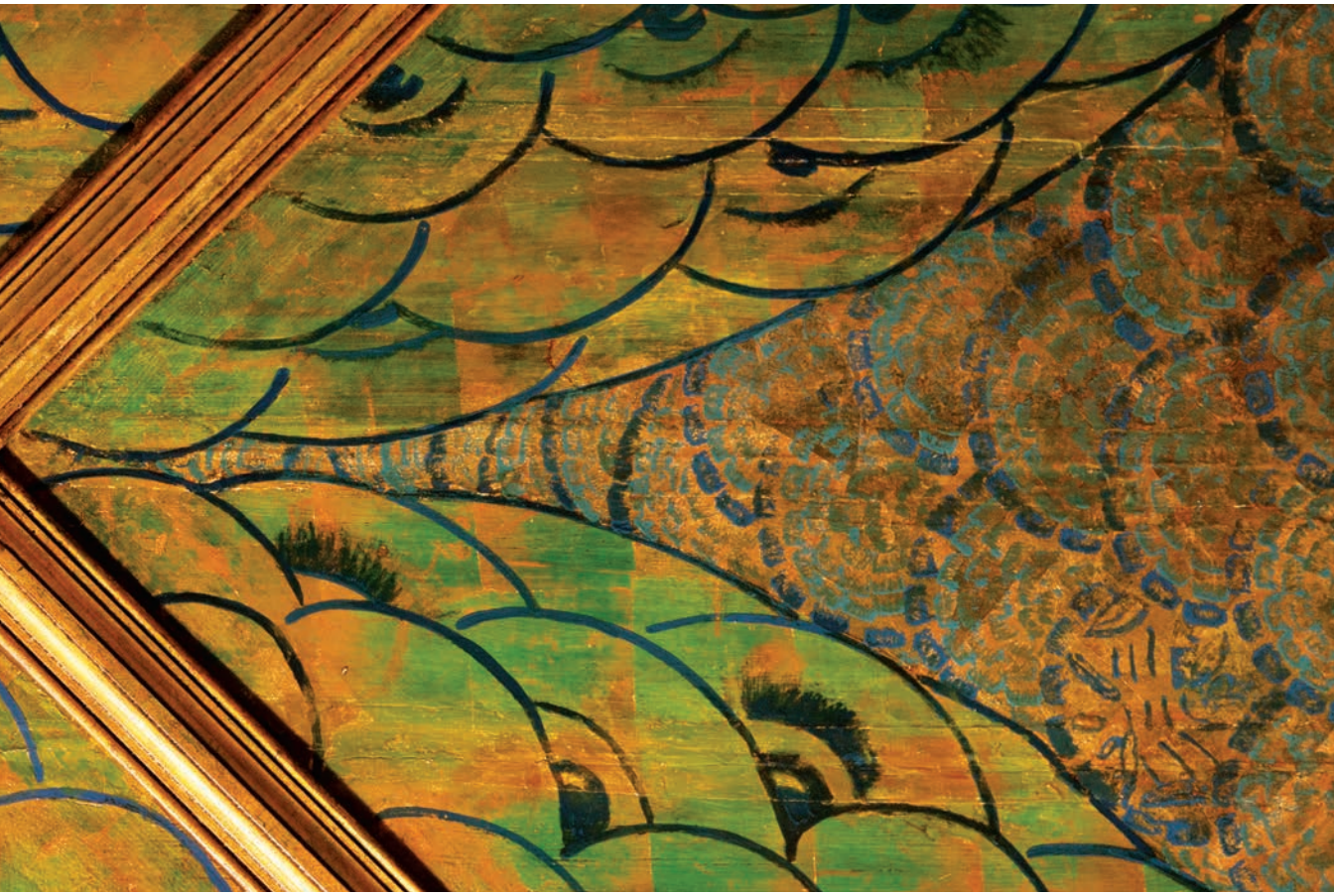
Palaces of Art

Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism



Edited by
Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill

Palaces of Art

Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism

Edited by
Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill

A Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge

Smithsonian Institution
Scholarly Press

Washington DC
2013

FREER | SACKLER
THE SMITHSONIAN'S MUSEUMS OF ASIAN ART

Lunder Consortium FOR WHISTLER STUDIES

The "Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism" symposium was held at the Freer Gallery of Art and was made possible by the generosity of the Lunder Foundation.

Published by
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION SCHOLARLY PRESS
P.O. Box 37012, MRC 957
Washington, D.C. 20013-7012
www.scholarlypress.si.edu

Compilation copyright © 2013 Smithsonian Institution

The acknowledgments, "The Whistler Etchings Project," "The Artist as Muse," "Interior Motives: Whistler's Studio and Symbolist Mythmaking," and "Networks of Modernism: A New Look at Whistler in Japan," are in the public domain. The rights to all other text and images in this publication, including cover and interior designs, are owned either by the Smithsonian Institution, by contributing authors, or by third parties. Fair use of materials is permitted for personal, educational, or noncommercial purposes. Users must cite author and source of content, must not alter or modify copyrighted content, and must comply with all other terms or restrictions that may be applicable. Users are responsible for securing permission from a rights holder for any other use.

Cover image: James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876–1877. Detail of ceiling. Oil paint and gold leaf on canvas, leather, and wood, 421.6 × 613.4 × 1026.2 cm. (overall). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

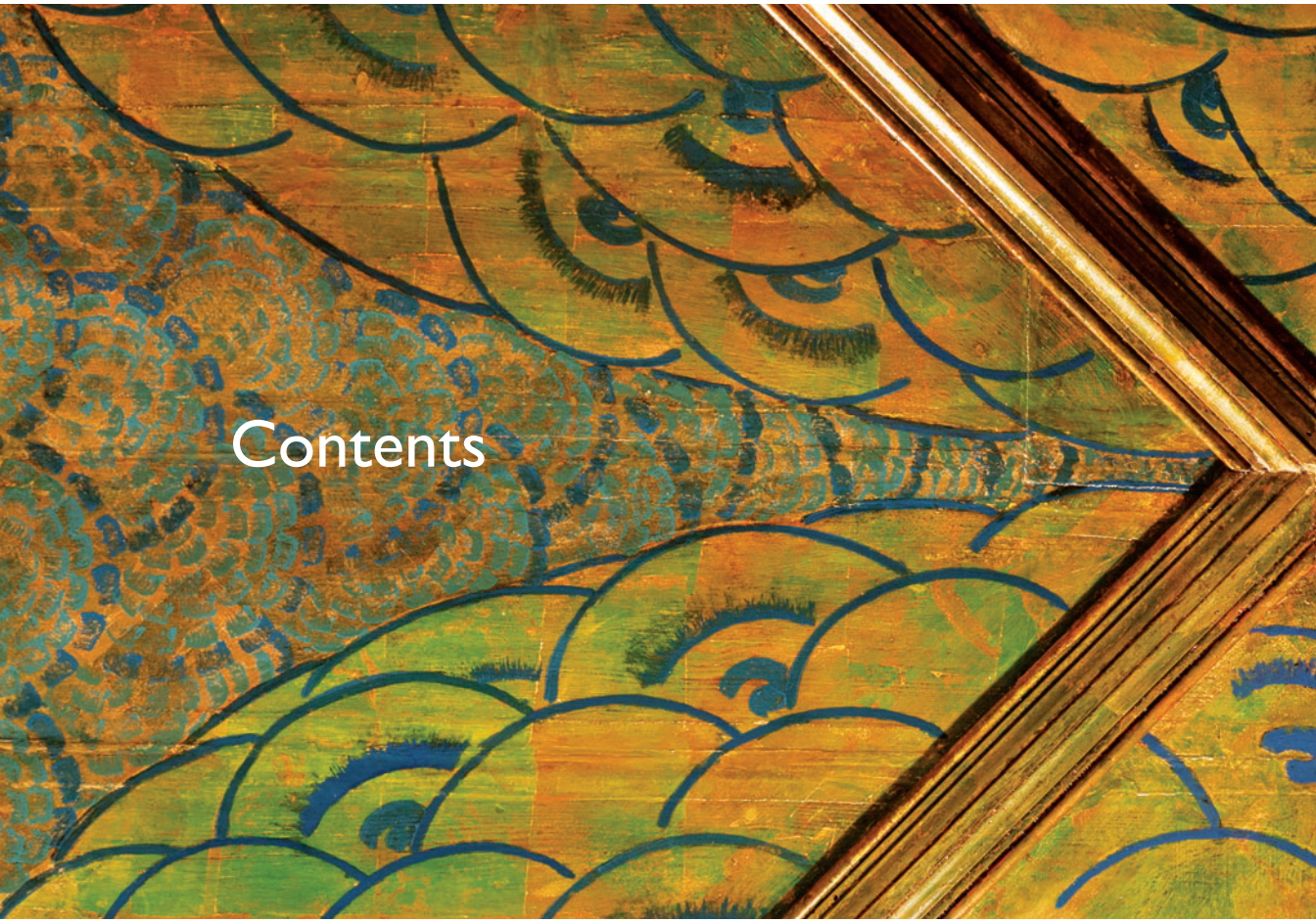
Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism (Symposium) (2011 : Freer Gallery of Art)
Palaces of art : Whistler and the art worlds of aestheticism / Edited by Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill.
pages cm. -- (A Smithsonian contribution to knowledge)
Includes index.
ISBN 978-1-935623-29-8 (pbk. : alk. paper) -- ISBN 978-1-935623-31-1 (ebook) 1. Aesthetic movement (Art)--Congresses. 2. Whistler, James McNeill, 1834-1903--Congresses. I. Glazer, Lee (Lee Stephens), editor of compilation. II. Merrill, Linda, 1959- editor of compilation. III. Title.
N6767.5.A3P35 2013
759.13--dc23
2013013749

ISBN-13 Print: 978-1-935623-29-8
ISBN-13 Online: 978-1-935623-31-1

Printed in the United States of America

♾ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48–1992.

Palaces of Art



Contents

Preface vii
Lee Glazer
Acknowledgments viii
Abbreviations viii
Introduction 1
Lee Glazer and Margaret R. Laster
Whistler in the Art World of the Twenty-First Century 13
The Artist as Muse 15
Ruth Fine
The Whistler Etchings Project 27
Margaret F. MacDonald
Whistler and Art of the Americas 39
Erica E. Hirshler
Inside the Palace of Art: Whistler's Aesthetic Subjectivities 53
Subject and Object in Whistler: The Context of Physiological Aesthetics 55
Caroline Arscott
Whistler's Peacock Room and the Artist as Magus 67
Sally-Anne Huxtable
Interior Motives: Whistler's Studio and Symbolist Mythmaking 81
John Siewert
Whistler's Paris Studio: Place and Meaning 93
Anna Gruetzner Robins
Other Voices, Other Rooms: Beyond Whistlerian Aestheticism 105
Aesthetes on Display: "Not Masculine and Progressive but Reclusive and Retrospective" 107
Susan P. Casteras
Displaying Aestheticism's Bric-a-Brac: Rossetti's Material and Virtual Goods 121
Julie Codell
Aestheticism Meets Arts and Crafts: Decorative Art on Display 135
Imogen Hart
Outside the Palace of Art: Global Networks of Aestheticism 147
Whistler, Aestheticism, and the Networked World 149
Melody Barnett Deusner
Networks of Modernism: A New Look at Whistler in Japan 165
Ayako Ono
Enlisting Aestheticism: Beauty, Valor, and the Great War 173
Linda Merrill
Bibliography 187
Contributors 199
Index 205

Preface

This volume brings together papers that were first presented in October 2011 at an international symposium held at the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery of Art. Made possible by the generosity of the Lunder Foundation, "Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism" was the inaugural event of the Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies, a scholarly partnership founded in 2010 by the Freer Gallery, the Colby College Museum of Art, and the University of Glasgow. The Art Institute of Chicago joined in 2012. As caretakers of the world's largest collections of the work of James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903), the consortium is not only dedicated to supporting and disseminating new research on the American expatriate artist but also encouraging scholarship that moves beyond monographic or biographical approaches to consider the various "art worlds" in which Whistler and his contemporaries operated. The diversity of topics and methodologies deployed at this landmark conference reflected this expansive, pluralizing approach. In addition to reflecting on Whistler's place in the history of art, speakers considered such diverse topics as the construction of aesthetic subjectivities, the relationship between Aestheticism and commodity culture, and the role of global networks in the transmission and reception of Whistlerian style.

Gathered together, these conference proceedings challenge preconceptions about Aestheticism and Whistler's place within the Aesthetic movement. This notoriously thin-skinned painter, who had a particular talent for "the gentle art of making enemies," was also profoundly interconnected to a cosmopolitan array of artists, writers, collectors, and dealers. Here, authors convincingly overturn the long-held notion of Whistler as an eccentric loner who operated outside of conventional art historical narratives, whether American, British, or modernist. Networks, mutual influences, collaborative endeavors, and the enduring power of artistic creation and aesthetic attention are some of the themes that recur throughout this book. Far from being conclusive, these essays open up the field of Whistler studies and will doubtless inspire new work on Whistler's aesthetic vision and the complexity of his cultural contexts.

Lee Glazer
Associate Curator of American Art
Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery

Acknowledgments

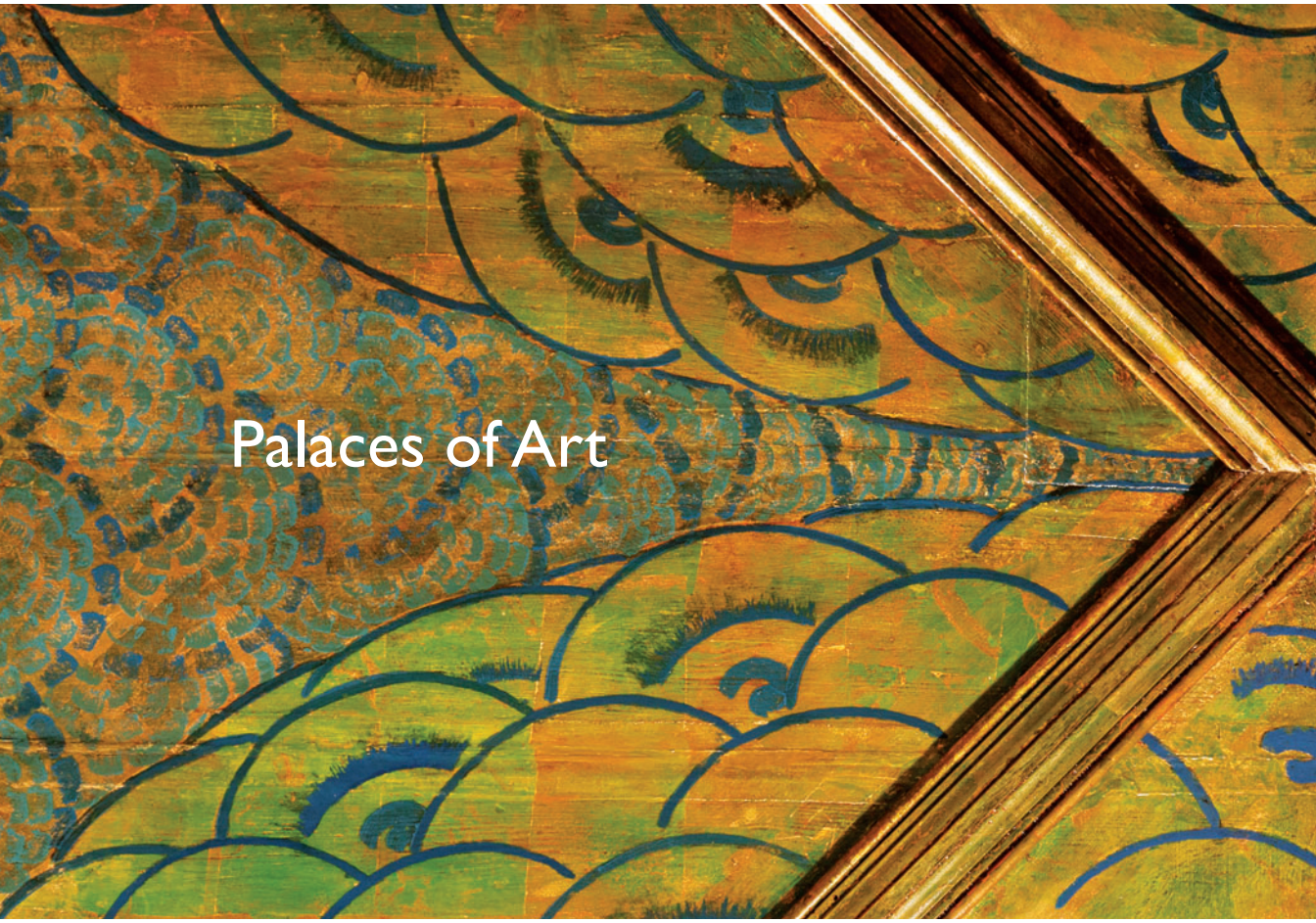
The Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies—comprising the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery of Art, the Colby College Museum of Art, the University of Glasgow, and the Art Institute of Chicago—is dedicated to producing and disseminating innovative research on the art of James McNeill Whistler and his international circle of contemporaries. We are exceedingly grateful to the Lunder Foundation, whose generosity allowed for the creation of the consortium in 2010, and to Peter and Paula Lunder personally for their unstinting support of this important collaboration. This book and the 2011 symposium at the Freer Gallery of Art from which it developed demonstrate the Lunder Consortium's commitment to broadening scholarship around the Aesthetic period, and we owe a huge debt of gratitude to our contributors as well as those who attended the conference for helping us realize our mission.

We are also grateful to Julian Raby, The Dame Jillian Sackler Director of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art, and Massumeh Farhad, chief curator, whose enthusiasm for Whistler and American art in a museum better known for its Asian collections was instrumental in making the conference the best attended scholarly symposium in the Freer's history. Margaret R. Laster, the consortium's first doctoral fellow, developed the conference theme and put together a top-notch program, and Tyler Boenecke, the Lunder Consortium program assistant, handled countless logistical and administrative details with poise and skill. Adina Brosnan-McGee created a fittingly elegant graphic identity for the consortium, and Jenna Vaccaro did the initial image research for the publication. Maya Foo, curatorial specialist at the Freer and Sackler, deserves special recognition for her deft management of conference and publication matters too numerous to list. All of this work would have been impossible without the guiding wisdom of the consortium's founding partners, namely, Sharon Corwin, Elizabeth Finch, and Lauren Lessing at Colby and Pamela Robertson, Margaret F. MacDonald, and Patricia de Montfort at the University of Glasgow. Finally, we are grateful to Ginger Strader and Deborah Stultz at the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, who ably guided us through the preparation of the manuscript and its production.

Abbreviations

C	The Art Institute of Chicago. *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler.* Vol. 1, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, edited by Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi; catalogue entries by Nesta R. Spink, Harriet K. Stratis, and Martha Tedeschi. Essays by Katharine Lochnan. Vol. 2, *Correspondence and Technical Studies,* edited by Martha Tedeschi; essays by Nicholas Smale and Harriet K. Stratis; contributions by David Kiehl and Kevin Sharp. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial, 1998.
FGAA	Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Charles Lang Freer Papers.

G	Margaret F. MacDonald, Grischka Petri, Meg Hausberg, and Joanna Meacock. *James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, a Catalogue Raisonné*. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2011. Online edition at http://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk.
GUL	Glasgow University Library, Glasgow, Scotland. Unless stated otherwise, this refers to the Whistler Collection, Special Collections.
GUW	*The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903,* edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort, and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855–1880,* edited by Georgia Toutziari. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003–2010. Online edition at http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence.
M	Margaret F. MacDonald. *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours; A Catalogue Raisonné*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
PWC	Pennell-Whistler Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
Whistler, *The Gentle Art*	James McNeill Whistler. *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*. 2nd ed. London: W. Heinemann, 1892.
Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*	James McNeill Whistler. *Mr. Whistler's "Ten O'Clock."* Delivered 1885. London: Chatto and Windus, 1888. Reprint, London: Pallas Athene, 2011.
YMSM	Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles. *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.



Palaces of Art

Introduction

Lee Glazer and Margaret R. Laster

The title of this collection of essays riffs on Tennyson's poem "The Palace of Art," in which the reader is taken on a lengthy verbal tour of a lavishly decorated "pleasure-house" where the speaker aspires to live in "God-like isolation," absorbed only in the contemplation of beauty.[1] Although he finally acknowledges the selfishness and futility of his desire to inhabit a self-created world apart, the speaker's longing for a purely artistic realm retained its potency, both in the final lines of the poem itself and in its afterlife in the Victorian imagination. The phrase "palace of art" became a figure of speech signifying the artfully decorated interiors of the Aesthetic movement and the escapist aspirations of its adherents. The use of the plural "palaces" and "art worlds" invoked here, in a book about James McNeill Whistler (Figure 1) and his coevals, is intended to problematize these notions of artistic autonomy and escapism and function as a shorthand acknowledgement of the varied and complex nature of Aestheticism as it is considered by our authors.

We regard it as especially fitting that their essays began as talks delivered at a symposium held in the fall of 2011 at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, where Whistler's Peacock Room (Figure 2) has been on permanent display since the museum opened in 1923. There is perhaps no more iconic embodiment of a palace of art than this storied space, the only extant example of interior decoration by Whistler. When the expatriate American redecorated the dining room of his patron Frederick Richards Leyland as a "harmony in blue and gold," he never doubted its place in the history of art as an inviolable "heirloom of the artist." Its complex intertwining of patterns and synthesis of multicultural, transhistorical references represented the artist's idea that "the story of the beautiful is already complete."[2] For Whistler—to shift back to Tennyson's architectural metaphor—the Peacock Room was intended as a room in the "Palace of Art," existing in a realm apart from the particularities of time, place, and historical circumstance. As he declared to Leyland, "The work just created, *alone remains* the fact—and that it happened in the house of this one or that one is merely the anecdote."[3]

Whistler anticipated—even encouraged—the anecdotes that followed, but he could never have imagined the room's dynamic future history. Rather than remaining static over the last 130 years, the Peacock Room has undergone a variety of geographical and stylistic incarnations to suit the changing tastes of its owners and audiences, proving surprisingly amenable to new contexts and interpretations. Indeed, the Peacock Room, far from being self-sufficient and "already complete," demonstrates that stories of the beautiful are continually retold, shaped by individual biography; travel; the circulation of artistic objects; critical reception; and social, commercial, and aesthetic networks. Whistler's canonical room, and the spatial, social, and decorative issues that it engages as an extant Aesthetic interior, became, in effect, an emblem for our symposium. In addition to the fact that some of the papers proposed new interpretations of the Peacock Room, the site itself also allowed those who participated in the symposium, and those who attended

FIGURE 1. James McNeill Whistler, 1885. Photogravure attributed to Mortimer Menpes (1859–1938). Signed with the butterfly and inscribed by Whistler, probably in 1899, "To Charles L. Freer—à un de ces jours!" Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Washington, DC.

it, a uniquely charged aesthetic encounter, an experience we hope to build upon in the expanded discussions that follow.

Stories of the Room

Before it became a work of art, the Peacock Room had been designed by the architect Thomas Jeckyll to showcase Leyland's collection of blue-and-white Kangxi porcelain.[4] In this iteration, the room was a Victorian version of the Rococo *porzellanzimmer*: it featured brightly patterned leather wall hangings, pendant gaslights evoking Chinese lanterns, and an extensive lattice of shelving. In 1876 and 1877, Whistler, inspired by the brilliant colors and sinuous patterns on the blue-and-white pots, transformed it from a porcelain cabinet into a total work of art, signified by the abstract primary title: *Harmony in Blue and Gold.* This was the version of the room that Leyland, despite his famous falling out with the artist, lived with until his death in 1892.

When its future owner, the American collector Charles Lang Freer (Figure 3), saw the room for the first time in 1902, its shelves were bare (Figure 4). The pots had been sold by Leyland's estate, and the current resident of Prince's Gate, Blanche Watney, was not a "chinamaniac." But Freer did not care for

FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876–1877. Oil paint and gold leaf on canvas, leather, and wood, 421.6 × 613.4 × 1026.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

FIGURE 3. Charles Lang Freer, ca. 1901. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Washington, DC.

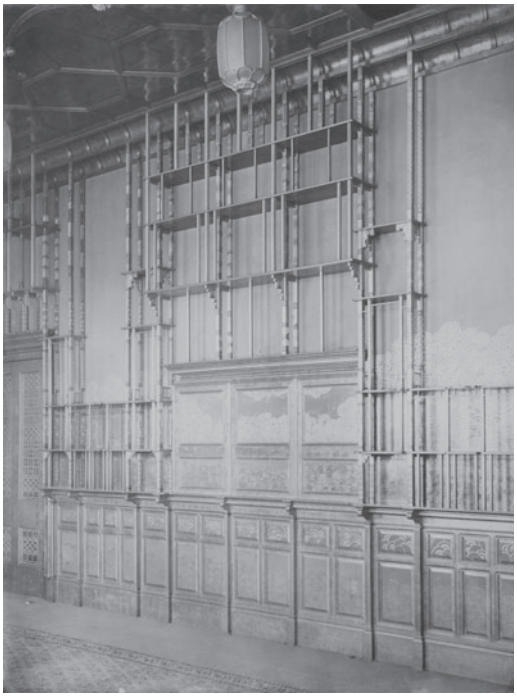


FIGURE 4. Peacock Room in London, 1904. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Washington, DC.

blue-and-white porcelain, in any case, finding its colors too bright and its surfaces too slick. Perhaps he also saw chinamania—and the extravagant decorations themselves—as an embarrassingly Victorian relic. So, when he ultimately bought the room in 1904, it was from a sense of duty to his old friend Whistler.

After sailing across the Atlantic in twenty-seven crates, the room was reassembled in a specially built annex to Freer's Detroit mansion. There he eventually transformed it into a staging area for his collections and a space where he could develop his concept of universal formal correspondences—what he called "points of contact"—between American and Asian art. Unlike the room's original owner and its creator, for whom China and Japan were places of pure fantasy, Freer made five trips to Asia, and some of the pieces he displayed in the Peacock Room were purchased during these travels. Many more, however, were acquired in New York and Paris from dealers (some Western, some Japanese, with outposts in New York and Boston) whose wares extended far beyond the Kangxi export porcelain favored by Whistler and Leyland. Freer was not simply using the room as open storage for his vast collection. Rather, he was treating it as an aesthetic laboratory, experimenting with various chromatic arrangements, often seeming to treat the pots, as Louise Cort has observed, as strokes of color on a vast, three-dimensional canvas (see Figures 5 and 6).[5] Freer was so pleased with the overall effect that in 1908 he commissioned a series of photographs (Figures 7 and 8), which formed the basis for a special exhibition in 2011, *The Peacock Room Comes to America*.[6]

Following Freer's death in 1919, the Peacock Room was transported to the Freer Gallery, and for its first sixty years in Washington, it remained almost empty, with no more than a half dozen ceramics drawn from Freer's collection occupying the uppermost shelves. It was not until 1984 that David Curry, then curator of American art, installed

FIGURE 5. Peacock Room, 2011, at the Freer Gallery of Art, installed with Charles Lang Freer's ceramics. Photo courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 6. Peacock Room, detail. Photo courtesy Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

a few pieces of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain as part of an exhibition celebrating the sesquicentenary of Whistler's birth.[7] A few years later, the Peacock Room underwent a major conservation campaign, revealing chromatic harmonies that had long been obscured by decades of grime and providing a brilliant new backdrop for the display of Chinese porcelain. Under the direction of the curator, Linda Merrill, dozens more pieces of Kangxi porcelain were acquired, restoring some semblance of the room's appearance in Whistler's day (see Figure 2). It was a revelation, allowing visitors a more complete understanding of how the room fit into Whistler's oeuvre and the larger context of Victorian art, and that version of the room, on view from 1993 until 2011, is the one that most scholars and museum visitors are familiar with. So the reinstallation of the room for *The Peacock Room Comes to America* came as something of a shock: an iconic Aesthetic masterpiece radically changed in appearance, its Whistlerian decorations recontextualized to fit a later chapter in the room's history (see Figures 5 and 6). Participants in the 2011 symposium debated the aesthetic advantages and historiographic justifications of the different installations, and several speakers proposed new interpretations. The Peacock Room, with its varied objects and its complicated "biography" (to borrow Linda Merrill's apt term), continues to provoke questions about our changing attitudes toward art and those involved in creating it. In short, it embodies just how permeable the walls of the "Palace of Art" can be. This idea is the unifying thread that binds together the diverse essays in this book, which add to an extensive and ever-growing body of scholarship on Whistler and his varied points of contact.

FIGURE 7. Peacock Room in Detroit, 1908. Photograph by George R. Swain. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Washington, DC.

FIGURE 8. Peacock Room in Detroit, 1908. Photograph by George R. Swain. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Washington, DC.

The State of the Field

The symposium "Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism" was the inaugural event of the Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies, a scholarly partnership founded in 2010 by the Freer Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution, the Colby College Museum of Art, and the University of Glasgow. The Art Institute of Chicago joined in 2012.[8] As caretakers of what are collectively the world's largest holdings of the works of James McNeill Whistler, the consortium is dedicated to supporting and presenting new scholarship on this artist and the milieus in which he worked, aiming to

expand Whistler studies beyond traditional art historical boundaries. The contributors to these proceedings—academic scholars and museum curators—are all art historians, yet they provide a diversity of perspectives and engage an eclectic range of materials and methods in exploring Whistler's place within the varied "art worlds" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the opening essay, Ruth Fine speaks eloquently about Whistler as "an intellectual and aesthetic muse." Surveying some thirty years of scholarship, she takes note of the many books, articles, catalogues raisonnés, exhibitions, and symposia that have been devoted to Whistler's artistic output. This efflorescence of Whistler scholarship in the past three decades, along with the abundance and availability of related primary documents online, has done more than make fundamental resources almost universally accessible: it has allowed scholars to focus on analysis, interpretation, and questions of context, moving beyond the monographic and into comparative, interdisciplinary, and cross-cultural realms.

Our authors also engage with a wider range of materials and are less concerned with distinguishing high art from craft, decoration, and commercial culture than was common in the past. Indeed, the ways in which Whistlerian aestheticism overlaps with or has been expropriated into these other realms is one of the unifying themes of this book. In addition to considering examples from Whistler's own prodigious output of prints, paintings, and drawings, our authors look at jewelry, costume, wallpaper, ceramic tiles, cartoons, greeting cards, and quasi-scientific photographs of artists' hands. They explore and reinterpret a number of decorative interiors, including canonical Aesthetic spaces such as the Peacock Room, Whistler's studios, and the Grosvenor Gallery, as well as some unexpected ones: transatlantic steamer ships and YMCA rest huts for American soldiers. In taking a more inclusive look at Whistler, many of our contributors have adopted an interdisciplinary approach, reflecting more general shifts in humanities scholarship in recent decades and suggesting new avenues for further inquiry. Literary studies, philosophy, the history of science, theories of management, gender studies, and even theories of everyday life come to the fore in many of our authors' analyses. Twenty-first-century technology, too, is a key element, facilitating much of the new research presented here. Margaret MacDonald's discussion of the Whistler Etchings Project, for instance, shows how digital images and online cataloging has simultaneously revivified connoisseurship and expanded audiences. Throughout this book, our contributors navigate complex, often interconnected—and occasionally contradictory—aesthetic and art historical fields. Yet, despite the diversity of topics, themes, and methodologies, the volume is bound by a common desire to situate Whistler within a more inclusive narrative of modern art and cultural modernity. Exploring a dense, multivalent matrix of art worlds, our authors help clarify nuances of late nineteenth-century Aesthetic practices and Whistler's place in the international Aesthetic movement, as well as in the broader worlds of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century culture.

From Eccentric to Interconnected

Although peripatetic and famously cosmopolitan, Whistler spent most of his professional life in London. As a result, for much of the twentieth century, Whistler studies were largely the province of British scholars, and his art was understood primarily as a

reaction against the Victorian tendency toward moralizing narrative. Inestimably influential to the next generation of painters, interior designers, writers, and collectors on both sides of the Atlantic and in Japan, Whistler has nevertheless been difficult to place in subsequent art historical narratives of modernism. Of course, Whistler insisted on his singularity, which he regarded as a sign of originality and authenticity. In the *Ten O'Clock* lecture, delivered in 1885, he described the archetypal artist as a "dreamer apart," his world "completely severed" from that of his "fellow-creatures."[9] Victorian critics reinforced this notion, emphasizing what a writer for the *London Express* called Whistler's "oddities and eccentricities."[10] As Ayako Ono notes in her essay, "Networks of Modernism: A New Look at Whistler in Japan," the idea of Whistler's distinctive, unassimilable qualities was exported all the way to Japan, where he was emulated by Meiji artists as a model of modern Western artistic originality. Even his japonisme was characterized there, of all places, as a function of his "eccentricity" rather than an instance of cosmopolitan artistic borrowing.

This legacy has also affected Whistler's place within the Aesthetic movement in Britain. Although Whistler has always been an iconic figure in discussions of Aestheticism, two bodies of discourse—Aestheticism (within which monographic Whistler studies are often a subset) and accounts of the Aesthetic movement—have all too frequently been considered in isolation, both from each other and from broader art historical narratives. The Aesthetic movement was fundamentally commercial and social in its intent and reach, arising as a response to consumer culture by shaping popular taste, creating markets for new commodities, and promising to reform and uplift society by making beauty accessible. Aestheticism, on the other hand, was an artistic philosophy and praxis that grew out of Kantian idealism and asserted the autonomy of art: Art for Art's Sake.[11] Although Whistler himself may not have used the phrase "Art for Art's Sake," he advanced that philosophy through his pictures and writings, in his attempts to control the atmosphere and setting in which his art was displayed, and in the fiery rhetoric of his public defense of his artistic method. Consider his pronouncement that art should not be encumbered by instructive overlay: "She [Art] is, withal, selfishly occupied with her own perfection only—having no desire to teach—seeking and finding the beautiful in all conditions and in all times."[12] Art historian Elizabeth Prettejohn reminds us that the term Art for Art's Sake, and the artistic praxis it enunciates, is "tautologous, or intentionally meaningless," serving to underscore "the problem of what art might be if it is not for the sake of anything else."[13]

The question of content, when art has no ostensible subject and is self-referential, is central to modernism, and the perceptual stance that such art requires is one topic explored by our authors. Yet the very ideas of retreat and interiority, and the related idea of formal harmony (as opposed to moralizing narrative, for example), naturally lent themselves to practical applications in the decoration of interiors, both public and private. Perhaps this is why "decoration" accrued such a complicated significance in the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, it could imply superficiality or, even worse, a connection to bourgeois consumption and the mundane world of commodity culture: Aesthetic decoration was both promoted and parodied in the popular media. On the other hand, a parallel discourse posited décor and decoration as forms of artistic expression more authentic than easel painting. Because it was part of a totalizing ensemble, decoration was understood as transcending objecthood—and commodification.

As Christine Poggi has pointed out, "the term *decoration* had assumed a nearly mys-

tical significance" for the French Symbolists, who linked decoration to a privileged realm of imagination and feeling.[14] The Symbolists were influenced in this regard by the work of Whistler, a connection examined by John Siewert and Anna Gruetzner Robins. Thus, as Imogen Hart argues, the ideals of Art for Art's Sake and the Aesthetic movement need not be seen as altogether oppositional. They share concerns about the rhetoric and conditions of display as well as a more rarified interest in beauty. As Susan Casteras and Julie Codell emphasize, the philosophy of Aestheticism and the Aesthetic movement both defined themselves through a complicated, often conflicted relationship to popular consumer culture.

By expanding and dismantling certain long-standing categories, contributions to these proceedings reinforce the idea that Whistler and his colleagues in the Aesthetic movement did not create a self-enclosed palace of art, despite their claims to artistic autonomy. Howard S. Becker observed in his seminal 1982 study *Art Worlds* that artists are never the "dreamers apart" envisioned by Whistler. Rather, as Becker notes, they

> depend on dealers, collectors, and museum curators for exhibition space and financial support; on critics and aestheticians for the rationale for what they do; on the state for the patronage, or even the adventitious tax laws which persuade collectors to buy works and donate them to the public; on members of the public to respond to the work emotionally; and on other patrons, contemporary and past, who created the tradition which makes the backdrop against which their work makes sense.[15]

Our authors reveal that Whistler and his circles functioned within interconnected, often transnational webs of associations, described by Melody Barnett Deusner and Ayako Ono as "networks"—a term, Deusner points out, that arose from the complex, but increasingly systematized, business structures of the Victorian period. Aesthetic networks were constituted by the institutions that exhibited and sold the artists' work; an art market generated by international exhibitions; the proliferation of art criticism and art journals; and the new aesthetic, personal, and professional connections emerging from the fact of ever-widening travel on the part of both artists and collectors. Such developments tended to blur national boundaries and challenge the idea that artists like Whistler were isolates, preoccupied only with aesthetic concerns.

Paradoxically, as scholars have raised our awareness of Whistler's many social and artistic connections and his cosmopolitan reach, it becomes even more challenging to place him securely within any one category or canon. That conundrum is the subject of Erica Hirshler's essay, "Whistler and Art of the Americas," which addresses one of the prevailing issues of this volume, articulated by John Siewert as "an art historical effort to *place* Whistler within Aestheticism and a larger modernist narrative." For Hirshler, a curator at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the problem was immediate and practical: where should the museum put Whistler on the gallery walls? Hirshler describes how, in the process of reinstalling the new Art of the Americas wing, Museum of Fine Arts curators made the decision to hang Whistler's paintings in a gallery devoted to the American Aesthetic movement and cosmopolitanism. "The display and its accompanying interpretative materials are designed to open intellectual doors among the arts of the United States, England, France, and Japan," Hirshler says. "Rather than standing apart from the art of his time, Whistler serves to bring its disparate strands together."

The Art Worlds of Aestheticism

The essays here are organized according to broad themes intended to call attention to these multiplicities and to suggest commonalities and connections as well. The opening essays situate Whistler in the context of the twenty-first century, surveying the state of the field, presenting new scholarship supported by new technology, and placing Whistler on the walls of the newly conceptualized museum. The tone of these papers is, perhaps, more personal than we are accustomed to in the world of scholarly writing: Ruth Fine goes beyond a review of recent scholarship to reflect on how and why Whistler has been such an enduring source of inspiration for academics and curators. An artist herself (as well as a distinguished scholar of modern art), Fine reminds us that even as the field of Whistler studies expands, bodies of information grow, and new methodologies flourish, the significance of the object and the role of the artist as creator and muse remain potent sources of mystery and wonder. On a lighter note, Fine bids adieu to Liquid Paper and the ubiquitous index card, acknowledging the development of technological tools for the art historian and setting the stage for Margaret MacDonald's introduction of the online etchings catalogue. MacDonald, whose contributions to the field are legendary, remains in some ways a traditionalist: having devoted her career to Whistler, she demonstrates the enduring value of specialization and connoisseurship, even while pioneering the use of new digital media as a scholarly resource. Her essay speaks to the advantages of having such an encyclopedic scholarly resource in an online format. The catalogue itself is an extraordinary tool: documenting the production, marketing, printing, exhibition, and collecting of Whistler's tremendous output of etchings, it provides a new virtual network, one that enables scholars to trace the histories of individual etchings from the time of their creation to the present day, thereby placing Whistler's prints in a broader and richer context, just as Hirshler does in her account of Whistler in "Whistler and Art of the Americas."

From Whistler's place in the twenty-first century, we move to the realm of aesthetic subjectivity, the vantage point from which Caroline Arscott, Sally-Anne Huxtable, John Siewert, and Anna Gruetzner Robins offer new readings of Whistler's artistic production. In "Subject and Object in Whistler: The Context of Physiological Aesthetics," Arscott looks at Whistler's Nocturnes through the lens of contemporaneous theories of embodied perception, showing how his foggy images of urban darkness might be read as "experimental setups to investigate subjective experience." Huxtable, drawing on the literature of alchemy, spiritualism, and metamorphosis, reinterprets the Peacock Room as the expression of Whistler's view of the artist as magus, who presides, sorcerer-like, over the self-enclosed space (which in this reading becomes a sort of objective correlative of the aesthetic imagination). Subjectivity and interiority are also at the heart of Siewert's and Robins's essays. Both authors take us into Whistler's Paris studio, an overdetermined space where Whistler both withdrew from the world into a purely aesthetic realm and constructed his professional persona for public consumption. This duality, Siewert observes in "Interior Motives," represents a fundamental dynamic in Whistler's art, in which opposing tendencies are not so much resolved as kept in a state of dynamic tension. His studio in Paris was the locus of fruitful interchange with the French Symbolists, as both authors observe. With its view of the Luxembourg Gardens and proximity to the museum where the portrait of his mother hung, Robins argues, it also carried a more personal meaning for Whistler as a place where he could commune with his absent mother and, through the distancing device

of his art, revisit his lonely childhood in evocative lithographs of isolated children and indifferent nannies.

In the next group of papers, Susan Casteras, Julie Codell, and Imogen Hart look at the Aesthetic movement more broadly. Their essays, which do not focus on Whistler, reveal how ideas and objects—especially those related to harmonious decorative ensembles—moved fluidly from one realm into another, accruing new meanings along the way. In "Aesthetes on Display," an exploration of the Aesthetic interior and its denizens, Casteras expands the terrain of the movement to encompass the self-presentation of Aesthetes in their drawing rooms and the generally derisive popular responses to their self-fashioning. Popular culture is also central to "Displaying Aestheticism's Bric-a-Brac," Codell's reading of Rossetti's paintings of the 1860s: rather than rejecting popular consumerism, she argues, Rossetti mined its obsession with bric-a-brac in an attempt to redefine and even "sanctify" it. In "Aestheticism Meets Arts and Crafts," Hart reads William Morris wallpapers as if they were paintings: their balanced harmonies, she explains, have "the potential to suspend the viewer's consciousness of time passing and to ground the viewer in the present moment."

The extension of aestheticism into other cultural arenas is also the subject of the final essays in this volume by Melody Barnett Deusner, Ayako Ono, and Linda Merrill. Deusner's "Whistler, Aestheticism, and the Networked World" offers a reading of the Peacock Room that underscores the "interconnection, organic expansion, and systematic organization" of the Aesthetic interior, comparing it to the business practices of its patrons and the "other networked social, technological, and economic systems that structured turn-of-the-century English and American life." Ono's "Networks of Modernism," meanwhile, moves beyond the world of Victorian and Gilded Age tycoons to turn-of-the-century Japan, where networks of Western and East Asian dealers, collectors, writers, and artists are shown to be as complex as the Victorian "reticulations" traced by Deusner. Ono's discussion provides an illuminating counterpoint to Deusner's analysis of the trans-Atlantic exchanges between Whistler and his patrons in Great Britain and the United States, demonstrating how the artist, his patrons, and his emulators participated in a global cultural network. Fittingly, Linda Merrill's concluding essay reminds us that Tennyson's "Palace of Art" was "not a simple paean to Art for Art's Sake, but an urgent appeal to the artist to practice social responsibility." She shows how American artists heeded this call to action during World War I, when aestheticist principles were enlisted to serve the American military. Walter Pater, whose presence looms large throughout this book, described the charms of aestheticism as "an inversion of homesickness … [an] incurable thirst for the sense of escape."[16] In the face of harsher realities, the Whistlerian rest huts that Merrill describes were intended to meet that need.

Collectively, these essays stimulate our thinking about the Aesthetic movement as a whole and about aestheticist artistic creations as more than self-referential objects of beauty. Many questions and issues remain about the unique character, career, and legacy of James McNeill Whistler, which the Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies will continue to explore. Nevertheless, we believe that this publication will make a significant contribution to a broader understanding of this artist, his work, the multifaceted art worlds in which he functioned, and their collective significance to the way we approach works of art in the twenty-first century.

Notes

1. For the full text see Alfred Tennyson, "The Palace of Art," in *Poetical Works* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 42–46.
2. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, 11, 29.
3. Whistler to Leyland, October 31 [1876], GUW 02575.
4. The definitive account of the room is Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
5. Louise Cort, "All Works of Art Go Together, Part I," under "Listen: The Peacock Room Comes to America," Smithsonian Institution, accessed May 4, 2013. http://asia.si.edu/explore/american/peacock/listen.asp.
6. See Lee Glazer, *The Peacock Room Comes to America* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2012), and the related website, "The Story of the Beautiful: Freer, Whistler, and Their Points of Contact," Smithsonian Institution and Wayne State University Libraries, accessed May 4, 2013, http://peacockroom.wayne.edu.
7. See David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1984), esp. 53–69.
8. Information on the Lunder Consortium, the symposium, and archived video of the talks are available on the Freer and Sackler website: http://asia.si.edu/events/lunder-Symposium.asp.
9. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, 11, 9.
10. "Whistler v. Ruskin," *London Express*, November 30, 1878, quoted in Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in* Whistler v. Ruskin (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 248.
11. See, for instance, Linda Dowling, *The Vulgarization of Art: The Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1996); Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).
12. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 8.
13. Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake*, 2.
14. Christine Poggi, *In Defiance of Painting: Cubism, Futurism, and the Invention of Collage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 136.
15. Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds,* 25th anniversary ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 13.
16. Walter Pater, "Aesthetic Poetry," in *Appreciations with an Essay on Style* (London: MacMillan, 1889), 213. First published as "Poems by William Morris," *Westminster Review* 90 (October 1868): 309.

Whistler in the Art World of the Twenty-First Century

The Artist as Muse

Ruth Fine

The gathering at the Freer Gallery of Art at which these papers were initially presented was sponsored by the Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies with the purpose of expanding the purview of Whistler studies: considering new research, new methodologies, and new connections. Fittingly, the event coincided with the launch of the online catalogue raisonné of James McNeill Whistler's etchings, which brings the artist and his work into the brave new world of twenty-first-century technology.[1] It was my privilege to introduce the proceedings, in which the speakers included an array of distinguished and emerging scholars. My own mission was somewhat more personal than theirs: it was to reflect upon the career of Margaret F. MacDonald, whose work over the course of several decades affirms the power of Whistler as an intellectual and aesthetic muse and whose contributions to a radically changing field of art history were likewise acknowledged throughout the two-day program. Although my comments touch upon Whistler's art and times, they more centrally reflect upon issues of change in the wider world, as well as the manner in which we conduct our scholarly work. In the course of organizing them, I confirmed the memory of my youthful assumption that anyone who had reached retirement age, as Margaret and I both have, would necessarily be engaged by reflection upon the longer past, both as a way of understanding the present and as a guide for planning the shorter future.

One fall Sunday, waiting for a train to New York for a performance by Garth Fagan Dance, I was checking my iPhone for e-mail messages. I feel certain that most of you share this new lifestyle—without categorical boundaries and shored up by memories of relaxing weekends that no longer exist because our magical smartphones constantly divert us to the demands of the office. This Garth Fagan Sunday followed the passing of Steve Jobs, the cofounder of Apple, who is considered among the great pioneers of the personal computer revolution. I had been riveted by the obituaries and tributes to that legend of an aesthetically driven, technological world. It was thanks to Jobs that I *could* be reading my office e-mail so easily, midpoint in the Columbus Day holiday weekend.

Memories from my youth don't include computers or e-mail. Astonishing as it seems, the earliest of them don't include television, either. Horse-drawn-carriage deliveries of milk in glass bottles were part of my world, and that milkman's work companion was my city girl's introduction to the existence outside the zoo of four-legged animals larger than dogs. An itinerant knife sharpener made monthly visits to the alley behind my childhood home, hawking his skills for what today would be barely a pittance. These memories sound like descriptions of the nineteenth-century tradespeople who might have been depicted by Whistler and his contemporaries, rather than

experiences of someone living in the second decade of the twenty-first century. How quickly time does pass.

My early research notes were written on three-by-five-inch file cards, which were later assembled into what I trusted would be a coherent structure that followed an outline, handwritten on a yellow legal pad, layers of graphite, written, erased, and rewritten. The resulting essay was likewise initiated on those blue-lined yellow sheets, a stack of which would be cut and taped so that the text was further rearranged, eventually arriving at a semblance of order for typing in final form. Liquid Paper permitted last-minute changes and corrections. It now seems quite remarkable that anything ever actually reached publication. How different was the work on *this* text: carried back and forth on one portable flash drive to three computers in two cities and along Amtrak's Northeast Corridor.

But to return to that Sunday e-mail check. One message arrived via an American art listserv from someone I have never met but from whom I receive more messages than I do from most of my closest friends. It called attention to a striking image on the website Ephemera Studies (ephemerastudies.org) of two handsomely dressed, beautifully coiffed women working in a garish, red-light-illuminated darkroom. The image graced the cover of a 1918 (therefore wartime) catalogue of offerings from the David Stern Company on Madison Street in Chicago.[2] One of my National Gallery associates' reading of the motif is that it champions photography as something so easy to do, even a woman could be successful at it. Above the illustration, items for sale were listed: "Cameras—Lenses / Kodaks—Supplies." A cursory online search into Kodaks, produced by the company that revolutionized the use of handheld cameras, led me to learn that from 1928 (a decade later than the catalogue) to 1933, "Kodak made several colored and deco-styled cameras that were designed to appeal specifically to the style-conscious women of the twenties," confirming my colleague's take on the cover subject.[3]

That dramatic red-and-black illustration of female workers from the second decade of the last century reinforces our growing understanding of the existence of multiple art histories, in particular the advances that have been made in giving fame to women artists, following Linda Nochlin's groundbreaking article on the subject in 1971.[4] That was one year before my own studio-based and teaching practice shifted to the curatorial work that has dominated the subsequent four decades. Yet the motif also highlights how much remains to be learned about the role of women in art.

As our field evolves, the ability to uncover and navigate this diverse and complex material owes much to the environment Steve Jobs helped to create; it puts us in touch with more information than we ever could have imagined possible even a decade ago. Within this new circumstance, conflicting positions need equally to be considered as essential to grasping an expanding and shifting puzzle of the past. Mark Rothko alluded to the notion of several art histories some seventy years ago in his manuscript for *The Artist's Reality*, recently edited by his son, Christopher.[5] One eventually realizes that every artist develops a unique art history, selecting from myriad options only those that will nourish his or her vision.

The 2011 symposium "Palaces of Art" took place in Washington, DC, where—as is also true for Glasgow—Whistler's presence is *always* cause for celebration. These are sister cities in the sense that they are *essential* to the study of this master. Amsterdam, London, Paris, and Venice are among others in the Whistlerian mix. (One suspects that the Venice period is so fully mined because proper study of the work requires repeated

trips to that romantic city of canals: How much does one read about Whistler and Liverpool?) But if it is Whistler's *art* itself that concerns us—the subtleties of its making, the nature of the artist's process, the experience of viewing original objects, rather than the sources for its motifs—then the Washington region is essential. In addition to the extraordinary Peacock Room, more than 1,200 of Whistler's works are housed at the Freer Gallery of Art, including approximately 300 paintings, watercolors, and drawings. There are more than 600 works at the National Gallery of Art, and more than 300 at both the Library of Congress and the Baltimore Museum of Art. Whistler is also well represented in the collections of the Corcoran Gallery of Art and the Phillips Collection, the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden and the Smithsonian American Art Museum, and the Georgetown University Library. In total, we have ready access in Washington to more than 3,000 of Whistler's works of art, to say nothing of his autograph letters and other primary-source materials likewise housed in local institutions. This immense bounty is owed to Charles Lang Freer, George Lucas, and Joseph and Elizabeth Pennell, among other devoted collectors and donors such as the Lunders, and including Lessing J. Rosenwald, whose collection spurred my own passion for Whistler.[6]

In May 1984, a Whistler symposium, about which I will say more later, was cosponsored by the National Gallery's Center for Advanced Study in the History of Art and the Freer Gallery. At its close, several friends, including Margaret MacDonald and Katharine Lochnan, relaxed at my apartment, located across from a large vacant lot that has since come to house the gigantic Pentagon City mall (another reflection upon change). The highlight of that evening was sharing a bottle of champagne to celebrate Margaret's, Katharine's, and my commitment to moving forward with a revision to Edward G. Kennedy's landmark catalogue of 1910, *The Etched Work of Whistler*. Surely it was time. Katharine's groundbreaking text *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* had recently been published, as had my more modest catalogue documenting the Whistler etchings assembled by Anita and Julius Zelman, a collection that is now at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Margaret, as usual, was immersed in several Whistler-related projects. In regard to the etchings specifically, she had been responsible for multiple exhibitions, including *Whistler: The Graphic Work: Amsterdam, Liverpool, London, Venice* of 1976, a circulating show with loans from the Rosenwald Collection, which had precipitated our initial meeting.[7]

Despite the 1984 champagne toasts and much good will, that Kennedy revision has been long in coming. Katharine Lochnan and I have moved in other directions, although she has remained more fully engaged with Whistler's period than I have. One thinks of her splendid exhibition *Turner, Whistler, Monet*, as well as her work on William Morris and his circle, printmaking in nineteenth-century France, and various studies of works in Toronto collections.[8] Her breadth (in contrast to Margaret's focus) confirms that one important difference between museum-based and academic-based art history seems to be that we in museums necessarily respond to diverse institutional needs as well as topics that arise from a specifically personal calling.

