Rediscovering Herbert Horne

Fletcher, Ian

Published by ELT Press


For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/25277

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=894441
Such notice as Horne occasionally receives from literary historians derives from his association with the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* (5.1). After some feeble contributions to the first, abortive issue of 1884, Horne edited all the later issues from 1886 to 1891. For this stylish quarto, he not merely superintended and contributed largely to the letterpress, he also designed initials and tailpieces (5.2) and prolonged Mackmurdo’s policy of using handmade paper, Caslon type and Chiswick Press printing. Emery Walker became responsible for the reproduction of drawings and other graphic work, all of which is of high quality. As Aymer Vallance remarked, "never before had modern printing been treated as a serious art, whose province was to embrace the whole process, from the selection and spacing of the type and the position of the printed matter on the page, to the embellishment of the book with appropriate initials and other decorative adornments." Indeed, there are hints of an ideal unfolding of content, of issues subtly planned as a unity.

The allegiances of the magazine were in matters of theory to Ruskin and Morris, but in artistic practice to Blake, the Pre-Raphaelites and Simeon Solomon. Rossetti, Madox Brown, James Smetham and others figure prominently with the accent
fig. 5.1 Century Guild Hobby Horse, cover page.
IT is our intention early in the new year to issue our first number of the "Century Guild" periodical; a literary work issued at fixed price, though not at fixed intervals, the object of the periodical precluding. For our sole motive in publishing anything at all, is the desire to meet the call that comes from some few friends, sharing our views, and interested in our exercise of the arts, to share likewise our thoughts, which by virtue of this sympathy or personal friendship are in correctness and by courtesy theirs.

Further, for extended enjoyment, we desire to give in some form, other than that of our special craft, articulate and permanent expression to what seem to us some of the finer
on fugitive and unpublished material: Horne's archival instinct stirred early. Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* was printed in ordinary type in the issue of October 1887. Horne's intention was that "now for the first time it will be possible for the many students of Blake, to whom the few original, and the scarcely more plentiful facsimile copies are inaccessible, to judge of it as a whole, and form some estimate of its worth as a prose work apart from the decorative designs in which it was set by Bláke." Horne proceeds to inform the audience about the text, explaining that the transcript he used was first collated with an original copy in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The few emendations are noted. Although he altered some of Blake's punctuation to aid sense, wherever possible Horne preserved it "and invariably his spelling, notwithstanding its errors; for the trivial faults of some men have more interest and distinction than the virtues of half the world." In July 1890, the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* printed for the first time Blake's *Book of Los*. Frederick York Powell, friend of John Butler and W. B. Yeats, found Blake's copy of this book dated 1795 and he explains in a note that this piece "lay for some time in the British Museum. It was not mentioned in the catalogue of Blake's works, affixed to the first edition of Gilchrist's excellent life of Blake, 1863." The significance of the *Book of Los*, according to Powell, is that along with "Ahania, Urizen, and probably the lost Oothoon, [it] reveals Blake's mystic Cosmogony and Mythology. . . . I first read and wrote out this poem in December 1874 from the British Museum copy, the only one known to me." A rare broadsheet illustrated and engraved by William Blake to accompany "Little Tom the Sailor," a ballad written by Blake's friend William Hayley, was also printed in the first issue of the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* for 1886 with a note by H. H. Gilchrist.
Horne's mentors for the magazine from 1886 were Lionel Johnson and Arthur Galton (1852–1921)—the latter once a Catholic priest, later at Oxford preliminary taking Anglican orders. Image, however, continued to exert influence on the magazine's direction. Galton, surely a faded name in our time, had some mild reputation as a historian with very decided views of a neo-classical and Arnoldian cast. Indeed, through Johnson and Galton, Arnold also became a presence. Galton consistently wrote essays to sway Horne's inward polemicising against the decline of standards in literature and literary reviewing, exemplified by such non-University men of letters as William Sharp and Edmund Gosse.

As early as 1886, the emphasis of the Guild and its periodical on early English music was anticipated by a piece on Arne. This was not peculiarly pioneering in view of the existence, for example, of the Purcell Society. Other concerns in the earlier issues include the revival of wood cut and the hand arts, a polemic against Impressionism in painting, conceived as Naturalist (as the earlier Impressionists themselves conceived it) and, at the far extreme, against the Royal Society for its exclusiveness. Other interests concern oil painting to the detriment of other arts, the refusal to admit "advanced" art and its betrayal of its teaching role.

The issues of 1886 to 1891 are notable also for Horne's architectural enthusiasms: severity and repose, those seventeenth-century accents he derived from Mackmurdo. Horne was as involved as were Mackmurdo and Image in the principle of "unity of arts"—the ground of polemic against the Royal Society—while Image in his various contributions to the Century Guild Hobby Horse stressed not merely music, but acting, literature and the dance as aspects of such unity.

Perhaps Horne's clearest expression of this principle may be gathered from the paper which he read to the students of the Whitechapel Craft School in April 1891 and which was
printed in the July 1891 issue of the Century Guild Hobby Horse. Defining his terms, Horne states early on in this paper 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." It is a distinction that is found in the Renaissance. From that period too derives the statement that "there are not many Arts. As there is but one proper study of mankind, which is man; so there is but one art; the art of a fine and various expression of the human spirit, multipartite sed indivisibilis, of many forms, no doubt, but ever impossible to divide." And refuting objections such as "I am concerned only with cabinet making," or "I only with modelling: and what has modelling, or cabinet making to do with literature, or with music?" Horne returns:

Little or nothing . . . 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 practicing: but their interest and concern lay with the whole range of 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!

