresco, and the luminous and liquid quality of Velasquez's pigment, are alike rendered by oil-paint as it is known and used in

Paris in the present year of grace. But it is remarkable how nearly the spirit of the originals is thus reproduced; how much of the blonde, decorative scheme of Botticelli, and of the deep luminous tone and color of Velasquez.

It is in her copies of Goya, however, that Miss Williams more completely reproduces her originals; for Goya's whole method of painting, less subtle and elaborate than that of Velasquez, already anticipates the methods of modern painting, at least as it is understood in Paris, where Miss Williams appears to have studied. Her copy of Goya's draped "Maja" is especially successful; and for those who have not had the good fortune to visit Madrid such a copy must prove of no slight assistance in enabling them to realise the place which Goya holds among the modern masters. It is a pity that no corner is set aside in any of our museums or galleries for a series of such copies of the more inaccessible masterpieces of the world. The small copies executed for the Arundel Society, and now exhibited in the vaults of the National Gallery, are perspicuous examples of what such things ought not to be.

94. *The English Titian. Notes and memories of Mr. G. F. Watts [Obituary essay]*.⁹⁴

With the death of Mr. Watts, the last of the great English painters of the nineteenth century passes away. Although he was the contemporary of Rossetti and Ford Madox Brown, of Millais and Whistler, and as an artist will assuredly rank with the greatest of them, his art, perhaps, suggests not so much a comparison with theirs as with that of some of the earlier English painters. In his urbane and comprehensive attitude towards painting in its most extended and elevated aspect, in his profound sense of its pictorial seriousness, in his fine appreciation of both physical and moral beauty (I do not refer merely to the obviously didactic tendency of many of his later pictures), and in his reverence for the great Italians, he has done more than any of his contemporaries, with the one exception of Alfred Stevens, the sculptor, to keep alive that tradition of art, in its essential qualities, which Reynolds bequeathed to us. And it is, I think, as a figure comparable to Reynolds that Mr. Watts, though living in a later and very different age, will come to be remembered.

⁹⁴ H.P. Horne, *The English Titian. Notes and memories of Mr. G. F. Watts [Obituary essay]*, in "The Morning Leader", July 2, 1904, p. 8.

Back to the Masters.

However this may be, a comparison of the two men may help to explain certain traits of Mr. Watts' art which are a stumbling block to many in this age of photographic realism. For such persons, his constant recurrence to the great Italians blinds them in a large measure to what is wholly modern and individual in his work. If Mr. Watts has gone back to the Venetians for his inspiration, Reynolds owed as much, not only to them, but to Michelangelo and the so-called Roman School. Both have approached the great masters in the same spirit; and no critic would now urge that Reynolds was less true to the age in which he lived for having done so. In his case (as in that of Mr. Watts), the study of the old masters only served to stimulate his vision of what is "here and now." In another half century, we shall no more think of censuring this tendency in the painter who has just died, than of blaming Niccolo Pisano or Michelangelo for having gone back to the antique.

Watts, Reynolds, and Titian

But it is as a portrait-painter that a comparison between Mr. Watts and Reynolds may most easily be drawn. With the exception of the few portraits which Alfred Stevens painted, no one has so worthily continued as he our great tradition of English portrait painting. The masterly head of Russell Gurney in the National Gallery, and the series of portraits of distinguished men of his time which Mr. Watts has himself presented to the National Portrait Gallery, afford some splendid instances of this. Less ornate in color than most things of Reynolds, and less dependent on variety of motive for their effect, these portraits in reticence of presentation, in beauty of draughtsmanship and construction, and in subtle interpretation of character, come nearer to the portraits of Titian than anything which English art has yet produced.

A Patriarch of Painters

In one very remarkable respect, the career of Mr. Watts, as a painter, recalls that of the great Venetian. Throughout a patriarchal life of eighty-seven years, he has always been one of the most indefatigable of workers; and during that long period his work has revealed one unceasing process of development. Some further quality of form or color or texture has ever occupied his

thoughts; and to such a degree has he succeeded in interesting himself with new problems and new effects that many of his finest works have been executed at an age when most men have given up work altogether. In his research for such qualities, he has of later years produced works which have been little understood even by the critics, - who have professed to see little in them but that failure of power which is the natural outcome of old age. Such criticisms, however, recall Vasari's opinion that it would have been better had Titian given over work at a period of life when nature tends inevitably to decline. But now who is of Vasari's opinion? Indeed, it is now acknowledged that Titian attained to rarer qualities of painting in some of his last pictures than in any of those which he had executed at the zenith of his powers.

Nor His Natural Force Abated

We have only to turn to the painting, entitled "A Fugue," which is now on exhibition at the New Gallery, or to the colossal equestrian statue in the courtyard of Burlington House, to appreciate how Mr. Watts has kept all his powers unimpaired to the very last. The picture is as fine as anything he has done-far finer and rarer in color and handling than most of his early paintings; while the statue, which I have already noticed at length in these columns, possesses monumental qualities of form and surface, which no other English work of sculpture, on that scale, can show. It is remarkable that Flaxman and Alfred Stevens, who show so fine and unflinching a sense of quality as draughtsmen, should lose all trace of it when they come to execute statuary on a big scale.

A National Benefactor

There is one other aspect of Mr. Watt's character which I would touch upon, and then I have done. No one of our time has had a nobler sense of the place of art in the economy of the State than he; and the splendid series of his paintings, which he has presented to the nation is a lasting memorial of the way in which he attempted to put his ideas into practice. At a moment when the administration of the Chantrey Bequest is being effectually called into question, let us be doubly grateful to him for his munificence and public spirit. We owe it chiefly to the paintings which he has given to the nation that the Tate Gallery has not become merely ridiculous and a

source of reproach to us, as it certainly would have been had the choice rested entirely with the authorities.