My own work has taken me to Georgia O'Keeffe and to John Marin, who, especially in his early pastels and etchings, was profoundly influenced by Whistler. Particularly important to me has been research on several African American artists of post-World War II generations, among them Romare Bearden, Norman Lewis, and Washington-based Sam Gilliam.[9] This work has brought home to me the complexity of our multiple art histories, which seem rarely to intersect. I was pleased to learn from proofs of *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit,* the catalogue edited by Anna Marley for the Pennsylvania Academy

of the Fine Arts' exhibition, about significant new research linking Tanner to Whistler in a variety of contexts.[10] Curators, too, develop their individual art histories.

Of we three 1984 champagne-sipping celebrants, Margaret, alone, has remained focused on Whistler and his time. Although a few other artists' names and the subject of photography appear in her bio, Whistler has been her lifelong muse. He has served her well, as she has him. The odyssey began when the young painter Margaret MacInnes was teaching children and working toward an art teacher's diploma. Responding to an advertisement seeking a research assistant for Andrew McLaren Young at the University of Glasgow, she read Denys Sutton's *Nocturne* to bone up before her interview. Obviously, she got the job and was renewed on an annual basis for many years. For the first three of them she was cataloging press cuttings and, as she put it, about to go "daft." But meeting Norman MacDonald had suggested that it would be a good idea to stay in Glasgow, rather than to seek a teaching job elsewhere. MacInnes decided, she said, "to find something I liked to do and started looking at the watercolours; and then I saw Mrs. Leyland at the Frick and thought hey, Whistler's really good—that was a mind-boggling moment."[11] She continued looking at the watercolors and also came to love the etchings, leading to a tiny show of them that she mounted in the Glasgow University print room, with a xeroxed catalogue, in 1971.[12] The rest, as they say, is history.

In exhibition catalogues, articles, and reviews, Margaret (by now MacDonald) has addressed Whistler and Holland; Whistler and Russia; Whistler in Venice; Whistler and Stéphane Mallarmé; Whistler's *Notes, Harmonies, Nocturnes;* Whistler's last years in Algiers and Corsica; Whistler's designs for a catalogue of blue-and-white nankin porcelain; Whistler's correspondence with Théodore Duret; Whistler's lithographs; Whistler and music; Whistler, women, and fashion; that iconic American painting of Whistler's mother; and the work of Beatrice, Whistler's wife.[13]

Major collaborative publications include the catalogue of Whistler's paintings that Margaret, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles completed after the passing of Andrew McLaren Young and, in collaboration with Nigel Thorp and Patricia de Montfort, the extraordinary online Whistler correspondence project, sponsored by the now-closed Centre for Whistler Studies at the University of Glasgow. Margaret has also given us the comprehensive study of Whistler's drawings, pastels, and watercolors, in which she made the radical decision to include as drawings those prints on which Whistler made additions by hand.[14] Such hybrid sheets are generally referred to as "touched proofs," and in Whistler's case, they relate to an aspect of his process as a painter—the drawn and painted details he added to sequential photographs of canvases taken as he refined the compositions. An updated catalogue of the drawings and pastels might consider the inclusion of those working photographs, as well. Such a move would comfortably fit into the contemporary practice of breaking down and reconfiguring categories.

Among my favorite curatorial memories are transatlantic conversations with Margaret as she worked her way through Anna Matilda Whistler's abbreviated recipes, testing every one for an edited version of *Whistler's Mother's Cook Book*. Her intention was to create "a tried and tested adaptation for the modern cook." As if yesterday, I can hear Margaret's plaintive cry: "Ruth, *please*—what is the texture of a proper muffin?" My recollection is that she had to make several versions en route to an acceptable final product. Mrs. Whistler's recipe for muffins comes between those for caraway buns and waffles, both of which call for what is now a rather obscure ingredient called "pearl ash." In her edited version, Margaret's explanatory notes inform the reader that pearl ash, a form

of potassium carbonate, "was discovered in America in the 1790s and used until baking powder was produced in the 1850s." Such is Dr. MacDonald's detail-oriented approach to all things Whistlerian.[15]

Removing *Whistler's Mother's Cook Book* from the shelf recently, I found tucked into it an airmail letter in Margaret's unmistakable hand, written on a folded blue aerogram postmarked June 9, 1980. The date is a marker in my own life, less than a month before we completed the transfer of Lessing Rosenwald's collection from suburban Philadelphia to Washington and the start of my Washington years as well, which are now in the process of coming to a close. The letter mentions reviews of the cookbook that I had collected and sent to her, and it reports the recent birth of Margaret and Norman's daughter Helen, a baby sister for three-year-old Kathy. This is not irrelevant to the Whistler story because the entire MacDonald family has at one time or another been duly involved with Margaret's Whistler-directed endeavors. Norman MacDonald recently wrote an introduction to *Connecting Whistler*, an online festschrift in Margaret's honor. His piece, "Forty Years with Margaret and Jimmy," slyly makes clear how much appreciation we owe to all of the MacDonalds, but most especially to Norman, whose keen curiosity and intelligence, honed within the field of theoretical physics, has been strategically applied to Whistler research as well. The seventeen other essays gathered in *Connecting Whistler* are a vivid testament to the generosity and inspiration that Margaret's students and colleagues have enjoyed as they followed her path. They are also a testament to the richness of Whistler's art, its capacity to sustain an ever-growing legion of scholars who have embraced and been embraced by this muse.[16]

The MacDonald family's tenacity is now applied to the etchings—490 of them. One etching is listed in twenty-one states, and twenty-two are listed in ten or more states, including nine that are documented in fifteen. No wonder it has taken a quarter of a century for this catalogue to be launched. *Launched* rather than published—not a descriptor that Kathy, Margaret, or I would have used in our 1984 conversation, which was about a book. It is useful to remember that initial discussions of an online version of that book project occurred almost a decade ago, placing it at the early cutting edge of this relatively new scholarly format. Wouldn't Whistler have been pleased to be at the head of the pack?

Katharine Lochnan and I remain involved in the Whistler Etchings Project as advisers, along with Peter Black, Lee Glazer, Anne Gow, Martin Hopkinson, Anna Gruetzner Robins, and Martha Tedeschi. The active catalogue team itself includes Margaret Hausberg (to whom I am grateful for information included here, as I am to Lee Glazer and Linda Merrill), Joanna Meacock, and Grischka Petri. Others involved are listed on the project website, including Norman and Helen MacDonald (as honorary fellow and junior assistant, respectively). Everyone has brought his or her individual expertise to the close study of often miniscule state differences and the development of the international print market during Whistler's period, as well as research into every detail of the artist's life that might tell us something about the etchings: his associates, his travels, and so forth. Because the etchings essentially parallel the whole of Whistler's career, it is difficult to imagine anything in his experience that isn't somehow related to them.

I have always assumed that a close look at the state differences among Whistler's etchings would be as demanding a task as any in a print catalogue undertaking. A personal encounter somewhat bears this out. In 1987, out of the blue, we received a letter in which the National Gallery was listed as one of five institutions being offered the op-

portunity to acquire a selection of prints from an estate. Neither the writer nor the deceased had a previous relationship with the National Gallery, except perhaps as a visitor (a connection, incidentally, that has been the origin of several bequests). This 1987 letter led to the gift of 122 works: a group of European and British prints by Charles Meryon, Thomas Rowlandson, and others; lithographs from the 1930s and 1940s by a variety of American regionalists, such as Thomas Hart Benton and John Steuart Curry; and a selection of etchings by Whistler. If identified by their Kennedy numbers alone, impressions of the Whistler etchings were already owned by the National Gallery. But there were many other factors to consider. The executor knew nothing about the nuances of print connoisseurship, but she was bright and receptive, and when introduced to the importance of differences in state, ink color, printing technique, and paper, she eagerly sent the etchings to Washington for comparison with impressions in the National Gallery's collection, permitting us to carefully determine which of the Whistlers to request from the estate. As it turned out, seventeen of the twenty on offer presented new variants of subjects previously represented, so their acquisition made important comparative additions to the National Gallery's representation of Whistler's prints.[17]

Although one often frames the discussion of variant print impressions in terms of technique, the more important point is content. The emotional and formal statements Whistler was making were radically altered by these printing differences, which may be discerned only through closely looking beyond basic imagery. Within Whistler's printed oeuvre these possibilities are quite expansive—not only with the etchings but also with the lithographs, in his concern with variant color compositions and altered lithotint grisailles. Whistler's etchings and lithographs place him in a category with few practitioners, among them Rembrandt, Whistler's spiritual father; Francisco de Goya; Mary Cassatt; and in our own time, Jasper Johns. For each of these artists, making prints played, or plays, so central a role that any serious study of these artists' work must include them.

Changes to research methodologies, to the contextual frame, have grown to include extensive interdisciplinary and theoretical approaches. Likewise, changes to how we share our findings have made radical shifts to the work experience. How antiquated it can appear to start from a group of objects and a consideration of how they are made, rather than from an intellectual premise that links them. Yet objects themselves can, and do, still function as an essential reason for an immersion in art. For me, this has most frequently engaged prints and drawings and the rich data they reveal about artistic process. This may be seen in the Freer Gallery's exhibition of Whistler's interiors, *Sweet Silent Thought: Whistler's Interiors,* which Lee Glazer and Maya Foo mounted to coincide with the Lunder symposium.[18]

Leonard Barkan, speaking recently at the National Gallery about his new book, *Michelangelo: A Life on Paper*, suggested that the range of his own research, which has focused on both the written word and the drawn image, could be understood as resulting from either an interdisciplinary approach or a short attention span—said, of course, with a smile.[19] The dichotomy of these possibilities and Barkan's comments about reciprocal connections within his work hit close to home. My own shifts have taken me from the Rosenwald Collection and the art of William Blake in the 1970s to simultaneous exhibitions of Whistler's etchings and of prints and sculpture from the contemporary publishing workshop Gemini G.E.L. in the 1980s to O'Keeffe, Roy Lichtenstein, and Helen Frankenthaler in the 1990s to Mel Bochner and the collection of Dorothy and Herbert Vogel in the 2000s and to Rothko, Norman Lewis, and other abstract expres-

sionists, into the present.[20] With all of these shifts, drawings and prints have been central to my understanding of art. Drawings offer the sites where ideas originate and develop, often intersecting with painting, sculpture, installation, and various performance-based strategies. With prints, state, trial, and working proofs likewise provide clues to artistic intention as it evolves.

In addition to new scholarship available through online catalogues raisonnés, the Internet has fostered diverse collegial communication in the form of interactive symposia and international webinars, making us aware, more than ever before, of research that is taking place around the world. Our growing concern with Latin American art, for example, was recently featured in the Sunday *New York Times*.[21] And in the fall of 2011, the Terra Foundation, whose goal is to make American art better known around the globe, and the Smithsonian American Art Museum cosponsored a symposium focused on artistic exchange between the United States and Latin America. In the print field alone, two of the presentations brought to light mid-twentieth-century connections between the two regions of which I, for one, was unaware. Thus, although the cultural interchange itself is hardly new, our attention to this history is expanding exponentially.[22]

Similar change is evident in Whistler scholarship when comparing the papers presented at the 1984 symposium with what is included here.[23] Twenty-five years ago, Margaret focused on one of Whistler's muses, Maud Franklin, offering new biographical data about both artist and model to extend our understanding of Whistler as a portraitist. Katharine Lochnan expanded on her *Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* text, calling attention to an unpublished portfolio by Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden, "The Thames from Its Source to the Sea." On top of organizing, installing, and writing for the exhibition that had just opened at the Freer, David Park Curry looked at Whistler as an exhibition designer extraordinaire in "Total Control."[24] Nigel Thorp spoke about Whistler's reworked photographs housed in Glasgow. (His presentation called to mind another aspect of Whistler and photography, one that Robert Getscher mentions in his 1977 exhibition catalogue, *The Stamp of Whistler*. The initial concept for the show included a study of Whistler's influence on photography, but time and funding constraints eliminated that section, leaving attention solely on Whistler's influence on subsequent printmaking.)[25] Robin Spencer discussed "Whistler, Manet, and the Tradition of the Avant-Garde," presenting the paper that now appears the most prescient of the broad frame that Whistler studies, and art history in general, would come to take, as seen, for example, in Lochnan's *Whistler, Turner, Monet* and Marc Simpson's *Like Breath on Glass: Whistler, Inness, and the Art of Painting Softly*.[26]

Whistler's internationalism, in his travels and in his interests and influences, is an aspect of current scholarship that keeps him vividly alive for us today. That the contributors to this volume of proceedings are more internationally based than in 1984, more multigenerational, and from both academic and exhibiting institutions holds much promise for enriching our understanding of Whistler's art and its contexts. Additionally, the umbrella title for the symposium that preceded this book—*Palaces of Art: Whistler and the Art Worlds of Aestheticism*—called for subjects that are necessarily more contextually based than we aimed for in 1984. Whistler's name does not even appear in the titles for five of the essays.

It is especially fitting that one area of focus is the Peacock Room. The Freer Gallery of Art's reinstallation of that room (by Lee Glazer) in the spring of 2011 has brilliantly given another life to this extraordinary space we have long admired. In this iteration, it

conforms more closely to Charles Lang Freer's pleasure.[27] How differently it is experienced now, with the gilded shelves gloriously enhanced by earthy objects from China, Korea, Japan, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, rather than as previously filled with blue-and-white porcelain. Such a fascinating curatorial project causes one to reflect upon the purposes and functions of the work that we do as curators, art historians, students of culture, history, philosophy, aesthetic theory, and artists. What paths of learning and practice guide our lives? Accepting the wonders of modern technology, such as the possibility of reaching museum collections and library stacks around the globe online, the concern increases that the tangible sensations of touching paper, turning pages, eyeballing canvases to compare the effects of different types, weights, and weaves, or examining the different patinas in multiple works from a sculpture edition can become increasingly foreign. Yet it is impossible, without seeing the physical works, to discuss the implication of Gauguin's use of burlap rather than linen in certain of his paintings or to discern the different light effects across multiple casts of Matisse's bronzes with varying finishes.

As one of the older people published in this volume, my fear is that the younger of them, as well as the wider art audience, may not experience these pleasures and thus may move forward in their work, and in their approach to understanding art, with neither a feeling of loss nor an awareness that another way is possible. This track has brought Margaret F. MacDonald to embrace the potential of technology yet remain firmly rooted in vital, if old-fashioned, matters of connoisseurship—scholarship that moves from the object outward, rather than from a theoretical position to the work of art itself. I remember a parallel concern, in the early 1970s, of a sculptor friend who taught at one of this country's major art schools—that the institution might have graduated the very first class that didn't know how to make things, only how to conceive them.

When I was working in Los Angeles on those exhibitions of Whistler etchings and the Gemini workshop, I stayed in a Santa Monica hotel named Shangri La, then an aging Art Deco landmark. One of the private amusements of staying there was that anyone who telephoned was greeted with "Hello, this is Shangri La"—a personal memory of Symbolist meaning that touches upon one of our program's themes. I had breakfast daily at an outdoor café and became addicted to the *Los Angeles Times* Westside real estate pages, with their over-the-top descriptions of solid-gold bathroom faucets. These pages have since been supplanted in my life by the *New York Times* Sunday Styles section, in which often frivolous announcements and articles are likewise laden with amusing details. One from June 2011, "Portals to Power," had as its subject the Core Club, a private Manhattan establishment open to all who could afford its initiation fee of $50,000 and annual dues of $15,000. The article quoted an earlier *Times* piece that described the club as a place where "a geographically and socially diverse set of wealthy people might 'gather and meet others of the same disparate tribe'" and where, "as in seemingly all places frequented by the new rich, art is a central Core club theme." Alexander Calder and Andy Warhol were named among the artists whose work contributed to the decor.[28] Although the subject of *Art and Money* is embedded in any discussion of the Peacock Room, this Core Club intermingling seems more emphatic than I remember from my own early experience.

Another section of that June issue of the *New York Times* featured an article by the cartoonist and essayist Tim Kreider, who recalled his discovery, as a seventeen-year-old in the 1980s, of the composer Harry Partch, whose music was on the B side of an album by John Cage that he had borrowed from the library. Kreider had never heard of Partch,

whose music he described as "unearthly, yowling strings, metallic twangs, rippling liquid percussion" emanating from instruments he was unable to identify. The teenager shared the record with the sole friend he had who liked classical music and so kept him from feeling "eccentric and freakish and alone." Kreider lamented that he had been unable to learn much about Partch at the time, suggesting how different it would be today. "That's what the Internet is for, yes?" he inquired of the reader.

But Kreider went on to note a downside, suggesting that adolescents "secretly like feeling eccentric and freakish and alone … and cultivating ever-dweebier erudition." He recounted that the singer-songwriter Kurt Cobain once said that long before he actually heard punk rock, he had imagined what the music would sound like on the basis of magazine images of the musicians who played it. Kreider also pointed to the importance of having one's imagination challenged, lamenting that having "instant accessibility leaves us oddly disappointed, bored, endlessly craving more." So I want to close by echoing the haunting hope of Tim Kreider, an artist and a writer, on behalf of legions of dweebie seventeen-year-old kids who are living a century after Whistler: the hope that we continue to sustain ways "to transform mere ignorance into mystery, simple not knowing into wonder."[29]

Notes

1. Margaret F. MacDonald, Grischka Petri, Meg Hausberg, and Joanna Meacock, *James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, a Catalogue Raisonné* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2011), http://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk.
2. "Women and Photography 1918," Ephemera Studies, curated by Saul Zalesch, 2009, http://ephemerastudies.org/category/gallery/catalog/page/2/. Accessed May 7, 2013.
3. Remy Steller, "Walter Dorwin Teague: Brownie Cameras," on the Remigijus Brownie Collection website, http://www.browniecamera.nl/walter_dorwin_teague.htm. Accessed May 7, 2013.
4. Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" in *Women, Art, and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 145–78.
5. Mark Rothko, *The Artist's Reality: Philosophies of Art,* ed. Christopher Rothko (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
6. On the Rosenwald Collection, see Elizabeth Mongan, *Selections from the Rosenwald Collection* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1943); Ruth E. Fine, "Drawings in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection," *Drawing* 4, no. 3 (September–October 1982): 49–55; Ruth E. Fine, *Lessing J. Rosenwald: Tribute to a Collector* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982).
7. Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler* (New York: Grolier Club, 1910); Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984); Ruth E. Fine, *Drawing Near: Whistler Etchings from the Zelman Collection* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984); Margaret F. MacDonald, *Whistler: The Graphic Work: Amsterdam, Liverpool, London, Venice* (London: Thomas Agnew and Sons, 1976).
8. Katharine A. Lochnan, ed., *Turner, Whistler, Monet* (London: Tate Publishing in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 2004). Other publications by Lochnan include *The Earthly Paradise: Arts and Crafts by William Morris and His Circle from Canadian Collections,* edited with Douglas E. Schoenherr and Carole Silver (Toronto: Key Por-

ter Books, 1993); *Printmaking in Nineteenth-Century France: The Touche Ross Gift to the Art Gallery of Ontario,* with Brenda Rix (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1988); and *Fifty Years: The Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour, 1925–1975* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975).

9. See, for example, Ruth E. Fine and Barbara Buhler Lynes, *O'Keeffe on Paper*, with Elizabeth Glassman and Judith C. Walsh (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2000); *John Marin* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1990); *Art of Romare Bearden*, with Mary Lee Corlett et al. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2003); *Romare Bearden, American Modernist,* edited with Jacqueline Frances (Washington DC: National Gallery, 2011); *Sam Gilliam: Prints* (Washington, DC: George Washington University, Luther W. Brady Art Gallery, 2006).
10. Anna O. Marley, ed., *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).
11. Margaret MacDonald, e-mail to the author, June 19, 2011.
12. Margaret F. MacDonald, *Whistler in Venice: Etchings, Drypoints and Pastels* (Glasgow: Department of Fine Art, University of Glasgow, 1971).
13. Margaret F. MacDonald, *Whistler and Holland*, with Jan F. Heijbroek (Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders, 1977); *Whistler and Russia,* with Galine Andreeva (Moscow: Scanrus, 2006); "Whistler's View of Venice," in *James McNeill Whistler: The Venetian Etchings* (London: Art Partnerships International, 2001); *Palaces in the Night: Whistler in Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); *Whistler and Mallarmé* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1973); *Notes, Harmonies, Nocturnes* (New York: M. Knoedler, 1984); "Whistler's Last Years: Spring 1901—Algiers and Corsica," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (1969): 323–42; "Whistler's Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain," *Connoisseur* 198 (1978): 290–95; "Correspondence Duret–Whistler," with Joy Newton, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 110 (1987): 150–64; "Whistler's Lithographs," *Print Quarterly* 5 (1988): 20–55; *Whistler and Music: Venezia* (Valencia: Institut Valencià d'Art Modern, 2005); *Whistler, Women, and Fashion,* with Susan Grace Galassi, Aileen Ribeiro, and Patricia de Montfort (New York: Frick Collection, 2003); *Whistler's Mother: An American Icon* (Aldershot, UK: Lund Humphries, 2003); *Beatrice Whistler: Artist and Designer* (Glasgow: Hunterian Art Gallery, 1997).
14. Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903,* ed. Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort, and Nigel Thorp, including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855–1880,* ed. Georgia Toutziari, online ed. (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003–2010), http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence; Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours; A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).
15. Margaret MacDonald, *Whistler's Mother's Cook Book* (London: Elek, 1979), 53, 55.
16. Emma Hermens, Joanna Meacock, and Grischka Petri, eds., *Connecting Whistler: Festschrift for Margaret F. MacDonald* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow School of Culture and Creative Arts, 2010), http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/cca/research/instituteofarthistory/publications/connectingwhistlerfestschriftforprofmacdonald/.
17. Gifts from the estate of John Nichols Estabrook were accessioned in 1987 and 1988.

18. An overview of *Sweet Silent Thought: Whistler's Interiors* (August 20, 2011, through summer 2012) is available at http://www.asia.si.edu/exhibitions/current/sweetSilent Thought.asp.

19. Leonard Barkan, "Some Pages from Michelangelo's Life" (lecture, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, October 16, 2011).

20. Ruth E. Fine, *Gemini G.E.L.: Art and Collaboration* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art in association with Abbeville, 1984); *The Prints of Roy Lichtenstein: A Catalogue Raisonné, 1948–1993,* with Mary Lee Corlett (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1994); *Helen Frankenthaler: Prints* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art in association with Abrams, 1993); *Mel Bochner: Drawing from Four Decades* (New York: Fifth Floor Foundation, 2006); *From Minimal to Conceptual Art: Works from the Dorothy and Herbert Vogel Collection,* with essay by John T. Paoletti (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1994).

21. "Latin American Art, Rediscovered Again," *New York Times*, October 23, 2011.

22. "*Encuentros:* Artistic Exchange between the US and Latin America," Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC, October 5–6, 2011. An archived webcast of the symposium is at http://americanart.si.edu/research/symposia/2011/webcast/index.cfm.

23. The symposium proceedings were published in *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, ed. Ruth E. Fine, Studies in the History of Art 19 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987).

24. David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art in association with Norton, 1984).

25. Robert H. Getscher, *The Stamp of Whistler* (Oberlin, OH: Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1977). On Whistler and photography, see Lilly Koltun, "Whistler as Model: The Enacted Biographies of Pictorialist Photographers," in *James McNeill Whistler in Context: Essays from the Whistler Centenary Symposium, University of Glasgow, 2003,* ed. Lee Glazer, Margaret F. MacDonald, Linda Merrill, and Nigel Thorp, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, n.s., 2 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2008), 65–80; Sarah Elizabeth Kelly, "Camera's Lens and Mind's Eye: James McNeill Whistler and the Science of Art" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2010).

26. Marc Simpson, ed., *Like Breath on Glass: Whistler, Inness, and the Art of Painting Softly* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

27. The installation opened on April 19, 2011. See Lee Glazer, *The Peacock Room Comes to America* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2012).

28. Guy Trebay, "Portals to Power," *New York Times*, June 19, 2011.

29. Tim Kreider, "In Praise of Not Knowing," *New York Times*, June 19, 2011.

The Whistler Etchings Project

Margaret F. MacDonald

Whistler's biographers Elizabeth R. and Joseph Pennell record a charming, and possibly even true, story. Whistler heard a group of ladies praising Frederic Leighton: "He is such a wonderful musician! … such a brilliant orator! such a dignified President! such a charming host! such an amazing linguist!" To which Whistler remarked, "H'm, paints, too, don't he, among his other accomplishments?"[1] Descriptions and discussions of Whistler as an aesthete, theorist, and writer, or as a figure in society, a dandy and a wit, can contribute valuable insights but only partial truths, which are part of a complex whole. A very important part of Whistler's oeuvre—and that for which he was most admired in his lifetime—was his work in etching and drypoint.

Whistler died in 1903, and accounts of his life were published from that date on. Surveys of his etchings were published even earlier—the first catalogue was written by Ralph Thomas in 1874, followed by Frederick Wedmore's two volumes in 1886 and 1889.[2] Wedmore admitted to Whistler,

> I began making it [the catalogue] for my own use since I have taken not only to extremely enjoy but to live with a good many of your Etchings. … But owing to the great number of the Etchings, I have found it more laborious than I expected. … I do it rather *en amateur*. … Now that I know your Etchings, I feel their quality very fully. The best will live with the best of Rembrandt's.[3]

Unfortunately, Whistler's reply is not recorded, but he does not seem to have actively opposed Wedmore's work, and indeed, his wife, Beatrice, used it when trying to impose order on the stacks of unsold prints in the studio in the 1890s. Writing a catalogue raisonné is, as Wedmore confessed, "laborious," and incomplete catalogues by Joseph Pennell and Joseph W. Revillon are to be found in the archives in Washington, DC, and Glasgow.[4]

Wedmore's catalogue of the etchings was followed by two substantial catalogues, one by Howard Mansfield in 1909 and, above all, Edward G. Kennedy's fully illustrated catalogue in 1910.[5] All these cataloguers had met Whistler, and their works contributed basic information and useful insights, but none were complete, and sometimes they were misleading. Even Kennedy, whose catalogue is most frequently consulted, listed a small etching as "Market, Calais," although admitting that "this title is quite an arbitrary one which I gave to this subject some years ago in London to differentiate it from similar subjects, all of which, most likely, were done at the same

time."[6] It has now been identified as *Market Place, Ostend* (G.350).

A catalogue raisonné of Whistler's oil paintings was published in 1980, and in 1995, my catalogue of Whistler's drawings, watercolors, and pastels was published. This was followed by the catalogue raisonné of Whistler's lithographs published by the Art Institute of Chicago in 1998.[7] Since then, major online publications have been added, drawing on the unique resources of the Whistler collections at the University of Glasgow, incorporating works of art, manuscripts, and publications from Whistler's estate. Ten thousand letters and documents are included in the online edition of Whistler's correspondence, published in 2003–2004, at http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence. Added to this are websites illustrating the collections of the Freer Gallery of Art, the Hunterian Art Gallery and Special Collections at the University of Glasgow, and other major galleries.[8] These important resources are now joined by a catalogue raisonné of Whistler's etchings, drypoints, and mezzotints, previewed at the University of Glasgow and at the Freer Gallery of Art in 2011, at http://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk.

The Digital Catalogue

Where Edward G. Kennedy in 1910 had recorded 448 etchings, the new catalogue—launched just over a century later—includes 490 etchings, drypoints, and mezzotints (and demotes three etchings that Kennedy included).[9] The website includes some 5,000 images; it is fully annotated and searchable and includes dates, titles, sites, subjects, states, history, publication, exhibitions, marketing, biographies, documentation, reviews, and discussion, as well as an examination of paper, ink, technique, and style. There are accounts of the sets of etchings published by dealers (the two "Venice Sets," for instance) and of the sets and series conceived and printed by the artist, although not officially published (such as the "Naval Review" set of 1887). Whistler's commentary on the sets provides illuminating glimpses both of his enthusiasm for his works and his method of marketing them through art dealers and newspapers.[10]

The online catalogue illuminates Whistler's selling practice, as in letters to Marcus B. Huish of the Fine Art Society, London, regarding the commissioned Venice Set: "The etchings themselves are far more delicate in execution, more beautiful in subject and more important in interest than any of the old set," Whistler wrote in 1880.[11] Nine years later—still not having completed the edition of the Venetian etchings—he recommended a set of Dutch etchings to Huish:

> Now—I have begun etchings here—that already give me great satisfaction . . . what I have already begun, is of far finer quality than all that has gone before—combining a minuteness of detail, always referred to with sadness by the Critics, who hark back to the Thames etchings, (forgetting that they wrote foolishly about those also, when they first appeared!) with greater freedom and more beauty of execution than even the Venice set, or the last Renaissance lot can pretend to.[12]

And in between, he was writing his own press handouts regarding etchings produced on his honeymoon: "Mr Whistler … has in his journeyings in sunny France, not been idle—He brings back with him some forty new etchings of the finest quality. Those who have seen them, in Paris, say that the elegancies of the French Renais-

sance have never been so exquisitely rendered as in their fairy like plates."[13]

The catalogue raisonné also includes documentary evidence on the exhibition and marketing of the etchings and on their production and printing. There is a glossary of printing terms applicable to Whistler's work and summaries of the artist's and the researchers' working practices. At present, the survey includes 9,600 impressions, and more data are still being added (one of the advantages of working online). For instance, the range of Western and Asian papers used by the artist is currently being surveyed by the Library of Congress and other major collections, and the reviews of exhibitions are to be extended.

The online publication has clear advantages and is of a manageable size. Imagine a printed catalogue of 490 etchings, showing between one and twenty-one states of each one, comparative photos of sites and sitters, and works by other artists either influencing or influenced by Whistler; add images of all the etchings exhibited by Whistler, for instance, in the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (59 of them) and all the prints owned by collectors such as Charles Lang Freer (743) and all the portraits, for example, of the Leyland family of Liverpool—a dozen or so—and all the works in a collection such as the Baltimore Museum of Art (235) or The Hunterian (689, plus copper plates) and all those with the word "nocturne" in the title (7) or even the word "little" (97), and the result is anything but little. The resulting book would fill a fair-sized room and be prohibitively expensive. But online, this information is searchable at the touch of a button. And any image or page of text can be printed for further study if required—but preferably not the whole lot, which would require the sacrifice of several trees.

The etchings are reproduced at high resolution and can be enlarged easily, allowing truly startling details to be studied at leisure. Close examination can reveal details that change the whole subject and meaning of a work, such as the shuttle in *La Rétameuse* (G.26), the spindle in *Gretchen at Heidelberg* (G.21), a child's dress in *Cutler Street, Houndsditch* (G. 361), and a subversive butterfly in *The Church—Brussels (Adoration)* (G.340). A detail of a poster reading "AMBER" in *Bird-Cages, Chelsea* (Figure 1) turns out to be a theater poster for *The Amber Heart* by Alfred Cecil Calmour, which opened at the Lyceum Theatre on May 10, 1887, starring Ellen Terry and Beerbohm Tree, thus providing both a date and context for the etching and links to other theatrical references.

Not only the etchings themselves but also the copper plates can be studied online: there are, for instance, over 300 copper plates in The Hunterian alone. These were scanned, and the resulting high-definition images convey details of the artist's technique and show the final stage of the composition. A number of these plates were never printed, or at least no impression survives, so after these plates were scanned, the image was flipped horizontally, converted to grayscale, and

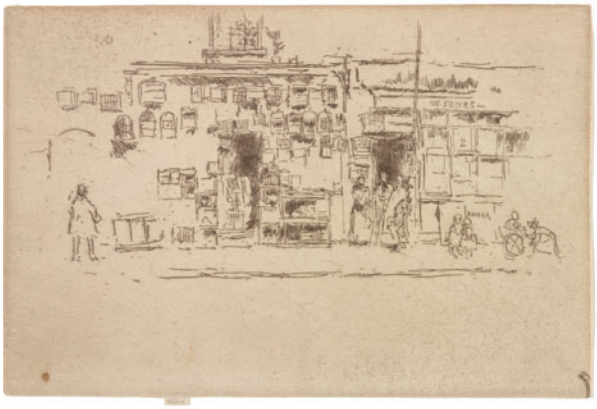


FIGURE 1. James McNeill Whistler, *Bird-Cages, Chelsea* (G.297, state 1 of 2), 1887. Etching and drypoint, 15 × 22.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.30.

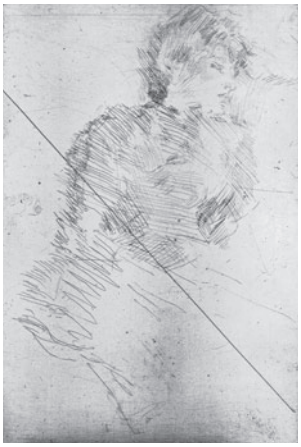


FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler, *Woman Sleeping in a Chair* (G.401, state 1 of 1). Digital impression, 10.2 × 6.8 cm. © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, 2012.

FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler, *View from the Chateau Walls, Loches* (G.420, state 2 of 2). Etching, 8.6 × 5.1 cm. © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, 2012.

color inverted with enhanced contrast to produce "virtual impressions" of images that were, until now, completely unknown. These images include portraits of Whistler (G.318) and of his wife, who is probably the *Woman Sleeping in a Chair* (Figure 2). The two Whistlers collaborated in the studio, and a small etching done by James and Beatrice, *View from the Chateau Walls, Loches* (Figure 3), is included in the catalogue beside Whistler's own panoramic view of the scene, *From Agnes Sorrel's Walk, Loches* (Figure 4). Thus, Whistler's total known oeuvre is enlarged, and a true picture of his output and the range of his work is available for the first time.

The catalogue also includes etchings that are fully documented, although no impression has yet been located. One example is *Emanuel Hospital* (G.469), recorded in a letter from Whistler of 1892.[14] The copper plate was apparently in Whistler's estate, and some impressions were printed from it by Nathaniel Sparks in 1931, at the request of Whistler's sister-in-law Rosalind Birnie Philip. Sparks's quick sketch of the plate is the sole visual record of the etching, but he mistook it for a view of the Charterhouse.[15] The plate is now missing, and no impression—not even one printed by Sparks—has yet been located. If one was signed by Sparks and listed under the wrong title, Whistler's connection with it may have been concealed: somewhere in an attic or a skip there may be a unique if slightly dusty survival.

To the general public, original etchings and drypoints may be less familiar than oil paintings simply because they cannot be displayed for as long. Oils can be shown more or less indefinitely, but works on paper have to be displayed in lower light and for shorter periods. In theory, anyone can visit the print rooms of the National Gallery of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, or the British Museum, but space is often limited and care must be taken in handling fragile works. In fact, only those with time, persistence, transport, good eyesight, and a magnifying glass can fully enjoy the treasures

FIGURE 4. James McNeill Whistler, *From Agnes Sorrel's Walk, Loches* (G.419, state 1 of 3). Etching, 13.5 × 27.1 cm. © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, 2012.

of the world's print rooms. It is well worth the effort but simply not possible for everyone.

Furthermore, the online catalogue brings together works that can never be seen side by side in real life. Works in the Freer Gallery, for instance, cannot be lent to other institutions, and the same embargo applies to some of the prints and all the copper plates from Whistler's estate in the University of Glasgow. Impressions in Los Angeles are unlikely to be united very often with those in the University of Michigan, the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, or the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, so comparisons of the state and inking and paper of certain works are practically impossible without the facilities provided by an online website.

FIGURE 5. James McNeill Whistler, *Speke Hall: The Avenue* (G.101, state 3 of 14), 1870. Etching and drypoint, 22.8 × 15.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1898.332.

New Insights

The lovely etching and drypoint *Speke Hall: The Avenue* (Figures 5 and 6) is a good example of the information and insights to be gained from this method of research and display. The etching, known under several titles, was exhibited as *Speke Hall: The Avenue* at the Grosvenor Gallery, the palace of the Aesthetic movement, in 1879.[16] Early impressions were dated 1870 and signed "Whistler," but the final state is signed with Whistler's butterfly monogram in a style that can be dated to around 1878. The etching was printed right through the 1870s, possibly until August 14, 1879, when Whistler recorded printing one impression.[17]

FIGURE 6. James McNeill Whistler, *Speke Hall: The Avenue* (G.101, state 7 of 14), 1870–78. Etching and drypoint, 22.8 × 15.2 cm. © The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, 2012.

The figure in the foreground may be Frances Leyland, wife of Frederick Richards Leyland, the Liverpool shipowner. She was the sitter for Whistler's oil portrait *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*—an icon of the Aesthetic movement (see Siewert, Figure 8)—and a drypoint, *The Velvet Dress* (G.120), which, with its elegant line and simple composition, might also be considered an example of Art for Art's Sake. Frances Leyland may have posed for *Speke Hall: The Avenue* when Whistler was visiting Speke (Figure 7) for extended periods between 1870 and 1875. The pose was altered in later states, the dress changed to fit the fashion of the later 1870s, when the figure of Frances Leyland may have been replaced with that of Whistler's mistress, Maud Franklin. The dress was drawn with sweeping drypoint lines that print with a slightly furry burr, conveying the rich textures of fur and silk or satin. The back-

FIGURE 7. Speke Hall, Liverpool, 2009. Photograph by author.

ground, however, is pure etching, with fine detailed lines and shading that convey the bare wintry branches of tall trees surrounding the elaborate five-gabled, half-timbered hall. It is an accurate view, except possibly for the front entrance, which is somewhat concealed by bushes and unfinished.

In her groundbreaking book *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler,* Katharine Lochnan suggests that this print shows the strong influence of Japanese woodcuts:

> Whistler employed with reasonable success the compositional structure which he had learnt from Japanese prints, selecting a high viewpoint, "tilting up" the background, and constructing a shallow picture space. The long, lean vertical format of the etching, which emphasizes the distance between the figure and the house, resembles that of the Japanese *oban* print. … [He] isolated the foreground figure, silhouetting it against a white ground in the Japanese manner, and creating an uneasy tension between the figure and the house. … The position of the figure, seen from the rear in a three-quarter pose, appears to have been adopted from Japanese prints. In the *ukiyo-e* woodcut, a rear view of this kind is often used to show off the beauty of a kimono.[18]

However, although Whistler's figure is seen from behind in early states, in later ones she appears in profile to left, with head bent. A comparable woman in profile, isolated against a blank space, is seen in the ink and watercolor study *Profile of Geisha* by Katsushika Hokusai (Figure 8), bought by Charles Lang Freer in 1902—three years after he bought an impression of *Speke Hall: The Avenue*. Japanese figure studies more often show the face in three-quarter view, and back views are more commonly found in scenes where a woman is looking at a view, as in Hokusai's famous image of Mount Fuji in the woodcut *The Sazaido Hall of the Temple, Gohyakurakanji,* from the series *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji* (Figure 9). This print utilizes multiple perspectives, a high viewpoint, and a gap between figures and view, all elements found in Whistler's print. Although it is well known that Whistler admired the work of Hokusai and Hiroshige—and indeed woodcuts from Hiroshige's *Rokuju-yo Shu Meisho Zue* (from the series Views of Famous Places in the Sixty-Odd Provinces) appear in his 1864 oil *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*[19]—his Asian art collection was dispersed at the time of his bankruptcy in 1879, and only a few items in the Hunterian, the British Museum, and the Burrell Collection can be traced back to Whistler. Further research is required to investigate that collection and its impact on the work of Whistler and contemporaries.

Whistler never attempted woodcut (although his wife did in the early 1890s), but he worked in etching, drypoint, mezzotint (not very successfully), lithography, and lithotint. The copper plate for *Speke Hall: The Avenue*, produced by Whistler's favorite merchants, Hughes & Kimber in London, is similar in size and bears a similar maker's stamp to twelve other plates used in this period, including another Liverpool subject, *Shipbuilder's Yard, Liverpool* (G.142), and other portraits such as *Tillie: A Model* (G.113), *The Guitar Player (M. W. Ridley)* (G.124), *The Piano* (G.144)—a study of Walter Greaves's sister Alice—and *The Silk Dress* (G.151), which may show Frances Leyland's sister Elizabeth Dawson.

Astonishingly, *Speke Hall: The Avenue* went through fourteen different states, during which Whistler outlined, revised, and completed the house and radically changed the foreground figure, its dress, and pose. As many as thirty impressions of *Speke Hall: The Avenue* may have been printed (twenty-four have been located). They were printed in black ink on a variety of papers, including "antique" (pre-1800) laid papers, some with De Erven De Blauw, Pro Patria, Arms of Amsterdam, and other watermarks, and a few on Asian papers. Some sheets were taken from old books or ledgers; one even bears a Latin inscription on the verso.[20]

FIGURE 8. Katsushika Hokusai, *Profile of Geisha*, Edo period, ca. 1806–8. Ink and color on paper, 51.9 × 18.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1902.41.

Exhibitions of the etching after the 1879 Grosvenor Gallery (after Whistler and Leyland had quarreled and after Leyland's lease of Speke Hall had expired) included shows at the Union League Club in New York in 1881, the print dealers H. Wunderlich & Co. in New York in 1898 and 1903 and Obach & Co. in London in 1903, the Caxton Club in Chicago in 1900, and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1902, as well as the memorial shows after Whistler's death. Lenders included major collectors such as S. P. Avery of New York, Brian Lathrop of Chicago, and Howard Mansfield, the New York lawyer who wrote the useful—but not illustrated—catalogue of Whistler's etchings in 1908.

Collectors and dealers are recorded as buying impressions from 1877 onward—Charles Augustus Howell, for instance, bought one print from Whistler for the bargain price of £1 1s. 0d. in 1877, and the Royal Library at Windsor paid £4 4s. 0d. for another, which was sold in 1906 and presumably helped to pay Edward VII's debts.[21] Other collectors included Joshua H. Hutchinson, whose fine early proofs fetched the high prices

FIGURE 9. Katsushika Hokusai, *The Sazaido Hall of the Temple, Gohyakurakanji* from the series Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji, Turban-shell Hall of the Five-Hundred-Raka Temple, 1830–35. Woodblock print; ink and color on paper, 24.5 × 37 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of the family of Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer, F1974.63.

of £8 8s. 0d. and £9 12s. 0d. in 1892.[22] Freer bought an impression of the third state that had come originally from the artist's brother-in-law, Francis Seymour Haden, who sold it through H. Wunderlich & Co. in 1898 (see Figure 5). From these contemporary collections, impressions went to form the basis of the great American print collections—Avery's to the New York Public Library, for instance, Lathrop's to the Art Institute of Chicago, and Freer's to the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. There are also a few impressions recorded and illustrated in Kennedy's catalogue that have not been located and are still out there, we hope, waiting to be discovered.

Most recorded impressions of *Speke Hall: The Avenue* are in American collections: in addition to those already mentioned, they include the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Gallery of Art, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Syracuse University Art Galleries, and the University of Michigan Museum of Art. In Europe, there is one late impression in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; two in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool; and one and a bit in The Hunterian, University of Glasgow. (Curiously, the artist had been left with only a fragment of the third state, so The Hunterian, inheritor of his estate, bought a complete impression of the tenth state from Colnaghi in 1967.)[23] Similarly, the Walker Art Gallery, intent for obvious reasons on acquiring an interesting group of the Liverpool subjects, bought impressions of *Speke Hall: The Avenue* comparatively recently. The gallery actually bought two fine impressions, a sixth state from the Kennedy Galleries in 1967 and a ninth state from Sotheby's in 1975.[24] Thus, to study and enjoy the variations in different states of this etching, it is necessary to visit a dozen public collections in three countries—or simply to access http://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk/catalogue/, search for "Speke," and click on catalogue number 101, *Speke Hall: The Avenue*.

Online Access

The website for the Whistler Etchings Project has been available from the start of the project in 2004. *James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, a Catalogue Raisonné* went online to the public in October 2011 with an online exhibition and other information. The website statistics analyzing visits to the site are revealing, showing how dramatically it changes the possibilities for research and recreation. Visits to the site during this period ranged from around 1,500 a month in early 2011 to 2,000 *a day* (or 61,133 a month) after the launch of the first stage of the catalogue raisonné in December 2011. In that month, there were 374,786 hits, with visitors consulting 309,695 pages in total—an average of 500 hits an hour, with 9,990 pages visited every day.

A high proportion of visitors to the website came from the United States, followed by the United Kingdom, Japan, the Netherlands, Germany and other European Union countries, Russia, Mexico, New Zealand, Israel, India, Brazil, Turkey, and Australia. The search strings used to access the site indicate a wide range of interests apart from the obvious "Whistler etchings," including "How to identify the state of Whistler etching" and inquiries on specific etchings and biographies, such as those of E. W. Godwin, Frances Dawson (later Mrs. Leyland), and so on. These were followed up using various searches in the etchings catalogue.

The Whistler Etchings Project was underpinned by a Major Research Grant from the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council in 2004, plus substantial grants from the Lunder Foundation that enabled us to extend the scope of the catalogue, for which we are enormously grateful. We also received support from Glasgow University's Chancellor's Fund, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, the International Fine Print Dealers Association, private foundations, and art dealers (Thomas Colville Fine Art, New York, and the Fine Art Society, London). The project was based on collaboration between the University of Glasgow, the Freer Gallery of Art, and the Art Institute of Chicago. Producing the catalogue involved extensive collaboration with art dealers, librarians, curators, and private collectors, particularly in United States and the EU, including the Baltimore Museum of Art, the British Museum, the New York Public Library, Colby College Museum of Art, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, as well as valuable advice from a distinguished editorial board and the assistance of numerous students, interns, and honorary research fellows.

A "Contact Us" form on the site has resulted in a steady stream of inquiries from people owning etchings, from students writing essays, and from scholars, artists, and people with a general interest in prints, printmaking, the history of art, the art market, and so on, as well as comments from people who have taken the time to thank us for producing the website: "Congratulations on a quite stupendous achievement!" wrote one nonacademic visitor. "The site is so easy to use and fast, and the information on each etching is extraordinary. … Thank you so much, what a tribute to the greatest modern etcher of them all."[25] Several galleries and collectors, particularly in the United States, have contacted us, wishing to add their collections and data, as well as asking questions. Others, whose support helped to make the catalogue a success, offered generous praise: "Congratulations to you on the Whistler etching catalogue raisonné! What an incredible database! … I have no doubt it will be an invaluable resource, and we feel fortunate to have been able to contribute a small part."[26]

In 2009, the exhibition *Whistler: The Gentle Art of Making Etchings* was held at the

Hunterian Art Gallery in Glasgow and the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight to explore questions and discoveries that emerged during the project. The show received favorable reviews and was popular with visitors of all ages and countries.[27] The exhibition appealed to a range of visitors and was well attended, with popular educational classes, lunchtime lectures, and so on. Myra Brown, a curator at the Lady Lever Art Gallery, reported reactions to the show in Liverpool:

> [It] was a very popular show with our visitors, who really appreciated the opportunity to discover another facet of Whistler's art and to see the etchings so close up. We had nearly 32,500 visitors over the period … with a daily average of 405 over 80 days. … This compares very well indeed with our previous exhibitions at the gallery and we were delighted with the response.[28]

Although this popular exhibition reached over 400 people a day, the online etchings website reached five times that in its first month—nearly 2,000 a day—and was visited by people of all ages from all over the world. Putting Whistler on the map via the Internet has been at times "laborious" but also exciting and deeply rewarding—and the etchings and drypoints continue to inspire and fascinate the authors of the catalogue, our supportive colleagues, and our new viewers worldwide.

Notes

1. Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London: Heinemann and Lippincott, 1908), 2:50.
2. Ralph Thomas, *A Catalogue of the Etchings and Drypoints of James Abbott Macneil Whistler* (London, 1874); Frederick Wedmore, *Whistler's Etchings: A Study and a Catalogue* (London, 1886; 2nd ed., 1889).
3. Wedmore to Whistler, July 10, 1886, GUW 06290.
4. Pennell Catalogue, PWC; Revillon Catalogue, Whistler Etchings Project and The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.
5. Howard Mansfield, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etchings and Dry-Points of James Abbott McNeill Whistler* (Chicago: Caxton Club, 1909); Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler* (New York: Grolier Club, 1910).
6. *Market, Calais* in Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler* (New York: Grolier Club, 1910), catalogue no. 350.
7. Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret F. MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler, Drawings, Pastels and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, ed. Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi, with contributions by Nesta R. Spink, Katharine Jordan Lochnan, and Nicholas Smale (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial, 1998).
8. See, for example, Freer Gallery of Art, http://www.asia.si.edu; The Hunterian, http://www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian; Special Collections, University of Glasgow, http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search.

9. The demoted etchings from Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler,* are *A Youth Wearing a German Cap* (K.5), signed "IW"; *Village Street—A Fragment* (K.15½), an unfinished etching by an unknown artist; and *Portrait of a Lady* (K. app. II), an etching by Francis Seymour Haden.

10. See Grischka Petri, *Arrangement in Business: The Art Markets and the Career of James McNeill Whistler* (Hildesheim, Germany: Olms, 2011).

11. Whistler to M. B. Huish, [January 21/26, 1880], GUW 02992.

12. Whistler to M. B. Huish, September 3, 1889, GUW 08803.

13. Whistler to C. J. W. Hanson, [October 25, 1888], GUW 08842.

14. Whistler to W. Heinemann, [October 1892], GUW 10789.

15. Martin Hopkinson, "Nathaniel Sparks' Printing of Whistler's Etchings," *Print Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1999): 340, 345, 349. 16. *Third Summer Exhibition,* Grosvenor Gallery 1879, catalogue no. 270.

17. Whistler, list of etchings printed, August 14, 1879, GUW 13019.

18. Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), 158–59.

19. Margaret F. MacDonald, "Whistler and the Thames," in *An American in London: Whistler and the Thames,* exhibition catalogue, (London: Philip Wilson, 2013), 23–24.

20. Watermarks include De Erven De Blauw at the Art Institute of Chicago (1934.552), National Gallery of Art (1943.3.8460), and New York Public Library (MEZAP, no accession number); C & I Honig at the Art Institute of Chicago (1938.1930); Pro Patria at the Boston Public Library (W.1646); IV countermark at the Freer Gallery of Art (F1898.332) and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1954–7-1); Arms of Amsterdam at The Hunterian (GLAHA 46768) and the Syracuse University Art Galleries (1963.0988); Hunting horn, at the University of Michigan Museum of Art (1954/1.354, with Latin writing on verso) and the Walker Art Gallery (10617); Asian paper at the National Gallery of Art (1987.41.68) and the Library of Congress (FP-XIX-W576 no. 96).

21. Charles Augustus Howell to Whistler, [November 15, 1877], GUW 02179; Whistler to Royal Collection, [October 19/22, 1877], GUW 12736 (now in the National Gallery of Art, 1987.41.68).

22. Sotheby's, March 3, 1892, lots 137–39; one is now in the Library of Congress, FP-X-IX-W576 no. 96.

23. Kennedy, *Etched Work of Whistler,* catalogue no. 96, reproduced as states 4–10 (G.101, states 6, 8, 10, 11, and 14). Speke *Hall: The Avenue,* The Hunterian GLAHA 46768, fragment GLAHA 46769 (£80 0s. 0d.).

24. *Speke Hall: The Avenue,* Walker Art Gallery 10617, 9066 (Kennedy Galleries, 1987; Sotheby's, Belgravia, London, October 7, 1975, lot 130).