Loraine Hunt observes that "it is safe to say that every contributor to the Hobby Horse shared Horne's prejudice against 'popular' art and, like him, urged a return to the past for models worthy of emulation. Some advocated going back as far in time as ancient Greece; others recommended the Medieval period or the Renaissance; and a few were satisfied
with retreating only to the years before the Industrial Revolution. All, however, agreed that contemporary art—plastic, pictorial, and graphic—was inferior to that of a past time. 66

Certainly, the associated sensibility in an associated society was as much a dream of the Aesthetes as of twentieth-century literary critics.

Architects were advised by Horne to take Inigo Jones as a model:

He has commonly been accused of studying . . . buildings for the sake of archaeology: 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. . . . 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 "hushed 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. . . . You [modern architects] 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 . . . 7

In the issues of 1887 we encounter the early twinges of decadence. Two sonnets by John Addington Symonds on Narcissus and Baldur treat their subjects in the manner that might be expected from that lover of blue-breeched gondoliers not as yet at rest "in Aretino's bosom." Horne's continued enthusiasm for Symonds (whose studies in the Italian Renaissance were of course relevant) and later for Dowson was supported by Johnson, while Johnson and Image also shared Horne's early enthusiasm for Pater.

Pater indeed was approached by Horne for the contribution, but the offer was politely declined on the plea of pressure of work. Image and Johnson both reviewed volumes of Pater for the periodical. Horne's increasing preoccupation with
book production and the antiquarian, moreover, were marked by contributions from Alfred W. Pollard on old title-pages and later on Greek types. (Image, in fact, designed a distinguished type for this mode.)

By 1888 the magazine, after a faltering start, had established a respected identity. Yet at this point it seems to have suffered a crisis of fortunes. Probably that was as much financial as editorial, though Galton continuously admonished and encouraged Horne, much to Horne's exasperation. During this period, Galton indeed was writing several letters a week full of angry pomp, baroque patronage and scowling pedantry. We learn of the crisis through one of Galton's letters dated 22 April 1888, though only one side of the correspondence survives. The publisher of the *Century Guild Hobby Horse*, Kegan Paul, was involved. Some notes on sales and a cost in Horne's hand, preserved in the archive of the Museo Horne, Florence, remain suggestive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost of No. IX</th>
<th>25.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>9.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kegan Paul for printing etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>15.</td>
<td>12.</td>
<td>0.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration on the average</td>
<td>17.</td>
<td>0.</td>
<td>0.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sales of No.</th>
<th>307</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sales of 600 to July cover costs (100)

This covers the period from April 1887 to January 1888. According to the records of the Museo Horne, sales did not improve until April 1888. In a letter to Lilian Block, Mackmurdo stated that "the *Hobby Horse* was sold only to annual subscribers; it never quite reached 500 subscribers." This is a
more robust figure certainly than Horne records. A letter from Lionel Johnson to Campbell Dodgson indicates that the situation continued to cause concern: "By the way, they are financially in a perilous way: of your charity, take in the Hobby Horse! ten shillings a year! do!¹⁰

The immediate outcome of the crisis (we may compare the case of the Germ) was an agonising reappraisal of the title. Although Galton, Gladstone and others expressed opinions (Galton surely expressed them at great length) and canvassed various names—Prospero, Hesperia, Atlantis, Pallas, Palladium and Saturnia, to say nothing of Formosa—the original title was preserved, even if there were now few references to the Guild from which the periodical had derived its origin and which it had been intended to publicize.

Another editorial crisis smouldered between January and March 1889. The participants were Horne and Galton, with Johnson mediating. The precise cause of the dispute was Galton's essay on William Sharp, which violated Horne's notion that individuals should not be attacked, though the essay actually appeared later that same year in muted form. Horne's position is Paterian in its evasion of raw polemic. One criticises by implication or omission. Galton, moreover, was void of his master Arnold's delicate ironies. Writing on 18 March 1889, Johnson attempted to excuse the angry pomp of Galton's letters to Horne:

I will only say that Galton is not as other men are, in all ways. When he disputes, controverts, contends, it must be in a "fine last century manner," which implies a certain stately plain speaking with every regard for the felicities of style, and none for the feelings of an opponent.¹¹

In the autumn of 1889, Horne was absent in Italy, assembling notions for his Chapel of the Ascension shortly to be built in Bayswater. Image was therefore largely responsible for
the preparation of the October issue, though working to a schedule prepared by Horne. The July issue, besides being heavily laced with Pre-Raphaelitism, had also included two illustrations from the *Hyperotomachia*. This work with its bizarre and exquisite images was to influence the book design and illustration of the 1890s, Charles Ricketts particularly. The central article is by Pollard on Geoffrey Tory, "Scholar, Printer and Engraver." A finely printed reproduction of Tory's *Book of Hours* and rubricated letter headings accompany it. Pollard comments on the inadvisability of complex symbolism in book design, stressing instead single type and visible clarity, both criteria of Horne's and Image's book designs in the 1890s and later of Horne's own book on design, though not of certain work of Ricketts, or Wilde's *The House of Pomegranates*. However, the "Contemporary Notes" in this issue contain a warm notice of the first issue of the *Dial*. Image's discussion of Renaissance printers, such as Aldine, Basile and Plantine, is somewhat belletristic in comparison with Pollard's piece, but remains notable for insisting on the notion of total beauty in the book: binding, paper, printing, capitals, and adornments.