25. E-mail correspondence with Whistler Etchings Project, January 6, 2012.

26 Rena Hoisington, Baltimore Museum of Art, e-mail message to author, December 2011.

27. See, for example, Moira Jeffrey, "Whistler: The Gentle Art of Making Etchings," *Scotland on Sunday*, February 1, 2009. Visitors' Book (2009) comments include the following: "I recently did an art project including Whistler so it's amazing to see his work in person" (Emily); "I really like this exhibition, I do art at college,

and I would like to give this technique a try" (Gordon); "This is an excellent and informative retrospective of Whistler. It provides manifold insights into his etching practices and celebrates his many fields of endeavour" (an Irish visitor); "Absolutely beautiful etchings—puts mine to shame—really captures the atmosphere in them and are so delicate" (a UK visitor); "The art work is of course lovely, and the information is displayed perfectly alongside it. I never knew Whistler did etching, now I feel like an expert" (Kathryn); "Good explanation of print methods, including nuances of etching/drypoint. Good to see your research made available to all during the project" (Paul).

28. Myra Brown, Lady Lever Art Gallery, e-mail message to author, January 8, 2010.

Whistler and Art of the Americas

Erica E. Hirshler

"Mr. Whistler will not allow us to use the phrase 'American art,'" wrote George Smalley in 1902 for *Munsey's Magazine*, a popular journal that reinforced its own national credentials by calling itself "a magazine of the people and for the people." Smalley had earned his stripes on the front during the Civil War as a newspaper reporter, acclaimed for his dramatic eyewitness account of the bloody battle at Antietam. After the war he became a foreign correspondent for the American press, and by the turn of the century Smalley was a man long familiar with the expatriate experience. He made a point of noting to his *Munsey's* readers that James McNeill Whistler "had long since announced that art is of no nationality." Smalley then declared, no matter how unpatriotic he knew his assessment would sound to his audience, that Whistler's artistic career would not even have been possible in the United States.[1] What, then, is Whistler's art now doing at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in a wing devoted specifically to the art of the Americas? How do you take a painter who was so international and cosmopolitan in his outlook; a man who never refrained from correcting anyone who thought he might have been born anywhere on earth besides Lowell, Massachusetts; a citizen who left the United States in 1855, when he was twenty-one, and never returned—how do you take such an artist and display his work in galleries devoted to American art?

The presentation of paintings by Whistler in modern American museums triggers challenges and opportunities for curators as they seek to create galleries that are beautiful, coherent, and tell a story that a general visitor can follow. This paper explores Whistler's changing position in museum displays of American art, focusing in particular on the Boston museum and its new wing for Art of the Americas, completed in 2010. The tour outlined here traverses galleries past and present and is intertwined with theoretical concepts, specifically the issues of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, which come up—or should come up—in the study of American art.

The question of nationality and nationalism is one that circulates continuously in American art, particularly in the late nineteenth century, an era of global connections eerily similar to our own. The subject arose around the career of John Singer Sargent, a painter who was not even born or educated in the United States, but about whom Henry James remarked that Americans "shall be well advised to claim him."[2] Whistler himself would later tease Sargent about his nationality on the occasion of Sargent's election as an associate of the Royal Academy in 1894; Whistler wrote to ask him (in language apprehended from Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta *HMS Pinafore*) whether "in the face of great temptation" Sargent had chucked up his nation "to become an En-glish-man." Sargent

replied that the London academicians had not requested that he "retouch" his nationality, noting with good humor, "I keep my twang." Lest Whistler think he was kidding, Sargent added rather stiffly, "If you should hear anything to the contrary, please state that there was no such transaction and that I am an American."[3]

Was Whistler ever that firm on the subject? He sometimes referred to America as his home. Most often he declared himself American only when it was advantageous in legal terms: in August 1873, he firmly avowed his citizenship to avoid jury duty in London; in 1890, he reminded his lawyer that he had full rights as a citizen in the United States in connection with an infringement of copyright to do with pirated editions of his written work; and several times in the 1890s he affirmed his citizenship to avoid paying export duties on his works when shipping them to America.[4] Scholars Nicolai Cikovsky, Linda Merrill, and Lee Glazer, among others, have written extensively about Whistler as an American and about Whistler's place in American art.[5] I shall not repeat their work here but want to make note of it, for the issue is of critical importance in terms of how we, as curators, define American art.

Whistler, Sargent, and Mary Cassatt—to which curatorial department are they assigned, American or European? It varies from museum to museum, continent to continent. They have been European in Philadelphia but American in Boston. In Great Britain, Sargent has been rechristened "Singer Sargent" and is often considered British, but Cassatt seems never to be considered French in France. Yet her work relates much more closely to that of Edgar Degas than to paintings by any of her compatriots. In the newly installed nineteenth-century French galleries at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, Cassatt is firmly ensconced with her French colleagues; only one canvas is displayed in a gallery with those of her fellow Americans. How do we select the painters we include in our galleries of American or of European art? And how do we explain those choices to our visitors?

Whistler started his adult life by serving at one of the nation's most patriotic institutions, the United States Military Academy at West Point, but by 1886 the American critic Charles de Kay confessed, "it would be hard to say to which nationality he belongs."[6] And Whistler cultivated that ambiguity, becoming French, English, or Japanese as the occasion suited him, wearing his nationality like a thin cloak, as if it were one of the diaphanous veils of color that envelop his landscapes, making them dreamlike and ambiguous, more Whistlerian in character than the Chilean, Italian, or British scenes they record. But although a critic for the *New York Times* announced in 1885 that Whistler had "forgotten everything American," critic William C. Brownell declared in 1890 that Whistler was "more of an American than anything else."[7] And that is where the issue came to rest at the Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) when the curatorial staff, working since 2001 under the direction of department chair Elliot Bostwick Davis, began to plan a new wing devoted to arts of the Americas.

This newly built addition was designed by Foster + Partners of London; it includes fifty-three galleries devoted to the display of over 5,000 works of art from the indigenous cultures of the ancient Americas to those of the third quarter of the twentieth century. As the spaces were planned, our curatorial team arrived at a common goal: not to create a ghetto of American art. Instead, we sought to look at American art in context, accepting that it was not created in isolation and embracing recent trends in scholarly practice that emphasize a cosmopolitan view. We also wanted to take advantage of the connections that could be made to the rest of the museum's encyclopedic collections.

As Henry James had declared in 1867, the same year that Whistler first displayed his *Symphony in White, No. 3* (1865–67, Barber Institute of Fine Arts; YMSM 61), the arts in America were in the process of becoming a "vast intellectual fusion and synthesis of the various National tendencies of the world."[8] What better place, then, than in this new wing to display the art of Whistler, that master of fusion and synthesis?

FIGURE 1. Fitz Henry Lane, *Owl's Head, Penobscot Bay, Maine*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 40 × 66.36 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Martha C. Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815–1865, 1948, 48.448. Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler, *The Last of Old Westminster*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 60.96 × 78.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, A. Shuman Collection, 1939, 39.44. Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

We also hoped to explore, and to bring to our public's attention, the constant push and pull between nationalism and cosmopolitanism that we felt defined American art, particularly in the nineteenth century. Paintings made in the same year can be radically different. For example, Fitz Henry Lane's *Owl's Head, Penobscot Bay* (Figure 1), painted in 1862, depicts the rocky coast of Maine with a fine brush, giving every indication (if not the reality) of topographical accuracy. Lane idealized the view, correcting its contours and suffusing it with a moist, radiant sky that melds together pink and orange as if by magic. The scene has transfixed Lane's somewhat ungainly onlooker in the foreground, who pauses from his work to watch the transformation of dawn to day. In such quiet and poetical landscapes, Lane celebrated his native shores. But what of Whistler, who painted *The Last of Old Westminster* (Figure 2) that same year? There is little of America in Whistler's canvas. Using a French Realist technique of viscous paint thickly applied with a flat brush and troweled with a palette knife, Whistler built a bridge in London, reflecting on a scene that few would have called beautiful or transcendent but that became so through his art. Whistler's urban construction site is far from Lane's seacoast sunrise. Aside from their shared materials—cloth, wood, and oil-based pigment—these two paintings are different in every way. But as curators, we must find a way to make both of them feel at home in galleries dedicated to nineteenth-century American art.

The MFA had collected American art from its very beginning and invested in Whistler very early, during the artist's lifetime; it was the second American institution (after the Philadelphia Museum of Art) to acquire Whistler's work for its permanent collection. The first of the MFA's six paintings came in 1896.[9] Soon after he finished them, Whistler sold a pair of figure studies from 1895, *The Master Smith of Lyme Regis* (1895; YMSM 450) and *Little Rose of Lyme Regis* (1895–96; YMSM 449), to Edward G. Kennedy of the

Wunderlich gallery in New York; the MFA bought them for $7,200. The next canvas came into the collection in 1909, a tiny street scene, *Street in Old Chelsea* (ca. 1880–85; YMSM 249), a gift from the great Boston collector, teacher, and color theorist Denman Ross, who had owned it by 1902. Ross was one of the city's most voracious collectors and most generous benefactors of the museum—he acquired and donated thousands of objects, from Spanish colonial silver horse trappings to Japanese prints to avant-garde paintings by Claude Monet.

The Last of Old Westminster was next to enter the collection, albeit much later. The museum bought this important early painting in 1939 for $15,000 from one Mrs. John Riddle, a woman better known today as Theodate Pope, the architect and founder of the Hill-Stead Museum in Farmington, Connecticut. After its display at the Royal Academy in 1863, Whistler had sold *The Last of Old Westminster* to George Cavafy, a London merchant and one of the artist's most important early patrons. Whistler had tried to buy it back in 1889, already feeling slighted that others were making profits on his paintings that should rightfully have been his. But Cavafy refused, and his son John inherited the painting in 1891. John Cavafy sold it to Kennedy in New York in June 1892, enjoying just the kind of profit on the transaction that Whistler so resented. Kennedy sold the canvas to another New York dealer, and Alfred Pope, who already owned Whistler's *The Blue Wave, Biarritz* (painted in 1862—the same year as *The Last of Old Westminster*—and now in the Hill-Stead Museum; YMSM 41), bought it in 1898. His daughter, Theodate Pope Riddle, inherited it upon her father's death in 1913; her decision to sell it was most likely influenced by her continuing financial commitment to her most important architectural project, Avon Old Farms School.

A few years later, the MFA acquired Whistler's *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice* (Figure 3). We prize this rare oil, completed during Whistler's fourteen-month stay in the city, a time when he concentrated most of his energy on making etchings and pastels. Its damp, inky blue evening sky, illuminated only by golden lights flickering on the horizon, blends seamlessly into the dark waters of the lagoon, where a shadowy gondolier forms a ghostly human presence. The delicacy of Whistler's brush perfectly captures the place Lord Byron had described in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* as a "fairy city of the heart," and that visual refinement belies the rather more coarse progress of the actual canvas. Richard A. Canfield, the most significant American collector of Whistler's work after Charles Lang Freer, had seized the opportunity to buy the painting when it came on the market after Whistler's death in 1903. Canfield was a gambler, the proprietor of fashionable (if illegal) houses in New York City, Saratoga Springs, and Newport. But he was also a refined and cultured collector, and near the end of Whistler's life, Canfield had developed a friendship with the artist. Whistler painted Canfield's portrait (1901–3, present location unknown; YMSM 547), admired his connoisseurship, and was amused by his unsavory reputation. Canfield died in 1914 after injuries sustained in a subway accident; his paintings were sold at auction, and the *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* came down through one family until it was sold to the MFA in 1942 for $9,000.

The last painting by Whistler to enter the museum's collection was *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red* (ca. 1869; YMSM 91), purchased in 1960 for $12,000. The painting had come through a variety of British collections before being consigned to Durlacher Brothers, a New York firm with roots in London. It was sent to Boston in September 1960 and approved by the Collections Committee in October, but director Perry Rathbone confessed to the dealer that to his surprise, and despite his own enthusiasm for the picture, getting it

FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice*, 1879–80. Oil on canvas, 50.16 × 65.4 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Emily L. Ainsley Fund, 1942, 42.302. Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

past the museum's trustees "was not an easy task."[10] The reasons for their hesitation went unrecorded—perhaps the painting no longer fit their conception of American art, which not only had dropped in esteem but also was then defined along more nationalist lines. Only three other American paintings were purchased that year, two early twentieth-century street scenes of Boston by George Luks and an abstract still life by the Massachusetts painter Karl Knaths.

Over the years there have been different strategies for displaying Whistler's paintings. The changes reflect the general history of museums, the fashions for display, and the shifting status and definition of American art. The MFA, founded in 1870, opened its doors on July 4, 1876, the nation's centennial, a patriotic day if ever there was one. Its earliest displays matched those of many museums of the period; the collections were installed by medium. All paintings, no matter their national origin, were hung together roughly chronologically, and thus Winslow Homer and Jean-François Millet appeared in the same room. These early displays were crowded, hung tightly together in Salon style, an installation technique that lasted into the early twentieth century. A photograph documents Whistler's *Little Rose* and the *Master Smith* hanging one above the other in an arrangement from around 1900 that no doubt would have been anathema to the artist (Figure 4).

Few photographs seem to have been taken of the early installations in the MFA's new building on Huntington Avenue, which opened in 1909, and none of them show Whistler's work, despite the museum's growing collection of his art. The paintings galleries in the 1909 building divided the European and American displays, a strategy that persisted in 1915

when the new Evans Wing galleries for paintings opened, elegant new rooms with colored fabric-covered walls and gently coved ceilings with flat skylights. Although the history of the MFA's building and collections expansion cannot be related here, an important turning point came in the 1940s, with the gift of 233 paintings from Maxim and Martha Karolik, who sought to rediscover and redefine the field of American art through a new appreciation of the paintings produced in the United States between 1815 and 1865. The MFA reconfigured its galleries to display the Karolik Collection together for a period of five years (as promised to the donors) in the rooms formerly used as a cast court.[11]

The Karolik Collection is one of several important assemblages of American art formed in the first half of the twentieth century that favored a nationalist perspective. It coincided with current events—the Depression, World War II—that fostered a patriotic approach to the field, and in direct consequence, the reputations of Whistler and his fellow expatriates plummeted. When the MFA's galleries were again reorganized beginning in the 1950s, the general standing of American art had also begun to fall. At the MFA, European and American paintings were now separated by floor, and American art got the inferior space: European paintings were installed in all the gracious skylit galleries on the second level of the Evans Wing, and the American works got the spaces carved out belowstairs—with lower ceilings, dropped fluorescent tracks, and walls painted white. Installation photographs record Whistler's *Lagoon* hanging there, looking a little forlorn between a Ralph Blakelock and an Albert Pinkham Ryder (Figure 5). Things improved in a 1982 to 1986 renovation, when the lighting system was modernized and the walls were painted in more harmonious colors. Photographs of the galleries at that time show Whistler's *Last of Old Westminster* displayed alongside other urban views by Childe Hassam and other American painters with a European sensibility.

FIGURE 4. Paintings gallery in the Copley Square building, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1902, showing *Little Rose of Lyme Regis* (1895–96; YMSM 449) and *The Master Smith of Lyme Regis* (1895; YMSM 450). Photograph © T. E. Marr photography and courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

FIGURE 5. Paintings gallery at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1964, showing *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice* (1879–80; YMSM 212). Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fashions in museum display would again begin to change, now inspired by the theatricality of such special exhibitions as the landmark show *Treasure Houses of Britain*, held at the National Gallery of Art in Washington from 1985 to 1986, with

FIGURE 6. Susan Morse Hilles Gallery at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2005, showing *Little Rose of Lyme Regis* (1895–96; YMSM 449) and *The Master Smith of Lyme Regis* (1895; YMSM 450). Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

elaborate installations that *New York Times* critic Hilton Kramer described as "so powerfully evocative that they bring a whole period to life."[12] The arrangement of the MFA's galleries started to break free from long-standing media-based assemblages; rooms were reorganized over time to create more mixed displays of paintings, furniture, and decorative arts. These became progressively more elaborate, dense, and complex, especially after 2004, when the existing galleries were transformed into incubators for ideas that would be implemented more fully in the MFA's new wing (Figure 6). This kind of work necessitated a new level of financial and intellectual commitment on the part of the museum, not only in materials (platforms, cases, special finishes) but also in terms of staff: curators, designers, conservators, preparators, and crew. The rooms were an aesthetic and popular success and led directly to the installations planned for the new galleries.

The wing for Art of the Americas was one part of a new master site plan commissioned by the museum's trustees and director, Malcolm Rogers, and undertaken by Foster + Partners. It involved the reorientation of visitor traffic throughout the building, improved accessibility within the 1909 and 1915 entrances, additional visitor amenities, a new special exhibition gallery, auditorium, and classrooms—and those fifty-three galleries, over 50,000 square feet, larger than some museums. Although the results now look effortless, the planning process lasted for almost ten years and involved many people from a variety of areas of expertise. Some decisions came easily; others were hard won over time.[13] Careful attention was paid to the challenges of making old art look well in modern spaces; all parties involved in the process came to unite behind the idea that the collections should come first. Elliot Bostwick Davis and her curatorial team were also driven by new ideas about the definition of American art. The wing was meant to be inclusive of all the Americas, from ancient times to the last third of the twentieth century. Old divisions based on medium were no longer considered sacred, allowing our visitors to experience a holistic, integrated

environment of fine and decorative arts. The four floors of the wing were divided into chronological segments, creating a clear organizational scheme for visitors and allowing the largest parts of the collection, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century holdings, to occupy the two levels that contained the most gallery space.

Because the MFA is an encyclopedic museum, blessed with important collections from around the world and across time, our strategies of interpretation and display were intended to make connections between art made in the Americas (and works made by Americans abroad) and the art of other places and periods. American art was born of trade and contact, and we hoped to explicate for our visitors that relationship to other cultures and thereby to the rest of the MFA's collections. Sometimes these explanations take the form of actual juxtapositions between (for example) eighteenth-century Boston silver and its British prototypes, but more often connections are made through labeling, photographs, and on our handheld multimedia guide, which provides information and images of related objects on view throughout the museum.

And where is Whistler? The first gallery of the nineteenth-century floor is devoted to his fellow expatriate John Singer Sargent. The designation was made not only in deference to the strength of the MFA's holdings of that artist's work but also to make evident a newer and more cosmopolitan approach to the art of the century. Whistler's work appears in the gallery just to the right, a room devoted to the Aesthetic movement and to cosmopolitanism. Three superb stained-glass windows, two by John La Farge and one by Louis Comfort Tiffany, introduce the room. With these masterpieces of decorative arts placed in such a central location, given the pride of place most often reserved for paintings, the curators also sought to communicate another feature of nineteenth-century art—the rise in importance and critical standing of new media.[14]

As the visitor enters the Aesthetic movement gallery and passes by the stained-glass windows, a wall of Whistlers unfolds. Passing before the *Master Smith*, the *Nocturne in Blue and Silver,* and *Little Rose of Lyme Regis*, one next encounters an array of objects that speak to the taste for Japan, Whistler's *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red* among them. The adjacent wall, again devoted to paintings, features *The Last of Old Westminster.* But if the visitor turned around, he or she would see one of the surprises concocted to vary the visual experience, a vignette devoted to the eclecticism of the period (Figure 7).

The vignette, inspired in part by recent installations at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, came together as a result of several new acquisitions. The first was an intricately carved fireplace surround that was offered to the MFA as a gift in 2008; it provided a focal point for the display.[15] The fireplace had once been part of the drawing room of a townhouse at 196 Commonwealth Avenue in Boston's Back Bay. Completed in 1881 by Boston architects Peabody and Stearns, Elizabeth Spooner's house reflected the current fashion for Colonial Revival architecture as well as her own passion for Asia, where she had lived in the 1850s. Some of the carved elements of this fireplace were probably imported from China, but the surround was filled out and assembled by local Boston craftsmen. The painting that once hung over the mantel was long gone, and we had thought to fill it with one of our decorative panels by La Farge. But then a painting came on the market by a little-known American artist who had worked with La Farge, John Humphreys Johnston. He made *Le Domino Rose* in Paris in about 1895, and by some miracle, the canvas fit almost exactly into the empty spot. The curators conceived the vignette around the fireplace, now enhanced by Johnston's contemplative figure study, using it to bring together period furniture, ceramics, paintings (including Whistler's *Street*

FIGURE 7. Robert P. and Carol T. Henderson Gallery (The Aesthetic Movement, 1870–1900), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2010, showing *Street in Old Chelsea* (ca. 1880–85: YMSM 249). Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

in Old Chelsea), glassware, metalwork, and antique Turkish tiles collected by Bostonians in the nineteenth century.

While Johnston's vivid fuchsia painting provides drama, Whistler is the thread that binds everything in the gallery together. Most of the other paintings in the room relate to one another through Whistler. Johnston, from a wealthy New York family, first studied art with La Farge and then went to Europe. Little is known about his career, but he was active in Paris in the 1890s, and he knew both Whistler and John White Alexander. A letter of about 1894 reveals that Johnston had invited Whistler to a lunch he was hosting for La Farge (Whistler could not go), and one to Richard Canfield in 1902 tells us that Whistler was still in touch with Johnston, asking him to report on how his paintings had been installed at the Société Nationale exhibition in Paris.[16] John White Alexander's *Isabella and the Pot of Basil* (1897), his masterpiece and one of the only American paintings to capture fully the decadence of the Art Nouveau, is also featured in the gallery. Alexander had known Whistler since 1879 or 1880, when he was in Venice with the "Duveneck boys." He had started to make a portrait of Whistler in London in 1886, and a few years later, when Alexander settled in Paris in 1891, he reestablished his friendship with Whistler, who arrived there the following year. The gallery also includes works by William Merritt Chase, who was one of Whistler's chief admirers and promoters in the United States, although their personal friendship had dissolved into quarrels in 1885, and by the painter and photographer Edward Steichen, who was profoundly influenced by Whistler from the time he first saw the master's work in reproduction at the Milwaukee Public Library. Whistler is also the pivot around which our discussions of style hang; for example, he brings together our group of Japanese-inflected objects, encouraging comparison to works of art in other areas of the MFA's collection. The display and its accompanying interpretative materials are designed to open intellectual doors among the arts of the United States, England,

France, and Japan. Rather than standing apart from the art of his time, Whistler serves to bring its disparate strands together.

In September 1867, Henry James wrote to his friend Thomas Perry in an oft-quoted letter that stated, "To have no national stamp has hitherto been a defect and a drawback." But James also declared that to be an American was "an excellent preparation for culture," insofar as Americans could deal, more freely than Europeans, "with forms of civilization not their own," could "pick and choose and assimilate and in short (aesthetically etc.) claim our property wherever we find it."[17] James's words about picking and choosing find an echo in one of Whistler's own remarks in his *Ten O'Clock* lecture: "Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful—as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he bring forth from chaos glorious harmony."[18]

Have the MFA's curators and designers picked and chosen well enough to bring forth from a chaos of objects a glorious and harmonious presentation? What would Whistler think of the display we have created? One suspects that as an artist who cared deeply about design and decoration, who carefully planned several of his own exhibition installations with color arrangements as sophisticated as those of the works within them, he might have enjoyed seeing his paintings hang on a simple blue-gray wall. Or perhaps, as the designer of the Peacock Room, Whistler would have appreciated the encrusted spectacle of the Aesthetic movement vignette. By having both installation strategies in play, we impart much more about the fine art of display and its effects on objects, lessons that Whistler was anxious to teach.

This variety of installation styles in Boston's new wing was deliberate, part of a plan to remind visitors that the very look of the galleries (and not just the objects within them) can reflect a historic period or a particular place and, of course, is always subject to individual taste. In the end, the new walls on which Whistler's paintings hang are not so different (if a bit less densely installed) than the ones so carefully designed to demonstrate Whistler's aesthetic for his 1904 memorial exhibition at the Copley Society in Boston. The walls of those rooms were specially painted a light gray and then covered with a silvery, iridescent, woven grass cloth; the rows of paintings were punctuated with Japanese carvings above them and over the doorways (Figure 8). In the end, when visitors experience the galleries in the MFA now dedicated to art of the Americas, we can but hope that Charles Lang Freer's words of 1902 still ring true: "The Boston People really seem to care for Mr. Whistler's work."[19]

FIGURE 8. Whistler Memorial Exhibition, Copley Hall, Boston, 1904. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Photograph by Thomas Marr.

Notes

1. George W. Smalley, "American Artists Abroad," *Munsey's Magazine*, April 1902, 45.
2. Henry James, "John S. Sargent," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October 1887, 683.
3. Whistler to Sargent, January 20, 1894, GUW 02669; Sargent to Whistler, [January 22, 1894], GUW 05387.
4. Whistler to James Anderson Rose, August 25, 1873, GUW 12155; Whistler to George Henry Lewis, [March 22, 1890], GUW 02553; (for an example) Whistler to Charles Lang Freer, January 16, 1892, GUW 11703.
5. See, for example, Nicolai Cikovsky Jr., with Charles Brock, "Whistler and America," in *James McNeill Whistler*, ed. Richard Dorment and Margaret F. MacDonald (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 29–38; Linda Merrill, "Whistler in America," in *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting,* ed. Linda Merrill (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 10–31; Lee Glazer, "Whistler, America, and the Memorial Exhibition of 1904," in *After Whistler*, 86–96.
6. Charles de Kay, "Whistler, the Head of the Impressionists," *Art Review* 1 (1886): 1, as quoted in Cikovsky, "Whistler and America," 30.
7. "Whistler and His Ways," *New York Times*, March 22, 1885; William C. Brownell, "The Paris Exposition, Notes and Impressions," *Scribner's Monthly*, January 1890, 34 (both as quoted in Cikovsky, "Whistler and America," 30, 31).
8. Henry James to Thomas Sargeant Perry, September 20, 1867, in *Henry James: Letters*, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974), 1: 77.
9. The MFA's collection of Whistlers includes six paintings, almost 300 prints, one cancelled plate, several illustrated books, three drawings, one watercolor, and a letter; it is by no means comprehensive, but it is very fine. For this essay, I have chosen to focus on the paintings alone, as the history of their display within the institution has been more completely recorded.
10. Perry T. Rathbone to George E. Dix Jr., October 18, 1960, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
11. For a detailed history of the museum, see Walter Muir Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970). Further information about the appearance and arrangement of the paintings galleries over the course of the twentieth century can be found in the MFA's annual reports and in a variety of published handbooks of the collection; see, for example, Julia de Wolf Addison, *The Boston Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1910).
12. Hilton Kramer, "Art View: England's Glory: The Country House," *New York Times,* November 3, 1985. The National Gallery's exhibition designers were Gaillard Ravenel and Mark Leithauser. See Gervase Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain: 500 Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
13. A complete description of the project is beyond the scope of this paper; I am grateful to Elliot Bostwick Davis for her helpful review of my brief account. For more details about the planning and execution of the MFA's new galleries, see Elliot Bostwick Davis, "Communicating through Design and Display: The New American Wing at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," in *Beyond the Turnstile: Making the Case for Museums*

and Sustainable Values, ed. Selma Holo and Mari-Tere Álvarez (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2009), 182–85; Davis, "The Art of the Americas Wing. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *American Art* 24 (Summer 2010): 9–11; Davis, "Breaking Ground in Boston," *Magazine Antiques* 177 (November–December 2010): 124–33. See also Ted Loos, "Mix Masters," *Art and Antiques* 33 (November 2010): 84.

14. The curators from the Department of Art of the Americas who planned the Aesthetic movement gallery were Elliot Bostwick Davis, John Moors Cabot Chair, and Eleanor P. Gadsden, now Katharine Lane Weems Senior Curator of American Decorative Arts. The designer was Keith Crippen.

15. Accession number 2008.1501; the fireplace was the gift of Jan and Warren Adelson. For a history of the house in which it once was installed, see "196 Commonwealth Avenue," BOSarchitecture, http://www.bosarchitecture.com/backbay/commonwealth/196.html (accessed May 12, 2013).

16. Whistler to John Humphreys Johnston, [June–October 1894?], GUW 09176; Whistler to Richard A. Canfield, April 19, 1902, GUW 09044.

17. James to Perry, September 20, 1867, in *Henry James: Letters*, 1: 77.

18. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 14.

19. Freer to Thomas Dewing, December 12, 1902, Letterpress Books 10: 22, FGAA, as quoted in Glazer, "Whistler, America, and the Memorial Exhibition of 1904," 88.

Inside the Palace of Art: Whistler's Aesthetic Subjectivities

Subject and Object in Whistler: The Context of Physiological Aesthetics

Caroline Arscott

In *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (Figure 1), we see the solemn and, according to more than one reviewer, bilious pose of the eight-year-old sitter.[1] Whistler's mother recounted how cold and rainy the season was and how miserably dark the days were; Cicely posed for hours at a time; meanwhile, her lunch was being kept warm in the plate warmer by the fire. Her own mother quietly passed the time crocheting, and Anna Whistler spoke in November 1872 of what a relief it would be for the sittings to come to an end so that the Alexanders did not have to make the twice-weekly journey to Cheyne Walk on those "short dark days." The gloomy days affected Anna Whistler's eyesight; she struggled to keep up her letter writing, telling one correspondent, "Darkness thro incessant rains makes it difficult for my sight."[2] Cicely herself tells of the strain of posing and of her relief when the "blessed black fog came up from the river," invading the studio and making it impossible for Whistler to continue with his work.[3] The topic of this essay includes that cold London fog hanging over the river, shrouding the forms of the city, spilling into places of habitation, and occluding the artist's vision.

Fog—in its clammy contact with the body's various sense organs and its occlusion of distant vision—will help me to make an argument about the relationship of Whistler's artistic mode to the positions taken up by the physiological aestheticists. I will argue that Whistler's works were concerned with duration as much as instantaneity and spatiality rather than flat-

FIGURE 1. James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*, 1872–74. Oil on canvas, 190.2 × 97.8 cm. Tate Britain, London. © Tate, London 2012.

ness.[4] Both findings might be seen to offer an alternative perspective to the more familiar modernist emphasis on evanescence and flatness in Whistler's art. I identify the close alignment between Whistler's approach to aesthetic experience and the concept of aesthetic experience proposed by the physiological aestheticists of the 1870s. Whistler was concerned with reciprocal object-subject issues in terms set out by physiological psychologists. Furthermore, his work was primitivist in its evocation of fundamental aspects of perception and being and was concerned with the correlative relationship of extension in time and extension in space as grounds of being and experience.

FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne: Blue and Gold—Old Battersea Bridge*, ca. 1872–75. Oil on canvas, 68.3 × 51.2 cm. Tate Britain, London. © Tate, London 2012.

FIGURE 3. The *Graphic*, November 9, 1872, 431. © British Library Board (British Newspapers, 1800–1900).

The visual effects of Whistler's Thames views of the 1870s—his Nocturnes, where detail is lost in a murky half-light—were associated with London fog, whether or not he explicitly depicted fog (Figure 2).[5] The *Illustrated Review* as early as 1873 urged Whistler to move on from the topic, to realize that there was more to nature than "a grey fog on the Thames."[6] The *Magazine of Art* in 1878 identified Whistler's three cityscapes in the Grosvenor Gallery exhibition as "clever renderings of various effects of London fog," including a floating bank of smoke over the river, but went on to object that London's polluted atmosphere was not the place to find beauty and the desirable "tone" of nature: in smoke (and London fog), all that could be found was "the poor and grimy darkness of soot."[7]

The phenomenon was much discussed. The chill water of the Thames and certain anticyclonic conditions routinely produced a layer of fog over the river as daylight faded. This layer did occasionally mass up, rising to street level or above, producing a major meteorological event. The *Graphic* in 1872 (Figure 3) distinguished between various kinds of fog, identifying the very worst kind: "so thick that a man cannot see the horse that he is driving."[8] Danger in travel and disruption to trade was accompanied by danger to health. The fogs of the city smelled of coal smoke, sludge, and sulphur; tasted foul; brought on coughs and asthmatic attacks; and made the eyes sting due to "gases and vapours produced by the combustion of fuel, [whence] … the atmosphere is charged with carbon, sulphurous, nitrous and pyroligneous acids."[9] The fires of industrial establishments and private homes poured particles of tar and carbon into the at-

mosphere, which infiltrated the cloud and coated the droplets of water, creating a peculiar fog, yellow or black in color and oily when touched.

If the subject of a photographic portrait was obscured by fog hanging in the room, then the requisite portrait simply could not be made. On the other hand, a cartoon in *Fun* slyly suggests that some clients would be better photographed in the fog.[10] The same might be said for the industrial jumble of the Battersea shoreline, which Whistler beautified by rendering it repeatedly in the restricted light of evening, the indistinct forms evoking the effect of mist or fog on the Thames (Figure 4). Thomas Escott, who was to take on the role of editor of the *Fortnightly Review,* saw Whistler's Nocturnes in 1879 as taking advantage of the aestheticizing aspect of fog: "It cannot be denied that they have a copious measure of suggestive poetry. The dim gleam of lamps, like gold and red stars through mist, idealising the effect of a London river fog—surely this is poetry; such poetry as any of us can see any day if we look for it."[11] This comment is published in a journal, which is important as a locus of avant-garde cultural positions and advanced scientific thinking, as I will go on to discuss. The *Athenaeum* reviewer (possibly William Michael Rossetti) commented similarly in 1876 on the naturalistic underpinnings of Whistler's "moonlight and fog studies," seeing the two works at the Deschamps Gallery that year as not just studies in color and tone of subtle quality and not just Art for Art's Sake, but faithful representations of nature: nature seen afresh in the selection of unusual effects, rather than conventionally rendered.[12]

London fogs were notorious for their nastiness *and* for their beauty. Jonathan Ribner wrote in 2004 of the way that the meteorological phenomenon became imaginatively linked with the British metropolis: visitors expected to see a real London fog; artists such as Monet came specifically to paint fog effects.[13] A host of writers from Dickens onward, including Arthur Symons and Henry James, characterized London by its fog.[14] An extreme case such as that of December 1879 saw the papers describing the "yellow gloom" in which visibility was reduced to 3 yards (3.67 m) on the Strand and locomotion slowed to "a creeping pace."[15] On this occasion the *Daily News* allowed that with the flare of torches and lanterns and the glimmer of gas lamps showing up in the "thick darkness," there was an aesthetic effect: "Viewed merely as a fog this latest fog was artistically perfect."[16]

FIGURE 4. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Battersea Reach*, ca. 1872–78. Oil on canvas, 39.4 × 62.9 cm. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. © Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, MA / Bridgeman Art Library.

FIGURE 5. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Cremorne Lights*, 1872. Oil on canvas, 502 × 743 mm. Tate Britain, London. © Tate, London 2012.

It has been understood that the Nocturnes, for all their exquisite compositions of tone and color, never fully relinquish the description of actual locale (Figure 5). This paradox has exercised art historians, many of whom have rightly emphasized the geographical specifics, whether of Battersea, Cremorne, Chelsea, or Westminster, that persist in Whis-

tler's formalized renditions. John Siewert, for instance, has summed up the balance maintained by Whistler between the description of an encounter with a geographically specific nocturnal landscape and the dissipation or dissolution of the locale in pure color and form.[17] If we return to the comments of the *Athenaeum* reviewer, we find that he uses the term "objective" for the vast majority of naturalistic art ("representing with certain necessary conventions of the art, the subjects chosen by the painters as they refer to nature in a more or less exact or comprehensive way"), reserving the term "subjective" for Art for Art's Sake's prioritization of color, tone, and shape, where the exigencies of the composition determine the elements.[18] Where a motif was deemed ugly and incompetently drawn, as in Whistler's *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl—Connie Gilchrist* (Figure 6), reviewed in the *Athenaeum* in 1879, these demerits, it was stated, belonged to its "objective character." However, in the very same picture, the color harmony could be "a beautiful illustration of certain principles of chromatic art, of which Mr. Whistler is still the leading prophet."[19] In this schema, drawing and the referent belong to the objective, whereas color and abstract values belong to the subjective.

FIGURE 6. James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl—Connie Gilchrist*, 1876–77. Oil on canvas, 217.8 × 109.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of George A. Hearn, 1911 (11.32). Image © Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY / Scala, Florence.

The *Athenaeum* reviewer had recourse to terms familiar from the context of philosophy and the field of philosophical psychology, which was particularly strong in Britain in the 1870s.[20] In the case of the moonlight and fog studies, he finds that Whistler's art, which seems subjective, should by rights be acknowledged as objective by virtue of its fidelity to elements of natural light and weather—conditions not routinely approached by artists. In the case of *Harmony in Yellow and Gold*, which it is pointed out "is also called *Portrait of Miss Connie Gilchrist*," the critic finds that the work, like the title, has two aspects: it is both subjective and objective. The way in which he puts Whistler's art at the junction between these two terms is significant since the terms were being negotiated by philosophically inclined, anti-idealist psychologists of the 1870s. Key thinkers included Alexan-

der Bain, Herbert Spencer, Henry Maudsley, George Henry Lewes, and James Sully. Bain's *The Emotions and the Will* (1859) was in its third edition in 1875; Spencer's *The Principles of Psychology* (1855) was in its second edition in 1873. Maudsley's *The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind* appeared in 1868, giving rise to reviews that surveyed the field of "physiological psychology."[21] Lewes's *Problems of Life and Mind* was published in five volumes from 1874 to 1879, the last two volumes being posthumous. James Sully, author of *Sensation and Intuition* (1874) and *Outlines of Psychology* (1881), was one of Lewes's literary executors. The periodical press in the 1870s paid close attention to debates between different camps in the emergent field of psychology. The *Academy*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Athenaeum,* the *Westminster Review*, as well as *Mind*, *Nature,* and the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* all published detailed discussions of the publications of these authors.[22]

The *Fortnightly Review* was an important vehicle for cultural avant-gardism in the late 1860s and 1870s, as well as for advanced scientific thinking. In that journal in the 1870s, detailed assessment of the empiricist dispute with Kant's account of subject and object and key texts for physiological aesthetics such as James Sully's essays on sensation and musical form sat alongside reviews by Sidney Colvin, poems by Algernon Charles Swinburne and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and reviews of London art exhibitions. The visibility of physiological aesthetics in the cultural nexus that Whistler occupied is easily established, even if we do not have evidence of his reading in this area. The journals give us evidence that scientific and philosophical issues were not sectioned off from other cultural debates. If nothing else, we can be certain that Whistler accessed the journals and read the art reviews vigilantly, looking for slights in his paranoid manner.[23]

A general shift in psychology took place from midcentury, with the emergence of a strong current of physiologically based investigation that challenged metaphysical assumptions about the mind—above all the idea that the mind and the body were separate entities. The focus of physiological psychology was on the bodily nervous system and the organism as a processor of sensory stimuli. This was a study of the mind that focused on embodiment and corporeal reception of information from the environment. It traced the processing ability of the human mind back to the reactions observable in all life forms, even the most primitive, and owed much to the impact of Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin.[24] Biological entities, it was argued, have the urge for self-conservation, so there is movement in response to the stimulus—"protrusion" in response to the beneficial stimulus or aversion from the injurious. Sensibility is taken to be a vital property of tissue (in plants and in animal life). Examples include the reflex closure of a leaf when the hairs of a sensitive plant are touched or the sensitivity of the human eye. Lewes discusses the commonality between plant and animal:

> The structure of the plant differs from that of the animal in many and important details, with corresponding differences in properties and functions; it also agrees in certain fundamental points, namely, in a ground substance of protoplasm, and a cellular configuration of elements. As we are now disregarding differences, we seek in the cells and protoplasm for the conditions of Sensibility in both.[25]

Sensibility is traced back to the common denominators of cellular structure and protoplasmic substance, which ensure the vital qualities in both plant and animal.

Physiological psychologists were particularly interested in the mental phenomena that could be classed as perception or ideation and the neural process undergone as stimulus led on to perception. This could be conceived of in organisms where there was a degree of coordination and a centralized neural structure; Lewes suggested that even mollusks might be credited with subjectivity in these terms.[26]

James Sully reported on optical experiments on the persistence of the image, where a viewer saw gray instead of rapidly alternating black and white; the viewer's tendency to see gray was tested in different light conditions—daylight, candlelight, and moonlight. The time span of the alternation necessary for gray to be perceived was found to vary. By moonlight the alternation could be much slower; the afterimpression of black or white lasted much longer.[27] The explanation was couched in terms of the exhaustion of the nerve under more intense light, and lesser exhaustion in limited light. Anesthesia of the nerves could occur where there was overstimulation through bright light, extreme temperature, or harsh spices; as a corollary, hyperesthesia could be observed in cases of understimulation: nerve fibers became highly excitable. Colored afterimpressions were observed to vary according to color, blue lasting longer than red or yellow. The explanation was sought in the different molecular structure of the nerve fibers in the retina serving blue, red, and yellow. The ability to discriminate between sensations was studied, and the threshold of perception of a sound, a light, or a pinprick was carefully quantified.[28]

The physiological psychologists leaned on these kinds of empiricist investigations to show that fundamental organic responsiveness and properties of the nerve fibers underlay all perception. Subjectivity was defined in these discussions as the coordination of the various body parts through the gray matter in the brain, spinal column, and ganglionic centers alike, throughout the nervous system. Equally, the coordination of the five senses, it was claimed, always attended perception. In other words, the coordinated sensorium was said to be necessary for perception. Instances of optical or auditory hallucination, synesthetic perception, and memory were referenced to show that perception requires the coordination offered by the sensorium.[29] Subjectivity was crucial in these arguments, but the case was strongly made that subjectivity did not relate to the brain as an isolated locus of mental experience. Rejecting the kind of binarism that located objectivity in the body and subjectivity in the mind, the physiological psychologists also refuted the idea that will and advanced intellect were essential to subjectivity.[30] In their view, any higher organism objectively received stimuli from the environment and subjectively had psychic experience in perceiving the stimuli. Each was the flip side of the other: the subject gave onto the object; the object brought the subject into being.[31]

Aesthetic response was argued to be at base, as Sully put it, regarding timbre and harmony in music, "favourable mode[s] of nervous stimulation." Pleasure in discrete tones came from "the even regularity of sequent molecular movements of a nervous fibre [in the ear]."[32] Beyond this substratum of sensuous gratification, aesthetic pleasure could be made more complex as musical elements were combined and the mind's ability to assess resemblance came into play, allowing higher intellectual faculties to be engaged. Psychologists differed in the way they apportioned automatic and conscious or reasoned responses, but the physiological psychologists agreed on the fundamentally embodied nature of perception. Experience was therefore understood by them to be both objective and subjective.

Henry James, in an essay of 1888, wrote about the London atmosphere, registering it as the beautiful and inescapable condition of life in the metropolis: "the magnificent thick

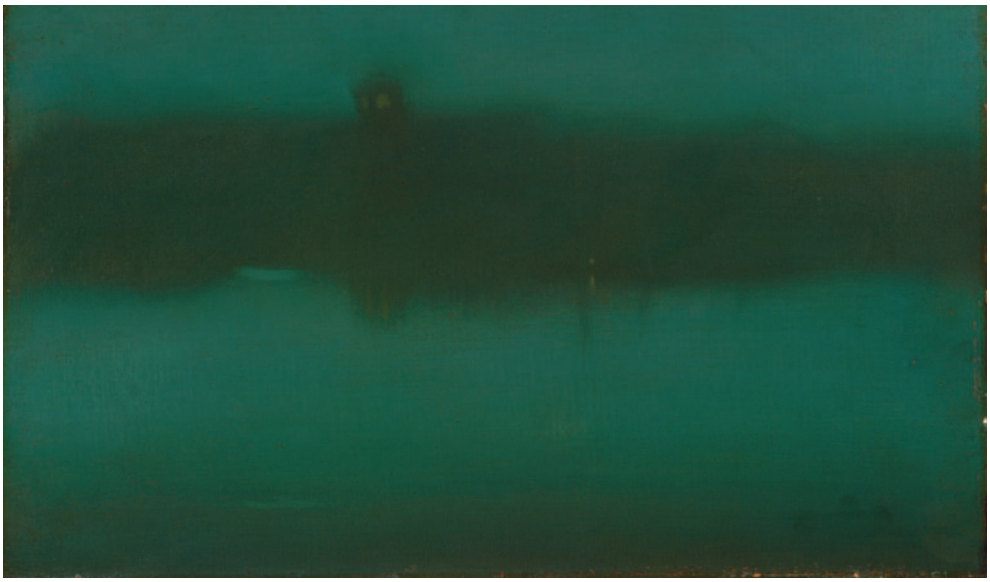


FIGURE 7. James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturne: Grey and Silver*, ca. 1875–80. Oil on canvas, 31.1 × 51.8 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, 1917.

medium of the sky, where the smoke and fog and the weather in general, the strangely undefined hour of the day and season of the year, the emanations of industries and the reflection of furnaces … hang together."[33] Friendly with Whistler by this date, it is likely that James had Whistler's Nocturnes (Figure 7) in mind as he wrote various passages in this essay, as well as an earlier one of 1877 on the squalor of the Battersea waterfront as seen from Chelsea and the peculiarity of the atmosphere, "with its magnificent mystifications, which flatters and superfuses, makes everything brown, rich, dim, vague, magnifies distances and minimises details, confirms the inference of vastness by suggesting that, as the great city makes everything, it makes its own system of weather."[34]

Henry James's "inference of vastness" can be read in parallel with the investigation of spatiality by physiological psychologists, notably his own brother William James, in the late 1870s and early 1880s. William James, an important young psychologist emerging to notice in the late 1870s, went even further than Sully in refuting a dualism between mind and body. Moving on from the investigation of the specific physiological aspects of the five senses, the coordination of senses—that crucial ground of subjectivity—was approached by studies on time and space. The sensorium embraced all discrete sense impressions (touch, taste, smell, sound, and sight) and had to be understood in terms of the double parameters of time and space. Lewes commented on the need to see "each discrete instantaneous reaction in something broader temporally, understood as Experience."[35] The psychological aspect of time and space were, respectively, memory and the sense of spatiality. Whistler's own memory procedures in making his Nocturnes, the slowing down of visual perception in low-light conditions, the issues of persistence of visual impression (we can think about sparks actually or apparently hanging in the sky), are all relevant to a psychophysiological account of experience.[36] We can think of his selected subjects as experimental setups to investigate subjective experience at its limit points. In fogbound London, where life slowed down to a crawling pace, stimuli impinged on the subject in clammy skin, prickling eyes, tarry taste, sulfurous smell, muffled sounds, and an

optical phenomenon of proximate colored clouds, offering a kind of sensory deprivation that gave way to multisensory hyperesthesia.

As a final suggestion, I wish to attend to spatiality as the essential correlate of memory or temporality. Lewes suggests that time (in terms of memory, habit, culture, and experience) is proper to the psyche, whereas space (in terms of bodily volume and environmental extensiveness) is proper to the body. But, of course, his underlying argument was for continuity between mind and body, for interchangeability between subject and object. According to Lewes, memory guides the psyche into certain defined pathways; narrowing and selection result. The extensiveness of the body and its existence in space, on the other hand, allow for what Lewes calls the irradiation of stimuli from one particular sense organ into the sensorium; expansion and inclusiveness result. Approaching the issue in a slightly different way, William James, in his essay of 1879, "The Spatial Quale," asserts that there is a basic sensory apprehension of space that predates ideas of measurement, local differentiation, and relative distances: "In the individual's psychic history the sensation, space, as a simple vague consciousness of vastness, comes first." All the senses are capable of registering space directly; staring into an empty blue sky, the eye conveys its spaciousness; this capability is linked to the subject's apprehension of his or her own bodily extensiveness. James gives the example of a fetus bathed in amniotic fluid, "feeling its total vastness without discerning positions therein."[37] Apprehension of spatiality is being proposed, therefore, as a primordial supersense: primal both in terms of the individual's development and in the evolutionary development of organic life.

The foggy or gloomy unification of the pictorial composition achieved by Whistler—almost devoid of points of measurement and differentiation—references, I suggest, a spatial quale that gives on to its object, the extensiveness of London, and its subject, the sensate being. This being is capable of sensory gratification, and therefore aesthetic experience, through the favorable excitation of the nervous system. It is sensate experience free from what Whistler called the "cunning condition of mind that *requires to know.*"[38] The arguments emerging in physiological psychology in the 1870s make it important that we attend to these intimations of environmental and bodily space alongside the issues of temporality in Whistler's art.

Notes

1. Exhibited in *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition,* Flemish Gallery, 48 Pall Mall, June 1874; comments assembled by Whistler in *The Gentle Art*, 314. See *Punch*'s critique on "An Arrangement in Silver and Bile," June 25, 1881, when *Harmony in Grey and Green* was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1881 (catalogue no. 113).
2. Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, November 5 and 22, 1872, GUW 06553.
3. Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1911), 1:205.
4. The term "spatiality" is used in a somewhat specialized sense in nineteenth-century psychology. See note 37.
5. Whistler's titles do not usually reference fog. A notable exception is *A Winter Fog* (ca. 1876, whereabouts unknown; YMSM 161), exhibition of the Society of French Artists, New Bond Street, Deschamps Gallery, 1876 (catalogue no. 149). The multitude of comments from the period about Whistler's foggy effects are countered by an

odd remark in the *Standard*, clearly referencing Whistler's titles, that many painters "delight in the fleecy cloud," which is, scientifically speaking, "a close relative to the dirty black or yellow London fog," but that painters are nevertheless neglectful of the fog: "No 'Arrangement in Yellow and Black' has been adjusted to perpetuate its ugliness." "London Fogs," *Standard*, February 3, 1880, 6.

6. "Dudley Gallery," *Illustrated Review*, November 1873, 380.
7. "The Grosvenor Gallery," *Magazine of Art*, 1878, 51.
8. The journalist describes fog that sits above street level—covering the city with "a mantle varying in tint from pea soup colour to inky black," referencing the extreme darkness on Lord Mayor's Day of two years earlier—and another type of very thick fog, rarer but more dangerous, that "generally comes on after sunset … usually lighter in colour; … [that] descends to the level of the ground." "A November Fog in London," *Graphic,* November 9, 1872, 431.
9. "London and Its Fogs," *Morning Post*, December 25, 1873, 2, quoting from the *Builder*. See R. Russell, *Preventable Causes of Impurity in London Air* (London, 1880). Mortality rates rose alarmingly during the foggy weeks. The *British Architect* noted Signor Giuliano's scheme to install a shaft for ventilation in London houses, surmounted by a large fan to disperse the fog. The idea was that fifty or one hundred thousand of these in operation would remove the problem and shift "any amount of fog." "Notes on Current Events," *British Architect*, December 3, 1880, 236.
10. "The Artist," *Fun*, January 18, 1862, 182: "Lor! Bless yer, Mim. Fog aint of no consequence. You'll make a sweet picter, mim. Your'n is one of them hinteresting faces wot wants to be a little subdooed." Anecdotes of life in photographic studios tell of "fog days," when the entire operation would shut down; any clients coming to be photographed were turned away because of insufficient light. Advertising columns for stereoscopic studios note that equipment was excellent but that even the best studios could not cope with terrible days such as the great fog day of January 18, 1878. "Spinnings in Town," *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, March 1, 1878, 56. One reminiscence tells of "a terrible November morning, with a yellow fog, and of course a *dies non* for the photographic artist," when the photographer has to meet the fury of the client who expects to be photographed as arranged, expostulating, "Surely Mrs Jarncey was aware that fog put a stop to photography!" Wyvern [Arthur Robert Kenney Herbert], *Furlough Reminiscences: A Potpourri of Reflections, Observations and Incidents, Compiled from the Diary of a Happy Holiday in England* (London, 1880), 275.
11. Thomas Hay Sweet Escott, *England: Its People, Polity and Pursuits* (London, 1879), discussing the merits of the Grosvenor Gallery and the Aesthetic school despite some elements considered to be evidence of affectation, such as Whistler's titles. Omitted from quotation: "The shower of sparks from a burning house thrown on the dark sky of night." Escott was editor of the *Fortnightly Review* from 1882 to 1886; he was also Edmund Yates's deputy editor at the *World* from the mid-1870s to 1886. See also the comment from the *Daily News* selected by Whistler for *The Gentle Art*: "We think that London fogs and the muddy old Thames supply Mr. Whistler's needle with subjects more convenient than do the Venetian palaces and lagoons" (96).
12. "The Royal Academy (Third Notice)," *Athenaeum*, May 13, 1876, 671.
13. Jonathan Ribner, "The Poetics of Pollution," in *Turner, Whistler, Monet: Impressionist Visions,* ed. Katharine Lochnan (London: Tate Publishing in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 2004), 51–63. When tinted spectacles were discussed, one option alongside green or rose tinted was a shade of yellow known as "London fog,"

which gives an idea of the broad recognition of the visual experience of negotiating the metropolis transformed by fog. "Scraps," *Graphic*, February 8, 1873, 123.

14. Nicholas Freeman, *Conceiving the City: London Literature and Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 90–99.
15. "Dense Fog in London," *York Herald*, December 27, 1879, 3. When the fog was at its thickest, link boys would offer their services to guide pedestrians with flaming rope torches, cabmen would have to lead their horses, and fatalities ensued from collisions and from pedestrians plunging mistakenly into the river. "The Fog in London," *Graphic*, December 13, 1873, 554, reports four drownings and the asphyxiation of cattle at the Islington Show as a result of the fog.
16. "London, Tuesday, Dec. 23," *Daily News*, December 23, 1879, 5.
17. John Siewert, "Art, Music, and an Aesthetics of Place in Whistler's Nocturne Paintings," in *Turner, Whistler, Monet*, 147.
18. "The Royal Academy (Third Notice)," *Athenaeum*, May 13, 1876, 671.
19. "The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition (Second and Concluding Notice)," *Athenaeum*, May 10, 1879, 607. Here Whistler was said to go beyond "the 'impressionists,' who delight in reproducing crude impressions of commonplace facts, without art and without harmony."
20. See Robert M. Young, *Mind, Brain and Adaptation in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); Edwin Clarke and L. S. Jacyna, *Nineteenth-Century Origins of Neuroscientific Concepts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Rick Rylance, *Victorian Psychology and British Culture 1850–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
21. Gilbert Child, "Physiological Psychology," *Westminster Review*, n.s., 33 (1866): 63, discussed in Rylance, *Victorian Psychology*, 226–27.
22. Throughout *Victorian Psychology and British Culture,* Rylance undertakes a fascinating discussion of the debates and reviews published in the periodical press.
23. In 1885 the *Fortnightly Review* carried a positive article by Theodore Child, and the *New York Sun* published a more critical one by him: Whistler was enraged, as he was when Swinburne wrote critically about him in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1888.
24. George Henry Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind*, 3rd ser., vol. 2, *Problem the Second: Mind as a Function of the Organism; Problem the Third: The Sphere of Sense and the Logic of Feeling; Problem the Fourth: The Sphere of Intellect and the Logic of Signs* (Boston: Houghton Osgood, 1880), 93–94: "Mr. Spencer in many luminous pages expressed the rational view of the evolution of mind." Lewes, the life partner of the novelist George Eliot and a prominent member of the London intelligentsia, was editor of the *Fortnightly Review* from 1865 to 1867.
25. Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind*, 2:22–23. Lewes excludes inorganic matter from possession of sensibility, rejecting the argument that irritability can be found in, for example, minerals.
26. Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind*, 2:38–39.
27. James Sully, *Sensation and Intuition: Studies in Psychology and Aesthetics*, 2nd ed. (London: Kegan Paul, 1880), 40–41. Helmholtz, Fechner, and Wundt are cited. Sully first published *Sensation and Intuition* in 1874, collecting a number of his periodical articles and giving a roundup of investigations into the mental processing of sensation.

28. Sully, "Recent German Experiments with Sensation," in *Sensation and Intuition*, 38–72.

29. Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind,* 2:72–73.

30. Lorraine J. Daston, "British Responses to Psycho-Physiology," *Isis* 69, no. 2 (June 1978): 192–208. Daston quotes Henry Maudsley from *The Physiology of Mind* (London, 1876), 49, on the challenge posed by "the continuity of nature" to "the absolute and unholy barrier set up between physical and psychical nature."

31. Daston, "British Responses to Psycho-Physiology," discusses the debates about the role to be given to will and the degree to which the different theorists maintained that there was continuity between mind and body. Sully, for all his influence in establishing arguments about the aesthetic in this context, was (according to Daston) committed to maintaining a mind-body distinction (202).

32. Sully, *Sensation and Intuition,* 169. Sully bases his analysis of sensation on an explanation of the theories of Helmholtz on pleasure and nervous stimulation; see note 28.

33. Henry James, "London," *Century* 37, no. 2 (December 1888): 223, republished in Henry James, *English Hours* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1905). The fog's thickness is linked in this passage to the compendious "see-everything: find-everything" reputation of the city. For an interesting discussion of the blackness of fog as described by James in relation to poverty and the immensity of the imperial city, see Brigitte Bailey, "Travel Writing and the Metropolis: James, London, and English Hours," *American Literature* 67, no. 2 (June 1995): 201–32, esp. 209, 216–18. Nicholas Freeman points out James's reference to Robert Browning's "Andrea del Sarto" ("There's what we painters call our harmony! / A common greyness silvers everything,— / All in a twilight, you and I alike") and makes useful points about the separate senses evoked in sequence ending in vision in the 1877 essay. Freeman, *Conceiving the City,* 92.

34. Bailey, "Travel Writing," 225. Henry James, "London at Midsummer," first published in *Lippincott's Magazine*, November 1877, subsequently in *Portraits of Places* (London, 1883).

35. Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind*, 2:41.

36. The alteration of the rhythm of the city as everything slows to a crawling pace in foggy or misty nighttime conditions can be seen as an experimental instance with regard to temporality.

37. William James, "The Spatial Quale," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 13, no. 1 (January 1879): 77. I thank Vanessa Ryan of Brown University for pointing out this predecessor to William James's 1880s essays on spatiality in *Mind*.

38. Whistler's marginal "reflection" on the testimony of Edward Burne-Jones in *Whistler v. Ruskin*: "There is a cunning condition of mind that *requires to know*. On the Stock Exchange this ensures safe investment. In the painting trade this would induce certain picture-makers to cross the river at noon, in a boat, before negotiating a Nocturne, in order to make sure of detail on the bank, that honestly the purchaser might exact, and out of which he might have been tricked by Night!" (Whistler, *The Gentle Art*, 172). In terms of intimations of spatiality, Whistler may be said to have crossed the river without securing knowledge beyond generalized perception.

Whistler's Peacock Room and the Artist as Magus

Sally-Anne Huxtable

James McNeill Whistler's *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room* (Figure 1) has become such a familiar feature of the terrain of Victorian aestheticism that it has often been taken for granted, lost in the reiteration of the scandals that followed in its wake like the trailing tail feathers of Whistler's own rendering. Instead of reiterating the well-known saga surrounding the creation of the room, this discussion will reflect upon the decoration itself, arguing that it functions as an expression of Whistler's self-consciously created artistic identity as magus and his ideas about the nature of artistic creation. Nevertheless, it is not only the stories and the history but also the unashamed spectacle of the Peacock Room that obfuscates the debates that the artist used the room to explore—specifically, ideas regarding the role of the artist, the function of art, the relationship between art and nature, and the ancient concept of the artist as magician, an individual who somehow has the power to improve on nature itself.[1]

It is pertinent here to remember the original proximity of the Peacock Room, at 49 Prince's Gate, to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert), home to the Green Dining Room (Figure 2). Created ten years earlier, the Green Dining Room not only launched a thousand Aesthetic green and dadoed interiors but also functioned as a celebration of communal artistic endeavor, a utopian dream of the act of creation as a shared undertaking and a paean to the "green world" of the English countryside. It was a very public space expressing the idealistic manifesto of William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, and Philip Webb—their shared belief that design could transform people's lives for the better.[2] The similarities between the Green Dining Room and the Peacock Room are undeniable: both were created in South Kensington, both are dining rooms, gorgeous with green-blue

FIGURE 1. James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876–77. Oil paint and gold leaf on canvas, leather, and wood, 421.6 × 613.4 × 1026.2 cm (overall). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

FIGURE 2. Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., *The Green Dining Room* (*Morris Room*), designed by Phillip Webb, 1866–67. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

and gold, and both have somehow survived to the present day. It seems likely that Whistler noted this proximity and that the Peacock Room was, in part, created as a response to the artistic ideas expressed in the Green Dining Room. Just as Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. used their dining room to display their ideas about art as a communal practice, Whistler saw the opportunity to create his own artistic statement in the shape of a room which, contrary to the vision made manifest in the Green Dining Room, articulated Aestheticism as a very individual form of artistic practice. It is my contention that this work went beyond Whistler's initial intention to complete and improve on a decorative scheme by Thomas Jeckyll in order to complement his painting *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (see Deusner, Figure 2). At some point during the process of its creation, the room became more than a decorative interior. It became a visual representation of the concerns that were particularly troubling Whistler during the 1870s. These were the tensions between the spiritual and material aspects of art—that is, the need for Whistler to reconcile the seemingly constant conflict between the desire for unfettered artistic creativity and the requirement to earn enough money to have shelter and put bread on the table.

To analyze the meaning of the Peacock Room in these terms is, admittedly, resolutely un-Whistlerian. In the *Ten O'Clock* lecture Whistler berates those, particularly John Ruskin, who attempt to unpick and decipher, and then give narrative and ethical import to, every work of art:

> For him a picture is more or less a hieroglyph or symbol of a story. Apart from a few technical terms, for the display of which he finds an occasion, the work is considered absolutely from a literary point of view; indeed, from what other can he consider it? And in his essays he deals with it as a novel—a history—or an anecdote. He fails entirely and most naturally to see its excellences, or demerits—artistic—and so degrades Art, by supposing it a method of bringing about a literary climax.[3]

Despite his claims to the contrary, Whistler's oeuvre cannot be perceived as inhabiting some beautiful void. Where Whistler does draw on narratives, intellectual ideas, and

FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler, *L'Art et L'Argent; or, the Story of the Room*. Detail of *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

inspirations, he purposely obfuscates these sources, hiding them as a form of artistic secret knowledge. Though he claims that meaning, narrative, and moral conclusions cannot be applied to his art, Whistler's *L'Art et L'Argent* (or *Art and Money*; Figure 3), a panel that vividly depicts the spat between the artist and his patron Frederick Richards Leyland, as well as his 1879 depiction of Leyland in *The Gold Scab: Eruption in Filthy Lucre* (Figure 4), cannot be brushed aside as amoral, nonnarrative works of art that are nothing but beautiful compositions. Indeed, it must always be remembered that Whistler, like so many of us, often said one thing and did another. In this regard, his work, although profoundly serious, can sometimes be read as purposely mischievous, as his choice of a signature—a flitting, metamorphic butterfly (and later one with a sting in its tail)—constantly reminds us.

FIGURE 4. James McNeill Whistler, *The Gold Scab: Eruption in Frilthy Lucre* (*The Creditor*), 1879. Oil on canvas, 186.7 × 139.7 cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Gift of Mrs. Alma de Bretteville Spreckels through the Patrons of Art and Music, 1977.11.

Whistler's art is about the immediacy of aesthetic sensory experience: his aesthetic philosophy, as expressed in the *Ten O'Clock* lecture of 1885, was highly influenced by the articulation of multisensory aesthetic experience in the essays of Walter Pater, such as "Poems by William Morris" (1868), the work that later became the infamous con-

clusion to *The Renaissance* (1873). There Pater discusses aesthetic experience as individual and isolated: the impressions that sensory forces make on the mind (and, he implies, the body) constitute a unique, personal, and fleeting experience, a "continual vanishing away" that functions as a constant "weaving and unweaving of ourselves."[4]

Aside from the painting *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine,* it is the peacocks, of course, that dominate *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*. Whistler wrote to Leyland's wife, Frances, in August 1876, "I am nearly blind with sleep and blue peacocks feathers."[5] Not only does a frenzy of feathers eddy and flow across the surfaces, but directly opposite the entrance to the room are three glorious, real-gold-covered shutters snaked with peacocks, their features picked out with blue green. The central shutter has two birds, their magnificent tails descending its entire length. These two birds are flanked by two slightly shorter shutters, both of which depict single birds, their tails unfurled (Figure 5). Beneath the shorter shutters are blue-green panels decorated with a meandering band of abstracted golden feathers. Emblazoned across the Prussian blue of the south wall, facing *La Princesse,* are the two glowing and glowering birds of *L'Art et L'Argent,* with their glinting glass eyes. The bird on the left, depicting Whistler, has the artist's distinct silver streak in its plumage. The bird on the right, representing Leyland, is feathered with both gold and silver coins spilling to the ground. There are around thirty coins—the price of Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Christ. From this we might infer that for a few worthless coins, the artist's talents have been betrayed. Nevertheless, these fighting birds are exquisitely beautiful, and the luminous peacocks and feathers created by Whistler's paintbrush transform the room from a domestic space into something seemingly magical.

Peacock feathers became popular among Aesthetes in the nineteenth century because of their orientalist links, their exquisite beauty, and their hint of unconventionality, particularly in a British domestic interior where, folklore has it, peacock feathers are unlucky. In addition, the artist's depiction of the peacock in the Leyland dining room

FIGURE 5. *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room.* View of the east wall and shutters. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

owes a huge debt to Japanese art, particularly the work of Utagawa Hiroshige. Japonisme was, however, probably not the only root of the peacock's popularity in Aesthetic circles. The fashionable coupling of blue-and-white china with the feathers of the peacock may have originated with Dante Gabriel Rossetti in the 1860s. As his brother William Michael Rossetti recounts, Dante Gabriel kept a peacock on the grounds of his Cheyne Walk residence, Tudor House:

> Here, extracted from my Diary for December 1871, is a curious anecdote about the peacock, which may perhaps deserve a moment's attention: "The deer that Gabriel used to have, now dead, one day saw the peacock making a great display of his train. … The deer followed him about; and, though not displaying any peculiarly marked ill-will, systematically trampled out all his train feathers, one after the other. Shortly after this, Gabriel gave the peacock away."[6]

Apparently, once its glamour was denuded, Rossetti rescued the tail feathers and placed them in a blue-and-white china vase. Whatever the origin of this Aesthetic fashion, though, peacock feathers and their colors caught on like wildfire in the 1870s and 1880s. This fascination extended to Frederic Leighton's inclusion of an entire stuffed bird in the Arab Hall of Leighton House, the color of which was echoed in the William De Morgan tiles he commissioned for the walls (and which resurfaces in De Morgan's work for the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; see Deusner, Figure 8).[7]

Nevertheless, it is worth considering the peacock more deeply, as for centuries its feathers represented the rebirth and fecundity of spring; hence, in the 1868 version of Burne-Jones's *Green Summer* (private collection), Jane Burden Morris holds one aloft. As an ancient symbol of eternal life, the peacock feather was appropriated by early practitioners of Christianity as an important symbol of the death and resurrection, both of Christ and true believers; thus, peacock feathers can still be seen on early Christian sarcophagi in the catacombs of Rome. This notion of the peacock as a representation of immortality must have greatly appealed to an artist who hoped to achieve immortality through his art and through the reception and acceptance of his work as that of a genius.[8]

The peacock has numerous mythical connotations as well. One is as a symbol of transformation, as witnessed by a story in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. In the Roman poet's account, the numerous eyes of the peacock's tail were those of the monstrous, many-eyed Argus (or "he who sees everything"), who was decapitated by Mercury while attempting to guard Io from a lustful Jove. The eyes were placed on the bird by the goddess Juno, who "spreads them in her peacock's gaudy tail."[9] Thus, the peacock also symbolizes the act of seeing and the world of the visual.

The world described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is one dominated by uncertainty and change rather than moral and social absolutes. Consequently, in the nineteenth century, Ovid's poem was generally regarded as morally suspect, as it portrays a world fixated on the here and now and offers no consequences for supposedly immoral behavior.[10] Despite the controversial nature of Ovid's work, many classically educated Victorians in artistic and intellectual circles would have recognized the peacock as a metamorphic creature, one particularly associated with the process of seeing. In the Ovidian story of the tail of the peacock, the trigger for the transformation is desire—in this particular case, that of Zeus for Io. In the tale of the Peacock Room, the trigger for the transformation is also desire—that of Whistler for beauty, for artistic independence, and for the fame and

FIGURE 6. Sigmar Polke, *Hermes Trismegistos I–IV*, 1995. Synthetic resin and lacquer on polyester fabric, four parts: I, 200 × 190 cm; II–IV, 300 × 400 cm. Collection of De Pont Museum of Contemporary Art, Tilburg, Netherlands.

FIGURE 7. Attributed to Salomon Trimosin, *Peacock in Flask*, in *Splendor Solis*, ca. 1582. © British Library Board (Harley 3469 f27).

recognition that would bring him the money to live and work comfortably. In this context, Whistler's use of the butterfly for his signature was not merely whimsical. The butterfly is the most immediate and easily recognizable symbol of metamorphosis—the insect that transforms itself from a generally unattractive crawling grub into one of the most delicate and gorgeous creatures on earth. In the Peacock Room, Whistler pointedly places the butterflies close to the peacocks, not only to stamp his mark upon the room but perhaps also to suggest some connection between the two creatures.

The notion of metamorphosis may also be linked to the transformative processes of the ancient art of alchemy, as Whistler's writings and correspondence demonstrate. Forging a link between the products of alchemy and art has a long history in the Western world, and the allusions, allegories, metaphors, and mysteries inherent in alchemy remain an astonishingly rich source of material for artists. In the twentieth century, the artist Joseph Beuys took on the persona of alchemist as part of his self-mythologizing persona as shaman and magus, much as Whistler preached in the *Ten O'Clock*. Rebecca Horn and Sigmar Polke have also explored the relationship between alchemy and art in their practice. For instance, in his *Hermes Trismegistos I–IV* series (Figure 6), Polke examines the direct analogies between the practice of alchemy as symbolized by its mythical Greco-Egyptian founder Hermes Trismegistus and the transformation of pigments, ideas, and influences into art via the conduit of artistic creativity. Whistler's awareness of this connection relates—crucially—directly to his creation of the Peacock Room, where peacocks become linked to another very specific metamorphic process. In alchemical thought and writings, the transformation of base metal into gold is the most discussed (and ridiculed) of the goals, but equally important are the many stages of material transformation symbolized

by all manner of colors and creatures.[11] In the vast corpus of alchemical writings, one of the most crucial of these stages is the Cauda Pavonis, "the peacock's tail" (Figure 7). This stage reveals that the seeker or alchemist is on the right path, indicated by a sudden rush, a flood, of all the colors ever known and more besides. The rapid cycling of gorgeous iridescence could fool the uninitiated into thinking that the goal had been accomplished, but this apparent completion is an illusion, for this stage is merely the midway point in the process of transmutation. It is not only the color of the peacock when it fans its tail and realizes the full glory of its beauty that symbolizes this transformation: in medieval belief, it was popularly thought that the peacock was capable of healing itself by eating its own feces—the literal changing of putrefied matter into goodness. In selecting the colors and the image of the peacock as his central decorative motif, Whistler offers a sparkling self-referential form of iconology. Not only does he allude to the act of artistic creation itself as the material and mental alteration of base materials and ideas into the gold of art, but it seems likely that he had some knowledge of the symbolic meanings of peacocks outlined above and that transformation of the surfaces of the room into a mass of translucent feathers could be an allusion to at least some of these ideas. The Peacock Room thus transmutes from Jeckyll's Tudoresque interior into an elusive and capricious set of surfaces.

This transformation and the intellectual jump to concepts of alchemy in relation to the Peacock Room—and, more generally, Whistler's practice as an artist—are articulated in the most celebrated of the texts that he published. In his *Ten O'Clock* lecture, Whistler explicitly describes his concept of art and artistic practice in terms of the ancient notion of the artist as alchemical magus:

> Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music.
>
> But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful. …
>
> *Thus* is Nature ever his resource and always at his service, and to him is naught refused.
>
> Through his brain, as through the last alembic, is distilled the refined essence of that thought which began with the Gods, and which they left him to carry out.[12]

The artist's mind is the final "alembic" in the metamorphic alchemical process; it is the very site of creative refining, a notion that was already current in Aesthetic circles because of Pater's employment of similar imagery, and it seems likely that Whistler had read Pater's work. Indeed, Whistler's instruction and assertion in the *Ten O'Clock* lecture, "Listen! There never was an artistic period. There never was an Art-loving nation," is remarkably similar to Pater's contention in *The Renaissance* that to the critic with a true aesthetic sense, "all periods, types, schools of taste, are in themselves equal."[13] Likewise, Whistler's description of the task of the artist as one who refines all experience into art seems to draw heavily upon Pater's text. In the preface to *The Renaissance,* Pater utilizes the imagery of material alchemy and the purification of intellectual and artistic matter in relation to his discussion of Wordsworth's early poetry, celebrating the poet's "conviction of the existence of certain latent affinities between nature and the human mind, which reciprocally gild the mind and nature with a kind of 'heavenly alchemy.'"[14]

Whistler sometimes alludes to alchemy in his correspondence. In a draft of an un-

published letter to Frederick Greenwood, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, of September 1879 or 1880, Whistler uses alchemical terms to criticize an anonymous article that he assumes was written by the art critic Harry ('Arry) Quilter: "Also the … matter itself is very like what it used to be—and quite untouched by the furnace after all—wherein it is more unyielding than the gold of the refiner."[15] Indeed, the word "refined" in conjunction with Whistler's art appears time and time again in his correspondence, including an August 1876 letter to Frances Leyland regarding the Peacock Room itself, in which he describes the room as "thoroughly new and most gorgeous though refined."[16] I am not claiming here that Whistler was a practicing alchemist (although it is clear from his ongoing attendance at séances that he was interested in the occult), nor am I positing that the Peacock Room is an allegory of alchemical practice. I am instead offering up the idea that Whistler understood the process of alchemy and therefore used two of its most important symbols—the peacock (transformation) and gold (completion)—to articulate the idea of the artist as *the* Creator, not just *a* creator: the artist as alchemist and master of the mutability of matter.

Because of Whistler's performative persona as the "genius artist" and his associated denials of outside influences upon his art, it is not clear where he first learned of these correlations between art and alchemy. Undoubtedly, interest in alchemy was gaining momentum in Britain at exactly the time that Whistler was creating the Peacock Room. As Alex Owen has written in *The Place of Enchantment,* her study of occultism in Britain around the fin de siècle,

> A few scattered publications on alchemy during the first half of the nineteenth century became a steady if small stream after the 1870s. … Mme. Blavatsky addressed the philosophy of alchemy in "Isis Unveiled" and "The Secret Doctrine," and several influential Theosophists were interested in the subject. According to Isabelle de Steiger, Miss Atwood (the author of a "mystical" mid-century book on alchemy) bequeathed her father's valuable alchemical library to the prominent theosophist A. P. Sinnett for use by the members of the Theosophist Society.[17]

It is, however, possible that Whistler encountered alchemy while living in Paris, then a center for the occult, or from Charles Baudelaire, whose poetry displays alchemical knowledge; it might have been through his connection, via Swinburne, to the occultist Edward Bulwer-Lytton.[18] He also might have had knowledge of the *Splendor Solis*, one of the Harley manuscripts in the British Library, which were known to members of Whistler's artistic circles, including Swinburne, Burne-Jones, William Morris, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[19] Certainly, his specific use of the term "alembic" demonstrates at least a passing knowledge of the equipment used in alchemy.

The idea of the artist as alchemist runs contrary to the Platonic concept of the artist as a base imitator of material reality. In the alchemical process, matter is transubstantiated in a manner normally associated only with the divine; alchemy, particularly when a homunculus is created, actively denies the inimitability of God the Father, or of the gods, as the originator(s) of the breath of life. Whistler joyfully makes explicit the sacrilegious nature of the idea of the artist as godlike creator when he states in the *Ten O'Clock* "that Nature is always right, is an assertion, artistically, as untrue, as it is one whose truth is universally taken for granted. … This would seem, to even the most intelligent, a doctrine almost

blasphemous." Just as the deity creates form from chaos, so does the alchemist-artist. As Whistler makes clear in his lecture, in shaping form out of the formlessness, the alchemist-artist purposely enters into a rivalry with God or the gods, and the gods themselves will be jealous of the artist. In a Christian culture such as Britain in the 1870s, the idea that the artist rivaled or even surpassed God was not "almost blasphemous"—it was explicitly blasphemous: "Set apart by them to complete their works, he produces that wondrous thing called the masterpiece, which surpasses in perfection all that they have contrived in what is called Nature; and the Gods stand by and marvel, and perceive how far away more beautiful is the Venus of Melos than was their own Eve."[20]

In alchemy, gold is the spiritual "light" and also, of course, the material metal of human desires and needs. In the gaslit twilight of the Peacock Room, gold is spun across every surface, as if Rumpelstiltskin himself had gone wild one night with the spinning wheel. Whistler was well aware of the many connotations of gold, and his relationship to all of its meanings is complex. In his paintings, and in the frames he also created, he used a multiplicity of golds as artistic pigments of many shades and tones. Likewise, in the Peacock Room, the gold on the walls is what he called "the green gold"—Dutch metal, or imitation gold leaf, that he applied and allowed to oxidize, then coated with clear green varnish to create a subdued, antique effect (Figure 8).[21] The real thing—the almost orange-toned, true gold leaf—is used on the shutters, so that its marvelous effect and that of the glorious peacocks thereon would only be unfurled at night, when the room was transformed into its true purpose—as a dining room.[22]

Whistler did not see gold only as the symbolic artistic outcome of his creative process; its symbolism and value as actual reward for his achievements was of vital importance. Gold embodied society's recognition of his skill as an artist. In 1863 he won a gold medal for his etchings and was clearly intensely proud of this achievement, for he mentions it in various letters from 1863 and even during the 1878 libel trial against Ruskin.[23] Whistler knew that even if his paintings were often regarded with skepticism during the 1860s and 1870s, his prints would always make money. Part of his wish to earn money from the Peacock Room was simply to be able to pay his debts and to afford to travel to Venice and create prints of the city, which he knew would sell. While he was still painting the room he wrote to his mother, "I have taken up etching again and have found that people still prefer Whistlers to all others—but the stock is not yet in absolute working order so that I must for a while longer stick hard at it—a printing press has been lent to me and soon I trust I shall turn some copper into gold!"[24] It is possible that the allusions to alchemical transformation here are not accidental. The link between the copper plate

FIGURE 8. *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, details showing decoration over Dutch metal. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

used in engraving (and etching) and alchemy is not tenuous; it may well indicate not just Whistler's understanding of his craft but also a passing knowledge of some of its traditions and mythologies. As his illustrious artistic forebear William Blake knew, the graving tool had sacred and alchemical associations with Hermes Trismegistus, the mythical founder of both alchemy and engraving. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* Blake writes, "I was in a Printing house in Hell & saw the method in which knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation."[25] Given that Whistler was extremely close to the poet Algernon Charles Swinburne from their first meeting in 1862 until the two men fell out in 1888, it seems highly likely that Whistler had read Swinburne's book *William Blake: A Critical Essay* (1868), in which the poet explores *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in some depth and claims this prophetic work to be "the greatest of his books."[26] It follows that Whistler may well also have read this work by Blake.

However, gold in its most basic form was, for Whistler, simply the cold hard cash that would enable him to live and to buy materials. It was Leyland's insulting payment of one thousand pounds, rather than the two thousand golden guineas he had requested for his creation of the Peacock Room, that led to Whistler returning to add *L'Art et L'Argent* to the south wall. The painting explicitly refers to the patron's materially and symbolically offensive payment for what Whistler saw to be such a momentous work. Whistler had eventually agreed to a payment of one thousand guineas, but Leyland paid him in pounds. Professionals (including artists) were paid in guineas and workmen in pounds, and in making such a gesture Leyland was slighting Whistler's artistic abilities as well as diminishing his finances.[27]

Yet Whistler's concerted efforts to publicize the room and himself were not undertaken simply because he wished to accumulate wealth or to achieve fame for fame's sake; he seems to have hoped that recognition and acclaim for such a spectacular artistic endeavor would enable him to achieve his full potential as an artist, unfettered by the demands of patrons and debt collectors. Indeed, he made it quite clear that he despised the accumulation of gold for its own sake: "My picture of a 'Harmony in Grey and Gold' is an illustration of my meaning. … All that I know is that my combination of grey and gold is the basis of the picture. Now this is precisely what my friends cannot grasp. They say, 'Why not call it "Trotty Veck," and sell it for a round harmony of golden guineas?'"[28] As much as Whistler needed gold, he would not compromise his artistic integrity to gain it.

Despite Whistler's alchemical allusions, the Peacock Room is not simply an illustration of its transformative or magical processes. Rather, Whistler uses the symbols of metamorphosis and alchemy to create a work of art that expresses both the anxieties and the ecstasies inherent in the act of artistry. Thus, the canvas of this room not only displays his immense skill as an artist but also acts as a very public act of mythmaking. Whistler tirelessly publicized the room throughout the time he was working on it, treating Leyland's dining room as his personal fiefdom, inviting a number of important artistic lions and celebrities of the day, including John Everett Millais, E. W. Godwin, Ellen Terry, Sir Henry and Alan Cole, and Princess Louise. He left dishes of invitation cards in fashionable and artistic establishments such as Liberty & Co. for his press preview of the room on February 9, 1877; he also published a brochure to hand out to all the attendees and invited journalists from numerous publications to view the room in late 1876 and early 1877.[29]

Whistler not only wished to use the room to establish his reputation as an important artist and to attempt to become the most sought-after designer of Aesthetic

interiors at a time when such a trade was rather lucrative; he also wanted the fantastical stories surrounding the room to elevate it to legendary status, and the journalists obliged. Only the gossip columnist Talon Rouge of *Vanity Fair* thought the Peacock Room over the top, preferring Thomas Armstrong's interior at 52 Prince's Gate. Nevertheless, Talon Rouge fully acknowledged Whistler's attempt to display the room as a mythic site. Alluding to the diet of John the Baptist in the wilderness, he wrote, "And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and honey" (Matt. 3:4). Talon Rouge remarked that "one could not feed on ordinary meals in such a room. Perhaps locusts and wild honey might be allowed."[30] Whistler had created a space that would not only articulate his mystical concept of artistic genius as a process of transmutation but also wove a series of constantly metamorphosing myths around it so that each individual observer could fashion, tell, alter, and retell his or her own myths of the Peacock Room. Indeed, for a room that celebrates mutability, it is fitting that the Peacock Room has itself undergone transformation after transformation in the years since its creation.

The room thus functions as an articulation of Whistler's vision of the artist as magus, a figure whose creative abilities rival, or perhaps surpass, those of the gods themselves. For Whistler, the goal was beauty and eternal fame. Ovid understood that his own soul would live on through the reception of his writings:

> The work is finish'd, which nor dreads the rage
> Of tempests, fire, or war, or wasting age;
> Come, soon or late, death's undetermin'd day,
> This mortal being only can decay;
> My nobler part, my fame, shall reach the skies,
> And to late times with blooming honours rise:
> Whate'er the unbounded Roman power obeys
> All climes and nations shall record my praise:
> If 'tis allow'd to poets to divine,
> One half of round eternity is mine.[31]

Whistler sought that same immortality through the art of this Aesthetic interior.

Notes

1. For more on the myths and stories that surround the room, see Linda Merrill's authoritative history of the room, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998).
2. For more on the Green Dining Room, see Sally-Anne Huxtable, "Re-reading the Green Dining Room," in *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867–1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*, ed. Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 25–40.
3. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 17.
4. Walter Pater, "Poems by William Morris," *Westminster Review* 34 (October 1868): 310.
5. Whistler to Frances Leyland, August 20/31, 1876, GUW 08054.
6. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-Letters, with a Memoir by William Michael Rossetti* (London, 1895), 1:254.
7. For a rather breathlessly admiring account of the interior of Leighton House, see

Mary Eliza Haweis, "Sir Frederick Leighton's House," in *Beautiful Homes* (London, 1882), 1–12.

8. The adoption of religious iconography by practitioners of Aestheticism has been discussed by a number of scholars, including Colin Cruise and Joanna Meacock. See Colin Cruise, "Versions of the Annunciation: Wilde's Aestheticism and the Message of Beauty," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*, ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 167–87. See also Joanna Meacock, "Apostles of the New Gospel: Whistler and Rossetti," in *James McNeill Whistler in Context: Essays from the Whistler Centenary Symposium*, *University of Glasgow, 2003*, ed. Lee Glazer, Margaret F. McDonald, Linda Merrill, and Nigel Thorp (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2008), 31–44.
9. *Ovid's Metamorphoses in Fifteen Books,* trans. John Dryden et al., ed. Samuel Garth (London, 1717), 1:859–60, 1001–5.
10. For more on the unease with which Ovid's work was generally regarded in the nineteenth century, see Norman Vance, "Ovid and the Nineteenth Century," in *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 215–41.
11. The most famous of all of the works ridiculing alchemy is Charles MacKay, *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds* (1841; repr., London: Wordsworth Reference, 1995).
12. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 14, 16.
13. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, 10; Walter Pater, preface to *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, 2nd ed. (London, 1888), xii.
14. Walter Pater, "Coleridge's Writings," *Westminster Review* 29, no. 1 (January 1866): 108.
15. Whistler to Frederick Greenwood, September 18, 1879/80, GUW 04375. Whistler bore a particular grudge against 'Arry, who became the incumbent of the "White House" after Whistler lost it when he was made bankrupt in May 1879.
16. Whistler to Frances Leyland, August 20/31, 1876, GUW 08058.
17. Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 123.
18. For an example of alchemy in the writings of Bulwer-Lytton, see Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni: A Rosicrucian Tale of Alchemy, Immortality, and the Wisdom of the Mystic Masters* (Leipzig, 1842). For evidence of Baudelaire's interest in alchemy, see the poem "Alchimie de la Douleur" (The Alchemy of Suffering) in Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du mal*, trans. Richard Howard (Boston: David R. Godine, 1985), 78. In this poem of ca. 1861 (it does not appear in the 1857 version), Baudelaire references the intervention of Hermes Trismegistus in his misery and posits himself as a "reverse Midas," who turns gold into iron. For a more general discussion of occult and alchemical practices in Paris in the nineteenth century, see Elizabeth K. Menon, "Guilt or Gold: Alchemy and Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Paris," in *Art and Alchemy*, ed. Jacob Wamburg (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2006), 149–70. In the second half of the nineteenth century, alchemy also experienced something of a surge of interest in America, where Whistler had many contacts even if he did not visit his homeland. In 1857 the professional soldier and occultist scholar Ethan Allen Hitchcock published a study of alchemy and alchemists,

a work that is thought to have had a great deal of influence on Carl Jung's later work: see E. A. Hitchcock, *Remarks upon Alchemy and Alchemists* (Boston, 1857). Also, as various studies have demonstrated, the literature of Edgar Allen Poe, Edward Taylor, Margaret Fuller, and Nathaniel Hawthorne all show the marked influence of alchemical ideas. For more on alchemy in American literature, see Randall A. Clack, *The Marriage of Heaven and Earth: Alchemical Regeneration in the Works of Taylor, Poe, Hawthorne, and Fuller* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000). It is often conjectured that Hawthorne was a practicing alchemist, and it is pertinent to note that during the 1870s Whistler was frequently socializing with Hawthorne's son, the writer Julian Hawthorne. See the letter from Julian Hawthorne to Whistler, January 11, 1889, GUW 02055.

19. For a discussion of the influence of medieval manuscripts on the Morris-Rossetti circle, see Julian Treuherz, "The Pre-Raphaelites and Mediaeval Illuminated Manuscripts," *Pre-Raphaelite Papers,* ed. Leslie Parris (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1984), 167. See also Michaela Braesel, "The Influence of Medieval Manuscripts on the Pre-Raphaelites and the Early Poetry of William Morris," *Journal of William Morris Studies* 15, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 41–54.
20. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 14, 16.
21. Whistler to Frederick Leyland, ca. August 9, 1876, GUW 08791.
22. David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art in association with W. W. Norton, 1984), 56–57; Merrill, *Peacock Room,* 210–21.
23. See, for example, Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, July 6/10, 1863, GUW 08043: "I have been awarded the gold medal in Holland! Slip this to the Commandant at the Café de Bade, so that the others can hear, and so that it will naturally be known everywhere. Have it put in the Figaro, and by Burty in the Presse and Baudelaire could well do me an article about it."
24. Whistler to Anna Matilda Whistler, September 26/27, 1876, GUW 06564.
25. William Blake, "A Memorable Fancy (3)," in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (London, ca. 1793), n.p. One of Blake's biographers, Peter Ackroyd, notes that Blake believed "the art of engraving was known to the Hebrews and their Chaldean ancestors—and that it went further back to Zoroaster, to Mercurius Trismegistus and even to God himself, who engraved the tables of stone for Moses": *Blake* (London: Sinclair Stevenson, 1995), 39.
26. Algernon Charles Swinburne, *William Blake: A Critical Study* (London, 1868), 204.
27. Most of the correspondence containing the argument between Whistler and Leyland is in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler* (GUW); the crucial letters were sent between October 1876 and August 1877.
28. Whistler, "The Red Rag," in *The Gentle Art,* 126.
29. Two copies of this pamphlet are held in the archives of Glasgow University Library. One was owned by Charles Augustus Howell: see Whistler to Howell, February 9, 1877, GUW 02847, including the printed pamphlet "Harmony in Blue and Gold. The Peacock Room." The other is a version with annotations by E. W. Godwin, February 16, 1877, GUW 01734.
30. Talon Rouge, "The Social Week," *Vanity Fair*, March 3, 1877, 138.
31. Ovid's Metamorphoses, 15:1234–43

Interior Motives: Whistler's Studio and Symbolist Mythmaking

John Siewert

The theme of the artist's studio frequently serves as a metaphor for a creative self, a means of placing the artist physically and figuratively.[1] Here I am concerned with the idea of "place" in that doubled sense of the word: in a literal sense, I am interested in questions about the artist's studio as place and actual space, while at the same time I also want to suggest some implications that this particular place might have for an art historical effort to *place* Whistler within Aestheticism and a larger modernist narrative. Such a project appeared already within the artist's own lifetime, as critical essays and monographs, especially prevalent in fin-de-siècle French criticism, sought to produce a persona seen in the context of Whistler's studio contents and his paintings of places and people. In appraisals that repeatedly invoke strikingly similar patterns and images, critics described Whistler's studio as a secluded site where the artist effectively retreated from the public into a world of his own creation.

FIGURE 1. Whistler in his Paris studio, 86 rue Notre Dame des Champs, 1890s. Photograph by M. Dornac. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Archive, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

A number of archival photographs document Whistler's studio and his presence there, particularly his Paris atelier on the rue Notre Dame des Champs in the sixth arrondissement (Figure 1), where he worked for several periods in the 1890s, a space that provides a point of departure for Anna Gruetzner Robins' essay in this volume. But Whistler himself left us with very few pictures of his studios. One early image, a pencil and pen-and-ink drawing of 1856 in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, depicts a contemplative, disheveled figure, no doubt meant to be taken as Whistler, who sits among the clutter of bohemian life in a Latin Quarter garret (Figure 2).[2] A decade later, in a painting from around 1865 (Figure 3), we find a more unmistakable Whistler, elegant and confident at his easel and accompanied by female models in a

FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler, *An Artist in His Studio, Seated before a Table*, ca. 1856. Pen and ink and pencil on paper, 23.4 cm (overall). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, F1906.104.

fashionable London space appointed with the signs of success and the elevated taste that were being shaped into that something called Aestheticism: a collection of blue-and-white china; a Japanese fan held by one of the women and what appear to be Japanese scroll paintings hanging on the back wall; and a framed print, probably one of Whistler's own etchings, at the far right. With its prominent mirror, the composition clearly looks to the influence of Velázquez's *Las Meninas*, a picture that makes its own claims about the studio and the relationship of the artist to a wider public.[3] Whistler's painting was intended as a study for a larger, never realized picture that was to have included his colleagues Henri Fantin-Latour and Albert Moore, a summation of sorts of Whistler's creative self-conception at the time. As such, this painting is a sketch—a fragment of a bigger project.

Another sort of fragment, a photograph by the French art critic and poet Julien Leclerq, also derives from the situation of Whistler in his studio, although in a less obvious way (Figure 4). An artifact of a visit to Whistler's studio in Paris at an undetermined moment during the later 1890s, the photograph appears in an idiosyncratic book, probably published sometime around 1900 (it bears no publication date) and titled *Le Caractère et la main* (Character and the Hand). In it, Leclercq photographically documented and analyzed the hands of thirty well-known personalities of the day, celebrities such as the statesman and writer Georges Clemenceau, author Émile Zola, and artists including the sculptors Auguste Rodin and Jules Dalou—and it also includes the painter James McNeill Whistler.

Julien Leclercq was an early champion of Vincent van Gogh; he was a close friend of Paul Gauguin (he has been referred to as "Gauguin's shadow"); he frequently contributed to the influential journal the *Mercure de France*; he was a poet on the edge of the Stéphane Mallarmé circle that included Whistler himself—and so he brings us fully into the generation of Symbolist writers whose words about Whistler repeatedly seek to construct a literary equivalent for the reserve and refinement they admired in his art.[4] In 1889, for instance, the French novelist and critic Joris-Karl Huysmans published his volume titled *Certains*, a collection of critical essays about contemporary artists that looks at Whistler's landscapes and portraits and concludes with this:

> And that will be his glory, as it will be that of others who shall have scorned public taste—to have aristocratically practiced an art resistant to common ideas, which effaced itself before the crowds, a resolutely solitary, haughtily secret art.[5]

FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler, *The Artist in His Studio*, 1865–66. Oil on paper mounted on panel, 62.9 × 46.4 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Friends of the American Art Collection, 1912.141. Photography © The Art Institute of Chicago.

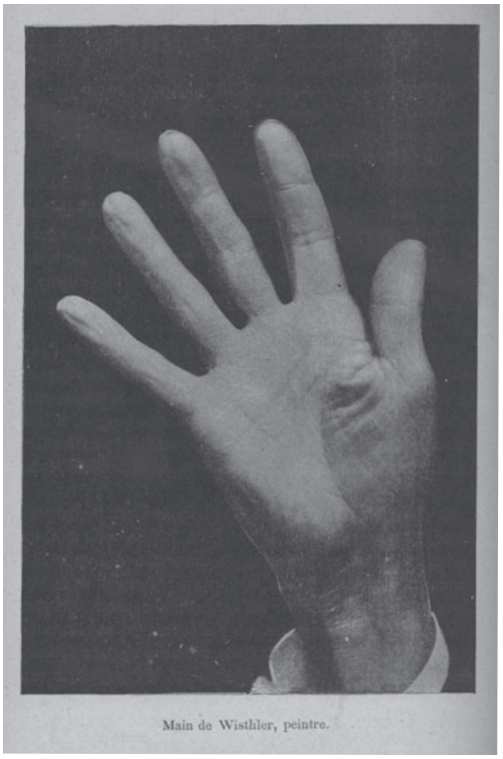


FIGURE 4. Whistler's hand, from Julien Leclercq, *Le Caractère et la main*, n.d., p. 174.

Huysmans's statement about Whistler here is consistent with the profiles of the other artists he writes about in *Certains*, such as Edgar Degas, all of whom he characterized in terms of "retreat, interiority, and interiorized sensation," as Degas scholar Carol Armstrong has observed. As Armstrong notes, Huysmans saw in the imagery of Degas's 1886 exhibition of bathers turned away from the viewer a repudiation of the public that amounted to an "insulting adieu."[6] And Huysmans identified the privacy and disdain he wanted to see in Whistler's art with *that* artist's own refusal to show his work in France since 1867 (although, to make this point, he takes considerable liberty with the facts).[7] Huysmans then takes up his tale again in 1882, when, he says, Whistler's dark, mysterious canvases began to materialize once more in Paris exhibitions at venues including the Petit gallery, where he showed at least one Nocturne painting in 1883. Nor was Huysmans alone in emphasizing an essentially private, sequestered Whistler in writing about him during the roughly ten years on either side of 1900. Jacques-Émile Blanche, the French painter and essayist, wryly noted a widespread tendency to represent Whistler with a vaguely sinister inflection, as "a sort of Mallarmé of painting, a visionary classified between Poe and Maeterlinck, a black sorcerer shut up in his ebony tower, in the midst of a garden of dark poppies, in which the sun never warms the icy atmosphere."[8] Despite Blanche's exaggerated tone (and his words seem to be as much in admiration of an imagery as they are a condemnation of it), he gives us the essential ingredients for a Symbolist picture of Whistler: the comparison to poets of mystery; the allusions to decadence and black magic; a secluded tower of ebony, not ivory; and various other richly textured references to darkness and secrecy. In short, this passage is virtually a primer of tendencies followed in a number of other end-of-century texts, all of which share Whistler's studio for their setting, whether that space was in Paris or London. In each case, the author claims that the experience of seeing the artist and his work in his own milieu brings about a new understanding of the relationship between Whistler and his art that the writer presents to his readers.

Even a brief sampling of the many Symbolist era descriptions of Whistler's studio affirms the kind of rhetoric we have already heard from Huysmans and Blanche. French art historian Gustave Geffroy, for one, wrote the following in the early 1890s about his visit to Chelsea:

> The noise of the crowd expires on the threshold, the fashionable manifestations of sympathy are silenced. In this

> suburb of London, in this secluded abode, Whistler becomes the self-cloistered hermit, the master of a kingdom remote, silent, and strange, peopled by his thoughts and where he reigns surrounded by the mysterious landscapes he has traversed, and which he recreates, and by singular creatures dear to his heart and mind, his familiar friends.[9]

The studio milieu as a key to understanding the art that emanates from it is the device employed as well in observations from the German art historian Richard Muther, published in 1896. To know Whistler as an artist, Muther contends, "he must be visited in his home," and he continues,

> Whistler seems like a hermit in his secluded house, like the monarch of a far kingdom, peopled only with his own thoughts—a realm where he reigns in the midst of mysterious landscapes and grave and quiet men and women, who have stood near him in mind and spirit, and to whom his brush has given new life. … The air which envelops them is at once bright and dark; the atmosphere of this silent room, in which the painter sees his models, has a subdued and shrouded daylight, an old light as it were, which has become harmonious like a faded Gobelin.[10]

Whistlerian discourse frequently appears to feed off itself, and in this case, Muther may be responding to Geffroy's writing as much as to his own personal experience. In both accounts of studio visits, the encounter provides a context for a deeper appreciation of Whistler's own empathy for the world from which he seems to have withdrawn.

Muther's evocation of Whistler's studio world adds atmospheric touches to Geffroy's description, such as the German writer's comparison of the dusty and dusky effect of the studio space to a faded tapestry. A somewhat deeper psychological portrait is sketched in the final such narrative I want to consider, that of Octave Maus, critic and secretary of the Belgian avant-garde group Les XX, who was instrumental in soliciting Whistler's participation in that society's exhibitions.[11] Maus follows the familiar form of a revelation in the artist's home, now described as a "well-lighted studio in Chelsea," which opened up to him as never before Whistler's "art of dreams, sensations, and mystery, illuminated by fugitive flashes—and at the same time the singular refinement of his eye." Maus then draws a correlation, much as Geffroy had done, between the painter and the portraits on the studio walls:

> There was, indeed, a sort of intellectual relationship between himself and the painted figures wrought by his hands, who, in their narrow frames of dull gold, hung about his room. … Whistler infused into their features and attitudes something of his own superfine nature; his psychology shone through on his sitters, transfiguring and elevating them—though he gave full value to their individuality—by the extreme distinction that was his gift. The atmosphere he wrapped them in was that of his own mind.[12]

Like the representations of Whistler's studio related by both Geffroy and Muther, Maus details a self-created environment populated by the images of the painter's own production, a world that the artist both creates and inhabits. And Maus performs what may be

FIGURE 5. James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 213 × 107.9 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, Harris Whittemore Collection, 1943.6.2.

the ultimate act of contextualization: he suggests that each of Whistler's portraits is in essence a self-portrait.

It is to the portraits themselves, then, the works of art to which these writers were so drawn, that we now need to turn. My purpose here is not simply to test the validity of the claims made about the portraits in these studio visit accounts against the portrait paintings themselves. Rather, I am more interested to discover in the visual properties of Whistler's later portraiture an imagery of presentation and withholding that is similar to that of the "studio visit" conceit itself. The trope of the artist secluded in his studio that we find in Huysmans, Geffroy, Muther, and Maus—and numerous others like them—is ultimately a characterization of renunciation and reclusiveness that is presented for the reader's consumption. It is a rhetorical imagery of disengagement that must be engaged with in order for it to have its effect. "Reserve" and "reticence" are not qualities we might readily associate with Whistler, at least not with the combative, publicity-seeking side of him. But they are key to the dynamic I want to identify in his later portraiture and which Symbolist critics extended to their experience of his studio environment and developed in their written responses to it. As the literary historian James Adams has noted recently, "reserve functions only in a social context. One can be quiet in solitude, but reserve must be displayed; it characterizes a subject in relation to an audience."[13] It is "reserve" in this sense of the word, then, that informs the writings about Whistler considered here. And a similar reserve, a withdrawal that seeks an audience, further characterizes the portraits those same writers so often were responding to in evoking the artist's studio.

There is, in effect, a doubled aspect to Whistler's most distinctive portrait paintings across his career. Michael Fried suggests that such a binary structure can be found reflected in the initial critical response to *The White Girl* when it was exhibited in 1863 at the Salon des Refusés. Later retitled *Symphony in White, No. 1* (Figure 5), the work at-

tracted considerable critical attention with its monumental, nearly monochromatic figure that many writers characterized as entranced, self-absorbed, a sleepwalker, or, as Fried summarizes, "unaware of being beheld." One author called the painting the portrait of a spirit or a medium, and Gustave Courbet named it an apparition. As Fried has discovered in contemporary responses, at least one critic further noted that the bearskin upon which Whistler's model stands seems to thrust itself out at the viewer, thus countering the figure's absorption or distraction.[14]

This productive tension between the forces of withdrawal and presentation can be traced further, and perhaps more clearly, in two types of full-length portraiture that Whistler first produced in the 1870s and which continued to evolve in the decades following. The first category depicts the male figure elegantly clothed in black and posed before a dark, monochromatic background to create a subdued variation of the white-on-white theme in the *Symphony in White, No. 1*. In the early 1870s, Whistler painted such a portrait of his patron Frederick Richards Leyland (Figure 6), establishing a formula he followed throughout the next several decades. The following decade, for example, in 1884, he produced an *Arrangement in Black* (1884, Carnegie Museum of Art; YMSM 315), a portrait of the renowned Spanish violinist and composer Pablo de Sarasate. And one of the artist's most arresting paintings of the 1890s is his portrait of the aristocratic French dandy and eccentric, the Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, an *Arrangement in Black and Gold* (Figure 7). It was a type of picture that Whistler continued to paint until the end; his portrait of George Washington Vanderbilt (National Gallery of Art; YMSM 481), begun in 1897, was still in progress when Whistler died in 1903. In each of these paintings, the dark-clad figure and muted background nearly merge into a continuous substance. Display of personality, social station, and accoutrements conventionally associated with portraiture seem threatened by the dissolution of such legibility, and the physical body depicted appears to be at odds with its own disembodiment. But into this enveloping atmosphere, Whistler introduces lighter accents of flesh and fragments of white shirtfronts as conspicuous highlights. If the figure appears to retreat into the surrounding shadowy ambience, these higher-keyed details seem to advance, producing an image that is at once understated and striking.

The second type of Whistler's full-length portraiture offers other variations on these themes in a category that the artist appears to have reserved exclusively for female sitters or, more properly speaking, standers. In his *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink* of 1871–74 (Figure 8), Whistler represents Frances Leyland, Frederick's wife. That same decade, he painted *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* (1876–78, The Frick Collection; YMSM 203), in which Gustave Geffroy noted a "disdainful profile," musing that the subject belonged to what he called an extended family of "slender, haughty creatures, vivacious but silent, with white hands and secret looks."[15] This female portrait type expresses such haughty secrecy, perhaps even an arrogance, through the distinctive pose Whistler developed. The figure begins to turn her back to the viewer at the same time that she offers her profile. As he did with the dark, male portraits, Whistler continued to explore this posture, which recurs throughout his oeuvre. It can be found again in *Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket* of the mid-seventies (1876, Worcester Art Museum; YMSM 181), where what I am calling reserve is further reinforced by a progressive fading of the image toward the hem of the model's garment. And the pose appears in Whistler's work as late as 1900, when he was still painting *Mother of Pearl and Silver: The Andalusian* (1888 [?]–1900, National Gallery of Art; YMSM 378).[16]

FIGURE 6. James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F. R. Leyland,* 1870–73. Oil on canvas, 218.5 × 119.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1905.100.

FIGURE 7. James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac,* 1891. Oil on canvas, 208.6 × 91.8 cm. Copyright © The Frick Collection.