In the October 1890 issue, the decadent note becomes more pronounced. Its most substantial exemplar is J. A. Symonds's translation of Bion's pastoral elegy, the "Lament for Adonis," with which Horne assisted considerably. The metre is a twelve to fifteen-syllabled line with unrhymed feminine endings to suggest the hexameters of the original, while a subdued alliteration runs through in compensation for the absence of strict quantity. The most felt passages relate to the description of Adonis's beauty in death. Johnson approved both of the issue and of Symonds's version. And well he might, for to that same issue he contributed a poem, "In Praise of Youth," "which touches, I trust, with delicacy upon Greek virtue and Greek voce. Have you seen Symonds's article on Platonic Love? It is barely decent: the man is an absolute
Priapus, a very Satyr." The allusion is to a piece in the *Artist and Journal of Home Culture*, still pursuing its discreetly antinomian course under Charles Kains-Jackson. Both Johnson and Symonds subscribed to the important (but rationalizing) distinction between Uranian (non-physical) and Pandemian homosexuality, though in Symonds's case that ideal was mostly observed in the breach.

The ideal might refer to an ascending ladder of love, from sight of the beloved to union with the spiritual beauty of the One, but this notion could be readily used as a rhetoric of seduction, a process down the ladder of love from sight to touch and taste. The point is made in a poem by Percy L. Osborn, "Echelle D'Eros," contributed to the *Spirit Lamp*, where the last step of the ladder is described as

l'union complete;
L'extase des corps et des coeurs,
Et je ne sais quelles langueurs.

Alfred Douglas, the editor, described one of Osborn's poems as charming and observed of another: "if ever I feel an inclination to make a short sojourn in one of Her Majesty's jails, I shall seize the opportunity of printing it." And in the upshot, Douglas seems to have seized the opportunity. It was all a question of tone, and the *Spirit Lamp* was an Oxford periodical in an Oxford distinctly secularised and now accustomed to the language of the "new chivalry."

By 1877 long past were the days of the Oxford Professorship of Poetry, when the forces of tradition rallied against the "English Decadents," Pater and Symonds and the Aesthetes. Symonds in the first edition of his *Studies in the Greek Poets* (1876) had lingered over the love of Achilles and Patroclus, praised the Dorians, had distinguished Uranian Love from the celebration of mere *instrumenta libidinis* and organized a not specially convincing attitude to Strato's *Musa Puerilis*. The
sharp reaction of 1877, however, had forced him, no less than Pater, not merely into revision, but into omission for later editions. Johnson's poem is more discreet, though less so than the version later published in Poems (1895) and with some irony dedicated to Alfred Douglas. (The dedication was prudently omitted in the collected edition of Johnson's poems published in 1915.) There are references, suitably generalised, to "full lips" and "shapely limbs"; but the young men of the poem are, like a clutch of Hippolytuses, athletic and pious, even though their religion seems to owe more to St. Aloysius, Oxford, than to any Attic fane. It is their aristocratic distance as well as accessible visual beauty that makes possible a progress up the ladder of love, though not of course for those not "up" at the University. Their glimpses sting only the lower passion:

To be their friend, the common throng
Would dare all bounds of right and wrong . . .
But vain! In no unlovely pride,
They hold together, side by side.

At night, in the sole stanza not muffled by delicacy,

Almost the murmuring sea is hushed:
Their eye on fire, their bright limbs flushed,
They dominate the night with love:
While the stars burn and flash above,
These kindle through the dark such flame,
As if not seen, and hath no name:
Can night bear more? Can nature bend
In benediction without end,
Over this love of friend for friend?14

The namelessness of this passion recalls Lord Alfred Douglas's poem "Two Loves," contributed in 1894 to the Chameleon which tells of "The love that dare not speak its name."
Mackmurdo returned as a contributor to the issue of October 1890, with a review article on Charles Herbert Moore's *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*, a piece exhibiting some uncontrolled *kulturgeschichte*. Johnson was supercilious about the author's prose in a letter to Galton:

Mackmurdo is wonderful: the incomprehensible jargon of aesthetics and positivist dogma; the torrent of abstract nouns, and incongruous adjectives; the formless, ill-sounding and illiterate sentences; all this is marvelous, and, like the piece of God, it passeth all understanding. Beautiful words like "figuration" and "climatical" flourish upon every page.15

Granting that Mackmurdo's style was sometimes clumsy, this is occasionally a consequence of attempting to say rather more than his Oxford censors. To this issue Horne offered a review of a new edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, where the "Thorn" and the lines on "Tintern Abbey" are isolated as Wordsworth's most powerful contributions: the poles certainly of that volume.

The issue of January 1891 appeared a month late, but was highly distinguished. The contents confirm what the "decadent" contributions had suggested, that the mood of the 1890s was being established. The frontispiece was an uncharacteristic painting by Watts entitled *A Roman Lady in the Decadence of the Empire*. Additionally Ernest Dowson contributed for the first time and Johnson furnishes a poem in early Christian Latin, a species of verse and language popular among *fin de siècle* authors.

In his note on Watts's painting, Horne stressed the classicizing of the theme. He used the Arnoldian vocabulary of Attic, Asiatic and Corinthian, though at the same time he alluded to Reynolds's distinction in the *Discourses* between the ornamental in Renaissance painting (the Venetian) and the grandly simple (the Roman). The painting is as usual the starting point of an excursus on the state of present-day art
and the necessity for principles of order and unity. There are architectural accessories to Watts's painting, and this allows Horne to generalise: architecture provides the closest index to the "spirit of the Age" and the late nineteenth century is flagrantly Corinthian in its insistence on accumulating the greatest amount of detail in every available space. The argument then returns to Reynolds and veers away from the simple Pre-Raphaelite rejection of Academic Art, whether Raphael or the art of those eclectic painters, like the Carracci, who tried to combine in their work the various excellencies of the sixteenth century. The earlier sixteenth century itself, the Roman Renaissance, was by no means effete conventionally; it was more Attic than we imagine. Indeed, will later generations not find in it more human interest and less sentimentality? There is a nineteenth-century classicism that remains entirely human, entirely natural while still preserving the grand manner. Wordsworth's *Laodamia* is cited here, and thus more rapid shifts from one art to another.