In each of these examples, from early to late, the characteristic composition fully reveals the model's dress, providing Whistler an occasion to study the finery of fashion artistically displayed as if on a mannequin. At the same time, the glimpse of the figure's face affords the viewer the potential, at least, of making contact with the human subject. The result is a composition that is once again slightly at odds with itself, an image that engages the viewer even as it seems to guard itself somewhat from that gaze. At their most fully developed, these two portrait types, male and female alike, embody what I would like to suggest is a fundamental dynamic in Whistler's art, an art founded on an aesthetic of "arrangement" and "harmony" that strives to keep in play a dialogue of opposing tendencies as much as it seeks a resolution of those factors in synthesis. And it is this same kind of character that the Symbolist era critics referred to here reproduce in the accounts of

FIGURE 8. James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*, 1871–74. Oil on canvas, 195.9 × 102.2 cm. Copyright © The Frick Collection.

FIGURE 9. James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black: La Dame au brodequin jaune—Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell*, 1882–84. Oil on canvas, 218.4 × 110.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. Purchased with the W. P. Wilstach Fund, 1895.

their visits to Whistler's studio: for the elements of reserve and reclusiveness they want to conjure from Whistler's art to have their intended effect, they require, of course, a reader.

One last example of the female portrait type is especially telling in this context. The composition Whistler arrived at in his *Arrangement in Black* (Figure 9), the portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell, inspired a significant amount of critical response. In keeping with the character of the Whistlerian world evoked in his essay from *Certains*, Huysmans described the Lady Campbell portrait as the representation of an elusive figure in retreat.[17] For the French novelist and critic Camille Mauclair, the painting seemed to sum up the whole of Whistler's artistic achievement when he saw the picture in the artist's studio. "The entire art of Whistler has retreated beyond the confines of life," Mauclair wrote, "and, like the portrait of Lady Campbell, regards it from

over the shoulder, drawing on its glove somewhat disdainfully before vanishing into the darkness."[18]

Given such repeated emphasis in the criticism on an artist willfully withdrawn to his studio to recreate that reclusive experience in paint, it is hardly surprising that Julien Leclercq would have sought a firmer grip on the subject when he produced his quasi-scientific reading of Whistler's palm resulting from a visit to the artist's studio in Paris. Leclercq describes waiting apprehensively on the threshold as he hears the muffled sounds of furniture and picture frames being moved and dragged around the room in response to his knock on the door. He hesitates for a moment before he knocks again, and the door opens slightly to reveal the skeptical face of the artist he has come to see. The Frenchman enters and sets up his camera equipment, then photographs the palm and the back of his subject's right hand, Whistler's painting hand (see Figure 4).[19] Leclercq's careful examination of the hand, and his photographic documentation of it, provide a basis for interpretation, and in his book he proceeds to scrutinize the evidence before him, taking detailed inventory. A firm palm, he notes, even a bit dry, and nimble fingers with long, slender nails that indicate a great and subtle wit. A long little finger, average thumb, a short index finger. This is the hand of a fine, distinguished man, Leclercq deduces, a man whose sharp tongue skewers his victims with sarcasm.

But then Leclercq admits that such information ultimately has its limitations, and he ends the entire account of his brief studio encounter with these words: "I'm not dwelling on the brilliant and strong qualities of Whistler the artist, because what makes an artist great or mediocre is due to an intangible element of his makeup, and the man's hand, of a substance less subtle and mysterious than his mind, isn't subject to these nuances."[20] For Leclercq, the artist's hand as the bodily origin of the creative act must have seemed to promise a tantalizing index to the very character of creativity. But objective study and observation finally are able to provide him only with information that confirms the superficial impression of a well-known wit and not the more fundamental access to the artist he may have hoped to explain. Leclercq finally acknowledges that any connection between physical demeanor and artistic creation remains elusive and wrapped in mystery, and so we are returned, in a sense, to that more indefinite environment invoked again and again by Leclercq's Symbolist colleagues in their own critical accounts of a moment in Whistler's studio.

Other writers within Leclercq's Symbolist circle chose to emphasize the very nature of that elusiveness they identified, claiming it as the essential character of both Whistler and his art, to the extent that it seemed to pervade the space within which he worked to produce that art—his studio. They labored to put that which was so hard to pin down about Whistler and his work into words: words such as "secluded," "solitary," "secret," "reclusive," and "reserved." Earlier, I quoted James Adams commenting on that last quality, and his characterization of reserve underscores those qualities in Whistler's work and self-presentation I have been examining here: "Reserve functions only in a social context. One can be quiet in solitude, but reserve must be displayed; it characterizes a subject in relation to an audience." Significantly, Adams is writing specifically about Walter Pater.[21] In the aestheticist ambiance of his mid-sixties studio (see Figure 3), the painter's pose—which I mean literally as well as figuratively—is not so very different from the ones struck by the artist's models in the 1880s and 1890s (see Figure 9). So I want to suggest that the presentational strategies focused on here in a Symbolist context surely have important implications for how we might

think about comparable aspects of Aestheticism, as we continue to seek ways to place Whistler in relation to the studio and beyond.

Notes

1. In the growing literature on the artist in his studio, see especially Svetlana Alpers, *The Vexations of Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), particularly chapter 1, "The View from the Studio," 9–45. My thinking about representations of interior spaces is further indebted to Susan Sidlauskas, *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
2. Reproduced and discussed in Margaret MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 64.
3. For a venerable interpretation of Velázquez's picture in a social context, see Jonathan Brown, "On the Meaning of *Las Meninas*," in *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 87–110.
4. Leclercq was characterized as "the shadow of Gauguin" in a 1975 publication by Bengt Danielsson; see Richard Brettell, Françoise Cachin, Clare Freches-Thory, and Charles F. Stuckey, *The Art of Paul Gauguin* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1988).
5. J.-K. Huysmans, *Certains* (Paris, 1889), 73. Unless otherwise indicated, translations from the French are my own.
6. Carol Armstrong, *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 174.
7. Contrary to what Huysmans states, Whistler exhibited in Paris between 1867 and 1882, perhaps most notably in his one-man exhibition of 1873 at the Galerie Durand-Ruel, an event that appears not to have been widely noticed. The 1882 Exposition Universelle displays included a mahogany cabinet designed by E. W. Godwin, which Whistler decorated with painted Japanese cloud motifs and butterflies. Although Huysmans may not have been aware of them, he might have used these occasional offerings to reinforce his picture of Whistler's extreme exclusivity.
8. Jacques-Émile Blanche, *Essais et portraits* (Paris: Dorbon-Ainé, 1912), 6.
9. Gustave Geffroy, *La vie artistique*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1892), 78–80.
10. Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, vol. 3 (London, 1896), 651–52.
11. Whistler sent seven works to Les XX in 1884 and eight canvases in 1888. On his association with the group, see Bruce Laughton, "The British and American Contributions to Les XX, 1884–93," *Apollo* 86 (November 1967): 372–79.
12. Octave Maus, "Whistler in Belgium," *International Studio* 23 (July 1904): 11.
13. James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 189.
14. See Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism; or, the Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 222–24.
15. Geffroy, *La vie artistique,* 1:274–75.
16. For additional examples of this female "back-view" portrait type, see *Arrangement in Black, No. 2: Portrait of Mrs. Louis Huth* (1872–73, private collection; YMSM 125);

Harmony in White and Blue (1870s, Leeds Art Gallery; YMSM 126); *Harmony in Pink and Red* (ca. 1876–78, believed destroyed and known only from a contemporary photograph; YMSM 192); *Harmony in Black: Portrait of Miss Ethel Philip* (1894, Hunterian Art Gallery; YMSM 419); and *Rose et or: La Tulipe* (1894–96; Hunterian Art Gallery; YMSM 418). For additional discussion of this Whistlerian portrait type, see Branka Nakanishi, "A Symphony Reexamined: An Unpublished Study for Whistler's Portrait of Mrs. Frances Leyland," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 18 (1992): 156–57.

17. Huysmans, *Certains,* 70.
18. Camille Mauclair, *De Watteau à Whistler* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1905), 330.
19. The photograph of the reverse side of Whistler's hand appears in Julien Leclercq, *Le Caractère et la main* (Paris: F. Juven, n.d.), 177. Of the thirty famous subjects Leclercq catalogues in his book, Whistler is the only one to be given this front-and-back treatment.
20. Leclercq, *Le Caractère et la main,* 176.
21. Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints,* 189. The characterization is made in chapter 5, "Gentleman, Dandy, Priest: Masks and Masculinity in Pater's Aestheticism."

Whistler's Paris Studio: Place and Meaning

Anna Gruetzner Robins

This paper begins with a newly discovered interview conducted by the journalist Robert Harborough Sherard (Figure 1) in Whistler's Paris studio in spring 1893.[1] The interview reveals fresh information about the decorative scheme for the studio, casts new light on Whistler's view of the Paris avant-garde, and raises questions about why he chose a studio so close to the Luxembourg Museum, where his iconic painting *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* was on display. Although the interview suggests that Whistler and Sherard had not met before, this was a bit of journalistic license. Oscar Wilde had introduced them in 1883, and Sherard continued to see Whistler in London, Paris, and Dieppe for the next twenty years.[2] The interview is unsigned, but it is pasted into a press-cuttings book of Sherard's journalism now in the collection of the University of Reading.[3] Sherard came to the door unannounced and caught Whistler off guard, so the interview is less like one of Whistler's usual performances, and Whistler spoke more freely than he ordinarily did when speaking to journalists. The two men covered a range of topics, and some unexpected names came up, including those of Paul Gauguin, Edouard Manet, and Joséphine Sâr Peladan.[4]

The studio was situated on the top floor of a six-floor purpose-built modern building at 86 Notre Dame des Champs in Montparnasse.[5] A photograph of it (Figure 2), one of several taken in the 1890s, shows Whistler, surrounded by studio paraphernalia, reclining on a chaise longue with a fixed ladder in one corner, leading up to a galleried area above. Sherard's vivid description brings this faded sepia image of the cavernous space with its nooks and crannies to life:

FIGURE 1. Robert Harborough Sherard (1861–1943), n.d. Papers of Robert Harborough Sherard. Special Collections, University of Reading, Reading, England.

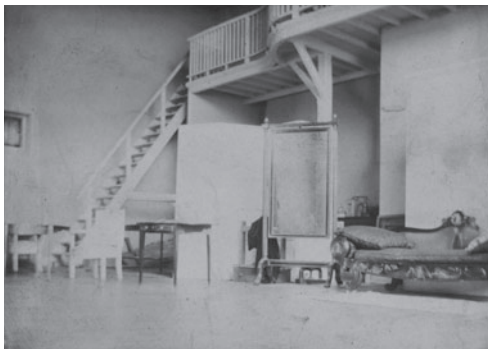


FIGURE 2. Whistler's Studio, 86 rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris, ca. 1892–1901. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, PH1/180.

> The studio is certainly one of the finest that I have seen in Paris. … Immense, lofty, with angles and doors and passages, with no vestige of … symmetry. … The walls are coloured in flesh-colour, the woodwork of the doors is in dazzling white, and the curtains and draperies are … green. … To the right of the fireplace rises a lofty white ladder, which leads to a gallery … all white, the balustrade of which curves. … Behind the ladder is heaped up an immense provision of logs. The … gallery leads to a mysterious little white door. … And then, half-way along the gallery may be dimly seen another flight of steps, also in white wood, which turn round and lose themselves in darkness.

Whistler must have realized that he had an appreciative audience: he was initially suspicious because Sherard was a journalist, but he was soon keen to show him the "terraces and hothouses, and things," and took him out onto "a broad terrace, with trellis-work and venetian-blinds … which ran round the whole front, and turned off at angles," with a heated "hothouse … 'where we shall grow flowers, and grapes … and charming things,'" and where he planned to hold "déjeuners" cooked in a kitchen with an "old French range, tiled, and so on." Whistler had taken his usual care when furnishing what proved to be his largest studio:

> The furniture is varied and beautiful. Here an Empire cheval-glass with gilt appliqués and metal work. There against the wall, on the other side of the fireplace, three white wood boxes or cabinets of decreasing size heaped one on the other; here couches, and screens, and hanging draperies; and all about the room a plentiful supply of chairs in white wood with green decorations, as yet un-upholstered, but which, presently shall have tapestries upon them which shall recall, as Mr. Whistler told me, the flesh-colour of the walls and the green of the draperies.

There is a heady mixture of the visual and the sensual on offer in this perfumed environment of beautiful things. Sherard's closely observed descriptions of the effect of the colors, textures, and the scent of the flowers and ripening grapes from the pocket of nature that the hothouse provided recall Basil Hallward's studio in Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray*, a book that Sherard, a longstanding friend of Wilde, would have known well.[6]

Whistler's studio was a beautiful and aesthetic space, but the information we have about it is locked in time. The photographs, the descriptions, and the fabric of the building, which still stands in Montparnasse, allow us partially to reconstruct the day-to-day to and fro of the huge international mix of artists, writers, critics, and dealers who gathered there. For example, the young William Rothenstein, who also met Sherard through Wilde, was encouraged to take up lithography by Whistler, and he turned making lithographic portraits of the various cultural networks he encountered into a lifelong project.[7] As interesting as a list of all the artists, critics, dealers, and collectors who made it up the steep stairs to the studio might be, my paper has a different purpose. I want to map out the meaning of that space and place for Whistler by looking at his representation of the nearby Luxembourg Gardens, where he would often walk on his way to see *Arrangement in Grey and Black* (the *Mother*, Figure 3) in the Luxembourg Museum. I want to suggest that Whistler chose a studio near the Luxembourg Gardens because it brought him close to the portrait of his mother, which, by all accounts, had a totemic significance for him.

FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, 1870–71. Oil on canvas, 144.3 × 163 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

The Paris studio was elaborate and large, but Whistler made very few paintings there. "No easel" was visible, "not one palette, none of the charming litter of the art," observed Sherard, who noticed that a number of framed pictures had "their faces turned away." Others also noted that the studio was an underused workspace. "Are those brushes wet or dry?" asked D. S. MacColl in 1893, when Whistler answered the "dazzling white door" holding a bunch in his hand. They were dry, of course. Indeed, his time was largely devoted to printmaking, also the topic of Margaret MacDonald's essay in this volume. "Underneath the gallery, and screened off" was a printing press for etchings, "behind it a table with a [sic] litter and paraphernalia of the craft, and the only commercial-looking thing in all the place" was "a wooden thing with a screw" for keeping etchings flat.[8] He did print a few etchings before 1894, when he stopped making etchings until 1902; the lithographs Whistler made in Paris were sent back to London for printing.

The studio was close to Whistler's residence at 110 rue du Bac. He told Sherard that he had found it after "house-hunting for over a year," and it had been the same with the studio. "I only found it after a long hunt, and I am really pleased with it." A large, carefully arranged studio was a fitting tribute to his growing reputation in the international art world, marked by the acquisition of the *Mother* by the Luxembourg Museum at the end of 1891, after an enthusiastic campaign led by Gustave Geffroy, Théodore Duret, Stéphane Mallarmé, and other leading critics and cultural figures in the Paris art world. Whistler was keen to tell Sherard that his picture hung in the museum opposite John

FIGURE 4. Stele with pediment showing a seated woman and attendant, first century CE. Limestone, 152 cm. British Museum, London, registration number 1856,0710.21. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Singer Sargent's *La Carmencita* and in the same room as Edouard Manet's *Olympia*.[9] What would Whistler's mother have thought of keeping company with a Spanish dancer and a prostitute with big ambition? Are you pleased with the way your picture is hung in the Luxembourg? Sherard asked. "Yes," Whistler replied, "The Sargent is a fine picture, and the Manet—well, there are perhaps Manets that I like better, but altogether it is in a good place. Where else should it be?"

Between 1872 and 1891, Whistler had exhibited the picture eleven times, watched it slip out of his hands during his years of financial insecurity, refused to sell it, and hung onto his hope of getting it back, which he finally did in 1888.[10] Letting the picture go to the French state, twenty years after he painted it, was a momentous decision, and by taking a studio so close to the museum—a brisk five-minute walk away—he ensured that he would be nearby and that the picture would continue to have an enduring presence in his life. As he wrote to his brother, William, in London:

> Amazing! Just think—To go and look at one's *own* picture hanging on the walls of the Luxembourg!—remembering how it was treated in England—to be met everywhere with deference and treated with respect and vast consideration—to be covered with distinction (by the way I have just been promoted in the St. Michael—with a new jewel sent!)—and to know that all this is gall & bitterness and a tremendous slap in the face to the Academy and the rest! Really it is like a dream!—a sort of fairy tale.[11]

On his frequent visits to the museum, Whistler was no longer the artist-producer but an observing subject. Did Whistler admire this now untouchable painted object as an arrangement in line and color, or did it become an increasingly fetishized, residual image of time past that triggered memories of his mother? In an illuminating study, Jonathan Weinberg suggests that Whistler's *Mother* was inspired by two etchings by Rembrandt of his aged mother, *The Artist's Mother Seated at a Table* and *The Artist's Mother Seated, in an Oriental Headdress, Half Length.* Weinberg suggests that Whistler's portrait, like Rembrandt's etchings, anticipates the death of his mother: Anna Whistler died in 1881, aged seventy-six, ten years after Whistler painted her.[12] I want to take the idea further and add that the black and gray tonalities of the geometric shapes and the flattened silhouette of the figure in profile make this painted image like an ancient Greek stele, a funerary monument in relief: the British Museum has a large collection of these that Whistler could have seen, including *Seated Woman and an Attendant* (Figure 4), a representation of a woman in profile, seated in a chair with a stool at her feet, which entered the museum in 1856.[13] If the studio was a beautifully arranged domestic showcase and psychic

holding space for her haunting physical absence, the Luxembourg Museum served as a mausoleum for the enduring presence of Whistler's painting of her. Whistler may have anticipated its eventual entombment by using a funerary monument as a source for the pose of the figure.

A group of etchings and lithographs mark out Whistler's path through the verdant seventeenth-century Luxembourg Gardens in front of the Luxembourg Museum. I want to concentrate on the five lithographs Whistler made of the gardens (Figures 5–9) because they are securely dated and because they represent children and their nursemaids, a subject that, as I will argue, can be connected to Whistler's memories of childhood that the *Mother* triggered.[14]

FIGURE 5. James McNeill Whistler, *The Steps, Luxembourg* (C.68), 1893. Lithograph, 21 × 15.7 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1894.10.

Walking across the Notre Dames des Champs into the rue Joseph Bara, which continues as the rue Michelet, which leads to the gardens, Whistler would have turned left toward the museum, passing a large, formal sunken garden enclosed by a balustrade that can be accessed by an identical set of steps to the east and west. *The Steps, Luxembourg* (Figure 5) probably depicts the steps on the western side, in which case it can be grouped with *The Pantheon, from the Terrace of the Luxembourg Gardens* (Figure 6), *The Terrace, Luxembourg* (Figure 7), and *Nursemaids: "Les Bonnes du Luxembourg"* (Figure 8). The only one of the five lithographs of the Luxembourg Gardens that does not fall into this group is *Conversation under the Statue, Luxembourg Gardens* (Figure 9), which pays homage to Whistler's beloved Scottish wife, "Trixie," because it includes the statue of Mary, Queen of Scots, situated at the edge of the eastern terrace. As the title suggests, *The Pantheon, from the Terrace of the Luxembourg Gardens* is a view from the western terrace across the gardens to the Pantheon. *The Terrace, Luxembourg* is a view to the southeast that includes a partial outline of the roof and the squared turret of Berger Pevrault, an apartment block at the corner of the rue Auguste Comte and the Avenue de la Observatoire; *Nursemaids* depicts a section of the gardens at the base of the western steps.

All of these lithographs depict nursemaids and governesses with their charges. Did the proximity of the painting of his mother bring back memories of his childhood and inspire Whistler to draw them in the Luxembourg Gardens? If so, there is little evidence of any happy families in these images—if by "family" we mean the nuclear model of father, mother, and two children—because all of these prints depict surrogate mothers and absent fathers. In *The Steps, Luxembourg,* a young child trails several feet behind a female figure on the steps in the garden, while another is dwarfed by the group of men in "soft hats" gazing with interest at the entwined chubby cherubs on the elaborate jardinière; other clusters of disparate individuals, some in top hats, stand adrift at the top of the steps. A solitary young child, back turned, peers through the balustrade, ignored by the nursemaids who stand on the left in *The Pantheon, from the Terrace of the Luxembourg Gardens.* And what a spectacle of "discipline and punish" in *The Ter-*

FIGURE 6. James McNeill Whistler, *The Pantheon, from the Terrace of the Luxembourg Gardens* (C.70), 1893. Lithograph, 18.1 × 16 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1894.12.

FIGURE 7. James McNeill Whistler, *The Terrace, Luxembourg* (C.87), 1894. Lithograph, 9.8 × 21.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1906.171.

race, Luxembourg, where three nursemaids sit barricaded behind three chairs at right angles to them; a young girl with her head down, hands clasped, one foot partly off the ground and the other raised in the air, waits to escape from this oppressive arrangement; another nursemaid, wearing an identical hat to the first, stands with arms crossed and appears to scold the young child looking up at her.

These children have a timeless, universal significance that ties them in an interesting way to the ideas of the French Symbolists, in particular to Paul Gauguin, whom Whistler discussed with Sherard.[15] They also resonate with other meanings connected to Whistler's own peripatetic, lonely childhood and also, perhaps, to the children he had with Maud Franklin, whom he abandoned. These points are best illustrated by *The Nursemaids: "Les Bonnes du Luxembourg,"* a view of the garden, the western steps flanked by statues of Venus and Minerva, and the museum just apparent in the distance. Each distinct figure and group of figures in *The Nursemaids* is part of this topography but floats in flat, empty space that gives them a timeless universality. It suggests to me that Whistler was consciously thinking about the function of space in a way that transcends its illusory role in traditional picture making. This is not so much "flat" space, but "not" space—an effect Whistler sought by choosing a viewpoint that eliminates such details as the pool and the semicircles of lawn and flowerbeds at the center of the garden. A young girl, her spindly legs straddled far apart, stands alone; a toddler takes a few steps, held by its nursemaid; a cluster of nursemaids sit with their charges; another nursemaid holds a young child; two young children play; their schematic forms float in the space that separates each figure and group of figures and denies the possibility of any continuous narrative about an everyday event in the Luxembourg Gardens.

This visualization of space as an expressive signifier compares to the way space is conceived by Stéphane Mallarmé. His close friendship with Whistler is well established. Their correspondence plays out the narrative of their

mutual admiration, their planned meetings, and their tremendous rapport; therefore, it is hardly surprising that Mallarmé came up in Whistler's conversation with Sherard.[16] Whistler called Mallarmé "a grand signeur" and told Sherard how it delighted him to hear Mallarmé speak, "as he speaks at his weekly receptions in the Rue de Rome … so clear and limpid, with occasional hesitations, and then such phrases." The pauses that Whistler described in Mallarmé's elliptical speech can be compared to what has been interpreted as the spaces of silence in his poetry, where the white spaces on the page separate the short and long paragraphs and encircle the text with silence. Whistler reportedly was not a great reader, but he must have been intrigued by Mallarme's claim that the black text of printed words interrupted the "whiteness of the page," or, as Roger Pearson argues, "the blank space of the page … offers some authentication of silence." I see the intermingling of "lacework of the poetic text" and the "espace blanc" in Mallarmé's prose and verse as the textual equivalent of the distinctive mark-making that unfolds in the empty, "silent" space of Whistler's prints.[17]

Commenting on one of Whistler's three "Songs on Stone," *The Tyresmith* (C.36), which had been published in the *Whirlwind* opposite Mallarmé's "Billet à Whistler" two days previously, on November 15, 1890, Mallarmé wrote to the artist, "All that is done in such a Whistlerian manner: the whole page, amazing! I have never presented to the skies the cloth of such an impeccable plastron; and that alongside a work by you, which, of the two, is the true Song. As for the brouhaha, you can imagine how precious that is to me, because I hear your voice in it." (By "brouhaha," Mallarmé appears to mean the densely worked areas of the lithograph.)[18] More dense areas of mark-making break the silent white space of Whistler's *Nursemaids*, where the young girl who stands alone is engulfed by empty space. She is a more schematically drawn cousin of the fantastical children in the Walberswick seascapes by Philip Wilson Steer (Figure 10), the London Impressionist whose work, like Whistler's, was featured in the *Whirlwind* and who belonged to the Whistler-Sickert cohort. Whistler's figure is a performer on another kind of empty stage where no real narrative can be played out. She shares her lineage with the young girls who play in Steer's fantasy seascapes, but she hovers closer to the banal and everyday. Not an individual, or even an

FIGURE 8. James McNeill Whistler, *Nursemaids: "Les Bonnes du Luxembourg"* (C.81), 1894. Lithograph, 20 × 15.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1906.164.

FIGURE 9. James McNeill Whistler, *Conversation under the Statue, Luxembourg Gardens* (C.69), 1893. Lithograph, 17.2 × 15.2 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1894.11.

FIGURE 10. Philip Wilson Steer, *Children Paddling, Walberswick*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 64.3 × 92.6 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

FIGURE 11. Edouard Vuillard, *Public Gardens: The Interrogation or The Questioning*, 1894. Distemper on canvas, 214.5 × 92 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris, RF1978-47, detail. Bequest of Mrs. Alexander Radot in 1978.

individual type, her corporality dissolves into a cutout shape like the carefully manicured box in the Luxembourg Gardens. It is a haunting hieroglyphic of an enduring moment of childhood that transcends the material presence of the young girl.

Whatever personal significance the subject of childhood had for Whistler, he represented the theme of childhood in a new way by connecting its universality with the ordinary and everyday. I have no clear proof that Edouard Vuillard and Henry James were directly inspired by Whistler's images, but there are noticeable connections in the way that both artist and writer, who knew and admired Whistler, took up the theme. I am thinking of Vuillard's *Public Gardens: The Interrogation* (Figure 11), one of the panels that make up *The Park* or *The Public Gardens*, a privately commissioned decorative scheme. Although I have no proof that Vuillard had seen Whistler's lithographs of the garden, he is known to have taken an interest in Whistler, and he also had attended Mallarmé's "mardis" when he took up the theme in the summer of 1894.[19] Vuillard's project is on an entirely different scale, but it is hard not to see a connection with Whistler's *Nursemaids* and its theme of everyday childhood. Whistler's lithographs and Vuillard's paintings represent childhood as a state of being, a period of life that transcends the individual and a single moment in time.

Henry James expresses the same idea in *The Ambassadors* (1903), where the sculptor Gloriani and also, I suggest, the New Englander Lambert Strether are based on Whistler.[20] Strether finds himself in the Luxembourg Gardens soon after his arrival in Paris, where "on a penny chair from which terraces, alleys, vistas, fountains, little trees in green tubs, little women in white caps, and shrill little girls at play all sunnily 'composed' together, he passed an hour in which the cup of his impressions seemed truly to overflow." On a later visit to his Luxembourg nook, Strether has an epiphany about what James regarded as an enduring quantity of time "of things in a strange, vast order, swinging at moments off into space,

into past and future, and then dropping fast, with some loss of breath, but with a soft, reassuring thud, down to yesterday and to-day."[21]

The nineteenth-century children who played in the Luxembourg Gardens are long gone, but the children who continue to play there form one long continuum of color, sound, and movement from yesterday to today and into the future. It is a little bit of ordinary life, but it was "enough to fill a life." I am citing Jean-Paul Sartre in *The Age of Reason,* where he describes the Luxembourg Gardens as "that familiar garden, always new, always the same, just like the sea, swept for a hundred years by the same wavelets of colors and of sounds. Here it all was: scurrying children, the same for a hundred years past, the same sunshine on the broken-fingered plaster queens. … All this was so natural, so *normal,* so monotonous, it was enough to fill a life, it *was* life."[22]

Notes

1. [Robert Harborough Sherard], "Monsieur Whistler 'Chez Lui,'" Press-Cuttings Book (MS 1047/3/1) in the Papers of Robert Harborough Sherard, Special Collections, University of Reading, Reading, UK. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from this source. The unsigned interview includes the heading of the *Westminster Gazette* but no date: the interview makes it clear, however, that Whistler had recently moved into the studio, which suggests a date of April or possibly May 1893.
2. Robert Harborough Sherard, *Twenty Years in Paris, Being Some Recollections of a Literary Life* (London: Hutchinson, 1905), 346. Sherard and Whistler met for the last time in Paris at the Café Napolitain, where Sherard witnessed Whistler's encounter with a bore. "'Well, Mr. Whistler, and how are you getting on?' said the man, approaching. 'I'm not,' said Whistler, draining his glass of absinthe and putting on his hat. 'I'm getting off'" (347).
3. Further evidence that Sherard is the author can be found in Sherard, *Twenty Years in Paris,* 348–49, where Sherard cites the *Westminster Gazette* interview in part and remembers that he and Whistler talked for nearly an hour. Sherard was a prolific journalist who wrote on politics, art, and literature in the French and English press.
4. Whistler referred to the following artists and writers: Jean Charles Cazin, Edgar Degas, Jean-Louis Forain, Phil May, John Singer Sargent, Pierre Loti, Stéphane Mallarmé, Comte Antoine de la Rochefoucauld, and Joris-Karl Huysmans. Sherard spells the name "Goguin," but the conversation makes it clear that Whistler is referring to Gauguin.
5. "I remember that as I was going up to his studio, which was very high up, having lost count of the storeys I had climbed, I met a fat *bourgeois* coming down the stairs, and asked to be directed. 'You must go right up to the top of the staircase,' he said cheerfully. *'On ne peut pas aller plus loin que Monsieur Whistler'*—a remark which was both an epigram and a true appreciation" (Sherard, *Twenty Years in Paris,* 349).
6. At the end of January 1883, the twenty-one-year-old Sherard helped Wilde settle in Paris, and four months later dedicated *Whispers,* a book of poems, "To Oscar Wilde, Poet and Friend, Affectionately and admiringly Dedicated." They remained lifelong friends, and Sherard was one of the few who remained loyal to Wilde after his imprisonment. See Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987),4, 22, 113, 126, 161, 202–6, 208, 213, 218, 220, 235, 330, 439, 443, 457–8, 468, 503, 511, 526, and 551. See also, for example, Robert Harborough Sherard, *The Life of*

Oscar Wilde (London: Werner Laurie, 1906) and *Oscar Wilde: The Story of an Unhappy Friendship* (London: Greening, 1909).

7. William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories, Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1872–1900,* vol. 1 (London: Faber and Faber, 1931), 86. Rothenstein first met Whistler at the end of 1892. While in Paris in May 1893, when he visited Whistler in his studio, D. S. MacColl arranged for Rothenstein to undertake his first commission of lithographic portraits, which were published by John Lane as *Oxford Characters.* Thomas Robert Way wrote to Whistler that "Mr Rothenstein is making some charming portraits on the paper, he is amazingly clever" (November 3, 1893, GUW 06101).
8. D. S. MacColl to Elizabeth MacColl, May 12, 1893, Donald Suther MacColl Collection, University of Glasgow Library, Glasgow, Scotland, M118. MacColl wrote, "Pennell & I went to Whistler's studio. He appeared through a chink of the door with a large palette & brushes & a look of being interrupted in masterpiece. I looked at the brushes & asked are they wet or dry? He stared, then relaxed into a triumph, & set the door open. He sat there most of the afternoon talking with Mrs Whistler coming in meantime for some food."
9. The pictures hung in Room Six, which was reserved for the most radical paintings in the collection. For a discussion of the layout of the collection, which was moved to the Orangerie adjacent to the Luxembourg Gardens in 1886, see Belinda Thomson, "Vainly Seeking Impressionism, a Scottish Artist's Response to the Musée du Luxembourg c. 1894," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 14 (2009–2010): 92.
10. For a detailed account of the purchase of Whistler's *Mother* by the French state, see Margaret F. MacDonald and Joy Newton, "The Selling of Whistler's *Mother*," in *Whistler's Mother: An American Icon,* ed. Margaret F. MacDonald (Aldershot, UK: Lund Humphries, 2003), 65–80.
11. Whistler to William Whistler, February 1–14, 1892, GUW 07006, cited in MacDonald and Newton, "The Selling of Whistler's *Mother*," 65.
12. Jonathan Weinberg, *Ambition and Love in Modern American Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 6–7, 11. *The Artist's Mother Seated at a Table* (Bartsch, Hollstein 343) and *The Artist's Mother Seated, in an Oriental Headdress, Half Length* (Bartsch, Hollstein 348) were in Francis Seymour Haden's collection and were included in *The Collection of Prints and Drawings Formed by Mr. Francis Seymour Haden* (Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, London), June 15–18, 1891, lots 331 and 332. I am grateful to Nicholas Stogdon for this reference.
13. I am grateful to Marcia Pointon for our conversation about this point.
14. Of the eight related etchings, the majority have been dated between 1892 and 1894: *Bébés, Jardin du Luxembourg* (G.463), *Under the Statue, Luxembourg Gardens* (G.464), *Balustrade, Luxembourg Gardens* (G.465), *The Band, Luxembourg Gardens* (G.466), *Polichinelle, Jardin du Luxembourg* (G.467), and *The Pantheon from the Terrace, Luxembourg Gardens* (G.473). Two other etchings, *Little Terrace, Luxembourg Gardens* (G.443) and *The Little Terrace, Luxembourg Gardens, No. 2* (G.444), have been tentatively dated 1889–90.
15. Mallarmé was a strong supporter of Gauguin, which may explain Whistler's interest. The two artists probably met in 1885 in Dieppe, where they both spent part of the summer, and it may be that Gauguin listened to Whistler give an abridged version of his *Ten O'Clock* lecture at the Sickerts's rented house, where Degas was among the invited guests. Whistler told Sherard that he had seen Gauguin's pictures, calling them "strange things," at Goupil's in Paris: when he was in Paris that summer, he may

have seen the 1889 Volpini show, when Gauguin showed the *Volpini Suite* consisting of eleven zincographs—lithographs printed from a zinc plate rather than the customary stone. Whistler could be usefully compared to Gauguin as a way of understanding his significance within the international arena in which he moved during the 1890s.

16. Whistler also referred to Pierre Loti (whom Gauguin also admired): "Was he not the writer of the sweetest French?"

17. Roger Pearson, *Unfolding Mallarmé: The Development of a Poetic Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 3, 210. Pearson frequently compares Mallarmé's text to lacework in this analysis. For an illuminating study of Mallarmé and silence, see Roger Pearson, *Mallarmé and Circumstance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For an illuminating discussion about this mark-making process, see Martha Tedeschi, "The New Language of Etching in Nineteenth Century England," in *The "Writing" of Modern Life: The Etching Revival in France, Britain, and the U.S., 1850–1940,* ed. Elizabeth Helsinger (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2008), 25–38.

18. *The Whirlwind* 2, no. 20 (November 15, 1890); Mallarmé to Whistler, November 17, 1890, GUW 13451. For an illuminating analysis of Mallarmé's "Billet à Whistler," see Pearson, *Mallarmé and Circumstance,* 208–15.

19. William Vaughan points out Vuillard's interest in the work of Whistler and suggests that *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* may have influenced Vuillard's *Mother and Sister of the Artist* (1893, Museum of Modern Art, New York): "A Chance Meeting of Whistler and Freud? Artists and Their Mothers in Modern Times," in *Whistler's Mother: An American Icon,* 107–9.

20. For example, James's 1886 novel *The Princess Casamassima* owes more than a little to Whistler's images of 1880s London.

21. Henry James, *The Ambassadors* (1903; repr., New York: New American Library, 1960), 51, 56.

22. Jean-Paul Sartre, *The Age of Reason*, trans. Eric Sutton (1945; repr., London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 48–49.

Other Voices, Other Rooms:

Beyond Whistlerian Aestheticism

Aesthetes on Display: "Not Masculine and Progressive but Reclusive and Retrospective"

Susan P. Casteras

The protest expressed in my title was registered in 1877 by critic William Michael Rossetti in the *Academy* concerning how the art of James McNeill Whistler, Edward Burne-Jones, and others had become controversial and nonmasculine.[1] Overall, the cult of Aestheticism in the 1870s and 1880s was associated with connotations of sickness, indolence, lassitude, and sexuality that encompass myriad representations of contemporary femininity and masculinity—from paintings and persons on display at the Grosvenor Gallery to body language, interior decoration, behavior, ideals of beauty, fashion, and alternative notions of gendered identity. Invoking and often conflating these varied subjects, Victorian critics assailed the radical imagery and aims of those artists in particular who, in high and low art alike, produced countless representations of Aestheticism in the form of swooning and recumbent females and equally languid males. One of the most novel aspects of aestheticism was the way in which its visual language suggested that gender identities were malleable. This was an idea that crossed multiple boundaries, from high art to fashion to popular culture. In the discussion that follows, however, I consider these overlapping categories separately in order to show the varied ways in which Aesthetic cognoscenti—and their critics—redefined art, beauty, and personal identity.

Aesthetic art during this period frequently focused on the female devotee but also lavished attention on her male counterpart. Aesthetic women summoning Rossettian traditions represented one ideal, with Aesthetic demeanor, attire, and materialism emblematic of active participation in this avant-garde, elitist movement. The "religion" of Aestheticism required yielding one's life to art and completely immersing one's identity in the cult of beauty. Such contemplation functioned as a potent narcotic, leaving followers in an addicted state, in a zone apart from reality. This "otherness" is reflected in countless paintings and cartoons, with the solipsistic Aesthete, male or female, experiencing a pathological ailment that is simultaneously cultural and physical. Using languor, illness, eccentric appearance, and effeminacy as constructs, Victorian writers did their best—or perhaps worst—to berate the figural imagery of Whistler and Burne-Jones. Inspired partly by the torpor of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's embowered stunners, these two artists (along with Albert Moore) projected potent states of being for their protagonists and challenged prevailing visual conventions.

Aesthetic Models

Dante Gabriel Rossetti's influence on Aesthetic female imagery derives from works like *The Blue Bower* (see Codell, Figure 3), where a drugged-looking Pre-Raphaelite

FIGURE 1. James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*, 1864. Oil on canvas. 76.5 × 51.1 cm. Tate Gallery, London. Bequeathed by Arthur Studd. Tate, London / Art Resource, NY.

FIGURE 2. Thomas Armstrong, *The Lesson*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 79.4 × 58.7cm. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, Connecticut, Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund, 1984.5. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY.

stunner is captive, trapped in a bower among other decorative props, fabrics, and flowers. Both seductive and unattainable, she seems tantalizingly suspended in a trance, commodified and disconnected from the real world, generating a libidinous appeal that some critics, as discussed below, deemed unhealthy and menacing.

The Aesthetic women who followed Rossetti's imprint in real life represent a new idol, pushing even further the concept of a female as a decorative object in a visual spectacle. Among the middle and upper classes, certain aspects of appearance and deportment became emblematic of dedication to the Aesthetic movement and its power to transform real life. In real life, some wore Aesthetic as well as Pre-Raphaelite–inspired flowing fashion, striking poses that were decidedly new and different at Grosvenor Gallery openings and elsewhere.[2] A hallmark was reverie or passivity, typically pairing female—usually drained—receptivity with inner agitation and longings. Thus, in Rossetti's stunner and her living counterparts, or Aesthetic "sisters," the passive female body outwardly appeared listless and somnambulant yet was understood as hiding inner sexual drives and siren-like threats, especially as conveyed in contemporary poetry of various types.[3]

Beyond the Rossettian ideal, a renowned prototype for the female Aesthete from the realm of high art is Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (Figure 1). Here the artist's mistress, Joanna Hiffernan, is displayed in Whistler's own home, surrounded by Aesthetic objects such as Chinese porcelain and a Japanese fan. Dressed in white, she ironically functions like an Aesthetic bride waiting at an altar. Like her countless successors, she is part of the artist's overall decorative scheme; ornamental, aloof, and phlegmatic, she and other Whistlerian females preside simultaneously as immobile goddesses and prisoners confined to a world of beauty, mirrors, and Art for Art's Sake. Indebted to the Rossettian legacy, she seems even more sapped of energy, inscrutable, and narcissistic in her hermetic chamber. Is she bored, experiencing an inner vision, or merely yearning for something? There is no answer, but these lolling, seemingly expressionless women contain their power—that is, their sexual passion—largely by concealing or not overtly releasing it. This figure's dreamy expression and lethargic pose, like her blank white dress and trendy drawing-room setting, are visual components that link her not only to

later figural works by Whistler but also to subsequent permutations of both the Aesthetic female and male and their enervated, seemingly emotionless inactivity—in *Punch* magazine and elsewhere.

How different this painting is from a similar vignette by Whistler's English friend Thomas Armstrong, whom he met while studying in Paris and who shared studio space with George Du Maurier.[4] In *The Lesson* (Figure 2), Armstrong depicts another female poised at a mantelpiece adorned with Aesthetic accessories, her arm gracefully draped on the fireplace shrine in a reversal of Whistler's composition. This woman, dressed in dark hues rather than gauzy white, is engaged in an unresolved drama and seems imperious, even stern, as she confronts a young girl. Unlike Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 2*, Armstrong's *The Lesson* is still tied to narrative expectations. Yet the title is obfuscating; the older female serves as teacher, but it is unclear if "the lesson," presumably for the crestfallen girl, is an Aesthetic one or something less esoteric.[5]

FIGURE 3. James McNeill Whistler, *Symphony in White, No. 3*, 1865–67. Oil on canvas, 51.4 × 76.9 cm. Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham / Bridgeman Art Library.

FIGURE 4. Albert Moore, *Beads*, 1880. Oil on canvas, 29.8 × 51.4 cm. © National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland / Bridgeman Art Library.

A different permutation of Aesthetic inertia with multiple figures is Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 3* (Figure 3), with its exquisitely lounging, self-absorbed creatures (Hiffernan reappears at left). As scholars such as Robyn Asleson have noted, Whistler's figural compositions of the 1860s bear a strong affinity with the work of his reclusive friend Albert Moore.[6] For example, paintings like Moore's *Beads* (Figure 4) are replete with equally self-consciously feminine ultrarefinement and weariness. Such "high art" images became visual inspiration for popular imagery and benchmarks for both male and female Aesthetic posturing, yearning, and exquisite depletion.

Aesthetic Critics

In an 1882 book on aestheticism, Walter Hamilton earmarks as female traits flowing hair, eyes with "love-lorn languor," sunken cheeks, consuming kisses, long hands, unusual garb, and morbid temperament.[7] This description also applies to portrayals of male Aesthetes. Rossetti's portrait of Jane Burden Morris in *Perlascura* (Figure 5) personifies these facial attributes, which were imitated and ridiculed in *Punch* and other popular periodicals. One anonymous poem wittily describes the female Aesthete as having passionate

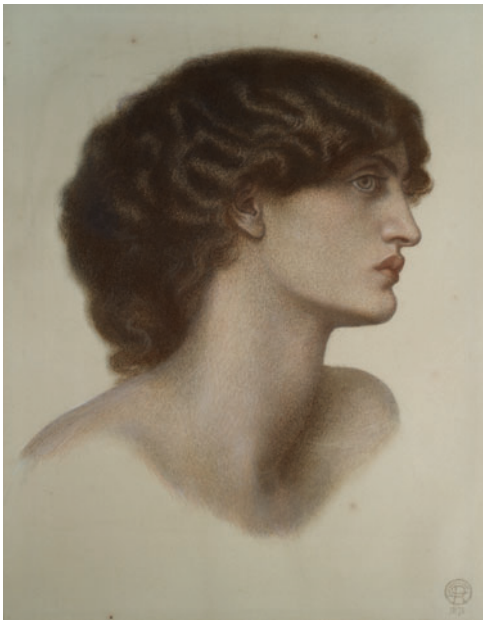


FIGURE 5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Perlascura*, 1871. Pastel on paper, 55.9 × 36.2 cm. Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

FIGURE 6. George Du Maurier, "The Six-Mark Teapot," *Punch*, October 30, 1880. Collection of the author.

caresses, a "sallow brow," "hollow, parboiled eyes, … heart-devouring sighs," and "sodden, pasty cheeks."[8] "Janey" personified these traits and became Rossetti's dominant quasi-pinup, as in *La Pia de' Tolomei* (ca. 1868–70, Spencer Museum of Art). Her features and boneless posture symbolized the Pre-Raphaelite–inspired ideal of femininity, one that in time morphed into androgyny. Janey also served as the definitive visual standard-bearer for Du Maurier's famous *Punch* cartoons spoofing aestheticism. In "The Six-Mark Tea-pot" (Figure 6), for example, a Janey clone speaks with her Oscar Wildean groom in an Aesthetic honeymoon paradise of Japanese screens, blue-and-white china, and ebonized furniture. Another example is "Aesthetic Love in a Cottage" (February 19, 1881), featuring wildly exaggerated, haggard, prematurely aged—even decrepit—Janey twins with dual gaunt faces and bodies.

Indeed, the extremes of weariness and gauntness served as a volatile issue of unhealthiness among critics. Commentators were disturbed by the intense self-absorption and underlying sensuality afflicting Aesthetes in epidemic numbers. The *Illustrated London News* in 1879 loathed the "wan, haggard faces, … limp languors, … [and] hysterical tension" and railed against such sexually ambivalent creatures as those in Burne-Jones's *Beguiling of Merlin* (see Deusner, Figure 3), which sustained a "morbid outcome … which every man who respects his manhood and every woman who values her honour must regard with disgust."[9] Another suspect work in this category was Burne-Jones's *Laus Veneris* (1873–75, Laing Art Gallery), which critic Frederick Wedmore excoriated in his art column for the *Academy*.[10] As such criticism indicates, insalubrious messages were encoded both in the art on the walls and in the very Aesthetic bodies of visitors to the Grosvenor Gallery.

Accusations of lethargy, unhealthiness, and unacceptable sensuality were at the core of public suspicions concerning the character—moral and otherwise—of those beings branded Aesthetic in real life and in art. A lack of wholesomeness rendered both sexes susceptible to Aesthetic malaise. Some reactions verged on hysteria, as when Harry Quilter of *Macmillan's Magazine* attacked the movement's "morbid and sickly art-results," causing "evil" to spread "from pictures and poems into private life. … There may now be seen at many a social gathering young men and women whose lacklustre eyes, disheveled

hair, eccentricity of attire, and general appearance of weary passion proclaim them members of the new school."[11]

Repeatedly, sickness—associated with feminine indolence—connoted debilitation or enervation as a result of sexual activity or desire. Although the Aesthetic female seems outwardly fragile, she was perceived in seemingly contradictory ways: first, as possessing a lethal, insatiable sexual appetite akin to that of Rossetti's femmes fatales and, second, as lacking in maternal instincts. Moreover, Aestheticism was viewed as emasculating contemporary manhood, art, and society. As the *Magazine of Art* critic despaired in 1881, "Effeminacy, even when it is associated with some Aesthetic sentiment, is not a wholesome moral temper."[12] The underlying problem with the Aesthetic affect was thus its feminine qualities (high-strung emotionalism, posing, decorativeness, and narcissism) and how these factors impaired masculinity. Thus, the same writer complained, "Effeminacy … is distinctly unwholesome. … No more complete antithesis to the honourable, self-respecting masculine character could be found."[13]

Aesthetic Parodies

In the realm of popular culture, both sexes reiterate certain visible manifestations of Aestheticism, notably pretentious intensity, soulful and simpering expressions, illness, and flaccid body and mind. These ideas are mostly expressed in parodied form in periodicals like *Punch*, not in fine-art paintings, with Du Maurier as the key exponent. Popular images transmit a degree of gender-bending androgyny that showcases Aesthetic signifiers like slouching posture, nervous, fluttering hands, hypersensitivities to art and poetry, and "chinamania." Such affectations are satirized, for example, in a comic quartet of Christmas cards by A. J. Ludovici. In one, an effete male (or masculinized young woman) gazes at a lily; he reappears gazing at a sunflower, "with yearnings for your intense joy" (Figure 7). In yet another image, a woman holds a teapot and interacts with a sunflower, both recurrent Aesthetic motifs invoking women's traditional interaction with flowers or teapots in gardens and parlors. However, when a male did these things, his actions were considered unmanly and unnatural. An extreme statement of this is embodied in a teapot by James Hadley (1881–82, Victoria and Albert Museum). On one side is a mustached male Aesthete with a sunflower, and on the other, sharing a limp-wristed spout, a woman (or an androgynous young man) with a lily.[14]

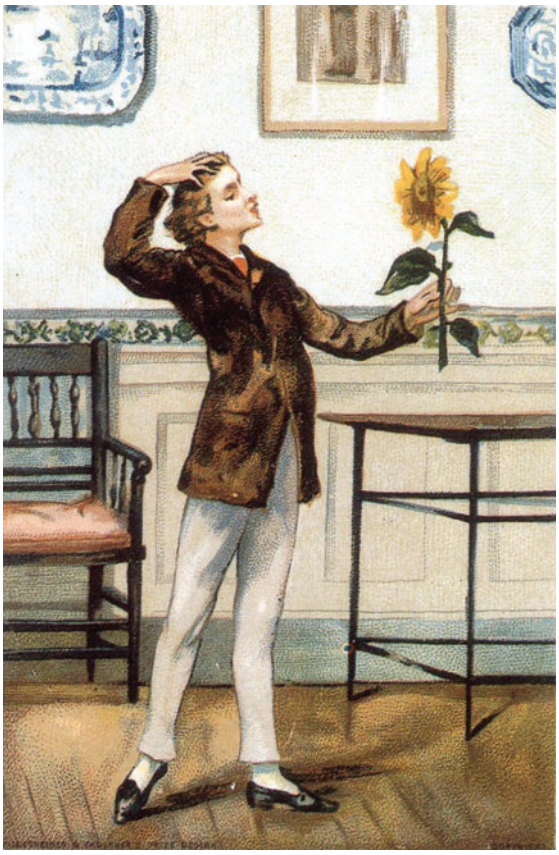


FIGURE 7. A. J. Ludovici, "With Yearnings for Your Intense Joy," Aesthetic Christmas card, ca. 1880. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

On the male side of the Aesthetic equation, the single figure who exemplifies and

FIGURE 8. Sheet music cover for "The Colonel Waltz" by E. Bucaslossi. Color lithograph by Stannard and Son. Published by Hopwood and Crew, 1881. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Gift of Mrs. Belinda Rudd. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

lionizes the male acolyte was undoubtedly Whistler's friend and foe, Oscar Wilde. Wilde's passion for flowers was satirized in countless forms, such as Linley Sambourne's famous 1881 "Fancy Portrait No. 37," featuring Wilde with a sunflower (*Punch,* June 25, 1881). Along these lines, Du Maurier's "Aesthetic Midday Meal" of the previous year (August 17, 1880) included the Wildean poet Jellaby Postlethwaite ordering water for his withering lily and staring rapturously at it. Female Aesthetes suffered from the same flora mania, as in the sheet music cover for "The Colonel Waltz" (Figure 8). A garishly adorned female leans on a mantelpiece, her pose and tawdry garb hinting at Whistler's prototype. Her gown's divided folds scandalously emphasize her legs, while a tassel creates a phallic shape that suggestively hangs over her genitalia and makes her seem indecent, not ladylike at all. Products such as this sheet music and the extraordinary teapot suggest how Aestheticism was also a commercial phenomenon, with Aesthetes the consumers of commodities as well as objects of desire in their own right.

Male and female Aesthetes alike suffered from a "soulfully intense, despairing droop," an anemic pallor, affected, melancholic looks, and messy hair, often adorning themselves in feminine accessories.[15] Smitten by the "sickness" of Art for Art's Sake, countless worn-out practitioners languish in art in slumping positions or worshipful stances before objects they idolatrously adore and fetishize. Typically, they seem spent by life and the pleasures of living for art's sake.

The result of such pretentiousness and artificiality was a widespread scrambling of gendered identities, with men becoming visibly effeminate and women either neutered or zombielike. Each sex was lampooned, but with men, the ridicule was mostly hinted at as homosexual.[16] For a *Patience* playbill, the impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte linked "unmanly oddities" with "a clique of professors of ultra-refinement, who preach the gospel of morbid languor and sickly sensuousness … distinguished by an eccentricity of taste tending to an unhealthy admiration for exhaustion, corruption, and decay."[17] Overall, Du Maurier's personae reconfigured the gender-bending results of the Aesthetic experience. Virility is deflated to something "wan, limp, and haggard," whereas feminine susceptibility is conflated with superficial beauty, fads, and sexual degeneracy. Followers were plagued by what critic Frederick Wedmore described in 1878 as "yearnings not to be gratified because they are insatiable."[18] Gender differences were reinscribed and literally blurred, making it vexing to discern which figure is male and which female since both seem inspired by Jane Morris and Oscar Wilde.

Aesthetic Spaces

Most *Punch* Aesthetic cartoons reiterate specific strategic sites, typically the home, radicalizing them in new ways. The domestic sphere was no longer portrayed as the exclusive domain of the female, for both men and women were portrayed coveting identical objects and possessing a strong desire to decorate to express personal fulfillment.[19] Both sexes spurned an active or vigorous outdoor life, preferring instead to languish indoors as part of the decorative scheme. Separate spheres merge, and activities once ascribed to women—like selecting handsome objects for the home or communing with flowers—became mutual joys invested with new meaning by Aesthetic men. These cultural duties originally belonging to women are reflected in Gustavus Bouvier's *In the Morning: Three Young Ladies in an Aesthetic Interior* (1877, private collection), in which three female "curators," as acolytes at the altar of beauty, dust, water a floral piece, and lean meaningfully against a mirrored mantelpiece in emulation of Whistler's *Little White Girl*.[20]

FIGURE 9. George Du Maurier, "The Aesthete (Intellectual Epicures)," *Punch*, February 5, 1876. Collection of the author.

Boundaries overlap and collide when the parlor or drawing room is so contentiously altered—sometimes neutralized—changing the ways that men in particular respond to and coexist within these settings. In *Belgravia: A London Magazine,* a self-described philistine visits the home of "people of culture," where "he observes the fans, the vases, and the oriental blue: he masters all the outward visible signs of aesthetic generation." As a result, he devises a recipe for "true culture": "one pomegranate wall-paper; one bordered carpet; … one dozen Japanese fans; a selection of poems by Messrs. Gosse, Rossetti, Swinburne, … and artist's proofs of Mr. Whistler's etchings."[21]

Many *Punch* cartoons reaffirm these ideas about male followers in particular. An excellent example is "Intellectual Epicures" of 1876 (Figure 9), another covert allusion (perhaps recognizable to the cognoscenti) of Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 2*. The text describes "the dilettante DeTomkyns" as "steeped in Aesthetic Culture, and surrounded by artistic wall-papers, Blue China, Japanese fans, medieval snuff-boxes, and his favourite periodicals of the eighteenth century." The exemplary Aesthete "boasts that he never reads a newspaper, and that the events of the outer world possess no interest for him whatever." Not reading a newspaper allies this poseur with upper-class women, who were discouraged from reading anything but the society pages. DeTomkyns's conspicuous idleness underscores his rejection of manly labor and embrace of overrefinement and dandified artifice.

This intellectual epicure channels Whistler's canvas in its pose, decorations, and "feminized" situation. Absorbed in his solitary pleasures, thoughts, and pursuits, DeTomkyns,

FIGURE 10. Albert Moore, *An Open Book*, ca. 1884. Watercolor on paper, 42.2 × 31.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London / Bridgeman Art Library.

too, holds a Japanese fan and rests one arm on the mantel. He wears garb similar to that donned by Wilde and other Aesthetes, but it is his signal listlessness and psychological disconnectedness, a detachment into the rarefied world of art, that make him a kindred spirit to Whistler's *Little White Girl*. These things essentially make him "womanish," for Du Maurier has appropriated the femininity of Whistler's painting and rearticulated it in a transgressive way.

Punch magazine offers many parallel incarnations of Aesthetic masculinity and taste. In another 1880s cartoon by Du Maurier, "An Infelicitous Question," an eponymous Aesthetic Youth proclaims, "I hope by degrees to have this room filled with nothing but the most beautiful things."[22] These words are uttered by a foppish man aspiring to beauty himself, in Oscar Wildean attire and demeanor. The mutual passion, if not the competition, between men and women for Aesthetic objects is another of Du Maurier's recurrent themes. In "The Passion for Old China" (*Punch,* May 2, 1874), a husband envies his wife and her supposed maternal ways: "I think you might let me nurse that teapot a little NOW, Margery!" Despite her "halo," this lady subverts the Madonna and Child tradition by embracing a thing, not a babe, in her arms.

This identification with and appropriation of feminine behavior takes a different turn in a "Nincompoopiana" cartoon of December 20, 1879, depicting another encounter among males, the sycophantic Grigsby, Muffington, and friends. Two young men reclining on the right and one lounging on the left mimic the lolling, languid ladies who populate Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 3,* as well as Moore's formal experiments, such as *An Open Book* (Figure 10). Nonmuscular and unathletic, such depleted dandies qualify as conduits of female debilitation and ennui.

The indulgences, pretensions, and excesses of aestheticism afflicted countless adherents, and Du Maurier as well as Whistler invariably staged these scenes in parlors or drawing rooms. Some critics perceived the significance of this site as a Victorian institution, with T. Martin Wood claiming in 1913 that this was a chamber, or "stage," on which "everyone seemed to live for appearances." He believed aestheticism was "a man's movement" ruined by women "heaping masses of drapery on the mantel-piece."[23] Wood's assertions about the contributions of men to this phenomenon are confirmed by important architects and interior designers like E. W. Godwin.[24] Talia Schaffer explains how Wilde personified this phenomenon by conspicuously identifying with the women's world as one of the "male Aesthetes [who] saw themselves as radical reformist outsiders invading a field that already belonged to women. To justify this behavior, they had to create a visual style which metonymically associated themselves with women while distinctly

A LOVE-AGONY. DESIGN BY MAUDLE.
(*With Verses by Jelleby Postlethwaite, who is also said to have sat for the Picture.*)

FIGURE 11. George Du Maurier, "A Love-Agony. Design by Maudle. (With Verses by Jelleby Postlethwaite, Who is Also Said to Have Sat for the Picture.)," *Punch*, June 5, 1880.

affirming their superiority."[25]

Wood, furthermore, argues that Du Maurier "succeeded in making … *Punch* into a work of criticism on the domestic art of the nineteenth century."[26] It is precisely this domestic realm of the drawing room that dominates both *Punch* and painted interpretations of the Aesthetic movement. Aesthetic men reinscribed the female paradigm, transgressing gender boundaries and reinventing the drawing room as belonging to both sexes. There men cherished the same cultural props as women, revamped domesticity, and made the drawing room a testing ground as well as contested ground, a place where drooping Aesthetes of both sexes could languish together.

The drawing room was a place where male and female Aesthetes interacted and where relationships were complicated because of the dynamics of power. The male weakling was "soft"—in many ways like a woman and deeply influenced by feminine values and roles. Margaret Stetz postulates that as a result, male

> Aesthetes were 'handicapped' in the eyes of other men by their very connection with women—feminized and thus despised by association, which, in turn, helped to equalize the balance of power in intersexual friendships…Ladies may have ruled drawing rooms and at homes… but they depended on Aesthetic male visitors to mediate between them and the influential sites where opinions were actually produced and from which they were shut out as effectively as from spheres of business and commerce.[27]

Along these lines, Aesthetic men were more likely to be considered connoisseurs or art experts, whereas their female counterparts were demoted to amateur status.

FIGURE 12. J. Bernard Partridge, *The White Feather*, 1886. Wood engraving. Press cutting from the Department of Special Collections, Glasgow University Library. Reproduced in Eric Denker, *In Pursuit of a Butterfly: Portraits of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1995), 84.

FIGURE 13. James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in White and Black*, ca. 1876. Oil on canvas, 191.4 × 90.9 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.78.

Aesthetic Androgyny

What happened in pictorial terms when the poles of masculinity and femininity converged in the parlor or other socially approved places? One result was androgyny, as Du Maurier suggests in "Love-Agony" (Figure 11), in which the artist Maudle's curiously sexless figure (the poet Postlethwaite as Narcissus) mournfully reclines. Resembling an exhausted Wilde, this androgyne wears a wreathlet of flowers and a draped toga reminiscent of those worn by Albert Moore's frequently recumbent female protagonists.

Occasionally, women were described as masculinized by an Aesthetic environment; for example, Hamilton described Du Maurier's "all-alike-at-the-price young ladies, … whose … female beauty consists of one stereotyped face at the top of an abnormally tall … figure … over six feet in height."[28] Such comments suggest that lanky, oversized Aesthetic females were more like men. The opposite— a man as a woman—appears in an engraving of 1886, *The White Feather* by J. Bernard Partridge (Figure 12). Here Whistler is shown costumed in a dress, quoting the pose and gown of his then-mistress Maud Franklin in a lost portrait, *Harmony in Black, No. 10* (ca. 1886; YMSM 357). His related

Arrangement in White and Black (Figure 13) displayed a different, more sheathlike dress paired with a similarly assertive, rather cocky, confrontational pose deemed "vulgar in action" by the *Magazine of Art*.[29] This rare imagining of Whistler in a transvestite mode is provocatively titled; whether the gown was a comment on the wearer, the impact of the Aesthetic movement, the art Whistler created, artistic cowardice, or a tacit reference to the era's gender crisis remains open.[30] Perhaps the Aesthetic body was not just a badge of the movement but a work of art on display—a form of exhibit as well as exhibitionism.

There were more androgynous permutations, as in "Nincompoopiana: The Mutual Admiration Society" (Figure 14), in which a reception functions as a site of both Aesthetic interchange and transformation. Here Postlethwaite is mobbed by fawning Janey clones. One man asks, "What's there beautiful about him?" to which the social climber Mrs. Cimabue Brown replies, "Look at his grand head and poetic face, those flowerlike eyes, and that exquisite sad smile. Look at his slender willowy frame as yielding and fragile as a woman's. That's young Maudle, standing just behind him—the great painter … is he not divine?" Identities vacillate between poles of masculinity and femininity, as with Partridge's image. Here Janey's strong-jawed, ruinously hardened, masculine features recur in other women and men. In this arena, men clearly have become more feminine and are admired by Mrs. Brown for precisely this reason. Part of the message seems to be that the pleasures and excesses of committing to Aestheticism drain both sexes, but especially men.

A macabre finale to the blending of male and female Aesthetes into ambiguous sexuality appears in a strange cartoon titled "The Sage-Green Sickness" from the London seriocomic periodical *Judy* (Figure 15). This image strikes a grim note in its variation on the Whistlerian Aesthete posed at a parlor mantel. Beauty, along with Aesthetic materi-

FIGURE 14. George Du Maurier, "Nincompoopiana: The Mutual Admiration Society," *Punch*, February 14, 1880. Collection of the author.

FIGURE 15. "The Sage-Green Sickness," *Judy, the London Serio-Comic Periodical*, September 15, 1880. Collection of the author.

alism, has taken a mortal toll. The accouterments are familiar, but this occupant has succumbed to Aesthetic "sickness." Emaciation, anxiety, and lethargy have desexualized and toppled the fragile Aesthete, who is not just drooping but enfeebled, collapsed into a twisted heap. Despite the fact that the figure wears a dress, the gaunt, grotesquely anorectic face seems androgynous. This Aesthete is dying for the sake of art: the drawing room has become a death chamber. The body of Aesthetic pleasure is paradoxically a vessel of disease infecting this fashionable pseudocorpse.

Conclusion

Whatever the environment, both men and women are depicted as fervid consumers of Aesthetic art and ardent believers in a secular religion of beauty. In rejecting ordinary life, dress, and goals, they share certain symptoms, such as sorrowful expressions, simpering poses, a tendency to swoon, pretentiousness, lassitude, and altered gender effects. Visually, they are related in body and behavior, highly stylized, mannered, and blended, even neutered, in ways that emphasize a particular debt to Whistler's *Little White Girl*. Identity is fluid, and the range of these images reveals how interior lives and lives in interiors were intimately interconnected. If the listless beauty in "The Sage-Green Sickness" were to look in the mirror, she might see not only herself but also the many body doubles—female, male, and androgynous—who echo her as literal and metaphorical reflections of the Aesthetic movement. The setting promotes this transformation, for although the Grosvenor Gallery was the consummate location to contemplate art, the drawing room turned out to be a porous territory welcoming incursions of masculinity, a site where Aesthetes ultimately brought their beliefs home. In the end, Aesthetic cognoscenti produced distinctive culture even as they risked the ravages of acid allegations, infirm health, and other negative forces to cultivate radical self-images and bring infusions of creativity, materialist yet artful consumption, and veneration of beauty to the late Victorian era.

Notes

1. William Michael Rossetti, "Fine Art. The Grosvenor Gallery," *Academy,* May 5, 1877, 396. I began my research on gendered ideas as conveyed by Aesthetic acolytes in the early 1980s, but I am indebted to numerous newer scholarly investigations, which include the following: Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Kathy Alexis Psomiades, *Beauty's Body: Femininity and Representation in British Aestheticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Talia Schaffer and Kathy Psomiades, eds., *Women and British Aestheticism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999); Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Movement* (London: Cassell, 1994).
2. On Aesthetic fashion, see, e.g., Talia Schaffer, "Fashioning Aestheticism by Aestheticizing Fashion: Wilde, Beerbohm, and the Male Aesthetes' Sartorial Codes," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 28 (2000): 39–54. Other works include Joanne Entwistle, *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Geoffrey Squire, et al., *Simply Stunning: The Pre-Raphaelite Art of Dressing* (Cheltenham, UK: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums,1996).

3. These poems range from the high art of Algernon Swinburne, e.g., "Faustine," to doggerel printed in *Punch* and similar publications. For specific examples of the lighter verse, see Susan P. Casteras, *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art* (London: Associated University Press, 1987), 161.
4. On these intersecting friendships, see Eric Denker, *In Pursuit of the Butterfly: Portraits of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1995), 30–32.
5. These paintings were compared in a different context by Linda Merrill in *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998), 65.
6. Robyn Asleson, *Albert Moore* (London: Phaidon Press, 2000), 118–21.
7. Walter Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England* (London, 1882), 24.
8. Quoted in Hamilton, *Aesthetic Movement,* 25.
9. "The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition," *Illustrated London News,* May 3, 1879, 415.
10. For additional details, see Wedmore's comments and those by Henry James in *The Nation* as discussed in Susan P. Casteras, "Burne-Jones and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle at the Palace of the Aesthetes," in *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England,* ed. Susan P. Casteras and Colleen Denney (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 84–85.
11. Harry Quilter, "The New Renaissance; or, The Gospel of Intensity," *Macmillan's Magazine,* September 1880, 392–93.
12. "The Winter Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery," *Magazine of Art* 4 (1881): 180.
13. "Winter Exhibition," 180.
14. A provocative interpretation of the object is Anne Anderson's "'Fearful Consequences … of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women and 'Cultchah' in the Aesthetic Movement," in *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867–1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts,* ed. Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010) 111–129.
15. Lionel Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 114.
16. The situation was complex, as Alan Sinfield indicates, writing that "the aesthete was regarded as effeminate—but not … as distinctively homosexual" (*The Wilde Century*, 90).
17. Quoted in Lambourne, *Aesthetic Movement,* 123.
18. Frederick Wedmore, "Some Tendencies in Recent Painting," *Temple Bar* 53 (1878): 338.
19. Some interesting revisionist perspectives on domesticity and masculinity are found in John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).
20. This work is reproduced in Charlotte Gere, *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior*, with Lesley Hoskins (London: Lund Humphries, 2000), 15.
21. "The Philistine Turns," *Belgravia: A London Magazine* 49, no. 194 (December 1882): 155, 157.
22. This cartoon appeared as an illustration in George Du Maurier's *English Society*, first published in America in 1886.
23. T. Martin Wood, *George Du Maurier, the Satirist of the Victorians: A Review of His Art and Personality* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1913), 55, 56.

24. See, for example, Talia Schaffer, "The Women's World of British Aestheticism" (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1996), notably chap. 2, "The Home is the Proper Sphere for the Man: Inventing Interior Design, 1870–1910."
25. Schaffer, "Fashioning Aestheticism," 42.
26. Wood, *Du Maurier,* 68.
27. Margaret D. Stetz, "Debating Feminism from a Feminist Perspective," in *Women and British Aestheticism,* 28–29.
28. Hamilton, *Aesthetic Movement,* 76.
29. "The Grosvenor Gallery," *Magazine of Art* 1 (1878): 51. *Arrangement in White and Black* is briefly discussed in Margaret MacDonald, Susan Galassi, Aileen Ribeiro, and Patricia de Montfort, *Whistler, Women, and Fashion* (New York: Frick Collection, 2003), 135.
30. Denker, *In Pursuit of the Butterfly,* 83, queried this work's ambiguity, asking whether the title was "simply a reference to the famous white lock [of Whistler's hair] or a veiled reference to the cowardice that the feather implied to a Victorian audience?"

Displaying Aestheticism's Bric-a-Brac: Rossetti's Material and Virtual Goods

Julie Codell

Much has been written on the conflict within Aestheticism between its tendencies to reject popular commodity culture and at the same time try to reshape and direct consumer tastes.[1] I argue here that this contradiction can be reexamined through an analysis of images of material culture in Victorian paintings, focusing on Dante Gabriel Rossetti's paintings of the 1860s. Unlike his coevals such as James McNeill Whistler, Frederic Leighton, and William Holman Hunt, who competed with popular goods by creating more beautiful objects in art, Rossetti (Figure 1) often depicted intentionally strange, secondhand, and unfashionable objects, the antithesis of acceptable Victorian good taste. He blurred distinctions between high and popular culture, rejected the use of goods as signs of wealth and status, and asserted the artist's aesthetic authority to sanctify even secondhand objects. His figures wear bricolaged outfits and incorrectly draped oriental dress and jewelry and inhabit domestic settings that are both familiar and uncanny. Rossetti deployed the aesthetic of "strangeness" advocated by Walter Pater to destabilize his spectators' notions about material goods and conventional beauty. In this way Rossetti inflected Aestheticism, bringing this movement into a critical relationship with popular culture.[2]

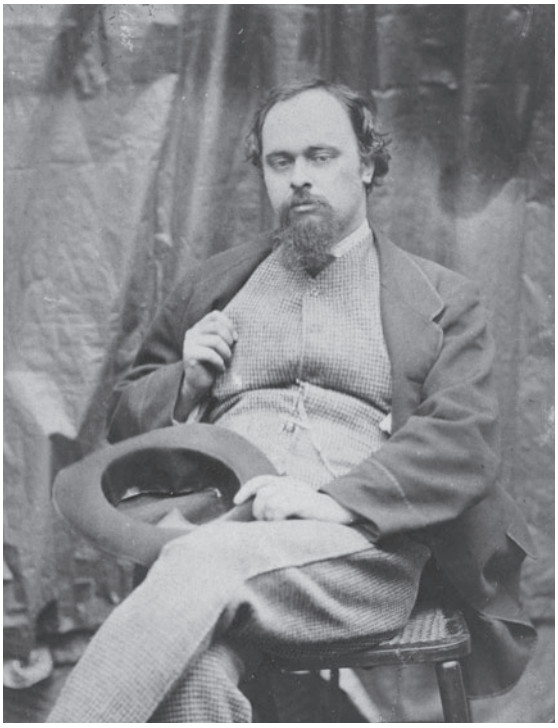


FIGURE 1. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, photograph by Lewis Carroll, 1863. Albumen print. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Rossetti's paintings suggest new ways to represent material goods and new ways to explore the virtual in art, also explored by other artists. In his portraits, for instance, Whistler creates a costume for his subject that does not simply mimic Victorian dress.[3] As Ian Jenkins has shown, both Frederic Leighton and Lawrence Alma-Tadema combined ceramics from different historical periods into one painting, creating an anachronistic time and place.[4] They also changed the pots' original shapes and colors from the British Museum originals, creating their own virtual worlds that clearly alluded to valuable objects but changed their depicted forms and temporal order.

In this context, the "virtual" can be defined as a set of structures of meaning detached from the physical structures of the objects to which they refer.[5] In art, "depiction" means a reference to an actual object, whereas "representation" uses signs to stand for things and comment on what is depicted. The virtual, however, takes images beyond material references and refers to our capacity to subject them to imaginative, free, and playful treatment. I apply virtual when images do not simply refer to actual objects but transform them in size, shape, and color, making them explicitly unlike mundane things in shops and parlors. In this way spaces in paintings, whether domestic interiors (in Whistler's case) or mytho-historical sites (for Leighton and Alma-Tadema), suggest a utopia outside Victorian historicism whose dominant notion of history as progress demanded strict chronology.

Whistler, Leighton, and Alma Tadema attempted to improve on real life, to create more beautiful classical pottery or modern dress, demonstrating their superior taste and aesthetic authority through their art. Whistler's combination of Japanese robes and Chinese pots still complied with popular notions of "the ensemble," objects organized together by manufacturers and retailers into an economy of order that signified wealth, taste, and status. The ensemble was a metasystem for organizing goods across all venues—museums, advertising, shop windows, and parlors—and across all aesthetic categories from middle-class consumer culture to aestheticism to the Arts and Crafts movement. It structured how things were to be worn or used and was a principle of social and aesthetic organization across all venues. Aestheticist artists accepted the principle and created ensembles that were more beautiful and imaginative than those encountered in homes, shops, and advertisements.

Rossetti went further than his contemporaries in his creation of a virtual world by removing allusions to temporality, juxtaposing unusual secondhand things from diverse histories and geographies, and creating a spatial claustrophobia that underscored the uncanniness of his overscaled figures and the dense profusion of disparate objects. Unlike other artists' tasteful ensembles, Rossetti's strategy was to recall both aesthetic and commercial display venues to express his aesthetic authority through "disensembling" displays of jewelry and dress. In the end, his paintings were less about material objects than about their significance accrued through memory and desire, which could be explored in the free-floating nature of the virtual that is disconnected not only from physical references but also from cultural and social references.

The Rhetoric of Display

Display is a language, producing meanings through the similarities and differences of juxtaposed objects in a kind of syntax of material goods. Rossetti exploited possibilities inherent in the very display of goods in his own home by engaging with new modes of display in commercial shops and advertisments, in cultural institutions, such as museums and galleries, and in domestic venues, like the middle-class parlor. Rossetti filled his Chelsea home, Tudor House, with disparate furniture, mirrors (many convex), ceramics, and bric-a-brac, mixing high culture and commercial objects, creating almost a parody of Victorian parlors (Figure 2). His studio assistant Henry Treffry Dunn compared Rossetti's drawing room to a shop, with its "Indian cabinets, old Nankin and miscellaneous odds and ends." The bedroom had items "out of an old furnishing shop somewhere in the slums of Lambeth," Hammersmith, or Leicester Square and cupboard shelves dis-

FIGURE 2. Henry Treffry Dunn, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Theodore Watts-Dunton* , 1882. Gouache and watercolor, 54.3 × 81.9 cm. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

playing "a medley of brass-*repoussé* dishes, blue china vases filled with peacocks' feathers, oddly-fashioned early English and foreign candlesticks, Chinese monstrosities in bronze … the whole surmounted by an ebony and ivory crucifix." The parlor contained "Chinese black-lacquered panels, bearing designs … in gold relief, … old blue Dutch tiles … [and] an old English china cupboard."[6] Rossetti's friend T. Hall Caine described "*outlandish and unheard-of* books" in "most admired *disorder*" and "antiquarian and Oriental oddities … , old carved heads and grinning gargoyles, and Burmese and Chinese Buddhas in soapstone of every degree of placid ugliness" (italics mine).[7] A posthumous auction catalogue of Rossetti's things itemized them as Indian, Japanese, Albanian, Venetian, Chinese, and Irish, including a chair "formerly belonging to the Chinese Giant 'Chang.'"[8] Rossetti owned twenty-five cabinets (some housing mini-cabinets), chests, and cupboards, and thirty-one glasses and mirrors.[9] His mirrors paralleled those in department stores and shops; his glass cases resonated with cabinets of curiosity, museums, and junk stores, their contents "sufficient to stock a small window."[10] As Jessica Feldman notes, "Almost everything in the house is out of context, collected from other places, times, and cultures," which together threw "the sentimental context of 'home' into high relief. … His feelings about them provide the only aesthetic principle informing his acts of acquisition and arrangement."[11]

Although popular advice books in the 1870s and 1880s suggested that home decoration revealed an occupant's expertise in "beauty," Rossetti's things—"weird," "outlandish," "unheard-of," and disorderly—were sanctioned by his own taste, not by fashion, commerce, or classification systems of any kind.[12] They reflected Tudor House's mixed functions: studio, gallery, literary salon, family home, stage set, and "shelter from nature." Rossetti domesticated foreign objects, too, through their placement in his studio residence and by renaming them—for example, calling Chinese blue-and-white pots "hawthorn pots," which he collected and whose patterns appear in *The Blue Bower* (Figure 3).[13]

FIGURE 3. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Blue Bower*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 84 × 70.9 cm. © Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham / Bridgeman Art Library.

FIGURE 4. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Beloved (The Bride)*, 1865–66. Oil on canvas, 82.5 × 76.2 cm. Tate Britain, London.

The Rhetoric of Adornment

In his paintings, Rossetti's objects, which he calls "queer details," purposely challenge Victorian protocol for use or wear.[14] The depiction of jewelry, in particular, exemplifies both Rossetti's invocation of propriety and his defiance of it. As Marcia Pointon notes, jewelry marks the wearer's taste, status, and wealth, linking perception, aesthetics, and economics.[15] Stones had designated purposes—coral for cameos, tortoiseshell for combs, jet for mourning. Global trade and archaeological discoveries inspired new styles, prompting new protocol. Oversized jewelry was considered peasant-like or ostentatious. Victorian jewelry protocol exemplifies Judith Butler's notion of a "highly rigid regulatory frame" created from "a set of repeated acts" that constructed class and gender through the language of personal adornment.[16]

Jewelry in Rossetti's art resisted the "regulatory frame." He preferred European and Asian folk jewelry, like the seventeenth-century German or Tyrolean silver belt in *Astarte Syriaca* of 1876–77.[17] He adored cheap costume jewelry from curiosity shops and "was not averse to using theatrical pieces … if he thought it would create the right effect in his paintings."[18] In March 1873, he asked Dunn to find, for *The Beloved (The Bride)* (Figure 4), "a big showy jewel of the diamond kind … a theatrical jewel … for a few shillings in Bond Street," preferably heart shaped.[19] The brooch, a commercial piece, resembles central European peasant jewelry; its function was later redefined when it became a pendant on a chain around Fanny Cornforth's neck in *The Blue Bower*.[20] Although it is part of a parure set, Rossetti never depicts the parure items together: to depict the complete set would have been coded as being fashionable. Instead, Rossetti places one piece, a fragment of the set in *The Blue Bower* amid a jumble of disparate things, breaking up the syntax of the parure and defying jewelry protocol. In *The Beloved*, meanwhile, the bride wears a headpiece sometimes labeled Peruvian, sometimes Chinese (it is Chinese), and a gold and ruby bracelet, catalogued by the Victoria and Albert Museum as mid-nineteenth-century south

Indian or Burmese.[21] Rossetti considered the black child to be part of his ensemble and wrote to his patron George Rae, "I mean the colour of my picture to be like jewels, and the *jet* would be invaluable."[22] But this boy's place in a wedding party means he cannot refer to jet as a sign of mourning. Furthermore, like the bride, he wears an incongruous combination: a Norwegian marriage pendant on his head and a North African pendant around his neck.[23]

FIGURE 5. John Atkinson Grimshaw, *Day Dreams*, 1877. Oil on board, 37 × 67 cm. Private collection / Photo © Bonhams, London, UK /Bridgeman Art Library.

One period book on gems describes how "oriental" women "wreathe [gems] in their tresses, clasp them round their throats, their arms, their waists, decorate their bosoms, ears, fingers, ankles, and even … their very toes and nostrils with them."[24] In Rossetti's paintings, figures wear jewelry in some of these ways, orientalizing their appearance. The pearl swirl pin, Rossetti's favorite piece, appears in "tresses," as do pins and other items, beginning with *Bocca Baciata* (1859), the first of his female portraits. Monna Vanna clasps her necklace around her throat. Objects are deterritorialized: the kimono worn incorrectly in *The Beloved*, the koto one string short and not properly played in *The Blue Bower*. This "miswearing" of objects, I argue, is a strategic defiance of conventions and the social identities they signify. Instead, Rossetti's paintings transform cheap goods into beautiful things by virtue of the artist's alchemical aesthetic authority (a topic that Sally-Anne Huxtable considers in connection to Whistler's redecoration of the Peacock Room).

Furthermore, such items—often secondhand—were not considered appropriate for art. Portraits of women amid Asian objects typically display wealth and status through fashionable ensembles, as in John Atkinson Grimshaw's *Day Dreams* (Figure 5) or Whistler's *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (see Deusner, Figure 2). Most Aesthetes advocated a tasteful unity of things, but Rossetti preferred medleys of strange things, whose juxtapositions remained outside references to fashion or status but permitted new aesthetic meanings to emerge.

Asian things, whether as cheap English spin-offs or authentic, well-crafted objects, could signal good or bad taste. Things had designated meanings, but they were also free-floating signifiers whose meanings could be invented and whose worth could be affected by manufacturing, retailing, fashion, ads, and art. Rossetti's collection and paintings, for instance, anticipated the rise in popularity of peasant jewelry, first exhibited in the 1862 London International Exhibition and highlighted five years later at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle, where the fashionable Castellani firm placed its imitation versions of ancient jewelry beside authentic Italian peasant jewelry. Peasant jewelry was also praised in the 1867 *Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue*. Meanwhile, curators at the South Kensington Museum had collected Indian jewelry in gold and silver in 1851, items in cheaper materials in 1867, and peasant jewelry in 1870.[25]

From 1871 to 1874, small-scale international exhibitions held at South Kensington featured different objects every year. In 1872 it was jewelry, twenty-five percent of which was peasant jewelry from Sweden, Greece, Norway, Armenia, and Albania.[26] In exchange

FIGURE 6. Sir Edward John Poynter, *Helen*, 1881. Oil on canvas, 91.7 × 71.5 cm. Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney. Purchased 1968.

FIGURE 7. Carlo Giuliano, necklace, ca. 1881. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

columns of the *Queen*, peasant jewelry was often the subject of the "ornaments" section.[27] Cheap filigree from Italy and Malta (like the necklace in *Bocca Baciata* and *Fair Rosamund*, 1861) became popular in the 1870s. The simplicity and presumed authenticity of peasant jewelry appealed to followers of the Arts and Crafts movement, whose taste for ruby paste, common cornelian, and agate, cheap underrated things, also distinguished Rossetti's jewelry from that of his Aesthete contemporaries. In Edward Poynter's 1881 painting *Helen* (Figure 6), for instance, the figure wears a necklace designed by Poynter from an Indian Gujarati peasant necklace; Poynter's version inspired a variation of this necklace by Carlo Giuliano, a prominent designer for Castellani (Figure 7), in a typical dialogue between aestheticism and fashion, evidenced later in Poynter's 1887 watercolor version of the painting in which Helen wears earrings similar to pieces in Castellani's collection of Italian peasant jewelry and an Italianate classical tiara, both absent from the 1881 painting.[28]

The jewelry that Rossetti avoids other Aesthetes include: cameos, parure sets, enameling, expensive gems in gold settings, revivalist styles, jeweled plants and birds, carved coral, diamonds, and tiaras. Rossetti uses brooches, not combs or ferronières, as hair ornaments. He shares popular taste for heart shapes, cheap coral strands, paste, and glass. *Monna Vanna* (Figure 8) exemplifies Rossetti's use of jewelry.[29] His favored spiral pin appears in her tresses twice. She clasps a popular coral necklace "orientally" around her throat. She wears a South Asian makara bracelet, which matches no other jewelry. The strangest item in Rossetti's oeuvre is also here: the peculiar owl feather fan. Peacock or ostrich feather fans implied eroticism, fashion, and elegance and were popular in advertisements and in paintings of well-to-do women, odalisques, and classical goddesses. But Monna Vanna's fan was so unusual that F. G. Stephens called the work "The Lady with the Fan."[30]

The Rhetoric of Dress

Domestic handbooks encouraged women to use drapery fabrics for dresses, but Monna Vanna's damask is just drapery, not a dress at all. Wrapping his figure in uphol-

FIGURE 8. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Monna Vanna*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 88.9 × 86.4 cm. Tate Britain, London.

stery material, Rossetti thus takes the advice of handbooks to an extreme, perhaps even to parody. A similar use of extremes is present in the proliferation of trimmings. Dress protocol allowed for a profusion of buttons, bow, ruffles, braids, and shawls. Monna Vanna's dress is trimmed with two sets of bows—one along the neckline and a second strand of green satin bows; the fan and her hair are both trimmed in spiral pins. By the 1870s, trimming, though middle class, had become so complicated that it was considered the opposite of good taste. Charles Eastlake denounced fringe in his 1868 *Hints on Household Taste*. As Elaine Freedgood observes, "Trim becomes a kind of sartorial aggression in which a dress … is nearly impossible to reduce to its component parts."[31]

Feldman argues that for Aesthetes, "to decorate or ornament is intrinsically to challenge the notion of unified, mastering form," whether narratives of classification, historical chronology, fashion, or social hierarchy.[32] Just as Rossetti's factotums relished listing

his strange furnishings, he relished including many diverse objects in his pictures and in trimming and layering, or cladding, his figures, a practice that signified luxury since the eighteenth century. If, as Freedgood suggests, fringe or excess trim was the opposite of good taste, then Rossetti surely deploys his secondhand things (and secondhand women) to allude playfully to excesses in ordinary dress, homes, shops, and ads by rhetorically but ambivalently imitating and critiquing such excesses while acknowledging their luxuriating appeal, further enhanced in his virtual rendition.

Medley as Meaning

The less objects are related to narrative, history, or each other, the less sure we are of their meanings in the "thickened visual world" of Rossetti's paintings, with their multiple, decommodified, ambiguous, and indecipherable things from different histories, places, and economic value.[33] Rossetti's art recalls seventeenth-century cabinets of curiosities, whose objects were united by the collector's taste, memories, and desires for strangeness or rarity.[34] Victorian classification systems, in contrast, fixed the meanings of objects and made them "rational" commodities. By 1850 the cabinet was considered "too passionate, too subject to the article collected, too *feminine* to measure up to the discipline and rigour of … the museum."[35]

Like cabinets of curiosities, Rossetti's paintings thwart objective classification and empty things of commonplace or consensual meanings. These virtual objects escape taxonomy, social propriety, and commodification and become fetishes—a word used here in its Victorian ethnographic meaning applied to colonized cultures' objects with a magic or power outside social systems.[36] Fetishism, in which objects dominate people or are outside the social order, is the opposite of the ensemble and the classification system, which are homogenizing and conformist forces. The unclassifiable fetish exists in "a border zone" beyond the routine stability of meaning in everyday life; as Peter Pels has observed, it is "animated, able to dominate persons," tied to global trade, yet outside everyday use or market exchange.[37]

"As 'wonder' became subordinate" to Enlightenment taxonomy, it became, says Pels, "domesticated as kitsch, 'fancy,' or 'bric-a-brac,' objects collected—at home by women and children—without order or use," the irrational fetish, the marginal collector.[38] "Bric-a-brac" was Rossetti's word for his objects.[39] However denigrated, such objects offer a critique of taxonomic systems and suggest ambiguities that subvert a culture's or nation's claims of historical lineage and origins. In an endless circulation of goods, whether in markets or museums, things lose and gain meanings continuously. Major H. Byng Hall, in his 1868 book on bric-a-brac, explains the term's embrace of diverse things that turned both aristocrats and the "lower orders" into mere resellers of everything from antiques to trivia, "all that is precious and beautiful as well as mediocre in art," without consideration of qualitative distinctions.[40] The term links aesthetics and commerce because value could be determined by anyone, even ignorant or greedy consumers, for objects in endless circulation, sold and resold, in a process that erases origins, histories, and meanings while allowing new feelings and meanings to accrue to objects. Bric-a-brac exemplified the ephemeral nature of an object's meanings and significance, a theme that dominates Rossetti's poetry and appears in his paintings through displays of wildly disparate, deraciné things.[41]

Rossetti's secondhand jewelry, clothing, and women are fetishized by their surface

sparkle and unclassifiability, which liberate them from preconceived meanings and presumed contexts. Their allure is their impenetrability, which makes them "outré" (William Michael Rossetti's word for the early Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic), rather than fashionable, valuable, or rich in historical or national associations.[42] Rossetti does not impose symbolic or didactic meanings upon his things, but leaves them strange and autonomous to offer his clients the chance to project their desires onto profuse riches of virtual things and women outside the social order.

Rossetti never restored or revived these objects' histories, but left them as fetishes—isolated, distinct, and disconnected from each other. His mélange of objects, his "rage for strangeness," in Ford Madox Brown's words, created what Stephens termed "barbaric jewellery" in Stephens's 1896 description of the "modern," "Venetian," and "sumptuous" *Beloved*.[43] This painting's "special system of symbols and a unique vocabulary for artistic expression," as Waugh described it, befit what Graham Robertson called Rossetti's "sweeping away [of] preconceived ideals."[44] Rossetti staged "aestheticism as a response to burgeoning cultural artifacts," removed from religion, morality, history, fashion, or iconography. He contributed to art's autonomy by decontextualizing objects to negotiate new relations between art and spectators for whom such uncanny objects defamiliarized the goods advertised, "disseminated, displayed, and consumed" in Victorian England, as well as their settings of home or city.[45] Rossetti rejected the syntax of ensembles to empty things of their social and historical meanings to make them anew while flirting dangerously with bad taste and thus problematizing taste itself.

Rossetti's Victorian biographer H. C. Marillier observed in 1899 that

> bric-à-brac was not of much account in England when Rossetti first began rummaging the dealers' shops. … [It was] a purely original idea in those days to buy up old furniture for use, and to enrich the walls of a house with panelled carvings and treasures from Japan. Those who follow the fashion to-day do it … vulgarly and unintelligently, turning their houses into museums of costly and incongruous objects. … Rossetti knew to a hairbreadth what would harmonize and what would not. … He was never guilty of errors of taste. … His judgment was a touchstone.[46]

Rossetti's modernist biographer Evelyn Waugh, however, condemned him as "errant and erring … guided entirely by his own momentary preferences" for "extraneous objects … without reference to their relevance to the subject or value in the composition," resulting in a "medley of bric-a-brac."[47] Synthesizing these biographers' views, Feldman argues that Rossetti combines Victorian taste for bric-a-brac with modernism. His representations of bric-a-brac, far from being "errant," refute fixed identities and fashionable order in "a confusion of categories" that Feldman argues, "hung together" nonetheless, but usually outside of any context, "collected from other places, times, and cultures."[48]

An Abundance of Strange Beauty

Rossetti's strange and estranged things perform an imaginary aesthetic revisionism of cultural meanings, like the fictional collections of Dorian Gray or Jean Des Esseintes, "counter canons" of inorganic, hybrid, unhomogenized, transhistorical objects of unknown origins.[49] Certainly by Victorian standards, Rossetti's virtual things are "exotic" as

that term is recently redefined in studies of the late nineteenth-century French colonial ethnographer Victor Segalen. Writing between 1904 and 1918, Segalen rejects links between the exotic and the foreign or colonial; claiming that the exotic is anything unusual or outside acceptable norms, he argues for an appreciation of difference, rather than its assimilation or romanticization.[50] Although Rossetti seems at times to romanticize difference, he also generates and invents difference as exotic in Segalen's sense: exoticism lies in the things themselves, not in their associations with imperial or domestic spheres. His random combinations from diverse cultures may allude to the imperial project, but it is a reference as discontinuous, free-floating, and disjointed as his paintings' historical or literary allusions or his frequent changes of his paintings' titles and figures' names.

Rossetti's things, however, exist between aestheticism and commerciality. As Jonathan Freedman argues, Aestheticism's gospel of art's autonomy, meant to liberate art from commerce, instead assimilated art to consumerism; "the experience of art as an end in itself" ironically made art a consumable object to satisfy spectators' desires and appropriations, a seeming contradiction.[51] Rossetti's things draw on and critique both aesthetic and commercial exchange values, using the power of the virtual to suggest new values by inducing disorientation, fantasy, and fetishism.

Such paintings represent artists' accrual of cultural capital, giving them the authority to determine aesthetic values for goods through the virtual transformation of things, making imaginary objects stranger or more beautiful than prototypes in shops or museums. In these "thick" paintings, things deny their usual functions as markers of taste, status, or class. Rossetti's simultaneously ancient and modern women dressed in disensembles suggest a critique of objects across all commercial and cultural venues in Victorian visuality, while simultaneously recognizing and indulging in the sensuality of abundance. Rossetti suggests a proximity between painting and shops that resembles the Victorian relationship between advertisements and serialized novel chapters juxtaposed in magazines; intentionally or not, their placement eventually intertwined until ads cross-referenced novels and novels parodied advertising language.[52]

Literary scholars have described how Rossetti's poetry problematizes the proximity of art and commerce and alludes to art's juxtaposition to other venues, from museums to ads to pornography.[53] Rossetti's museum poems, as John Barclay observes, highlight conflicts between objects and the museums or shops that impose new meanings on uprooted things, replacing interpretation with reception. In a stanza later removed from the poem "The Burden of Nineveh," about an Assyrian object brought into the British Museum, Rossetti writes,

> Here, while the Antique-students lunch,
> Shall Art be slang'd o'er cheese and hunch,
> Whether the great R.A.'s a bunch
> Of gods or dogs, and whether Punch
> Is right about the P.R.B.

Beyond the artist's control, art is rewritten or reinscribed ("slang'd") in market, museum, refectory, pub, and *Punch*, institutions indistinguishable from one another here. The object, alienated from its time and geography by the museum, is then reproduced, disseminated, and displayed as a fragment with "an aesthetic or sensational rather than a hermeneutic value."[54] Rossetti's paintings similarly display objects that are outside historical, social, and fashion systems.

In a Victorian world of spectacles, excess trimming, and hyper-ornamentation, painting had to hold its own. Rossetti made cheap jewelry gorgeous and his lovers into goddesses—all through a kind of anti-iconography of decommodified and fetishized glittery surfaces and textures of unclassifiable and impenetrable curiosities and women. Rossetti's defiance of ensembles had consequences for his representation of women. Kristin Lysack suggests that "the discourses of middle-class women's consumption made visible the porous boundary" between high and low culture, expanding "traffic freely between them."[55] Rossetti's virtual women are not simply ornamental females in domestic spaces. Looming large in the center of these paintings, these figures appear to consume goods, lend them a magic aura, and then (re)produce them in new configurations, just as Rossetti was doing with his images. These females assert an agency described in recent studies (including the essay by Susan Casteras in this volume) that reassess both Victorian interior decoration and consumption as gendered activities marked by production, agency, creativity, and imagination. Undomestic, undomesticated, and overscaled, they are not simply signifiers of consumption, commodity exchanges, excess decoration, and restricted social and economic control. Instead, they are imbued with a physical power that underscores their aesthetic authority displayed in their highly individual collections of things that lie outside the Victorian canon of goods and taste, an aesthetic of originality later advocated by several Victorian women writers on decoration.[56]

Like Whistler, Rossetti depicted objects that he collected, but he kept them strategically distant from high-end goods. He anticipated Mary Eliza Haweis's appreciation of Indian jewelry and advice in her popular *Art of Beauty* (1878) not to follow the "mistaken craze" for parure but to express originality and personal taste because "change, variety, freshness" are the essences of all "true beauty" in dress.[57] In his disensembles, Rossetti suggests new aesthetic relations that were antagonistic to the commercial and cultural venues with which painting increasingly competed after the 1851 Great Exhibition. He combined Aestheticism's heightened austerity with excessive bric-a-brac that diverged from elite tastes, perhaps in a quixotic attempt to assert his aesthetic authority in a world in which artists no longer guided public taste as multiple aesthetic values brought commerce and art into a conflicted yet modern relationship.

Notes

1. See Jonathan Freedman, *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism, and Commodity Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
2. Julie Codell, "Exotic, Fetish, Virtual: Visual Excesses in Victorian Painting," in *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1600–2010*, ed. Julia Skelly (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, forthcoming).
3. Aileen Ribeiro, "Fashion and Whistler," in *Whistler, Women, and Fashion* (New York: Frick Collection in association with Yale University Press, 2003), 16–51.
4. Ian Jenkins, "Frederick Lord Leighton and Greek Vases," *The Burlington Magazine: A Centenary Anthology,* ed. Michael Levey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003): 150–59.
5. See Paul Levinson, review of *The Virtual Society,* by Harvey Wheeler, *Journal of Social and Biological Structures*, 14, no. 3 (1991): 363–66.
6. Henry Treffry Dunn, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and His Circle; or, Cheyne Walk Life*, ed. Gale Pedrick (London: Elkins Matthews, 1904), 51, 35, 18.

7. T. Hall Caine, *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 228–29. See also Theodore Watts-Dunton, "The Truth about Rossetti," *Nineteenth Century* 13 (1883): 404–23.
8. *The Valuable Contents of the Residence of Dante G. Rossetti* (London: T. G. Wharton, Martin and Co., Auctioneers, 1882), catalogue no. 104.
9. Jessica R. Feldman, "Modernism's Victorian Bric-à-Brac," *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 3 (September 2001): 461–62.
10. Dunn, *Recollections of Rossetti*, 27.
11. Feldman, "Modernism's Victorian Bric-à-Brac," 461.
12. See Elizabeth Helsinger, "Aesthetic and Social Experiment in the 1860s," *Ideas* 5, no. 2 (1998), http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ideasv52/helsing.htm. Accessed May 2, 2013.
13. Feldman, "Modernism's Victorian Bric-à-Brac," 462.
14. Rossetti to George Rae, August 21, 1869, in *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. William Fredeman, vol. 4, part 2 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), 241.
15. Marcia Pointon, *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009), 333.
16. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (London: Routledge, 1990), 43.
17. Shirley Bury, "Rossetti and His Jewellery," *Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 875 (1976): 101.
18. Bury, "Rossetti and His Jewellery," 97; Shirley Bury, *Jewellery, 1789–1910: The International Era* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991), 2:476–77.
19. Rossetti to Henry Treffry Dunn, March 1873, in *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. Oswald Doughty and J. R. Wahl (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965–67), 3:1149. See also Bury, "Rossetti and His Jewellery," 101; Bury, *Jewellery*, 2:470.
20. Bury, "Rossetti and His Jewellery," 101. The pendant of a pierced heart appears in *Monna Pomona*, 1864, and *Regina Cordium*, 1866. Bury considers it an eighteenth-century Spanish work (p. 102). A similar piece is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
21. Tate Britain describes the headpiece as Peruvian leatherwork; the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, identifies it as "Chinese feather-work." Thanks to Emily Umberger and Marie Timberlake for sharing their expertise on Peruvian dress. The bracelet also appears in *Monna Vanna*.
22. W. M. Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer* (London: Cassell, 1889), 51.
23. Charlotte Gere and Judy Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria* (London: British Museum, 2010), 129.
24. A. de Barrera, *Gems and Jewels* (London: Bentley, 1860), 3.
25. See Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Victoria*, 270.
26. Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Victoria*, 276–77; see Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum, *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery and Personal Ornaments, 1872* (London: John Strangeways, 1873). The South Kensington museum bought 1,100 pieces of Indian peasant jewelry from the Rivett-Carnac Collection (Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Victoria*, 296).

27. Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Victoria*, 319–23.
28. Gere and Rudoe, *Jewellery in the Age of Victoria*, 302–3. Gere and Rudoe, although recognizing differences between Poynter's and Giuliano's necklaces, describe Giuliano's as made for Poynter's figure, but the Victoria and Albert website entry states that Poynter's 1881 oil painting inspired Giuliano's ca.1881 necklace. See http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O153360/necklace-and-case-carlo-giuliano/. Accessed May 2, 2013.
29. Rossetti called *Monna Vanna* "my best picture hitherto" in a letter to his mother Frances Rossetti, dated August 24, 1866, in *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters, Part Two*, ed. W. M. Rossetti (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895), 188.
30. F. G. Stephens, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: Seeley, 1894), 70. I wish to thank Alison Smith and Emma Jennison for letting me view this painting in storage.
31. See Clive Edwards, "Structure, Cladding and Detail," in *Fashion, Interior Design, and the Contours of Modern Identity*, ed. A. Myzelev and J. Potvin (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 68, 77–78; Phillis Cunnington, *Costume in Pictures* (London: Studio Vista, 1964), 149; Elaine Freedgood, "Fringe," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no. 1 (2002): 258.
32. Feldman, "Modernism's Victorian Bric-à-Brac," 459.
33. Jerome McGann, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Game That Must Be Lost* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 94–95.
34. The classic text on this topic is Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 153. The cabinet served to perform the magical, exotic, and theatrical, and things were arranged according to memory; see Peter Pels, "The Spirit of Matter," in *Border Fetishisms*, ed. Patricia Spyer (London: Routledge, 1998), 105.
35. Pels, "The Spirit of Matter," 111.
36. John Windsor, "Identity Parades," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. J. Elsner and R. Cardinal (London: Reaktion, 1994), 50.
37. Pels, "The Spirit of Matter," 112, 91–99, 113.
38. Pels, "The Spirit of Matter," 111.
39. Rossetti comments on his "mania for buying bricabrac" in W. M. Rossetti, *Rossetti as Designer and Writer*, 69.
40. Herbert Byng Hall, *The Adventures of a Bric-a-Brac Hunter* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868), 3–4.
41. John Barclay, "Consuming Artifacts," *Victorian Poetry* 35, no. 1 (1997): 2.
42. W. M. Rossetti, *Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary* (London: Macmillan, 1867), 187.
43. Ford Madox Brown, diary entry for September 5, 1854, cited in W. M. Rossetti, *Ruskin: Rossetti: Preraphaelitism* (London: George Allen, 1899), 19; Stephens, *Rossetti*, 61–62. An earlier version of *Beloved* had a black girl, which Rossetti changed to a black boy.
44. Evelyn Waugh, *Rossetti: His Life and Works* (London: Methuen, 1991), 52–53; Graham Robertson, *Time Was* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1931), 86.
45. Barclay, "Consuming Artifacts," 2–3.
46. H. C. Marillier, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1899), 121–22.

47. Waugh, *Rossetti,* 129–30, 133.

48. Feldman, "Modernism's Victorian Bric-à-Brac," 457, 459, 461.

49. Matthew Potolsky, "Decadence, Nationalism, and the Logic of Canon Formation," *Modern Language Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (June 2006): 224.

50. Victor Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism*, trans. and ed. Yaël Rachel Schlick (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); Charles Forsdick, *Victor Segalen and the Aesthetics of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Marie-Paule Ha, *Figuring the East* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999).

51. Freedman, *Professions of Taste*, 59; Regenia Gagnier, *The Insatiability of Human Wants* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 27; Paul Fortunato, "Wildean Philosophy with a Needle and Thread," *College Literature* 34, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 37–53.

52. Emily Steinlight, "'Anti-Bleak House': Advertising and the Victorian Novel," *Narrative* 14, no. 2 (2006): 132–62.

53. Martin Danahay, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Virtual Bodies," *Victorian Poetry* 36, no. 4 (1998): 381.

54. Barclay, "Consuming Artifacts," 11. This stanza was published in the *Crayon* 5 (April 1858): 95.

55. Kristin Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 13; Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001). On interior decoration with a focus on M. E. Haweis, see Mark Turner, "Furniture Is a Kind of Dress: Interiors as Projection of Self," in *Contested Terrains: Proceedings from the 23rd Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians,* ed. Terrance McMinn, John Stephens, and Steve Basson (Fremantle, Western Australia: Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, 2006), 530–35.

56. These women were Agnes and Rhoda Garrett, Mary Eliza Haweis, and Jane Ellen Panton. See Judith A. Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior: Liberalism and the British Home 1870–1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). A year after Rossetti's death, Liberty's Department Store opened up its Eastern Jewellery Department. See Clare Phillips, "Jewellery," in *The Cult of Beauty*, ed. S. Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), 208–11.

57. On Indian jewelry's "spontaneous variety," see M. E. Haweis, *The Art of Dress* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1879), 97; on parures, see Haweis, *The Art of Beauty* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878), 107.

Aestheticism Meets Arts and Crafts: Decorative Art on Display

Imogen Hart

Until recently, Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts were held to have very different origins and largely incompatible motivations. We might argue that the contrasting politics of the two movements were played out in their display strategies. Aesthetic exhibitions, with their emphasis on creating a harmonious environment for the viewer, reinforced the movement's preoccupation with consumption, whereas the democratic policies of Arts and Crafts exhibitions represented that movement's concern with production.[1]

Lately, however, new scholarship on the period has challenged the prevailing view that Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts were directly opposed to one another and has even questioned the helpfulness of calling either a movement with a coherent agenda.[2] Although there were, of course, many differences between Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts exhibitions, they also shared much in common. They were, in large part, motivated by the inflexibility and exclusivity of the Royal Academy.[3] Their critics often responded as much to the conditions of display as to the individual objects. And they experimented with the ideal of the ensemble as an organizing principle.