True, nineteenth-century classicism consists in a sophisticatedly harmonious relationship of part to whole. And all this we have heard before; it seems an oddly oblique way of discussing the painting, though the reproduction helps one pass from general to particular. Watts's success in this painting, according to Horne, lies in "the freshness of its form, and the harmony of its masses." Watts has concentrated simply on pose and gesture; there is little ornament, no elaborate detail (such as we should find in the archeological realism of Edward Poynter or Lawrence Alma-Tadema).

Horne's obituary appreciation of Bell Scott, if too indulgent, too much the act of piety, is full at least of information. Some criticism may be involved in the opening generalisation about the Scots as typical Northerners taking rather to intellectual speculation than to sensual impression and being more concerned with the elaboration of conception than utter-
Horne's remarks on Scott's verse and his relation to Rossetti are interesting. The firmest characteristic of the verse, the macabre, is peculiarly Northern. This when united with some tincture of Blake produces Scott's finest lyric, "Memory," a rather pallid little poem, but with the unpretentious elegance that might be expected to appeal to Horne. Horne does not scruple to refer to Scott's "genius"—using the word presumably in the sense of his vis or gift of personality—but is more objective when he asks us to remember the state of taste when Scott was developing his gift: "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." Horne also has to stabilize the definition of Pre-Raphaelite: Scott he sees as conforming to Ruskin's definition, "the portrayal of Nature as it was around them, with the help of modern science." If this is a comprehensive definition of the Pre-Raphaelite aim, much that was popularly attributed to the movement, Horne argues, was partially its outcome. Such a definition would, if rigidly applied, include Madox Brown, but almost entirely exclude Rossetti.

Johnson's poem, honouring the Elizabethan Catholic Martyrs of Winchester, is written in five-line stanzas of acataleptic iambic dimeter, rhyming aabb. This is a metre common to the earlier Christian poets (Ambroise d'Evreux, Sedulius Scottus, and Venantius Fortunatus) in whom, however, it remains predominantly quantitative rather than
In Remy de Gourmont's words, Saint Ambrose is regarded as having deliberately "disregarded the Horatian principle and so marking the birth of a new mentality."

Of course such interest in early medieval Latin poetry is very characteristic of the 1880s and 1890s. It extended both to criticism and to actual attempts at revival. The immediately influential statements are French. The hero of Huysmans's *A Rebours* (1884) has a cult of early Christian Latin poetry. This is picked up by the hero of George Moore's *A Mere Accident* (1887) and finds a more scholarly vent in Remy de Gourmont's *Latin Mystique* (1892). Early Christian poetry is closely connected with the idea of Decadence. Historical consciousness in the nineteenth century had led to both English and French writers finding parallels between late antiquity and their own age. In France, this occurs (polemically) as early as the 1830s in the criticism of Désiré Nisard. *Marius the Epicurean* (1885) is an English example. Gradually, however, the definition of Decadence seems to veer away from any conception of Empires falling through political and moral corruption: literary decadence begins to be viewed as innovation, as renewal almost, rather than decay. When John Butler Yeats called the poets of his son's time "a generation of Hamlets" he may well have had in mind a view of Hamlet as sacrificial victim, as scapegoat. The point here is that as the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* begins to become open to *fin de siècle* influences, the appearance of an early Christian type of Latin poem altogether symptomatic.

Johnson's poem is, for example, at once a glorification of the Wykehamist Martyrs of the English Reformation and of the Virgin Mary. The poem's central image is probably that fine medieval statue of the Virgin crowned, the holy child in her arms, which still survives in the niche above the outer gate of the school. It is not the most successful of Johnson's Latin
poems and the innocent reader is hardly likely to respond to parochial puns, such as

Quam dulce nomen personat
Domous! et nostra superat
Domus terrestres caeteras:
O domus dulcis! floreas.\(^7\)

The reference is to the monastic origin of the College of St. Mary of Winchester and to one of the school songs. The poem is in the form of a prayer to the three martyrs, who include the famous Father Garnet. The theme consists in a contrast between the earthly and redeemable city of Winchester and the Heavenly City where the Martyrs live, protectors and intercessors.

Dowson's casuistical *A Case of Conscience* has all the characteristics of his short stories: the present is rarely held in bold relief; a mood is evoked rather than a narrative presented; a set of impressions which confirm the notion that the will is either powerless to affect their course, and if asserted is disastrous. *A Case of Conscience* is as usual semi-biographical with its drifting hero's love for a girl-child who is innocent and inaccessible. The finical punctuation and syntax notable in Galton, Image and Johnson is prolonged to its extreme in Dowson. Johnson's "A Note Upon the Practice and Theory of Verse at the Present Time Obtaining in France" has at its aim discussion of "the schools, to which belong, not it may be thought too happily, the names of *decadence* or of *symbolisme.*" Johnson's summary is admittedly based on those of the French critic Anton Lange, and the range involves Wagner and colour-audition. Symbolism itself is defined as "a recognition in things of a double-significance, not the mere natural fact, but the thing as it is in thought."\(^8\) The definition might satisfy Image's criterion of imaginative art, but all mention of vertical
Herbert Horne

correspondences is omitted, and lateral correspondences are only touched on to the degree cited by Lange.

The dialectical relation of symbolism to decadence and naturalism is not boldly defined as it was to be in Symons's article in *Harper's Magazine* of 1893, nor is the importance of Schopenhauer's influence recognised. The drift of the article is towards the familiar polemic against "the vague and vicious talk about the arts, in which the terms of one are misapplied to the other." The oddest omission is Blake, who must have been in Johnson's mind about this time since he was lending some mild assistance to Yeats and Ellis in their elaborate wrestlings with Blake's "symbolic system." Shannon, who had edited the first issue of the *Dial*, contributed to this issue a frontispiece which Johnson "disliked furiously," perhaps as a pallid study of a nude but more likely because of its quasi-impressionist origins: "Its technical excellence, I am told, is great; but that is nothing, without the fine interest, and the charming dignity possessed by all true works of art."¹⁸

"The Hobby Horse is, for once, on its way to a speedy publication: a good number, but most indecent. Mackmurdo [sic] has written another monstrous article, for July," so wrote Johnson to Galton on 5 April 1891. The indecency is barely dramatic: the disquiet of Galton seeing himself in the glass. The classical and austere were always at war with the decadent Johnson. The two contributions which prompted his comment were Shannon's illustration based in approved 1890s style on the Vulgate version of the *Song of Songs* VII.2 and Dowson's famous *Non Sum Qualis Eram Bonae Sub Regno Cynarae*. Dowson was himself dubious about its reception. "It looks less indecent in print," he wrote to a friend while passing proof of the poem, "but I am still nervous! though I admire Horne's audacity."²⁰ Certainly the torrid matter and the control of metre fulfill Horne's prescription for art.
Johnson, as his poem "Upon a Drawing" indicates, would have found Simeon Solomon's androgynous Bacchus used as frontispiece to the July number more to his taste. It has been visited with high praise by Pater in the first edition of The Renaissance and is now in the Birmingham Art Gallery. Galton, like Johnson, frequently agonised about the decadent tone of the Hobby Horse: "Will not the frontispiece be thought lewd?"

Horne's article on Edward Calvert was precipitated by the recent life of Calvert by his son, in addition to acquisitions by the British Museum. The article reaffirms the importance of Blake and his "visionary" disciples, no less than Millet, for the Century Guild circle, for those later connected with the Dial and the Pageant, and later for W. B. Yeats, though Gustave Moreau was still to be added to the canon. Calvert, like Blake's other, more talented disciples, did not imitate the master; indeed Calvert and the others concentrated on landscape painting, an area in which Blake was at his least typical, though later Blake's influence on Calvert extended to engravings on copper, wood and stone. Not imitations, but full of the "spirit" of Blake, Horne found Calvert's landscapes more mysterious and sensuous than those of Blake: the "devout and curious expression of a spiritual theme, by the means of sensuous images," a definition of a distinctly symbolist tinge.

Horne's second contribution, a paper read to art students of the Whitechapel Craft School, stresses familiar themes: the heresy of progress in the arts; the corruptness of modern taste; the importance of tradition; the affirmation that Art embraces the arts of design. Johnson's piece on French verse is reinforced by two chansons by Gustave Khan in irregularly rhymed verse: "very musical and very misty," so Johnson terms them.

In the October 1891 number, Johnson discusses Robert Bridges, predictably approved of by the Guild, though not
without reservation. The stress lies on Bridges's capacity, like the Elizabethans, to write for music. The contrast is with the many modern lyrists of the "wandering cry," those "who go up into the mountain to weep or rage rather than to pray." Symonds discusses a Tiepolo altar-piece; but the most distinguished contributions are Dowson's three poems: "Fleur de la Lune," "The Carmelite Nuns of the Perpetual Adoration" and "Amore Umbratilis."

The dominant article in this issue is, however, Alfred W. Pollard's "Some Remarks on the History of Greek Types, and Upon the Reasons of Their General Lack of Beauty." Pollard argues that the farther "we depart from the Greek manuscripts of the fifteenth century and the nearer we approach to those of the tenth, the more likely are we to find the beauty of form . . . Greek printing has hitherto so signally failed to attain." Pollard includes in illustration several examples of Greek type and manuscript along with a few lines penned by Image which Pollard considers in many respects ideal. Image had independently acted on a theory similar to Pollard's in basing his own script on tenth-century prototypes and was approached a few months later by Macmillan's with a view to designing a new font of Greek of which specimens were to be given in the *Hobby Horse* (1894).

Altogether this issue maintained a good standard, but at the close of 1891 Horne was superseded as editor. In November, Johnson informed Galton

that unfortunate paper . . . has passed out of Horne's hands, and Mackmurdo is, technically and financially, sole editor and proprietor; but one half of the paper will always be literary, under the informal management of Image and myself. Since neither of us was willing to take the responsibility of becoming editor this plan seemed the best; but I do not prophesy long life to the *Hobby Horse* under so vague a scheme."

Galton's reaction to Mackmurdo's assumption of control was distinctly negative and he tried to persuade Horne to continue
to act, but Horne and Mackmurdo had by this time quarrelled definitively.

The general standard of the January 1892 issue was certainly lower than that of its immediate predecessors and Barclay Squire, the musicologist, wrote to Horne: "What a falling-off in the Hobby Horse since you left! I shouldn't think it would live a year if the other numbers are like the first: 10 p.—though cheap under your editorship—is dear when one only gets bad punctuation for one's money." William Morris was the most distinguished of the contributors, with a reprint of his lecture on "The Influence of Building Materials on Architecture." Like the early issues of 1886–1887, the 1892 volume stresses the Guild's allegiances with the Arts and Crafts rather than the scholarly and "modern" literary contributions readers had come to expect under Horne's direction.