FIGURE 1. "The Grosvenor Gallery of Fine Art, New Bond Street," *Illustrated London News*, 1877. Mary Evans Picture Library.

The exhibition policies associated with Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism represented innovative approaches to decorative arts in particular. While they may have done so from different directions and with different goals, both movements participated in unifying fine and decorative art: Aesthetic exhibitions displayed paintings surrounded by carefully selected decorative art, arguably domesticating fine art (Figure 1), whereas Arts and Crafts exhibitions elevated decorative arts to a position in which they could be judged on the same terms as fine arts. I suggest that when both movements took on the question of the relationship between fine and decorative art, the question of display

arose as one of the fundamental issues to be dealt with, and the crucial problem surrounded the tension between the low status of domestic art and the desire to incorporate art into everyday life. Both movements addressed this issue by exhibiting decorative art in ways that associated it both with the high status of fine art and with the practicality of domestic space.

James McNeill Whistler famously revolutionized exhibition practices, most notably through his own one-man shows and displays at the Society of British Artists.[4] Particularly important were his reduction of the number of exhibits and his reconstitution of the exhibition space along the lines of a domestic interior. By trimming down exhibitions to a mere two rows of relatively generously spaced objects, Whistler communicated the assumption that individual exhibits merited more sustained contemplation than those squeezed into the floor-to-ceiling display policy modeled on the Royal Academy exhibitions. Significantly, this new approach was presented in an environment that was clearly codified as domestic space, as contemporaries recognized, one critic observing, for example, that "the arrangement of the room will be a lesson to aesthetic visitors in the now favorite amusement of domestic decoration."[5] Surrounding paintings with carefully curated textiles, porcelain, and tinted walls, Whistler implicitly suggested that domestic interiors could be the most promising site for a sophisticated engagement with art.

Shortly after Whistler's groundbreaking experiments at the Society of British Artists, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was founded in protest against the Royal Academy's restriction to the fine arts. It was the society's goal to provide a chance for decorative artists to appeal to "the public eye … upon strictly artistic grounds in the same sense as the pictorial artist."[6] It was the status the society sought for such objects that made their exhibitions radical.

When it was first established, the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society struggled to be taken seriously in the art world. According to designer Charles Robert Ashbee, a Royal Academician responded to Ashbee's claim that the Arts and Crafts exhibitions should be held at the Royal Academy with the retort, "My dear young man, you surely don't expect us artists to allow our galleries to be turned into a furniture shop?"[7] A furniture shop was precisely what the society needed to distinguish itself from. It thus modeled itself on fine-art exhibitions.

FIGURE 2. *Arts and Crafts Exhibition*, New Gallery, Regent Street, London, 1890. English Heritage.

Instead of combining objects into room-like arrangements, which was a common display strategy in commercial spaces, the Arts and Crafts exhibitions put objects on walls and in cabinets (Figure 2). But the society's display strategy shifted over time, moving away from a museum-style display toward the ensemble. As art historian Morna O'Neill has shown, this change was motivated partly by the society's reception at the Turin exhibition of 1902, where its display contrasted sharply with those

of other countries, which were organized into sample room ensembles.[8] O'Neill cites a critic who observed that the society's display at the Turin exhibition would have been better "had the works been treated less like pictures and related more to daily use and environment."[9] Meanwhile, both Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts display strategies extended into spaces that blurred the domestic and the public, such as Leighton House.[10]

Between them, Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts exhibitions paved the way for a new type of engagement with decorative art. It was, they argued, as worthy of contemplation as paintings, and that contemplation could as easily—perhaps even more effectively—take place in domestic settings as in public galleries. But what might that new engagement with decorative art look like?

How do we take it seriously as the focus of contemplation while letting it remain compatible with the distractions and practicalities of everyday life? In 2002, the theorist of everyday life Ben Highmore asked, "Things become 'everyday' by becoming invisible, unnoticed, part of the furniture. … How then do we strip the everyday of its inconspicuousness? By what means do we resuscitate something that fails to interest us?"[11] These were questions that also preoccupied the protagonists of the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts movements. One place to look for answers is in the work of William Morris. As I will show in the remainder of this essay, Morris demonstrated how decorative art could be both intellectually ambitious and suited to everyday life.

According to Morris, a pattern should require a certain degree of concentration from the viewer, but not too much. It should be visually complex enough to "lull" the viewer's "curiosity to trace it out" but should not offer endless complexity.[12] Although "there should be a certain mystery" and "we should not be able to read the whole thing at once," "the obvious presence of a geometric order" should limit this mystery and prevent "our feeling restless over a pattern."[13] *Poppy* (Figure 3) represents this balance. Like many of Morris's designs, *Poppy* is dominated by a powerful scroll format. We may think we can identify an S shape due to the thick, obtrusive stem that describes powerful curves, but our eye is reading as an S what is, in fact, a more complex and continuous pattern. The stem disappears into a blossom and then emerges again only to disappear once more into a second blossom, close to which a second stem curves back upward to turn the S into a figure eight, which is completed via a poppy, from which the initial stem emerges and begins the S shape once more. As we follow the stem, there are frequent invitations to leave the path of the S or 8 and explore the journeys of the shoots, petals, and leaves, which often interweave and overlap one another. Because there is more than one way of tracing the pattern, *Poppy* can sustain our interest for an extended time, yet

FIGURE 3. *Poppy* wallpaper (also known as *Pink and Poppy*). Designed by William Morris, 1880, and printed by Jeffrey & Co. for Morris & Co. Block printed in silver paint and lacquer. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

our eye will eventually become aware that in each direction the same motif is repeated, reducing the sense of "mystery." *Poppy* thus conforms to Morris's rule that "we should not be able to read the whole thing at once," while also possessing an underlying "order" that prevents the viewer from feeling "restless." Morris's patterns offer a balance between "mystery" and "restlessness" that becomes apparent when they are contemplated over a period of time. We might characterize the sense of progress conveyed during an encounter with *Poppy* as something akin to narrative, and indeed, Morris speaks of a pattern's "mystery," of the viewer's "curiosity," and of our ability to "read" it.

One might protest that it makes little sense to talk of narrative in decorative art, which rarely represents the human figure. Some examples, perhaps, lend themselves more easily to this kind of interpretation than others. Patterns such as *Bird* and *Peacock and Dragon*, for example, include creatures whose interactions constitute a kind of dialogue. In the former, birds look over their shoulders at one another or hover close together with overlapping wings, whereas in the latter, dragons and peacocks are locked in confrontation. Yet narrative can be identified even in those patterns that do not represent animal life; as Caroline Arscott has argued, we should not "see the ornamental features of Morris's designs as precluding narrative."[14] I suggest that Morris's designs share at least two characteristics with narrative: first, they communicate meaning, and second, they convey that meaning over time. Or perhaps it is more appropriate to identify these characteristics not in the patterns themselves, but in the viewer's engagement with them.

In Morris's patterns, narrative can be communicated compositionally or symbolically, and in both cases nature is fundamental. Morris points to composition as the source of meaning when he declares that "rational growth is necessary to all patterns, or at least the hint of such growth; and in recurring patterns, at least, the noblest are those where one thing grows visibly and necessarily from another."[15] In *Vine* (Figure 4), we see an example of this "rational growth." If we look closely at the willow pattern in the background, we begin to see how "one thing grows visibly and necessarily from another." A main willow stem leads vertically upward, from which additional stems periodically emerge, and these in turn sprout new growth, sometimes splitting and sometimes producing smaller offshoots. Twisting under, over, and through itself and the vine motif, the willow leads our eye on a journey. Like a maze, it sometimes leads into a dead end, when a stem tails off into a cluster of leaves, but we can backtrack and follow another stem in a different direction. In this example, the composition works together with the subject matter to convey a sense of narrative.

FIGURE 4. *Vine* wallpaper. Designed by William Morris, ca. 1873, and printed by Jeffrey & Co. from 1874. Block printed in distemper colors. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

For Morris believes that nature also introduces narrative symbolically. He declares that

he "must still insist on plenty of meaning in your patterns … must have unmistakable suggestions of gardens and fields, and strange trees, boughs, and tendrils." He claims that "what we want to clothe our walls with is … something which reminds us of life beyond itself, and which has the impress of human imagination strong on it."[16] This implies that decoration works together with the viewer's imagination to create meaning, so that the meaning comes into being whenever the decoration is observed and can be different for each observer. Narrative is thus generated by an interplay between the viewer's mind and that of the maker.

The collective effect of objects experienced in an ensemble can also be interpreted as a kind of narrative in which meaning is generated through juxtaposition. Such collections of objects work together in a way we might describe as "organic" since each part is subordinate to a whole from which it derives greater significance. In *Pimpernel* (Figure 5), leaves and stems weave their way over and under one another throughout the pattern. The impression given by these interactions is of an ongoing conversation and an environment in which different plants coexist harmoniously. There is no final resolution to be drawn from this pattern, in which the dialogue taking place between the different forms is continuous, like the relationship between the interwoven threads of a tapestry. The *Pimpernel* wallpaper decorated the dining room at Morris's London home, Kelmscott House, and we find further examples of dialogue if we look beyond the pattern to its surroundings. The large poppy blossoms resonate with the similarly sized flowers depicted in the Persian carpet that stretches from floor to ceiling on the left-hand wall (Figure 6). These blossoms also echo the shape and size of the plates arranged on shelves along the adjoining wall, which can be seen to the right in the photograph. The *Pimpernel* wallpaper thus provides a link between two walls that seem to be designed according to entirely different principles—one representing classical symmetry, proportion, and discipline and the other a larger-than-life collection of

FIGURE 5. *Pimpernel* wallpaper. Designed by William Morris, 1876, and printed by Jeffrey & Co. for Morris & Co. Block printed in distemper colors. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

FIGURE 6. Emery Walker, photograph of the dining room, Kelmscott House, ca. 1896. William Morris Gallery, London Borough of Waltham Forest.

juxtaposed ornament.[17] Pursuing the idea that Morris's ensembles generate "dialogue" and "narrative," we might see the *Pimpernel* wallpaper as a mediator in this particular case, helping to establish harmony.

A similar function is performed by the *Vine* wallpaper in the morning room at 1 Holland Park, the home of the Ionides family, which was decorated by Morris & Co. in the 1880s (Figure 7). *Vine*'s bold scrolling formation echoes the emphatic, twisting acanthus leaves in *The Forest* tapestry on the left, thereby providing a sense of unity throughout the room. Next to *The Forest*, a classically inspired mantelpiece introduces a powerful verticality that contrasts with the pronounced horizontality of the tapestry. *Vine*, whose scroll format gives it both verticality and horizontality, helps to generate an overall sense of balance. Again, the wallpaper is a mediator that blends aspects of the room's different components to create a sense of harmony.

The organicism that can be found both within and between Morris's patterns often communicates harmony or unity since no element is allowed to dominate. This balance may explain why a viewer might continue to be interested in engaging with a pattern, or with an ensemble, in everyday life. This is a narrative without a conclusion; instead, it is an ongoing dialogue in which exchange and conflict between the different elements is maintained. The sense of balance and harmony has the potential to suspend the viewer's consciousness of time passing and to ground the viewer in the present moment.

One straightforward way in which the viewer may be made aware of presentness is demonstrated by *Strawberry Thief*. Here mischievous birds are frozen in the act of stealing fruit, with the result that the viewer may have the sensation of time standing still. Yet the processes by which Morris's designs can keep us in the present are both more sophis-

FIGURE 7. Morning room, 1 Holland Park, home of the Ionides family, 1902. J. Ionides, photograph National Monuments Record. English Heritage.

ticated and more flexible than this example suggests. Morris declares, "Now it is one of the chief uses of decoration, the chief part of its alliance with nature, that it has to sharpen our dulled senses."[18] "Decoration" plays a crucial role in heightening the viewer's awareness of his or her surroundings.

Morris compares this function of "decoration" to the effects of nature, and a close study of his letters helps us to understand why. Morris frequently describes the present moment to his correspondents in terms of his perception of nature. Whether in the town or the country, at home or at the factory, Morris is acutely aware of his surroundings at all times. From Kelmscott Manor, his country home, he writes, "I'm writing among the grey gables and rook haunted trees, with a sense of the place being almost too beautiful to work in," and, on another occasion, "I am sitting now, 10 p.m., in the tapestry room, the moon rising red through the east-wind haze, and a cow lowing over the fields."[19] From Kelmscott House in London, he writes, "I am sitting in my room with the leaves dancing about in the sunshine on the table and the water sparkling outside so that it looks quite pretty."[20] And from Merton Abbey, the company's factory, he writes, "I find my room here and a view of the winter garden, with the men spreading some pieces of chintz on the bleaching ground, somewhat of a consolation."[21] These experiences become extraordinary because nature functions to "sharpen" Morris's senses. Using Morris's understanding of "nature" as a model, then, we can get a sense of how he expects "decoration" to have a comparable effect.

What characteristics should a piece of decorative art possess if it is to "sharpen our dulled senses"? Morris's "sense of the place being almost too beautiful to work in" suggests an answer to this question. Beauty, it seems, is what nature and decoration alike can offer to sharpen our senses. Morris describes "the lesser arts" as "that great body of art, by means of which men have at all times more or less striven to beautify the familiar matters of everyday life."[22] For Morris, the beautification of everyday life and the sharpening of our "dulled senses" are related.

The beauty of Morris's ideal decoration not only works to "sharpen our dulled senses" but also to sustain our interest. As John Ruskin writes, "For when we are interested by the beauty of a thing, the oftener we can see it the better; but when we are interested only by the story of a thing, we get tired of hearing the same tale told over and over again, and stopping always at the same point."[23] Beauty, according to Ruskin, makes us want to keep looking and keep coming back to look. Our reward, as we do so, is not a new chapter in an exhaustible "story" but is instead the experience of looking itself: "the oftener we can see it the better." For Ruskin, beauty is something to be contemplated in the present and for the sake of the present. Similarly, for Morris, when our "dulled senses" perceive beauty in the "familiar matters of everyday life," they are sharpened, making us more aware of our present. As Elizabeth Prettejohn has argued, a work of art's "beauty is in the present moment of the observer's judgement."[24]

If we were only interested in the *Pimpernel* wallpaper for its intriguing interwoven pattern, we might soon "get tired" of it and require a new pattern to entertain us. If, however, "we are interested by the beauty" of it, "the oftener we can see it the better." Of course, the question of whether *Pimpernel* is beautiful is a separate issue altogether, but assuming that we do find it beautiful, our contemplation of its beauty would involve retracing its design, an experience we would begin to appreciate less for its novelty and more for its aesthetic rewards as time went on. If we consider the *Pimpernel* wallpaper beautiful, its capacity to "sharpen our dulled senses" need not diminish as

FIGURE 8. *Kennet* furnishing fabric. Designed by William Morris, 1883, and manufactured at Merton Abbey. Block-printed and indigo-discharged cotton. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

we become more "familiar" with it.

Although an object may, in our contemplation of it, emphasize the present, this does not necessarily mean that our experience of it will always be the same. The potential for change in our encounter with an object, from one day (or even one moment) to the next, allows the object to keep "sharpen[ing] our dulled senses." This can be seen if we look at *Kennet* (Figure 8), one of the printed textiles Morris named after tributaries of the Thames. If we imagine *Kennet* hanging against a wall, as it did at Kelmscott Manor, the pattern falls in folds before us. Parts of the design are visible to us, whereas others are invisible or hidden in shadow. If we return again the next day, changes may have occurred: the act of opening and closing the door may have caused the chintz to flutter in the draft and settle slightly differently, or brighter sunshine may throw darker shadows into the recessed folds. Like the water after which it is named, the surface of *Kennet* is never the same; it ripples and reflects the conditions around it.

Morris advises that "your stuff is pretty sure to be used falling into folds … so that there will be a play of light and shade on it, which will give subordinate incident."[25] These terms—"light and shade" and "incident"—are, again, suggestive of narrative. Because the environmental factors that endow the pattern with "incident" are uncontrollable, the viewer's experience of the object at a particular moment may never be replicated. That specific encounter takes place only in the present, and because we know we cannot take it for granted, it may "sharpen our dulled senses" into appreciating the moment.

I would like to conclude by suggesting that this connects Morris's view of the purpose of decorative art to Aestheticism. Morris's description of art "sharpen[ing] our dulled senses" echoes Walter Pater's famous claim that art should make one "burn always" with a "hard gem-like flame" and give "the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake."[26] Being in the present is a crucial part of Pater's aesthetic experience. Thus, when Morris's patterns aim to "sharpen our dulled senses," they offer the possibility of a Paterian moment. Morris elsewhere describes an experience that sounds very much like Pater's ideal: "Once or twice I had that delightful quickening of perception by which everything gets emphasized and brightened, and the commonest landscape looks lovely: anxieties and worries, though remembered, yet no weight on one's spirits—Heaven in short."[27]A "delightful" sensory presentness is a state of being desired by both Morris and Pater.

The implications of Aestheticism for everyday life were, of course, heavily ridiculed by satirists such as George Du Maurier in his *Punch* cartoons, as Susan Casteras notes in her essay (see Figures 6, 9, 11, and 14). Aesthetes neglecting their children for the love of china or contemplating lilies instead of eating lunch demonstrated the undesirable consequences of allowing aesthetic experience to replace the ordinary activities of daily

life.[28] According to its critics, Aestheticism invested everyday objects such as teapots with a disproportionate significance comprehensible only to an elite group.[29] In contrast, Morris's approach to decorative art is usually understood in a democratic sense, in that he expanded the boundaries of "art" to include not only the "familiar matters of everyday life" but also a broader audience. Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts, in their most extreme forms, are thus conventionally opposed to one another, yet the temporal implications of Morris's designs suggest that the two may, in fact, be closely connected. As Prettejohn has argued, Aestheticism's famous Art for Art's Sake dictum can be interpreted as posing the question, "What would art be like if it were not for the sake of anything else?"[30] Morris's designs seem to ask what each moment would be like if we were to live it not for the sake of anything else, but for its own sake. Similarly, Pater's approach invites us to interpret Art for Art's Sake as "art for each moment's sake." Aestheticism, in its emphasis on the sensory experience of art, makes a case for living in the present similar to Morris's. Both Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts exhibitions, by featuring ensembles and evoking domestic space, proposed that art should be part of everyday life; Morris's design philosophy demonstrates some of the implications of those display strategies for the design and interpretation of decorative art.

Notes

Sections from my essay "Time and the Everyday in the Work of William Morris," in *William Morris and the Art of Everyday Life*, ed. Wendy Parkins (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), are included in this paper with the permission of Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

1. For a discussion of Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism as associated with production and consumption, respectively, see Regenia Gagnier, "Production, Reproduction and Pleasure in Victorian Aesthetics and Economics," in *Victorian Sexual Dissidence*, ed. Richard Dellamora (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 130–31.
2. See Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, eds., *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867–1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010); Imogen Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).
3. On Aesthetic exhibitions and the Royal Academy, see Colleen Denney, *At the Temple of Art: The Grosvenor Gallery, 1877–1890* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2000), esp. pp. 44, 50; Deanna Marohn Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 209–12; Anne Koval, "The 'Artists' Have Come Out and the 'British' Remain: The Whistler Faction at the Society of British Artists," in *After the Pre-Raphaelites,* ed. Elizabeth Prettejohn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 93. On Arts and Crafts exhibitions and the Royal Academy, see Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, esp. pp. 150–52.
4. See Bendix, *Diabolical Designs*, 205–68; Koval, "The 'Artists' Have Come Out," 90–111.
5. *Daily Telegraph*, 1881, quoted in Bendix, *Diabolical Designs*, 222.
6. Walter Crane, "Preface," in *Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society: Catalogue of the First Exhibition* (London: New Gallery, 1888), 5.
7. Charles Robert Ashbee, "The English Arts and Crafts Exhibition at the Royal Acad-

emy," dated December 1916, *American Magazine of Art* 8 (February 1917): 137.

8. Morna O'Neill, "Rhetorics of Display: Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau at the Turin Exhibition of 1902," *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 205–225.
9. F. Newbery, "The International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art at Turin: The English Section," *Studio* 44 (1902): 256, quoted in O'Neill, "Rhetorics of Display," 219.
10. See Jason Edwards, "The Lessons of Leighton House: Aesthetics, Politics, Erotics," in *Rethinking the Interior,* 85–110.
11. Ben Highmore, "Introduction: Questioning Everyday Life," in *The Everyday Life Reader,* ed. Ben Highmore (London: Routledge, 2002), 21.
12. William Morris, "Some Hints on Pattern Designing" (1881), in *The Collected Works of William Morris, with Introductions by His Daughter May Morris* (London: Longmans, Green, 1910–15), 22:191.
13. Morris, "Making the Best of It," in *Collected Works,* 22:109.
14. Caroline Arscott, *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 25.
15. Morris, "Some Hints on Pattern Designing," 22:199.
16. Morris, "Some Hints on Pattern Designing," 22:195–96, 179.
17. See Hart, *Arts and Crafts Objects*, chap. 2, and "An Enchanted Interior: William Morris at Kelmscott House," in *Rethinking the Interior*, 67–84.
18. Morris, "The Lesser Arts," in *Collected Works*, 22:5.
19. Morris to Louisa Baldwin, February 13, 1872, in *The Collected Letters of William Morris,* ed. Norman Kelvin (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1:155. Morris to unknown recipient (possibly Georgiana Burne-Jones), late autumn 1879, in *Collected Letters,* 1:525.
20. Quoted in May Morris, *William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1936), 619.
21. Morris to Georgiana Burne-Jones, December 28, 1884, in *Collected Letters*, 1:155.
22. Morris, "The Lesser Arts," 22:4.
23. John Ruskin, "On the Present State of Modern Art, with Reference to the Advisable Arrangement of a National Gallery," in *The Works of John Ruskin,* ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19:209.
24. Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Beauty and Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 202.
25. Morris, "Some Hints on Pattern Designing," 22:193.
26. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry,* 4th ed. (London, 1888), 250, 252.
27. Morris to Georgiana Burne-Jones (?), September [11?] 1887, in *Collected Letters*, 2:687.
28. See George Du Maurier's cartoons "Acute Chinamania," in *Punch Almanack*, 1875, and "An Aesthetic Midday Meal," in *Punch*, August 17, 1880.
29. See Anne Anderson, "'Fearful Consequences … of Living up to One's Teapot': Men, Women and 'Cultchah' in the Aesthetic Movement," in *Rethinking the Interior,* 111–30.
30. Prettejohn, *Beauty and Art*, 152.

Outside the Palace of Art: Global Networks of Aestheticism

Whistler, Aestheticism, and the Networked World

Melody Barnett Deusner

When novelist and friend of the artist Arthur Symons visited James McNeill Whistler's Peacock Room (Figure 1) at the turn of the twentieth century, he found an all-encompassing, visually integrated space fully in keeping with Alfred Tennyson's conception of the "palace of art" as a retreat of "god-like isolation"—or, in Symons's words, "a room into which nature, sunlight, or any mortal compromise could never enter, a wizard's chapel of art." This vision of the Aesthetic interior as a cloistered, inward-facing cocoon remains very much with us. And yet Symons's account is worth revisiting, as it introduces additional interpretive possibilities, largely through the use of language that—although familiar to twenty-first-century readers—seems startlingly anachronistic for the period: "Every inch of the wall, ceiling, and wainscoting, the doors, the frames of the shutters, was worked into the scheme … woven together into a *web* or *network* of almost alarming loveliness."[1] Symons's evocative and perceptive

FIGURE 1. James McNeill Whistler, *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876–77. Oil paint and gold leaf on canvas, leather, and wood, 421.6 × 613.4 × 1026.2 cm (overall). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.61.

FIGURE 2. James McNeill Whistler, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, 1863–65. Oil on canvas, 201.5 × 116.1 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1903.91.

visual analysis of this space captures the double nature of Whistler's spreading, crawling, all-consuming peacock feather pattern as something that might not only constrict and entangle but also expand, proliferate, extend its reticulations outward. From this perspective, the Peacock Room can serve as a starting point from which to highlight Aestheticism's aspects of interconnection, organic expansion, and systematic organization—in short, its networked character. Placed alongside and shot through with the other networked social, technological, and economic systems that structured turn-of-the-century English and American life, Aesthetic paintings and interiors reveal themselves to be facilitators of the coordinated manipulation of things and the cooperative relationships between people upon which all of these systems depended.

In recent years, the field of Whistler studies has taken a strong turn toward the "science" of the painter's practice, underscoring his particularly methodical pursuit of an art for art's sake—or, as Elizabeth Prettejohn has usefully reframed the question, "the problem of what art might be, if it is not for the sake of anything else."[2] In the case of the Peacock Room's centerpiece, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (Figure 2), Whistler conflates, almost completely, the practice of arranging objects and models into a studio display and that of choosing and placing lines, shapes, and colors on canvas to create a painted composition. From the diagonal notes of warm rose that playfully skip across robe, fan, and screen to the threads of blue and gray tones that weave together carpet, gown, and vase, Whistler gives us a glimpse into life (and art) configured as a perfectly harmonious system. The painting's alternate titles (*Variations in Flesh Colour and Blue* and *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Grey*) even more explicitly direct our attention to the artist's mandate "to pick, and choose, and group with science" the colors and forms of nature "until he brings forth from chaos glorious harmony."[3]

Although each artist associated with the Aesthetic movement approached the Art for Art's Sake question differently, this emphasis on interlinked and systematic arrangement may be the single factor that unites them all, as it united pictures as diverse as Whistler's *Princesse*, Albert Moore's *A Venus* (1869, York City Art Gallery), and Edward Burne-Jones's *The Beguiling of Merlin* (Figure 3) within the art collection of Frederick Richards Leyland, the notoriously reluctant patron of the Peacock Room. All three canvases demonstrate the artists' shared conviction that a painting, in the evocative words of the nineteenth-century critic Cosmo Monkhouse, is essentially "an organized whole in which the beauty of each thing should interweave with the beauty of every other thing, and the

result should be a harmony of many beauties."[4]

As the juxtaposition of these pictures makes clear, Aesthetic paintings not only construct tightly cohesive systems within the boundaries of their frames, but they also have a tendency to branch out, to extend themselves laterally. In the oeuvres of Whistler, Moore, Burne-Jones, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the artists' commitment to purified compositional harmony consistently prioritizes surface arrangement over deep perspectival space; cropped objects and banded stratification of foreground and background create a horizontal thrust that extends beyond the edge of the canvas but also snaps the pictures back against the wall, rendering them flat, modular—in a word, decorative.

FIGURE 3. Edward Burne-Jones, *The Beguiling of Merlin*, 1872–77. Oil on canvas, 186 × 111 cm. Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, Merseyside, UK. Courtesy National Museums Liverpool.

Paintings like the *Princesse* serve as both condensed models of coordinated interiors and keystones around which fully three-dimensional Aesthetic spaces could be realized—indeed, needed to be realized, as their contents had been so carefully interwoven as to risk compromise by inharmonious hanging. And it was, famously, the lack of fit that Whistler perceived between the subtle variations of the *Princesse* and its installation environment in Leyland's London dining room that prompted him to develop the Peacock Room's blue-and-gold color scheme and patterned feather motifs, which rapidly overwrote Thomas Jeckyll's original decorative program for the space—even at the expense of permanently alienating Leyland as a patron and friend.[5]

As Linda Merrill's thorough history of the room suggests, despite their disagreements, Leyland ultimately *did* receive what he had wanted in the first place: a completely coordinated social space, one of many he had orchestrated and financed with the profits of his merchant shipping enterprise. The Peacock Room was different in degree but not necessarily in concept from the William Morris–papered parlors of his Liverpool estate, the Burne-Jones–decorated dining room at his Queen's Gate residence, or the symmetrical pairings of Rossetti "heads" he arranged in the Prince's Gate drawing room (Figure 4). This is where Arthur Symons's use of the words "web" and "network" to describe the Peacock Room's aesthetic interweavings is particularly suggestive because Leyland's professional life was completely devoted to the creation and management of complex networked systems, and his personal life—carried out within these harmoniously coordinated walls—bears the marks of strategic negotiation that we now commonly refer to as "social networking." The Peacock Room, like other Aesthetic interiors, is an artifact of convergence: a unique environment generated by the intersection of an artist's desires (to carry out an integrated

FIGURE 4. The Leyland drawing room at 49 Prince's Gate, London, featuring coordinated paintings by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Photographed by H. Bedford Lemere, National Monuments Record, England. Reproduced by permission of English Heritage.

pictorial program in three dimensions) and a patron's needs (to own a decorated social space suitable for public presentation and private fellowship), pursued amid the material conditions of late nineteenth-century life, with its increasingly interconnected technological, corporate, and social spheres. These distinct yet related factors collided in the creation of the Peacock Room, as Whistler transformed a townhouse dining room into an echo chamber of aesthetic relationships that served as a crucible for and conspicuous proof of its owner's system-building aptitudes and international ambitions.[6]

In his organizational capacity and cooperative tendencies, Leyland was thoroughly representative of late nineteenth-century self-made businessmen generally and of Whistler's English and American patrons more specifically. As the owner and manager of the Leyland Line, he was enmeshed in an ocean transport system that—much like the railroad systems rapidly overspreading the surface of the globe—was so complex in its reticulations that Victorian commentators increasingly found themselves reaching for the metaphors of fishing and embroidery nets to capture its scale and scope. Overlaid upon and intersecting with these transit systems were equally complex communications technologies—"networks of telephone and telegram," in Whistler's words—that linked point to point across the Western world.[7] As Walter Crane's illustrated map of 1886 makes clear, these were the essential threads through which empires were knitted together (Figure 5). Close

FIGURE 5. Walter Crane, "Imperial Federation Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886," Maclure & Co., 1886. Courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library.

analysis of late nineteenth-century English and American discourse indicates that with the proliferation of these and other concrete, tangible systems, the network metaphor launched into a more broadly conceptual realm, evidence of a world alive to the possibilities of increased interconnection.[8] By 1906 it was reasonable for William James to observe that "men are conjoined in a vast network of acquaintanceship. Brown knows Jones, Jones knows Robinson … ; and by choosing your farther intermediaries rightly you may carry a message from Jones to the Empress of China, or the Chief of the African Pigmies, or to anyone else in the inhabited world."[9]

Coping with these changing conditions, not to mention harnessing them for financial gain, required learning to toggle between the micro and the macro: understanding how interlocking pieces fit together into arrays almost too extensive to conceptualize. Business handbooks of the era are filled with meditations on "system," "order," and "harmony." Among the responsibilities of steamship owners like Leyland, according to one Victorian shipping guide, were "the carriage of passengers, freight, and mails; the fixing of the sailing schedules; and the thousand and one details which must be fully worked out with the various connections, scattered throughout the portions of the world in which the line may be directly or indirectly engaged" to guarantee "the utmost efficiency and safety."[10]

The systematic coordination of shipping details involved not only managing the global networks in which the vessels moved but also orchestrating their interior arrangements. For Leyland, one of the most pressing issues was achieving a correct and balanced stowage of a wide range of largely perishable materials in order to keep his steamships from tipping over or running aground. Representing the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Associ-

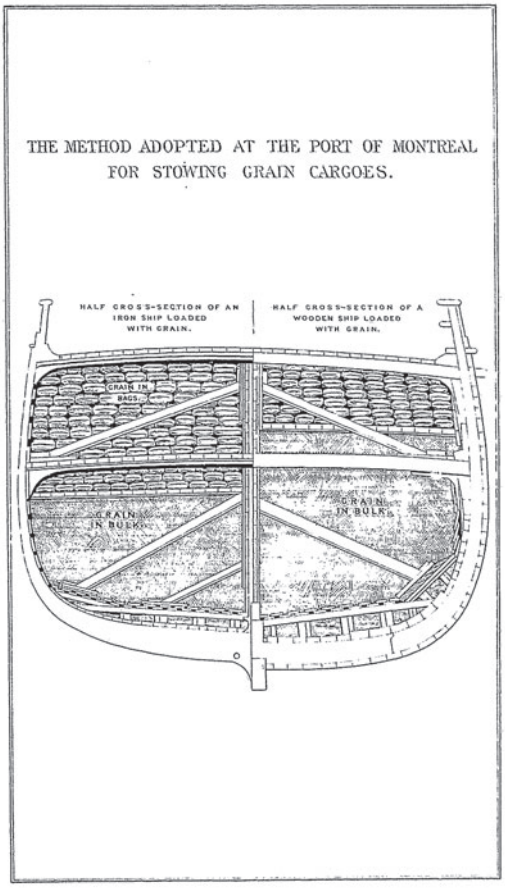


FIGURE 6. "The Method Adopted at the Port of Montreal for Stowing Grain Cargoes," a diagram illustrating one proposed method for subdividing cargo holds, presented as evidence in House of Commons, "Report from the Select Committee on Merchant Shipping; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix," *Parliamentary Papers* 11 (1880): 308. Images published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.

ation in testimony before the House of Commons in 1880, Leyland explained with detailed statistical precision the problems of ship overloading and advised that this risk could be reduced if all steamers were to follow his example and subdivide their cargo holds into smaller compartments to prevent grain and other ballast from shifting in transit (Figure 6).[11] On another occasion, when Boston's longshoremen struck for higher wages, Leyland was forced to decide whether dockworkers could be replaced by untrained laborers with no experience in selecting, stacking, and balancing cargo in precisely the right order.[12]

Leyland's success as a shipowner quite literally depended upon his ability to achieve harmonious arrangements of various parts. We might reconsider, then, art dealer Charles Augustus Howell's complaint that Leyland was "never taken with the beauty of a certain pot or any thing, he only sees that such and such a corner requires a pot and then he orders one."[13] It is worth asking whether his tendency to order "heads" from Rossetti based on the rhythmic patterns they might form on the walls of his home tells us something about Leyland as a particularly clinical, even cynical, collector or rather underscores the fundamentally system-oriented, modular and manipulable character of Aesthetic paintings and interiors in and of themselves.[14]

Also worth noting in relation to Leyland's mercantile career is the fact that so many Whistler paintings, including those owned by the Liverpool shipowner, speak a language of cosmopolitanism, often japonisme, in both form and content, testifying eloquently to the comings and goings of things in global transit, extending even to representations of the ports and harbors in which these exchanges occur, as Robin Spencer has noted.[15] As an evocative supplement to these visual catalogues, English trade publications like the *Pottery and Glass Trades' Journal* and the *Furniture Gazette* tracked the frequency and diversity of exports and imports in which Leyland's line played an instrumental role in the 1870s and 1880s.[16]

Eclectic cosmopolitanism (an important element in Ayako Ono's discussion of the two-way flow between Whistler and Japan elsewhere in this volume) is one route through which we might approach Aestheticism as an art that reaches out, rather than one that turns inward; electricity is another. Theodore Child's description of Prince's Gate in 1890 recorded "stars of electric lights" among the gas pendant lamps in the Peacock Room.[17] They were undoubtedly Edison Swan bulbs, as Leyland served as a director and deputy chairman of the company from 1884. His work for Edison Swan involved streamlining and economizing finances, tracking complex patent litigation, and

negotiating the placement of wiring systems to prevent their interference with other networked technologies.[18]

Through Leyland and his associates we begin to see a clearer picture of the interpenetration of electrical and Aesthetic systems at the turn of the century. One of Edison Swan's largest contracts involved supplying bulbs to the premiere showcase for Aesthetic painting in London, the Grosvenor Gallery.[19] Although the electrification of the gallery—indeed, its transformation into one of London's first electrical power stations—is a story well known to technological historians, it usually serves only as a footnote in art historical accounts. But Sir Coutts Lindsay, proprietor of the Grosvenor, installed a small generator there as early as 1883 and by 1885 had enlarged the electrical plant to provide power to nearby residents and businesses using an overhead, house-to-house system that linked customers in extended electrical chains (Figure 7). The gallery became a showplace for the new technology, as when Coutts Lindsay hosted a special "private view" for artists including Lawrence Alma-Tadema and Frederic Leighton, alongside investors, engineers, and journalists, to compare the effects on the pictures of gas jets blazing in one room against those of electric lamps glowing in the other.[20]

FIGURE 7. The Grosvenor Gallery electrical distribution network, 1887. Museum of Science and Industry, Manchester, UK.

The implications of this intersection of the Aesthetic and the electrical were potentially both technological and social. Also connected to the Bond Street power grid was the artist and engineer W. A. S. Benson, whose cousin was Coutts Lindsay's partner in the Grosvenor Gallery electrical venture. Benson's electrical fixtures featured organic designs that naturalized the new technology and blended it seamlessly into the Aesthetic homes he wired and decorated. Electricity, in fact, enabled artistic home decoration to achieve its ultimate goals. Mary Eliza Haweis had urged her readers in 1881 to remember that a "room is like a picture; it must be composed with equal skill and forethought," and that "furnishing ought to be carried out on some sort of system."[21] Electricity bestowed upon the householder complete freedom to arrange the parts within this composition or system anywhere he or she chose. As one electrician explained in 1888, "With the incandescent lamp, unlike gas, [there are] no restrictions of placing for fear of burning or soiling or heating the things in juxtaposition, tables, walls, ceilings, tapestry, pictures—all alike are safe—only the best effect is to be considered."[22]

In addition to serving as an electrical showcase, the Grosvenor Gallery was also a social showplace, as much recent scholarship has emphasized. Often lost in discussions of Aestheticism, fashion, and status, however, has been the real, practical value of the social networking that occurred in Aesthetic spaces. The lighting of the Grosvenor Gallery confirms that the venue drew together individuals whose cultural tastes and investment interests overlapped. Leyland and his partner in electricity, James Staats Forbes, shared a taste for Whistler's paintings, and both loaned works to the Grosvenor on various occa-

sions. They also shared corporate leadership of the same electrical and telephone companies, and the close friendship between them was noticed, sometimes disparagingly, by other board members. Leyland so frequently seconded Staats Forbes's recommendations at Edison Swan meetings that shareholders began to complain of a lack of transparency created by the "family arrangement" between the two of them.[23] Their objection points to another characteristic of the networked nineteenth century: an increasing suspicion that the effectiveness of public and official procedural systems might be undermined by "network[s] of cliquism and favoritism," "network[s] of secret societies," and other mechanisms through which power had become concentrated in closed circles, exercised behind closed doors.[24]

What role did Aesthetic interiors play in this type of social networking? Leyland did not have a separate office in London; surely he and Staats Forbes occasionally discussed their networked business ventures while surrounded by Leyland's carefully coordinated Aesthetic and technological arrangements. Although we can only speculate about Staats Forbes, in the case of Sir Thomas Sutherland—friend to Leyland and Whistler, minister of Parliament, and chairman of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company—we have at least one business associate whose presence in the Peacock Room can be confirmed.[25] Sutherland told Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell that he knew Leyland well and worked with him often, had visited his houses in Liverpool and London, and saw the Peacock Room for himself.[26] He credited Leyland with introducing him to Whistler, and he served both as the trustee managing the Leylands' legal separation and as the chairman of Whistler's bankruptcy committee.[27]

Sutherland was a guest at the artist's breakfasts and a purchaser of at least two of his paintings; at one point he even asked Whistler to draw up a decorative program for his home that may have resembled the scheme for Whistler's own White House, with its yellow parlor.[28] Again, in Sutherland, we encounter a patron particularly drawn to Whistler's systematic interiors and serial paintings who was also one of the premiere network builders of his age. At his death in 1922, the *Times* observed that "he took a more active part than probably any other man of his time in the expansion of that network of communication with both the Far East and Australia which has exercised so important an influence on our commerce and our Empire."[29] He was the founder of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank (now known as HSBC), a lead negotiator in the opening of the Suez Canal to British shipping interests, and chairman of a major steamship line tasked with carrying passengers, cargo, and the British mail.

Sutherland, like Leyland, understood the social value of Aesthetic design. He deployed it in at least twelve ships commissioned by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) in the 1880s and 1890s. Through the architects Wallace & Flockhart and Thomas E. Collcutt, Sutherland as chairman of the P&O ordered thousands of tiles from Aesthetic ceramicist William De Morgan for the first-class saloons, smoking rooms, and corridors of his passenger steamers (Figure 8) and was personally involved in their decoration to the point of becoming, in De Morgan's words, a "highly meddlesome pragmatic body."[30]

As design historian David Brett has provocatively suggested, De Morgan's custom work for the P&O "gave their first-class passengers the experience of a floating Aesthetic movement."[31] But what was the nature of that experience? As one might expect, these decorative components served as markers that stratified the passenger traffic into various "classes" of clientele, and as new ships were opened to tours for the pub-

lic and the press, artistically coordinated spaces served as colorful advertisements for the line. In their eclectic exoticism, De Morgan's tiles conceptually mapped out the Eastern routes of the ships and hinted at the cargo they carried. But of equal, though perhaps less obvious, importance, they served as a frame for the social, political, and corporate networking that took place on board, most notably among the select circle that called themselves "first trippers."

The first trippers were the exclusive list of invitees to join Sutherland for the P&O's weekend-long trial trips—opportunities to test each luxury vessel's speed and comfort before it was deployed in the company's service. Parliamentary observer Henry Lucy was a frequent guest among the first trippers, who included, in his accounting, "hard-worked statesmen, judges, barristers, painters, and men of letters," some of whom set aside business rivalries and partisan political disputes in order to socialize and indulge in the hospitality offered on board. Food, drink, and amusement flowed freely, leading to such after-dinner hijinks as Sutherland and Sir John Aird, collector of Aesthetic painting and builder of the Aswan Dam, joining in a sword dance on deck in the moonlight.[32]

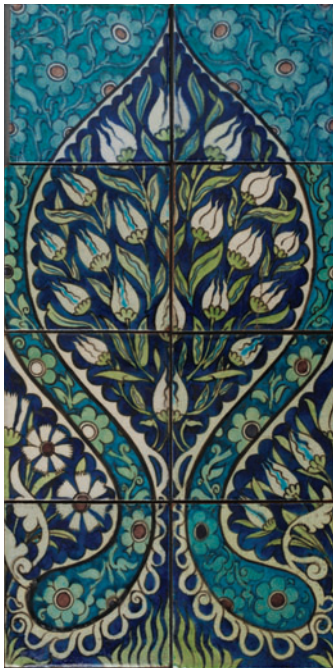


FIGURE 8. William De Morgan et al., tile panel, originally designed for the *Sutlej* P&O liner, painted on blanks by William De Morgan, about 1882. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

On these occasions, De Morgan's tile work formed an elegant, interconnected background framing these Aesthetic salons, hosted by Sutherland, who was known in his business affairs for advocating cooperation rather than competition as the key to success—so assiduously, in fact, that he was eventually called to testify about his participation in price-fixing schemes before his fellow parliamentarians.[33] Even those not directly involved in establishing cooperative arrangements with Sutherland found in the trial trips ample proof of his managerial skill. "Enormous organization, truly," mused one first-tripping journalist as he surveyed the extent of the P&O's operations, "all dependent on the general supervision of the [company's office] at Leadenhall-street, and all working in one harmonious whole."[34]

Whistler, as it turns out, was also among the first trippers. One weekend while he was negotiating with Leyland over the Peacock Room, Whistler and a few of his friends were invited to join Sutherland on a trial voyage departing from Southampton, all expenses paid. Shortly after that adventure, Whistler painted a picture that memorialized the night they embarked, perhaps something quite similar to the Southampton Nocturne now in the Freer Gallery of Art. Sutherland declined to purchase it.[35] But the entire incident draws at least one of Whistler's ethereal Nocturnes into a surprisingly concrete networked context.

The surviving *Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Water* (YMSM 179) may or may not be the Nocturne that Sutherland declined; it eventually set sail across the Atlantic and found its way into the hands of railroad car builder Charles Lang Freer, who passionately shared the works of his favorite artist with his closest business collaborators. An evocative letter from William K. Bixby, St. Louis capitalist and president of

the American Car and Foundry Company, eloquently captures the social and aesthetic experience of viewing Whistlers in Freer's Detroit home:

> I shall never forget the wonderful days I spent at 33 Ferry with you, and can close my eyes and … go to those days when seated in your home with a glass of Scotch we saw your Whistler the seminocturn [*sic*] perform its stunt of being five different pictures in twelve hours depending on light & shade. … I can close my eyes and see the Whistlers, … the prints, the screens … the Peacock room. … It has all been a glorious memory and an inspiration.[36]

Acquired by Freer twelve years after Leyland's death, the Peacock Room was transported first to Detroit and later to Washington, DC, for permanent installation in the Freer Gallery of Art. In Freer's home it lost its function as a dining room and served instead as a frame for Freer's collection of Asian pottery as well as for his self-presentation as the anti-Leyland: the patron always eager to accommodate the artist's wishes and to preserve his legacy as faithfully as possible.

If the Whistler-Leyland relationship had infamously exploded in a hail of flying peacock feathers, Freer hoped instead to cultivate harmony—and "harmony" was the watchword of his art collection, business practice, and domestic life. Freer and Bixby, in fact, urged the use of Freer's Aesthetic home in Detroit as a place in which to finalize delicate business negotiations, including the price-fixing agreements that led to the formation of the American Car and Foundry Company, a massive railroad-car-building trust engineered by Freer and his associates in 1899.[37] Even a decade before the Peacock Room arrived on American shores, Freer had fully embraced Whistler's totalizing approach to aesthetic experience and home decoration, employing Dwight William Tryon and Thomas Wilmer Dewing to create series of related canvases and tone the walls of his reception hall and parlor to match them in shimmering, opalescent shades of blue, green, and silver.[38] As Freer and his collaborative partners repeatedly emphasized in their letters, their overall goal was to "harmonize" this space, and it in turn became a crucible for the harmonization of competing interests during this period of "merger mania" and interlocking directorates.[39]

As they had in England, Whistler's paintings, prints, and totalizing approach to interior decoration found a particularly enthusiastic reception in America among art patrons and collectors skilled in the art of network management and manipulation. A significant number of them—including Freer and his midwestern business partners Bixby and Frank J. Hecker, as well as Cleveland industrialists J. H. Whittemore and Alfred Atmore Pope—were involved in the manufacture of railroad cars and their standardized, but also highly variable, component parts. Other prominent Whistler partisans specialized in corporation and merger law, namely, Philadelphian John G. Johnson and New York attorney Howard Mansfield, who first sparked Freer's interest in the artist. Within this community of like-minded collectors and businessmen, a shared taste for Whistler's works sometimes reinforced corporate links between the nodes: partnership-friendships in the Freer-Hecker-Bixby and Whittemore-Pope clusters were borne out by extensively and intimately overlapping art collections.

Among the reasons for the attraction of these types of businessmen to the works of this artist, doubtless the most crucial is the sheer fact of circumstance: art collecting was an expensive undertaking, and the activities most likely to generate disposable income

during America's age of incorporation were grounded in large, often globally oriented, vertically and horizontally integrated concerns.[40] Indeed, a number of art historians have suggested that it was precisely the network-driven pressures of the kind outlined by George Beard in his physiological treatise *American Nervousness* (1881)—the exhausting effects of "the heightened activity of the cerebral circulation which is made necessary for a businessman since the introduction of steam-power, the telegraph, the telephone, and the morning newspaper"—that drove businessman-patrons and -collectors to take refuge in the ethereal, apparently cloistered, decorative canvases of Whistler and his artistic successors and to cocoon themselves inside the restorative harmonies of their Aesthetic interiors.[41] But any attempt to cast Aestheticism as serving a primarily escapist or compensatory function must also consider that men like Freer and Mansfield spent their leisure hours engaged in connoisseurial and curatorial pursuits that transposed—rather than transcended—the rigors of corporate organization and management into an aesthetic register.

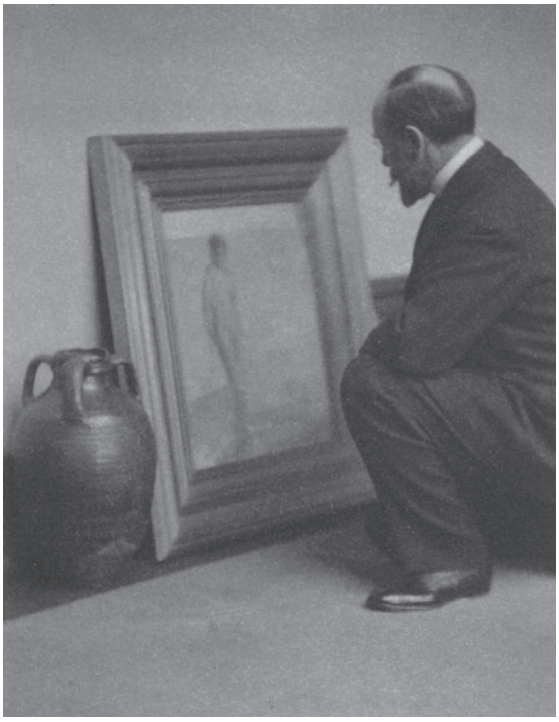


FIGURE 9. Alvin Langdon Coburn, *Portrait of Charles Lang Freer*, 1909. Albumen print. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Freer, in theory and practice, embodied a conviction that beauty was best achieved and appreciated through constant manipulation, rearrangement, and comparison. His preferred program of artistic encounter involved enlisting his caretaker, Stephen Warring, to retrieve carefully chosen paintings, pottery, and other treasures through which he could engineer new and provocative aesthetic juxtapositions, a strategy captured most famously in Alvin Langdon Coburn's portrait photograph of the collector (Figure 9). This practice stripped the art objects of their cultural specificities and contextual histories, rendering them comparable, comprehensible exemplars of what Freer considered to be universal aesthetic principles; it was through this method that Whistler—in Ernest F. Fenollosa's extraordinarily prescient phrasing—emerged as "the nodule, the universalizer, the interpreter of East to West, and of West to East."[42] Just as Whistler's *Venus Rising from the Sea* (1868–70, Freer Gallery of Art; YMSM 93) serves in Coburn's photograph as foil to an Islamic glazed vessel, the Peacock Room, as porcelain cabinet and frame, offered the possibilities and pleasures of near-infinite aesthetic recombinations, extending the comparative logic of the *Princesse* into three-dimensional space.

Contemporary business handbooks like those produced by Horace Lucien Arnold at the turn of the century underscore the degree to which industrial concerns like Freer and Hecker's Michigan-Peninsular Car Company and Whittemore and Pope's Cleveland Malleable Iron Company depended upon the comparative and organizational aptitudes of their managers to ensure the harmonization of parts, people, and subsidiaries into functioning wholes. "Value," Arnold reminded his readers, "can be fixed only by comparison. To know any one thing fully and entirely, many other similar and related things must

FIGURE 10. *Whistler Memorial Exhibition,* 1904. Copley Hall. Photograph by Thomas Marr. Charles Lang Freer Papers, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

be known."[43] Moreover, as a specialist in the complexities of modern industrial accounting, Freer evidently savored the paired curatorial practices of addition and subtraction, continually "revising" his holdings and advising contemporary collectors like John Gellatly that "both limitation and elimination must be judiciously practiced or a collection … will prove over-crowded and in many ways valueless."[44] To cite one final example of the parallels between Aesthetic connoisseurship and system-oriented managerial practice, the year 1892 found Howard Mansfield assisting Freer and Hecker with a merger of the Michigan and Peninsular car-building companies while simultaneously picking out wall coverings and planning arrangements of Whistler etchings for a harmonious display at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, translating the total coordination of the *Princesse* and the Peacock Room into an exhibition space, just as Whistler himself had done.[45]

As Lee Glazer has discovered, Freer and Mansfield collaboratively assembled a number of Whistler exhibitions together, including the *Whistler Memorial Exhibition* in Boston's Copley Hall in the spring of 1904, where the *Princesse* served as centerpiece and conceptual touchstone (Figure 10). Later that year, the comparative logic that Freer had learned from Mansfield and Whistler became the central conceit structuring the selection and hanging of nearly two hundred works at the *Comparative Exhibition of Native and Foreign Art*, organized by the Society of Art Collectors, Incorporated. The corporate form of this organizing body—to which Mansfield, Freer, and Hecker belonged, along with other dedicated collectors of American Aesthetic and Tonalist paintings—was not unusual for its time, but it is revealing: the extensive overlap among the individuals involved in both 1904 exhibitions

and other similarly harmonious, unified presentations at New York's gentlemen's clubs and other venues brings into sharper focus the small body of decision makers who had constituted themselves as an unofficial board of directors of American art. Embracing the rhetoric of trusteeship with which they were well acquainted from their leadership commitments in the world of savings banks, insurance, and investment management, art patrons like Freer, William T. Evans, William K. Bixby, and John Gellatly considered it their duty to make responsible decisions for the masses and for all time about which works of art American museums should preserve and even how they should be hung. A taste for American Aestheticism linked them, and they exhibited a dedication to Whistlerian exhibition unities, manifested, for example, by Evans's insistence upon particular shades of "Dundee Drapery" to be used in the hanging of his collection at the Smithsonian Institution, even *after* he had given it to the nation.[46]

Of this group, Freer represents the most extreme case of systems management in which the organizational skills required to run a large and thoroughly integrated railroad-car-building concern were applied with equal fervor to the organization of an art collection. His generous gift to the Smithsonian came with a number of limiting conditions to preserve the collection—in Freer's words—as "a harmonious whole."[47] His planning of the Freer Gallery in the years before his death extended even to considerations of symmetrical hanging, as when he commissioned Abbott Thayer to paint "one more landscape approximately the size of 'Capri,' 'Monadnock,' or the 'Study of the Cornish Coast'" that "would help materially in balancing the hanging … so as to make the whole harmonious in every way."[48]

Among his carefully planned gifts was the Peacock Room. As an Aesthetic artifact, this installation remains truly singular, but its configurations have been multiple, and the comparative juxtapositions it facilitates endlessly extensible. The experiences of looking, rearranging, and socializing that it frames constitute the essential foundation of a networked aestheticism for a networked world. Because the particular concept of beauty that Whistler and so many of his contemporaries chose to pursue was iterative, comparative, and conceptualized in variations on set themes, these works of art, however closely associated with a discourse of retreat and withdrawal, necessarily reach out and extend, creating a network of highly self-aware patrons who understood their collections as nodes within larger arrays.