The circle of contributors to the January and the two other issues of 1892 was certainly wider and certainly less distinguished than formerly. Two members of the Rhymers' Club, Le Gallienne and Ernest Rhys, appear for the first time, along with Dollie Radford, the wife of another member. But Horne's interests were still represented in the 1892 volume (though they were Image's also). A New Poet by Charles Sayle (a friend of Lionel Johnson) celebrates the "Uranian" sonnets of John Gambril Nicholson, though Sayle polemically finds them "natural" and "healthy." Anthony Deane's article was occasioned by a police raid on an exhibition of paintings illustrating Rabelais. Pressure had been applied by the Purity League and its secretary, the Reverend Joseph Parker, was referred to by Dowson as "that greasy pestilential fellow." Parker was noted for his moral opposition to the theatre and Deane, like Image and Horne, was violently opposed to the Purity League. This issue was to be the last with which Mackmurdo had any connection.
Early in 1893, Elkin Mathews and John Lane issued a circular for prospective subscribers to a new series of the *Century Guild Hobby Horse*. The magazine was to continue in quarterly numbers and the price was to be one pound in order to "publish what was formerly issued in half-private manner, and without regard to loss." The *Studio* carried a similar announcement.

The first number of this new series appeared early in 1893, printed by Folkard and Son and published in the United States by Copeland and Day of Boston. The binding of the volume 1893–1894 resembles that of the *Century Guild Hobby Horse*, printed on the invariable blue-grey Ingres paper. A knight in left profile carries a quiver and a swirling banner which occupies the upper portion of the design (a motif related to Horne's designs for *Diversi Colores* and Image's *Poems and Carols*). Not surprisingly the knight is mounted on a Hobby Horse, beneath whose decorative caparison his spurred feet are clearly visible. The cloth bears the device of a blindfolded Eros, with the motto "Amore Vincit Omnia" repeated in initials. Horne may have been aware of the tradition of blind Amor as sensual love, but the winged youth is actually shooting his arrows in the air. The general shape of the design is of a rectangle within a rectangle, aligned to the rectangular preference in book design of Horne's associates in the Century Guild. The ornaments were also designed by Horne, and the general impression of the new series is quiet and austere, in part due to a more disciplined management of type. The words "Century Guild" were dropped from the title. The magazine was now financially on its own. Not only had the partnership between Horne and Mackmurdo been dissolved, but the Guild itself had by this time petered out.

The new series suggests a return to the antiquarian basis of the 1890 and 1891 volumes, reflecting Horne's intensifying interest in art history. From the fantasia of Adam Legendre,
Horne moves to active work in archives, as in his papers on Inigo Jones and Balthazar Gerbier. Predictably, Horne prefers Jones above Wren, who was tainted with the Baroque; he attends to the machinery of Jones's masques, utilizing the Chatsworth drawings. Gerbier's obscure and varied career, as secret diplomat and agent for King Charles's art collection, clearly fascinates Horne. In addition, A. J. Hipkins discussed the musical instruments of the angels in early Italian painting in the National Gallery; Louis Dyer examined Image's designs for Greek types (based on Image's own notes), confessedly an elaboration of Pollard's views and prescriptively using tenth-century manuscript examples. Arnold Dolmetsch followed with a piece on a consort of viols, the viola d'amore, then lyra-viol and the viola da gamba.

Only three issues of the *Hobby Horse* appeared and no announcement was printed about its suspension. Perhaps Horne's interest in archive work proved decisive, or perhaps the break between Lane and Mathews which occurred in 1894 played some part. In April 1894, the first number of the *Yellow Book* appeared and this may be somewhat remotely considered as the successor of the *Hobby Horse*, though a purely commercial rather than a partly private venture.

Horne's own contributions to the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* have so far been viewed in the context and rhythm of each issue rather than for their own sake. The more important articles, though, demand fuller attention—particularly the preface contributed to the issue of January 1889, which so kindled the disapproval of both Galton and Johnson. This is in the nature of a radical credo—exhibiting allegiance to various (and to some degree opposing) masters (Ruskin, Morris, Arnold, Pater), not merely because Horne himself had learned from each, but also because he wished to reconcile the views of others involved in the magazine's direction.
First, the preface fulfills Horne's prescription that tendencies not individuals should be attacked, and if individuals are alluded to, it should be in general terms, not for their particular sins but for their broad ideological submission. The preface attempts a positive approach, though opening with an oblique attack on current orthodoxies, in particular the stress on the duty that art owed to morality, which Horne traces to the Puritan reaction to the Carolean ideal of "manners and beauty." He suggests that it is these qualities rather than morality that art should now be embodying: "At any one moment in the life of a nation the need of morality may seem to be paramount; but a study of its continued history will show that it has other needs of equal importance." And turning to the chief feature of contemporary art, its commercialization, not unconnected with English puritanism, Horne argues that commercialized art will soon cease to be art in any real sense: "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 workmen have used them." After his bracing moment of Ruskin and Morris, Horne argues that far from commerce agrandising empires, it destroys both empires and arts. He then turns with some abruptness to the other principal enemy of contemporary art: French art and literature.

True, this enemy is not governed by commercial interests, nor can it be argued that its practitioners take no pleasure in their work. But that work is not truly artistic, for it is conceived in the spirit of science. The allusion here is clearly to Impressionism and Naturalism. Horne's polemic is rendered formulaically: Art submits things to the mind; science submits the mind to things. Zola analyzes social disease but confessedly leaves the remedy to the legislator. The artist, according to him, is essentially disinterested. Against this Horne urges that "In the successive histories of Greece, Rome, medieval 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 only quality constantly recurs, the endeavour after fine interest." We then proceed to Arnold with the onset of "inner culture" representing "the refining away of all that hinders in us the spiritual faculty," and from there to a definition of style: "the delicate balance between the matter to be expressed and the manner of expressing it," of which Virgil remains the palmary example.

Horne then turns to his favourite theme: the centrality of architecture, both metaphorically and actually. "It is not until we come to the study of Architecture," he says, "that the conditions of the highest Art are unmistakably and irrefutably brought before us." The greatest qualities of Art, we are told, are the consequences of much discipline, and Horne alludes to, but does not quote, the first sentence of Vitruvius's Ten Books of Architecture: "The architect should be equipped with knowledge of many branches of study and varied kinds of learning, for it is by his judgement that all work done by the other arts is put to the test." Architecture is queen of the arts (which can hardly have pleased those ambitious littérateurs, Galton and Johnson). Indeed architecture is the total art and by analogy the architect is the total artist. As the modulator of our environment, his work remains of supreme civic importance.

Judgment consists—it is the essence of Horne's criticism of any of the arts—in knowledge of how to relate parts to the whole, so ensuring fitness, harmony, proportion, and symmetry. The final success of sculpture and the decorative arts is impossible without the architectural sense. And as Horne's early note on the architectural principle in Bach's Fugues and Milton's Sampson Agonistes indicates, he invariably applies this species of "form criticism" to past as well as to contemporary works of art, whether discussing the new reredos at St.
Paul's, pointing out the human proportions and the relationship of part to part of the cathedral's west front, or in contrasting St. Mary-Le-Strand with the superficially imposing but actually confused new erections in Northumberland Avenue; or, again, as in this preface, where he condemns a new statue of General Gordon. The point is unmistakable: artists should master the more difficult sense of mass in architecture before turning to the other arts.

By a somewhat sharp transition, Horne proceeds to define the title of the magazine and its mode of polemic. There can be no compromise "in the matter of the fundamental immutable principles of Art, but in the manner of their individual expression, what we playfully call 'men's hobbies,' those have their place." Then by yet another rapid transition, we pass to the familiar complaint that while it is usual to place the fine arts in relation, particularly in architectural relation, to one another, what of the decorative, or minor architectural arts? At this point, intoning disconcertingly, Pater appears:

In charming us into activity, they [the arts] 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 to this end, looking forward to no Utopia, but to that day when Art, neither severed nor discarded, shall steadily burn as with one flame, and assuredly be counted among the number of the divine consolatories.26

Yet this apocalypse of total art is not the clausulum; rather the preface closes gloomily and elliptically with the remark that partial success only can be expected owing to the nature of the age.

It remains ironic that Horne was not altogether able to embody his own prescriptions as to symmetry in this piece. If the transitions are abrupt, the prose is alternately crabbed and
vatically vague. Horne had little of Image's limpid gift for exposition of general ideas.

About the other articles not touched on, it is possible to be more summary. The three segments of the essay on James Gibbs's life and public works (January, April and July, 1889) are notable for an early use of archive material at the Soane Museum and elsewhere. It is unfortunate, according to Horne, that as to the second of Gibbs's two really fine buildings, the Radcliffe Camera, the germ of the design and the notion of the square around it, are now given to Nicholas Hawksmoor, an architect of whom Horne has little good to say.

What is intriguing about the article on the new reredos at St. Paul's is the question of Horne's attitude to Bernini and the Baroque. Gibbs's talent, we are told, had been nurtured by contact with Bernini's principles of art through Carlo Fontana, by contact, so Horne expresses it, with the best of late Renaissance art. But elsewhere Horne's view is that the true heirs of Renaissance architecture are English, not Italian: Jones and Wren. Nevertheless Horne praises the skillful placing of the "colossal statues" which stand above the bases of the campanili, especially the manner in which we think of them as "figures only a little above the life." "We may see in it," he continues, a little defensively perhaps, the "'ultima manus' or if we are people entirely of this country, as a mere trick." Though Horne's first visit to Italy lay a year ahead, some obscure conversion has already occurred.

It is true that these figures, in Horne's view, are not the consequence of a facile wrenching of perspective. But why do they impress the eye with a "visionary grandeur"? Perhaps because the effect is not mere illusionism, but grows out of Wren's deliberate use of scale in the whole of the West front. The deception of the eye is organically related to its ambience. Horne measures by the imagined figure of a man standing in relation to the façade. But the assertion might have been more
convincing if Horne had distinguished Wren’s effect at St. Paul’s with those figures scenographically poised over the colonnade of St. Peter’s in Rome. Bernini, besides subordinating the arts to architecture—his baldichino at St. Peter’s would have also made a relevant comparison—had an anthropomorphic conception of the art of building. But perhaps Horne approved of him as a small scale sculptor and painter. At all events he seems to have sufficiently mellowed towards the great seicento artist in later years, for in the catalogue of the Museo Horne, No. 117, there appears Bernini’s _Angels in Glory_, an unfinished model in terracotta.

In October 1887 a remarkable woodcut by Selwyn Image entitled _Hiems_ figured in an issue of the _Century Guild Hobby Horse_. It consisted of a hooded barefoot figure extending her hands over a fire, whose writhing flames are reminiscent of Art Nouveau. A large tree, whose roots extend across the bottom of the design, frame the figure on left, and two additional trees behind establish a woodland setting. Two birds who nestle in branches above and in the foreground render the negative white shapes of flowers silhouetted against the dark tones of tree bark. This distinctly unusual, though not altogether untraditional, use of woodcut was sharply attacked in the _Pall Mall Gazette_ of 17 October 1887.

Horne offered a response to this attack in the following issue of his magazine, a piece entitled "Some Remarks on the Principles of Wood-Cutting." A defensive stress is laid upon abstract autonomy of line and mass and on the principle of fidelity to material. The argument, in fact, is as forward-looking as Image’s _Hiems_ itself. Rejecting a naturalistic mode of representation, Horne suggests that the woodcutter can take advantage of the medium’s very limitations. The main fault, so he sees it, of contemporary woodcutting lies in imitating wash drawing: "Indeed, anything is aimed at but a delight in the precious quality [woodcutting] possesses, the vigour of the
black and white." Two main approaches to woodcutting are distinguished: the draughtsman's, of which a typical example is Poliphilo's *Hypernorotomachia* and the preferred method; the engraver's, the manner of Blake and Thomas Bewick, where no division exists between artist and engraver.

A letter to Fairfax Murray of 25 October 1891 provides something of a *terminus ab quo* for Horne's serious interest in Italian archive work. In that letter, he speaks of entering into a series of biographies illustrating the history of art in England from 1500 to 1750; this would be done with the help of his friend Lionel Cust (later the Surveyor of the King's Pictures). The first volume was to have included the life of Torrigiano, the sculptor who worked for Henry VIII, and Horne asks Murray to look at three contracts and a letter in the Florentine archives which Milanesi mentions in the notes to his edition of Vasari.

Under the pseudonym of Lyell Aubryson, Horne published some delicate pastiche of seventeenth-century archive material, "The Papers of Adam Legendre," in the 1890 and 1891 volumes of the *Century Guild Hobby Horse*. It represents a middleground between the Paterian *Imaginary Portrait* and the patient archival evidence that was to support Horne's great book on Botticelli. Like Pater's *Imaginary Portraits*, Legendre's letters become mythicized autobiography, relating to Horne's farewell to the muse of poetry. Legendre is acting at court an antic role in D'Avenant's masque *Salmacida Spolia* when he hears the news of his beloved's death:

> The while these things were proceeding to their Issue, came one Booted and Spurr'd, forcing his way, with much ado, through that Crowd of Gallants, and whispering to my Ear, that she was suddenly departed out of this World, who was the End and Reason of my Continuance therein. And that same instant, was I nam'd for my Entry; and so constrain'd, as I was, in a clownish Habit of the fantastical Shape, which could be devis'd to enact the Drolleries of my Part, and with a thousand apish Mows conceal my true Countenance; until such
Time as a Shift in the Scene should discover the King, under the character of Philogenes, the healing Wisdom of his People. In the confusion of that moment, stealing away unperceiv'd, and allowing myself scarce time enough for a change of Habit, I cal'd for a Horse and rode Night and Day until I had reacht Gataker. 29

In later years we read Adam Legendre becomes an enigmatic recluse, "a cloistered man . . . too Saturnine even for my kindest friend," as he himself observes, the description fore­shadowing Horne's later phase. 30

That the years 1890 and 1891 were crucial in Horne's movement from Pre-Raphaelite "imagination" can be significantly shown in the field of Medieval and Renaissance music and instruments. Where Rossetti's "titherns and citoles" are mere stunning words or subordinate elements in a painting, Horne's interest, fortuitously perhaps, was practically directed.

Horne and Arnold Dolmetsch met first in June 1890 when Horne attended a pupil's concert given by Dolmetsch at the Portman Rooms. Horne wrote congratulating Dolmetsch on the performance and enclosed a copy of the Century Guild Hobby Horse. Dolmetsch was delighted and by return thanked Horne for his support, promising to call within a few days. It marked the beginning of a friendship which, despite one major disagreement, was to last till Horne's death. The precise cause of that disagreement we do not know, but the gap in the correspondence between the two men extends from 1899 to 1914. For much of this period, though, Dolmetsch was in the United States, while Horne was mainly in Italy. Dolmetsch certainly regretted the break; he had an acute respect for Horne and remained always grateful for Horne's constant assistance. It was Horne who organized Dolmetsch's first concert at the Fitzroy Settlement on 19 December 1891, and it was Horne who published Dolmetsch's article on the Consort Viols in the Hobby Horse (1893). This article and the other concerts that followed during the decade without doubt
established Dolmetsch's reputation as the recognised pioneer in the revival of early European music.

Through such concerts, Dolmetsch came into touch with Burne-Jones, who brought Morris to hear Dolmetsch for the first time. Morris it appears felt an immediate affinity with this such as he had never experienced with any other music and was soon on friendly terms with Dolmetsch. It was Morris who was responsible for Dolmetsch being made a member of the Art Worker's Guild, probably in 1894, while in 1896 he encouraged Dolmetsch to make his first harpsichord for the Arts and Crafts Exhibition of 1896. This was the famous "green" harpsichord, decorated by Horne, Helen Combe and Selwyn Image. That it should be Morris and not Horne who actively encouraged the re-creation of this instrument is significant. Through association with Mackmurdo and with Morris himself, Horne must have controlled the principle on which Morris worked: the mastery of dead skills by reconstruction from objects and from old manuals. Horne, however, despite his assistance in decorating the "green" harpsichord, was probably less concerned now with re-creation than with the original object tout court.

In 1896 and 1897, Horne influenced Dr. Ludwig Mond (later Chairman of I.C.I.) to sponsor the tour of Italy of Dolmetsch and his family "consort." There are frequent references also in Dolmetsch's letters to manuscripts in the museums of Florence and Bologna which Horne had copied and sent to him. The surviving letters between the two men reveal a sharp contrast of personalities. Dolmetsch trusts Horne with many personal confidences, speaking with an engaging frankness of his wife's health, of his divorce problems, of quarrels with critics and of recurrent financial difficulties. Dolmetsch's fluctuating moods are all vividly expressed. The comparatively few letters that survive from Horne to Dolmetsch betray little of the writer's emotions. Kindly and
precise, they attend firmly to the matter in hand. Dolmetsch may well have sensed some answering quality in Horne which remains absent from his letters. The range of his letters was probably limited by the fact that Dolmetsch belonged neither to literary Bohemia nor to the world of art historians and collectors out of which gossip could be accomplished. But Horne may well have glimpsed a younger, more naïve and idealistic self mirrored in Dolmetsch, along with other attributes prized and now lost. The nature of the affinity between the two men is at all events not discoverable in the record.
The Binding of Books

Herbert P. Horne

fig. 6.1 *The Binding of Books*, title-page design