Notes

1. Arthur Symons, *Studies in Seven Arts* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906), 129–30, emphasis added. The chapter is dated 1903/1905.
2. Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), 2. For recent studies of Whistler's "science," see also Marc Simpson, "Whistler, Modernism, and the Creative Afflatus," in *Like Breath on Glass: Whistler and the Art of Painting Softly* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2008), 24–51; Sarah Elizabeth Kelly, "Camera Lens and Mind's Eye: James McNeill Whistler and the Science of Art" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2010).
3. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, 14.
4. Cosmo Monkhouse, "Albert Moore," *Magazine of Art* 8 (1885): 94.
5. For the most complete history of the Peacock Room, see Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998).

6. This thesis is developed in greater depth in Melody Barnett Deusner, "A Network of Associations: Aesthetic Painting and Its Patrons, 1870–1914" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2010).
7. Whistler to William Heinemann, September 9 or 16, 1899, PWC.
8. See Deusner, "Network of Associations," 40–52. Mark Wigley has also noted the shift from concrete to conceptual uses of "network" in "Network Fever," *Grey Room* 4 (Summer 2001): 94.
9. William James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking: Popular Lessons on Philosophy* (London: Longmans, 1907), 132.
10. Arthur J. Maginnis, *The Atlantic Ferry, Its Ships, Men, and Working* (London, 1892), 134.
11. Testimony of Frederick Leyland, July 5, 1880, in House of Commons, "Report from the Select Committee on Merchant Shipping; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix," *Parliamentary Papers* 11 (1880): 192–200.
12. "Longshoremen's Wages," *Boston Daily Globe*, November 18, 1878, 1.
13. Charles Augustus Howell to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, March 4, 1873, in *The Owl and the Rossettis: Letters of Charles A. Howell and Dante Gabriel, Christina, and William Michael Rossetti*, ed. C. L. Cline (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), letter 207.
14. On Rossetti "heads" for Leyland, see *The Rossetti-Leyland Letters: The Correspondence of an Artist and His Patron*, ed. Francis L. Fennell Jr. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1978); Kathy Alexis Psomiades, "Hidden Just behind These Screens: Art Objects and Commodities," in *Beauty's Body: Femininity and Representation in British Aestheticism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 94–133.
15. Robin Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain and the Significance of Industry and Commerce for His Art, Part II," *Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1099 (October 1994): 671.
16. See, for example, the published listings for F. Leyland & Co. in the regular shipping logs of china, glass, and earthenware exported from Liverpool in the *Pottery and Glass Trades' Journal* 1 (1878) and 2 (1879), as well as furniture and carpets imported into Liverpool in the *Furniture Gazette* (October–December 1882).
17. Theodore Child, "A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December 1890, 82.
18. For Leyland's role at Edison Swan, see reports of shareholders' meetings published in the *Telegraphic Journal and Electrical Review*, 1884–92.
19. "Edison & Swan United Electric Light Company, Limited," *Telegraphic Journal and Electrical Review*, November 2, 1888, 495.
20. "Electric Lighting at the Grosvenor Gallery," *Telegraphic Journal and Electrical Review*, April 18, 1885, 358.
21. Mary Eliza Haweis, *The Art of Decoration* (London, 1881), 10, 201.
22. H. Swan, "Artistic Electric Lighting," *Electrical Engineer*, March 9, 1888, 224.
23. "Swan United Electric Light Company," *Telegraphic Journal and Electrical Review,* December 20, 1884, 503.

24. Archibald Forbes, *Chinese Gordon: A Succinct Record of His Life* (New York, 1884), 140; "What About Ireland?" *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, October 1885, 551.

25. See Edwin A. Ward, *Recollections of a Savage* (New York: Stokes, 1920), 263.

26. Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Whistler Journal* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1921), 107.

27. For Sutherland's trusteeship in the Leyland separation, see reports on *Conolan v. Leyland*, June 20 and August 8, 1884, in *Law Times* 51 (February 28, 1885): 895–98.

28. Sadakichi Hartmann described a planned Whistler interior for Sutherland, although his chronology is incorrect; see Hartmann, *The Whistler Book* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1910), 106. See also Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1911), 159.

29. "Sir T. Sutherland. Life Work for the P. & O. Company. From Junior Clerk to Chairman," *The Times*, January 2, 1922, 9.

30. William De Morgan to Halsey Ricardo, February 18, 1895, De Morgan Foundation, quoted in Jon Catleugh, *William De Morgan Tiles* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983), 110.

31. David Brett, *C. R. Mackintosh: The Poetics of Workmanship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 21.

32. Henry Lucy, *Sixty Years in the Wilderness* (New York: Dutton, 1909–16), 3:194, 197.

33. Royal Commission on Shipping Rings, 1909, Cd. 4668–70. For the P&O's perspective on Sutherland and the cooperative "conference system," see David Divine, *These Splendid Ships: The Story of the Peninsular and Oriental Line* (London: F. Muller, 1960), 162–64.

34. "Taken on Trial," *All the Year Round* 176 (April 13, 1872): 473.

35. Ward, *Recollections of a Savage*, 263–66.

36. William K. Bixby to Charles Lang Freer, May 5, 1919, FGAA.

37. For correspondence discussing the formation and meetings of the Committee of Seven, see Freer to Bixby, May 23, 1896; July 8, 1897; September 6 and 29, 1897; and October 6 and 13, 1897, FGAA; and Bixby to J. L. Smyser, September 9, 1897, William K. Bixby Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

38. On the decoration of the Freer house, see Thomas Brunk, "The Charles L. Freer Residence: The Original Freer Gallery of Art," *Dichotomy* 12 (Fall 1999): 6–150.

39. See, for example, Dwight William Tryon to Freer, April 5, 1891, FGAA.

40. On the wide range of social and cultural effects of incorporation in nineteenth-century America, see Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

41. George M. Beard, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York, 1881), 117. On Aesthetic paintings as "rest cures," see Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); Kathleen Pyne, *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

42. Ernest F. Fenollosa, "The Collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer," *Pacific Era* 2 (November 1907): 61.

43. Horace Lucien Arnold, *The Complete Cost-Keeper* (New York, 1900), 2; see also Arnold, *The Factory Manager and Accountant: Some Examples of the Latest American Factory Practice* (New York: Engineering Magazine Press, 1903).

44. Freer to John Gellatly, November 17, 1917, FGAA.

45. For correspondence between Mansfield and Freer regarding this merger, see Freer to Mansfield, May 30, September 20, and November 2 and 30, 1892, FGAA. Efforts by Mansfield and Freer to organize exhibitions on Whistlerian principles, both individually and in collaboration, are discussed by Lee Glazer, "'A Modern Instance': Thomas Dewing and Aesthetic Vision at the Turn of the Century" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996); Glazer, "Whistler, America, and the Memorial Exhibition of 1904," in *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting,* ed. Linda Merrill (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2004), 86–96.

46. See correspondence between William T. Evans and Richard Rathbun, June 9 and 15, 1909, Evans Registrar's Files, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC.

47. Freer to Samuel P. Langley, January 18, 1905, FGAA.

48. Freer to Abbott Thayer, August 12, 1912, FGAA.

Networks of Modernism: A New Look at Whistler in Japan

Ayako Ono

It is well known that James McNeill Whistler looked to Japanese art in developing an original artistic style that challenged the narrative conventions of Victorian painting and asserted his belief in Art for Art's Sake.[1] What is less well known is that the connection between the painter and Japan was not a one-way street but a complex network of cultural and aesthetic emulation. After the opening of Japan in 1854, the country embarked on a decades-long process of assimilating aspects of modern Western civilization. Learning the techniques and syntax of Western art was part of this general modernization effort, and Whistler's idea of Art for Art's Sake expressed in the *Ten O'Clock* lecture (delivered 1885) and *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (1890) was understood in Japan as an exemplary theory of Western avant-garde aesthetics. Whistler had looked to Japan in the 1860s to effect his own aesthetic transformation; after the turn of the twentieth century, Japanese artists, critics, and writers engaged in a reciprocal act of artistic appropriation.

FIGURE 1. Portrait of Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906). Private collection.

The arrival of the American Commodore Matthew C. Perry in 1853 brought about the end of Japan's two-centuries-long period of isolation. From this date on, there was genuine contact between the West and Japan, and during the Meiji era (1868–1912), Japan abandoned its feudal social structure and quickly adopted Western political, social, and economic models. In this context of rapid upheaval and change, "civilization" became a key word for the Japanese government, signifying its desire to become a member of the industrialized, modern world. And "civilization" essentially meant Westernization—for art and literature as well as for government and commerce. At the very early stages of Westernization, Japanese artists learned techniques of oil painting and established a new genre called *Yōga*, that is, Western-style painting. They also adopted from the West the practice of organizing exhibitions and publishing art journals. The very term *bijutsu,* which means fine art, was coined on the occasion of Japan's participation in the Vienna World's Fair in 1873. *Bijutsu* was used rather broadly at the time and referred to music, painting, sculpture, and poetry.

The art dealer Hayashi Tadamasa (Figure 1) played an important role in introducing

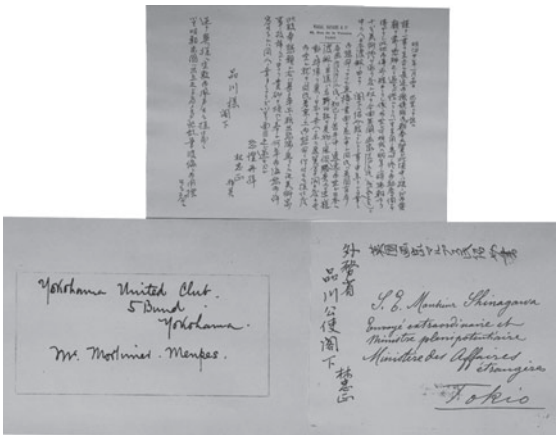


FIGURE 2. Letter from Hayashi Tadamasa to Shinagwa Yajiro, dated Meiji 20 (1887), January 14, Paris. National Diet Library, Tokyo.

Japanese art to Europe. Hayashi, who spoke French fluently, went to Paris in 1878 as an interpreter for the third Paris World's Fair. He later became an art dealer based in Paris. Not only did he sell Japanese goods to collectors such as Louis Gonse and the Goncourt brothers, but he also talked about Japanese art with French enthusiasts, providing information, knowledge, and advice, which contributed greatly to the popularity of japonisme. Hayashi also had extensive contacts throughout Europe and was aware of the currents of the art world there. In 1887, he wrote a letter to introduce Whistler's student Mortimer Menpes to Shinagawa Yajiro of the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo (Figure 2), stating that Menpes was "a friend of a well-known British painter, Whistler."[2] Although Hayashi's direct contact with Whistler is not known, it is obvious that he was aware that the painter was active in the forefront of the artistic world and invoked his name to cultivate cross-cultural artistic connections. Hayashi also expected influential Japanese politicians who had been in France, Britain, and Germany in the early 1870s to know Whistler's name, so that Shinagawa would support Mortimer Menpes.

Hayashi played an important part in the debate over the concept of *bijutsu* more than a decade after the term was coined. Professor Toyama Masakazu of Tokyo Imperial University presented a lecture, "The Future of Japanese Painting," at *Meiji Bijutsukai* in June 1890.[3] He argued that the problem with contemporary Japanese paintings was their subject matter. Hayashi refuted this assertion in an 1890 lecture, "On Dr. Toyama's Speech," arguing that the main issue was the acquisition of technique and emphasizing the importance of visual art. Hayashi also cited Whistler's artistic ideas in support of his understanding of *bijutsu*:

> The English painter Whistler produces unprecedented landscape paintings with musical terms and colors in the title, and when he held exhibitions in London, he opened the eyes of all the doctrinaire artists. … Painting is like music to please the eyes, that is to say, it is the harmony of beauty. … Art is to feel things and bear them in our hearts. Art is full of feelings and emanates towards the outside.[4]

Hayashi's discussion reminds us of a passage from Whistler's "Red Rag":

> Art should be independent of all clap-trap—should stand alone, and appeal to the artistic sense of eye or ear, without confounding this with emotions entirely foreign to it, as devotion, pity, love, patriotism, and the like. All these have no kind of concern with it; and that is why I insist on calling my works "arrangements" and "harmonies."[5]

Whistler's use of musical terms was derived from his understanding of aestheticism. In his works he arranged composition, space, and harmony of color to attain Art for

Art's Sake. Hayashi, in turn, saw Whistler's work as exemplifying the "beauty of harmony." This Whistlerian idea would have important reverberations in Japanese literature and aesthetic theory in the years to come.

Although Whistler had been known in Japan during his lifetime, his aesthetic theories only began to circulate widely after his death.[6] Whistler's obituary appeared in the foreign bulletin section of the art journal *Bijutsu shinpō* of October 5, 1903, three months after the artist's death, when he was described as an "extraordinary person in the contemporary art world." The next year, *Bijutsu shinpō* published an article on the Whistler Memorial Exhibition held in Boston.[7] In 1905, the art critic Sakai Gisaburō (Saisui; 1871–1940) published "Whistler, a Critical Biography" in a magazine called *Sketch* (Figure 3). Sakai described Whistler as "a prominent figure in the history of nineteenth-century painting" and added that he thought "he should really be considered an extraordinary figure in modern painting history." Whistler's rejection of moral or anecdotal meanings from his works was particularly important, he said, in order to pursue "the beauty of the harmony of colors" and "the beauty of the style." Sakai also wrote about Whistler's aestheticism, referring to the *Ten O'Clock* lecture and *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, and explained how Whistler had loved Japanese art and had been influenced in particular by Hiroshige and Hokusai, whose teachings he had put to good use. Many of Whistler's artistic principles were suggested to him by Japanese art, Sakai observed, pointing out that the works Whistler produced by establishing a unique style influenced by Japanese art had shocked the European art world.[8]

FIGURE 3. Sakai Gisaburō, "Whistler, a Critical Biography," *Sketch*, no. 5 (1905): 14–15.

FIGURE 4. Portrait of Kume Keiichirō (1866–1934). Kume Museum of Art, Tokyo.

Whistler was introduced to Japan as a "contemporary" painter. It was reported in *Hōsun* that Japanese pupils of the French painters Raphaël Collin and Jean-Paul Laurens first introduced Whistler to Japan.[9] Indeed, the Western-style painter Kume Keiichirō (Figure 4), who went to Paris and studied under Raphaël Collin, was one of the earliest figures to write articles on Whistler. He stayed in France from 1886 to 1893 and played a leading role in the *Yōga* during the Meiji era. In 1906, Kume wrote a biography of Whistler for *Kōfū*, "An Aspect of Whistler's Life," published in three parts.[10] In these articles Kume provided a

FIGURE 5. James McNeill Whistler, *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864. Oil on wood panel, 50.1 × 68.5 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1904.75.

detailed biography of Whistler and analyzed his works carefully. He also pointed out the influence of Japanese art on Whistler's works. With regard to the early so-called Japanesque paintings, such as *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (Figure 5), Kume, who was a painter himself, speculated that Whistler had "just gathered novelties to try to achieve a harmony of unusual vivid colors."[11] Kume concluded that Whistler had not painted his orientalizing works with an understanding of Japanese art, but instead painted them out of simple "eccentricity," using items such as Japanese lacquer ware and ceramics as materials for still-life vignettes within larger paintings and incorporating screens, fans, dolls, and clothes as fanciful additions to the paintings.

Kume did point out that Whistler's "Japanese taste" did not stop with the creation of an exotic atmosphere: the painter instead continued his exploration of Japanese taste with a pure spirit, and although a curiosity about novelties can be seen in his work until 1867, he afterward chose, analyzed, and interpreted formal elements of Japanese art and elaborated principles based on careful consideration.[12] Kume thus expressed what has become the standard view of Whistler's development of a Japanese-inflected aesthetic, moving from pastiche to synthesis.

Specifically, Kume identified Hiroshige's influence in the way Whistler drew the horizon higher in pictures showing the sea or a river and in his night scenes, in which fireworks go off against the night sky (see Arscott, Figure 5). Kume noted how the higher horizon in Whistler's bird's-eye-view paintings was not necessarily an allusion to Japanese art: Whistler, used to seeing Japanese prints, had arrived at those representations natu-

rally, and in fact, this perspective existed in the West, too, even though it was not customary to employ it. According to Kume, Whistler's interest in Japanese art eventually led him to paint a series of Nocturnes in the 1870s. Kume explained how, in the Nocturnes, the color scheme was fundamental and how the paintings were not meant to depict nature but were "spontaneous, eloquent celebrations" and "magnificent poetry of the darkness of the night": Whistler "loved the shadows as shadows, and the dark night as dark night. He used the light of the fires to bring out the beautiful colors of the shadows and the dark night."[13]

FIGURE 6. Fijishima Takeji, *Myōjō* 2 (1902), front page.

It is worthy of note that another article by Kume, "Whistler vs. Ruskin and the Origin of Impressionism," was published in the literary magazine *Myōjō*.[14] Representative of Meiji era romanticism, *Myōjō* was the magazine of the association Shinshisha (New Poetry Society), based in Tokyo. Published between April 1900 and November 1908, it was self-defined as a "magazine specializing in literature and art" and a "monthly magazine of literature and art with images."[15] *Myōjō* was first published in 1900, the year of the Paris Exposition Universelle, when the Art Nouveau style grabbed the limelight. *Yōga* painters such as Fujishima Takeji, who was much influenced by Art Nouveau, especially by Alphonse Mucha, contributed illustrations for the front page (Figure 6). As Hideo Takumi pointed out, "The new role of uniting literature and painting is something that can't be overlooked in terms of the great importance *Myōjō* assumed in cultural history."[16] *Myōjō* tried to fuse literature and art and played an epochal role in the history of literary trends in modern Japan.

The influence that Whistler's works exercised on the literary world was the result of the modern Japanese phenomenon of the blending of visual art and literature that began with the founding of *Myōjō*. Between 1903 and 1918, Whistler was introduced to Japan not only in art magazines such as *Bijutsu shinpō* but also in literary magazines such as *Waseda bungaku* and *Geibun* and in journals that aimed to be a synthesis of visual art and literature, such as *Myōjō* and *Hōsun*. Indeed, these literary sources underscore Whistler's importance to "modern" Japanese aesthetic endeavors. The reception and influence of Whistler in Japan thus extended beyond the visual arts to the literary world. A book design by Hashiguchi Goyō (Figure 7), for instance, shows that Whis-

tler's *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (1872, City Art Gallery, Glasgow; YMSM 137) was known in Japan by 1906. The poet Kinoshita Mokutarō (1885–1945) subtitled one of his poems "Inspired by Whistler's Painting. "[17] And Kitahara Hakushū (1885–1942) composed one of the best-known poems inspired by Whistler's work, "Blue and Gold" of 1910:

> Nocturne in Blue and Gold
> Duet of Spring and Summer
> Song of Edo for Young Tokyo
> Shade and Light in my heart.[18]

In his 1917 short story "Supein-ken no ie" ("The House of a Spanish Dog"), Satō Haruo (1892–1964), known as one of the writers of aestheticism in Japan, alludes to Whistler's paintings. Upon entering a Western-style house in an unfamiliar forest, the protagonist finds "a heliochrome sea-piece" hanging on the wall: "I've seen this picture before somewhere—isn't that Whistler's colouring? I strongly approve of having such a picture here. Anyone secluded among hills like this would probably forget that the world contained such things as the sea unless he had a picture to remind him."[19]

Whistler's aestheticism became widely known in Japanese literary circles after 1908, when the Western-style painter and print artist Ishii Hakutei (1882–1958) published a translation of Whistler's *Ten O'Clock* lecture in *Hōsun*.[20] Like *Myōjō*, *Hōsun* was a magazine that aimed to be a synthesis of visual art and literature. Published between 1907 and 1910, it was closely modeled on the German magazine *Jugend*, first published in 1896. The interaction between works of art and literature and the creation of a new genre of magazine was the purpose of the publication. Ishii Hakutei, an editor of *Myōjō,* was also chief editor of *Hōsun*. The magazines published not only prints but also literary works such as poems or short dramas. Kinoshita Mokutarō and Kitahara Hakushū, who wrote poems inspired by Whistler, were active as regular contributors. The young artists and writers who were contributors to *Hōsun*, including Ishii Hakutei and Satō Haruo, were loosely centered around the group Pan no kai (Association of the Greek God Pan). Rather than realistic art, they preferred to write creative stories or evocative poems appealing to the senses, exhibiting human sensuality and decadent aestheticism, set in historical times and exotic places.[21]

FIGURE 7. Hashiguchi Goyō (1880–1921), "Carlyle Museum," in Natsume Sōseki, *Yōkyoshū* (1906).

The young artists and writers of Pan no kai promoted a new movement of aestheticist tendencies. At the turn of the century, artists searched for the lost atmosphere of the Edo period, before the forcible opening of Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century brought radical

change to Japanese social systems, lifestyle, and culture. They were especially drawn to the banks of the Sumida River, where Hiroshige had depicted nocturnal scenes. These young artists were not simply nostalgic for Edo. Rather, the riverside atmosphere, redolent of the traditional Japanese culture that matured during the Edo period, seemed exotic to them. Thus, Nocturnes such as *Nocturne: Blue and Gold—Old Battersea Bridge* that were inspired by Hiroshige's art served as models—a mixture of old and new—for them. In the world of Japanese modern literature, the works of Whistler inspired by Japanese ukiyo-e stimulated a kind of nostalgic exoticism.[22]

In 1890, the year that he published *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies,* Whistler met Kaneko Kentaro, a Japanese politician and bureaucrat, at the Athenaeum Club in London. The artist told Kaneko that he would like to learn about Japanese art but that there were no books he could read on the subject. He wondered if there was a Japanese artist who could possibly explain it.[23] Whistler had no idea that his art had already been introduced to Japan. Moreover, he did not live to see how his artistic ideas and works inspired by Japanese art in turn greatly impacted Japan, becoming a source of inspiration for Japanese visual and literary artists of the next generation. This cross-cultural interchange was as essential to the creation of a new culture of artistic modernity in the East as it was in the West.

Notes

1. On the Japanese influence on Whistler's art, see Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).
2. Hayashi to Shinagawa Yajiro, dated Meiji 20 (1887), January 14, Paris, in Kigi Yasuko, *Hayashi Tadamasa to sono jidai* [Hayashi Tadamasa and his era] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1993), 118.
3. Toyama Masakazu, "The Future of Japanese Painting," *Meiji Bijutsukai Daigokai Hōkoku,* June 1890:29–93.
4. Hayashi Tadamasa, "On Dr. Toyama's Lecture," *Meiji Bijutsukai Dairokkai Hōkoku,* July 1890:10–31.
5. James McNeill Whistler, "The Red Rag," *The World,* May 22, 1878, reprinted in *The Gentle Art,* 127.
6. On Whistler's introduction to the Japanese art world in the Meiji era, see Ayako Ono, "Interpretation about Art and Theory of J. McN. Whistler in Japan: From the Viewpoint of East and West Exchange—Hayashi Tadamasa, Iwamura Toru and Kume Keiichiro," *Studies in Japonisme* 30 (2010): 28–44.
7. "Overseas Bulletin," *Bijutsu shinpō* 2, no. 14 (1903): 7; no. 24 (1904): 7.
8. Sakai Gisaburō (Saisui), "Whistler, a Critical Biography (First Part)," *Sketch*, no. 5 (1905): 13–16; "Whistler, a Critical Biography (Last Part)," *Sketch*, no. 6 (1905): 34–37.
9. Kyōnan [Hakutei Ishii], "Words from Hōsun," *Hōsun* 1, no. 4 (1907): 2.
10. Kume Keiichirō, "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (1)," *Kōfū*, 2nd year, no. 1 (January 1906): 1–14; "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (2)," *Kōfū*, 2nd year, no. 2 (March 1906): 12–22; "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (3)," *Kōfū*, 2nd year, no. 4 (October 1906): 1–13.

11. Kume Keiichirō, "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (2)," 14–15.
12. Kume Keiichirō, "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (2)," 17.
13. Kume Keiichirō, "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (2)," 16–18.
14. Kume Keiichirō, "Whistler vs. Ruskin and the Origins of Impressionism," *Seika* 2, no. 1 (December 1904): 1–20; reprinted in *Myōjō*, Year of the Snake, no. 2 (February 1905): 48–59.
15. *Myōjō* 14 (1901): 35.
16. Hideo Takumi, *Modern Japanese Art and Literature: Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa Illustrations* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1979), 51.
17. Kinoshita Mokutarō, "Miduumi to Whisky to-no [Whisteer no E no Kokoro wo]," *Hōsun* 3, no. 2 (1909): 8.
18. Kitahara Hakushū, "Blue and Gold," *Yomiuri Shinbun*, September 18, 1910, p. 6. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from the Japanese are my own.
19. Satō Haruo, "The House of a Spanish Dog," trans. George Saito, in *Modern Japanese Stories*, ed. Ivan Morris (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), 162.
20. Ishii Hakutei, "History of Art," *Hōsun* 1, no. 4 (n.d.): 2–4; "'Art,' the Goddess," *Hōsun* 2, no. 1 (1908): 2.
21. Noda Utarô, *Nihon tanbiha bungaku no Tanjô* [The birth of literary aestheticism in Japan] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobô Shinsha, 1975).
22. These artists were not only interested in Western art but also in the lifestyle of Western artists. The members of the Pan no kai, many in their twenties who never had visited Europe, thought that they needed to have a kind of Paris café so that artists of various genres could come together and exchange ideas on art. They compared the Sumida River to the Seine and gathered at a Western-style restaurant beside the river to discuss art.
23. Kaneko Kentaro, "Bijyutsu to Jisei tono Kankei," transcribed in *Kinko Zattetsu,* 1896, 58–59. Also see Ayako Ono, "Whistler's Japanese Connections," in *James McNeill Whistler in Context: Essays from the Whistler Centenary Symposium, University of Glasgow, 2003*, ed. Lee Glazer, Margaret F. McDonald, Linda Merrill, and Nigel Thorp (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art), 95–104.

Enlisting Aestheticism: Beauty, Valor, and the Great War

Linda Merrill

The Palace of Art is a figure of speech, a metaphor for the opulent interiors of the Victorian age as well as the Aesthetic movement that inspired them. "The Palace of Art" is also a poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson, composed in 1832 and published ten years later. The poet himself described it as "a sort of allegory … of a soul / A sinful soul possess'd of many gifts"—in particular, we are given to understand, an *artist's* soul. "Let the world have peace or wars, / 'T is one to me," that aesthetic spirit sings, prefiguring the self-indulgent phrases that echo through Whistler's *Ten O'Clock* lecture as the defining quality of Art, "selfishly occupied with her own perfection only."[1] For three long years and forty stanzas Tennyson's spirit dwells in "beauty seen / In all varieties of mould and mind" until, finally, something happens: its overwrought imagination begins to conjure rotting corpses and "white-eyed phantasms, weeping tears of blood," as its state of splendid isolation becomes a punishing solitary confinement. Casting off its royal robes, the sinful soul emphatically repudiates aestheticism, crying, "Make me a cottage in the vale, … where I may mourn and pray."[2] "The Palace of Art," then, for all its utility to art historians, is not a simple paean to Art for Art's Sake, but an urgent appeal to the artist to practice social responsibility.

Tennyson's allegory anticipates the English Aesthetic movement, followed some years later by its American counterpart, and prophesies the demise of that movement, which did not take place in the United States until the early decades of the twentieth century. The American art establishment clung to its Gilded Age ideals even past the revelatory Armory Show of 1913, and when the First World War began, most American artists were still refining tradition, rather than rebelling against it. Nearly all the artists of that older, more conservative generation had trained abroad, and few had altogether escaped the influence of Whistler, who was a living presence in Paris at the height of the American invasion. Indeed, most of those artists can be seen, to some extent, as the followers Whistler imagined in the *Ten O'Clock*, who would work in "the afterglow" of his "ephemeral influence" and adopt his elitist approach to art.[3] But when the United States entered the war in April 1917, the national call to action became insistent enough to penetrate the fortress of art and eventually too compelling for any but the purest aesthetic spirit to ignore. Even those who, following Whistler, "had been cynical about sentiment," as Duncan Phillips observed, and "disrespectful about the demands of Mr. and Mrs. Average Person, quickly left their former positions defenseless and put themselves splendidly at the service of their governments."[4]

Artists began deserting the Palace of Art that November, when George Creel, head of the Committee on Public Information—the propaganda wing of the wartime gov-

ernment—wrote to the illustrator Charles Dana Gibson recruiting artists to the cause. "Art," Creel declared, "is to be conscripted no less than manhood, and every man and woman who puts paint or brush to paper must get the feeling that neither time nor energy may be denied when the country calls."[5] In such a climate, the artist could no longer remain "by the tents, with the women," as Whistler had envisaged, while others sallied forth to the battlefield.[6] By January 1918, Gibson—speaking on behalf of American artists—was insisting that, on the whole, they were beginning "to be more unselfish. We are not so grouchy, nor impatient. We can no longer be content with the things and conditions we formerly accepted. … There can be no peace of mind to any artist unless he can … contribute to the country in some way." By "manfully answering the roll call of patriotism," Gibson asserted, the Tennysonian image of the artist might be dismantled to defeat "the foolish fantasy that they were dreamers, with loose hair and still looser morals."[7]

But what, exactly, *was* an artist to do? A helpful pamphlet titled *Suggestions and Information for Artists, Architects, Sculptors, and Those Practicing the Allied Arts Desiring to Apply Their Knowledge to War Work* was prepared for the Mayor's Committee on National Defense for the City of New York by Albert Eugene Gallatin, whose numerous prewar books on Whistler and extensive collection of Whistleriana make his name closely intertwined with Whistlerian aestheticism. Indeed, just months before the pamphlet appeared, a selection from Gallatin's collection had been shown in New York to benefit American War Relief, and according to Guy Pène du Bois, who wrote the catalogue's preface, the exhibition "was built about Whistler": in addition to eighteen works by the master himself were portraits of the artist by Thomas Way, William Nicholson, and Giovanni Boldini, among others. Speaking about the exhibition "behind the scenes" with a reporter from the *Christian Science Monitor,* Gallatin insisted that, in the circumstances, purely "academic" painting was "not a man's work"; he then lapsed into wartime rhetoric studded with the watchwords of aestheticism: "There is an urge and a speeding-up to win the fight against confusion and make the world safe for beauty. The immediate service of art's allies is to coordinate the forces at their command, to conserve and sort out existing material, to bring contentious factions into harmonious rapport."[8] In making the world safe for beauty, Gallatin avowed, art could prove "a powerful weapon."[9]

Gallatin's pamphlet outlined the many ways that art might contribute to the war effort, beginning with the production of works on a wartime theme—or, as one commentator put it, "appeals to patriotism in line and color."[10] Dozens of American works "either directly or indirectly connected with the war" would be shown at the Allied Art Salon, an enormous exhibition held just after the Armistice that included paintings by such disparate artists as Cecilia Beaux and George Bellows, J. Alden Weir and George Luks.[11] Many of these had previously been shown in an even more popular, or populist, exhibition: the Fifth Avenue Shop Window Display organized by Augustus Vincent Tack to benefit the Fourth Liberty Loan Drive and visited by "the largest public ever invited to an art exhibition."[12] (In allowing works to be shown a second time, Gallatin reportedly "acted in the spirit" of Whistler, who, when asked if some of his pictures in an exhibition had been seen before, replied, "No, they have been shown, but they haven't been seen.")[13] The exhibit that garnered the most accolades and attention—that was "regarded as one of the best war pictures yet painted"—was Edwin Blashfield's *Carry On!* (Figure 1), a work so universally affecting that the Metropolitan Museum of Art broke its ban on war paintings to acquire this one for the collection (although it was later quietly

deaccessioned and has long since disappeared).[14] At nine by twelve feet, the work exemplifies the grandiosity of the wartime aesthetic, combining "allegory and realism in a splendid manner," as one contemporary remarked, with "a strong appeal to one's patriotism."[15]

Such bold, visually compelling imagery, designed to be legible to the multitude even from a distance, held tremendous popular appeal, and the pictures naturally lent themselves to poster art, an even more explicit form of propaganda. As a writer for the *Bookman* affirmed, "An artist who ties himself up to a slogan these days is doing his bit in the Great War. No submarine, no aircraft, can upset an idea once it is safely launched in the popular mind by means of a poster."[16] Even the world's most famous American painting became tied to a slogan in those days: not an *Arrangement in Grey and Black,* but Whistler's *Mother* was enlisted to enjoin young Irish Canadians to join the fight overseas (Figure 2) and aging British citizens to purchase war bonds for their twilight years (Figure 3). In this "renaissance of the poster," Gallatin explained, art was restored to its status in the Middle Ages, when it was "the property of the people, as it should be, and not ticketed specimens in a tomblike museum."[17]

There were other ways artists could do their part for the war effort, such as organizing and staffing American camouflage units; painting "typical French rural scenery" to be used as "designation targets," or range fingers, in training artillery officers; or supervising the decorations, banners, and costumes used in extravagantly staged parades down Fifth Avenue.[18] The contribution that artists made in the field of interior decoration is one aspect of their participation that has dwindled to less than a footnote in the larger story of American art during the Great War, but as the *New York Times* reported, many artists too old to enlist but eager "to play some part in the vast drama of the war" seized "the opportunity afforded by the various rest houses and Y.M.C.A. huts to reach the minds and feelings of the soldiers."[19] Constructed and operated for the American Expeditionary Forces, those buildings were meant to promote "that indefinable force known as morale."[20] They stood in for the schools, clubs, churches, and especially the homes that citizen-soldiers left behind and—it was hoped—would not only counteract the brutalization they were certain to face at the front but mitigate that natural tendency of young men, when away

FIGURE 1. Edwin Howland Blashfield, *Carry On!*, 1918. Present location unknown; reproduced from John Gilbert Thompson and Inez Bigwood, *Winning a Cause: World War One Stories* (Boston: Silver, Burdett, 1919), frontispiece.

FIGURE 2. Hal Ross Perrigard, after Whistler, "Fight for Her: Come with the Irish Canadian Rangers Overseas Battalion, Montreal," printed by the Harris Lithographing Co., Toronto, ca. 1915. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, WWI Posters, LC-USZC4-12703.

FIGURE 3. "Old Age Must Come: So Prepare for it by Investing in War Savings Certificates," ca. 1917, published by National War Savings Committee, London, printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode. Ball State University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections, Elisabeth Ball Collection, Muncie, Indiana.

from the refining influence of women, to fall into profane speech and vulgar behavior.[21] Although ever so humble, the huts were designed as bastions of civilization.

Because most were hastily built structures intended to be temporary, none of the four thousand or so YMCA structures has survived. Nevertheless, their importance to the record of artistic activity in World War I is significant because American artists, as engineers and experts, helped to develop this novel form of public building—a substitute domestic space that introduced the concept of the House Beautiful into military life. The "hut," then, makes a fitting twentieth-century counterpoint to the nineteenth-century "palace," from which many of the artist-decorators emerged. As in the poem, the palace and the hut (there the "cottage in the vale") were divergent in design and intention yet harmonically interdependent.

The best documented of the YMCA buildings was the American Eagle Hut in New York City, which stood at the Sixth Avenue corner of Bryant Park—"a jaunty green building with a wide veranda and a boutonnière of pink geraniums," from which the surrounding skyscrapers appeared "to draw back politely, to give it room" (Figure 4).[22] Constructed to accommodate the legions of soldiers who passed through the city on their way to the front and who required a place to read the newspaper, write a letter home, or organize a night at the theater, the Eagle Hut was entirely planned, implemented, and "manned," as it were, by a committee of socially prominent New York ladies, including Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt and Mrs. Jay Gould, who recruited from their ranks some eight hundred volunteers.[23] That an ordinary foot soldier might be served a cup of coffee by one of the richest women in America seemed to confirm the democratizing principle of the huts, which were open to soldiers and officers alike.[24] It also meant that the Eagle Hut represented only the highest standards of decorum and decoration, accounting, at least in part, for its reputation as the "most attractive Y.M.C.A. in the world."[25] These particular volunteers would stand for nothing less: after all, many of them occupied the opulent mansions lining Fifth Avenue, practically in sight of Bryant Park.

The finest of those houses boasted interiors designed and furnished by Herter Brothers, the premier decorating firm of the American Aesthetic movement. Christian Herter, principal in the firm, was "a pioneer in better taste," as his son made known, "in an era when … the rich 'forty-niners' and bankers entrusted him with their aesthetic education, and he chose for them their paintings, their Chinese porcelain, their Persian

FIGURE 4. American Eagle Hut in Bryant Park, Forty-second Street and Sixth Avenue, New York City, ca. 1918. University of Minnesota Libraries, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Minneapolis.

pottery and altogether furnished the lavish houses he built for them"—houses that, from this description, sound very much like the palace inhabited by Tennyson's artistic soul.[26] The most extravagant of the Herter Brothers houses was the William H. Vanderbilt mansion at 640 Fifth Avenue, reputed to possess the costliest furnishings and decorations of any house in America.[27] Though a bit grander (as might be expected from an American millionaire), the Vanderbilt house may be compared to the palatial London home of Frederick Richards Leyland at 49 Prince's Gate, decorated only a few years earlier by Richard Norman Shaw, Thomas Jeckyll, and James McNeill Whistler. Both houses were showcases for priceless works of art, voluminous collections of precious objects, and rare antique materials, and both featured rooms specially designed to display their owners' East Asian treasures.

Vanderbilt's so-called Japanese Parlor (Figure 5) was, according to the writer Earl Shinn, "so furnished and appointed as to give the valuables contained in it their most becoming setting"—a strategy consistent with the aestheticist dictate that every work of art be appropriately framed and displayed. To accommodate Vanderbilt's assemblage of Asian art—lacquer ware, cloisonné, bronzes, and ceramics—Christian Herter fashioned an elaborate framework that encompassed the room, with shelves rising at various heights to hold objects of different dimensions, in "the labyrinthine fashion," Shinn explained, "of an Oriental étagère."[28] In a similar fashion, Jeckyll's intricately carved lattice of shelving framed Leyland's prized collection of Chinese blue-and-white (see Deusner, Figure 4, and Huxtable, Figure 1). As in the Vanderbilt room (where "almost every sur-

FIGURE 5. Japanese Parlor (northwest corner) in the William H. Vanderbilt House, New York, ca. 1882. Drawn by [Martin] Thurwanger, printed by Lemercier. From Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection,* vol. 3 (New York: George Barrie, 1883–84), following p. 64.

face is covered, one might say weighted, with ornament"), plates and pots once crowded every spindled shelf of the Peacock Room, creating Victorian magnificence at the expense of Japanese serenity.[29]

By the time of the First World War, the children of the Vanderbilt–Herter Brothers generation were rebelling against the excesses of Victorian taste, particularly the exoticism and eclecticism of the Aesthetic movement. The celebrated decorator Elsie de Wolfe, for example, related in her memoirs an anecdote that encapsulates the shift from Victorian superfluity to modernist restraint. She recalls the "acute and significant hour" when the drawing room of her childhood home was "done over" with wallpaper in a William Morris design: seeing the remodeled walls for the first time, Elsie "caught her breath," and "jumping up and down, … cried out, over and over, 'It's so ugly! It's so ugly!'" In de Wolfe's ideal interior, in contrast, "the colors were blended in a gentle camaraderie and … the graceful furniture invited repose and comfort." Such a room, she said, "created a kind of peace in me, and made me feel at home."[30] The *New York Times* considered the Vanderbilt mansion to be "replete with everything that contributes to the comfort of a real home," but not everyone thought so: Vanderbilt's daughter-in-law Alice, whose husband inherited the house in 1885, referred to it as "the Black Hole of Calcutta" and had it entirely redecorated in 1915—a fate the Peacock Room had narrowly escaped at the hands of Blanche Watney.[31]

In this era, then, the model of comfort was not the Fifth Avenue mansion of a Vanderbilt but something akin to a YMCA rest hut, which was generally considered "the connecting link between the soldiers and their homes." Indeed, one critical function of the huts was to alleviate homesickness, which some regarded as "the worst hardship of war."[32] The conviction that a homely interior might impart a restorative influence underlies the design reforms of the Progressive Era and validates the virtues of aestheticist refinement. The color theories that had inspired artistic experimentation in the nineteenth century were employed in the twentieth as principles of interior design, with color harmonies serving not only aesthetic but also psychological and emotional purposes. According to Emily Burbank of *House and Garden,* it was discovered almost by accident that "whitewash and gay paints applied inside canteens and rest huts acted as a tonic on the jaded senses of men coming out of a region of smoke and dun-colored earth. Color! Color! It was color that they craved."[33] The American sculptor Janet Scudder, who volunteered in France, recalled her first sight of the undecorated *foyers du soldat,* "plain, dismal, bare, mud-splashed structures that were depressing beyond words," and her determination to enhance them "with colors that suggested sunny days and cheerful times."[34] Such experiments demonstrated "the value of this art even under fire," Burbank said, and as a result, the decorative schemes of the YMCA huts relied on a palette of "nerve-soothing, eye-resting blues and greens," with the occasional note of orange or red to add a touch "of stimulus and cheer."[35]

The purely aesthetic dimension of the decoration was never neglected, however. In fact, the very first consideration in planning out the color scheme was to harmonize "the pine wood of the structures, the olive drab of the uniforms, and the red, white, and blue of the flags."[36] The Eagle Hut in Bryant Park was exemplary in this regard; significantly, the "experts" in charge of its decoration were the artists Adele McGinnis Herter and her husband, Albert—a son of Christian Herter of Herter Brothers' fame. Both Albert and Adele Herter were artists of prodigious gifts; they may also have been the model aesthetes of their generation. Albert Herter manifested his early allegiance to Whistlerian aesthetics in 1892 with *Portrait of Bessie* (Figure 6), a painting that gracefully conflates the pose of Whistler's *Mother* with the props and color scheme of *The White Girl* (see Siewert, Figure 5).[37] He and Adele spent the first year of their marriage in Japan, where both worked prolifically in watercolor, then settled in Paris, where they even enjoyed a brief spell at Whistler's Académie Carmen; in fact, Albert and Adele were the only students that Frederick MacMonnies could later recall having taught there.[38]

FIGURE 6. Albert Herter, *Portrait of Bessie,* 1892. Oil on canvas, 149.86 × 81.28 cm. Courtesy High Museum of Art, Atlanta. Purchased with funds from the Margaret and Terry Stent Endowment for the Acquisition of American Art and High Museum of Art Enhancement Fund, 2000.162.

According to Grace Wickham Curran, who knew them well, the Herters were "both intensely artistic, with tastes, sympathies and aspirations so harmonious that wherever they are they create an environment of beauty." Indeed, their own house in East Hampton, Près Choisis on Georgica Pond, was said to be "one of the finest examples of a color plan in our architecture."[39] The gardens, Adele's particular purview, formed an ever-changing frame for the house, a harmonious extension of its refined interiors: outside one room decorated in blue and white, for example, bloomed a bed of purple iris and Madonna lilies.[40] Albert Herter's interiors appear for their time remarkably understated, and they were accordingly extolled for their "restfulness" rather than their opulence—or, as the *Ladies' Home Journal* phrased it in 1902, "the artistic not carried beyond the line of comfort." The Eagle Hut was considered a "remarkably successful example" of the Herters' "method," manifesting the same concern with balancing creature comforts and color harmonies.[41]

The Herters' reputation as decorators rested upon their instinctive ability to create spaces people truly wanted to inhabit: as one visitor to the Eagle Hut from Ohio observed, "You look in vain for the sickly drabs and bored browns that you have come to expect in any public building. Instead, you find tea tables of a cheerful green, irregularly placed … [and] chairs that so far forget their public character as to be really comfortable to sit in." Adele Herter, who seems to have been in charge of the YMCA project, is said to have "enlisted a number of prominent artists in the ranks of her workers" and "made them observe what she calls the psychology of color in the work."[42] Because her

FIGURE 7. American Eagle (YMCA) Hut in Bryant Park, New York City, 1918, interior, showing *Chevalier Bayard* (1918) by Albert Herter (1871–1950), present location unknown. Published by Bain News Service. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, George Grantham Bain Collection, LC-B2-4616-10.

object was "dashing inexpensive cheer," sunny yellow curtains hung in the windows, and the lamps were covered with parchment-paper shades rimmed with a "broad band of orange."[43] The sturdy, cotton ticking wall hangings had been dyed with natural pigments provided by Albert Herter's own decorating enterprise, the Herter Looms, and the furnishings were intentionally modest and necessarily durable. Windsor or willow chairs ("with a ten-year guarantee"), even common kitchen chairs, were "made charming" with stains, rather than paint, adhering to Whistler's principle "of letting the ground on which pigment is used bear its share of the effect."[44] Even in 1918, Whistler was regarded as "the greatest master of taste of the Nineteenth Century,"[45] and his philosophy was much in evidence in the Eagle Hut (Figure 7), where simple pottery vases held gladioli in colors complementing the furnishings.

The color scheme was drawn from the keynote work, Albert Herter's painting of a knight on horseback, which hung above the bricked hearth of this makeshift home. The "steel blue" of the armor, combined with the "flame color and white" of the banner, hinted at "American colors," even though the knight himself was indisputably French.[46] His motto, *Sans peur et sans reproche* (Without Fear and Without Hate), is inscribed below the image, identifying him as Pierre Terrail Le Vieux, seigneur de Bayard (1473–1524)—the fearless, faultless soldier considered to epitomize the ideals of chivalry and reputedly the last of the knights in shining armor. As the *New York Times* explained, Herter's portrait of the Chevalier Bayard embodied the artist's "conception of the modern crusader."[47]

If the analogy of modern American soldiers with medieval crusaders seems an odd appropriation of European mythic history, it was nonetheless deeply engrained in American war rhetoric. The first film released by the Committee on Public Information, for

instance, was titled *Pershing's Crusaders*; the publicity poster echoes Herter's picture, with General John J. Pershing riding stoically into battle with the ghostly figures of white knights protectively beside him (Figure 8). Herter himself returned to the theme in a tapestry made for George G. Booth of Detroit (Figure 9), the founder of the Cranbrook Academy, and the story of its commission illuminates the transformation of aesthetic ideology in the war years. Originally, Booth proposed a tapestry on the general theme of "the Arts and Crafts": "It would have no deep subject to be depicted, and it would offer to the artist the maximum range in the selection of color, composition, and the personages necessary to the composition." The tapestry, in other words, would be woven around the principle of Art for Art's Sake. But this was the summer of 1918, and when Herter politely replied that the proposed topic seemed "somewhat remote from the spirit of the times," Booth supplied an alternative, pointing out the "similarity between the present day conditions as compared with the period of the Crusades."[48] The resulting image, as described in the *American Magazine of Art,* is crowded with "old-world dignitaries" who "stand to greet the Great Crusade coming out of the west": "The central figure of an American soldier exemplifies in his bearing and his countenance the very spirit of the Great Republic devoted to a noble cause, approaching his stern duty without fear and without hate"—the motto, we recall, of the Chevalier Bayard.[49]

Herter only hinted at a personal motivation for rendering the subject of Booth's tapestry more relevant to present-day concerns. "Like many of us," he had written to his patron, "the war has come very forcibly home to me."[50] In fact, the Herters' eldest son had died at Belleau Wood only a few weeks earlier. Everit Herter, an artist like his parents, had been the first volunteer accepted into the American Camouflage Corps; sadly, he became the first of the American *camoufleurs* to give his life in France.[51] Word of his death came within days of the celebratory dedication of the Eagle Hut, where Albert Herter's *Chevalier Bayard* idealized and aestheticized the American soldier. Although that painting does not survive, a posthumous portrait of Everit in armor (Figure 10) suggests that Albert Herter's conception of the noble crusader shifted, with his son's death,

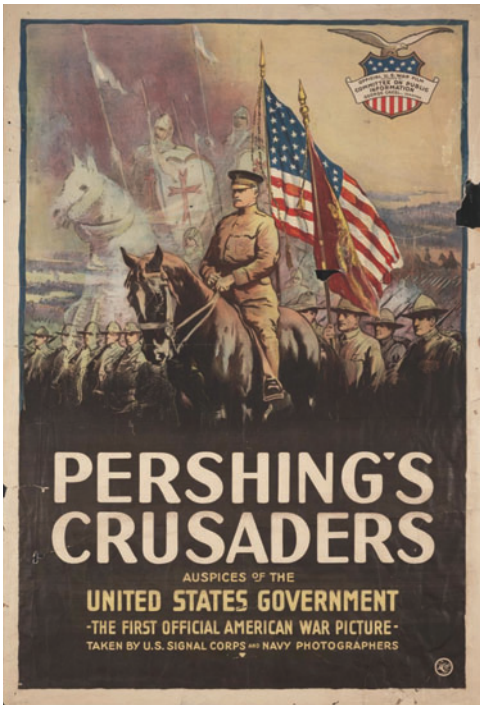


FIGURE 8. U.S. Army, publicity poster for *Pershings Crusaders,* "The First Official American War Picture, Taken by the U.S. Signal Corps and Naval Photographers," 1918. University of North Texas Digital Library, http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc377/.

FIGURE 9. *The Great Crusade,* 1920, tapestry designed by Albert Herter, woven by Jean-Baptiste Boule, the Herter Looms. Collection of Cranbrook Art Museum, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Gift of George Gough Booth and Ellen Scripps Booth. Photograph by R. H. Hensleigh and Tim Thayer.

FIGURE 10. Albert Herter, *Portrait of the Artist's Son (Everit A. Herter),* 1918. Collection of Frederick R. Koch.

from the historical to the particular.

As the centerpiece of the YMCA hut, the *Chevalier Bayard* dutifully carried on. The ostensible purpose of the painting was to inspire the troops with valor as they headed overseas. But would the American soldiers who passed through the Eagle Hut grasp the meaning of Herter's French knight or connect him with their own wartime enterprise? The *New York Times* conceded that the audience for the painting would comprise a spectrum of sensibilities, from scholars who knew more about the legends of chivalry than the artist who painted them to "men as nearly illiterate as one may be and call himself an American." Besides the esoteric theme, there was the academic style of the painting to consider since the soldiery undoubtedly included that "disheartening class … who have been all their lives in bondage to quick and cheap methods and garish pleasures." For those men especially, whose lives might otherwise never be touched by good art or interior design, Herter's inspirational painting, installed in a modestly elegant interior, might exercise a therapeutic effect: "A wide field of influence opens for an art that can find its place in the war, not only as an instrument of efficiency, but as a refining and soothing influence for the human spirit under conditions imposing incredible strain and excitement." That influence, of course, could be translated into the longer-term objective that matched the mandate of the American Aesthetic movement: the elevation of the nation's taste. As the *Times* concluded, "Simple as this method of bringing art into the lives of the soldiers may seem, it hardly can fail to have permanent results that will be of importance after the war is over and the men return to their homes."[52]

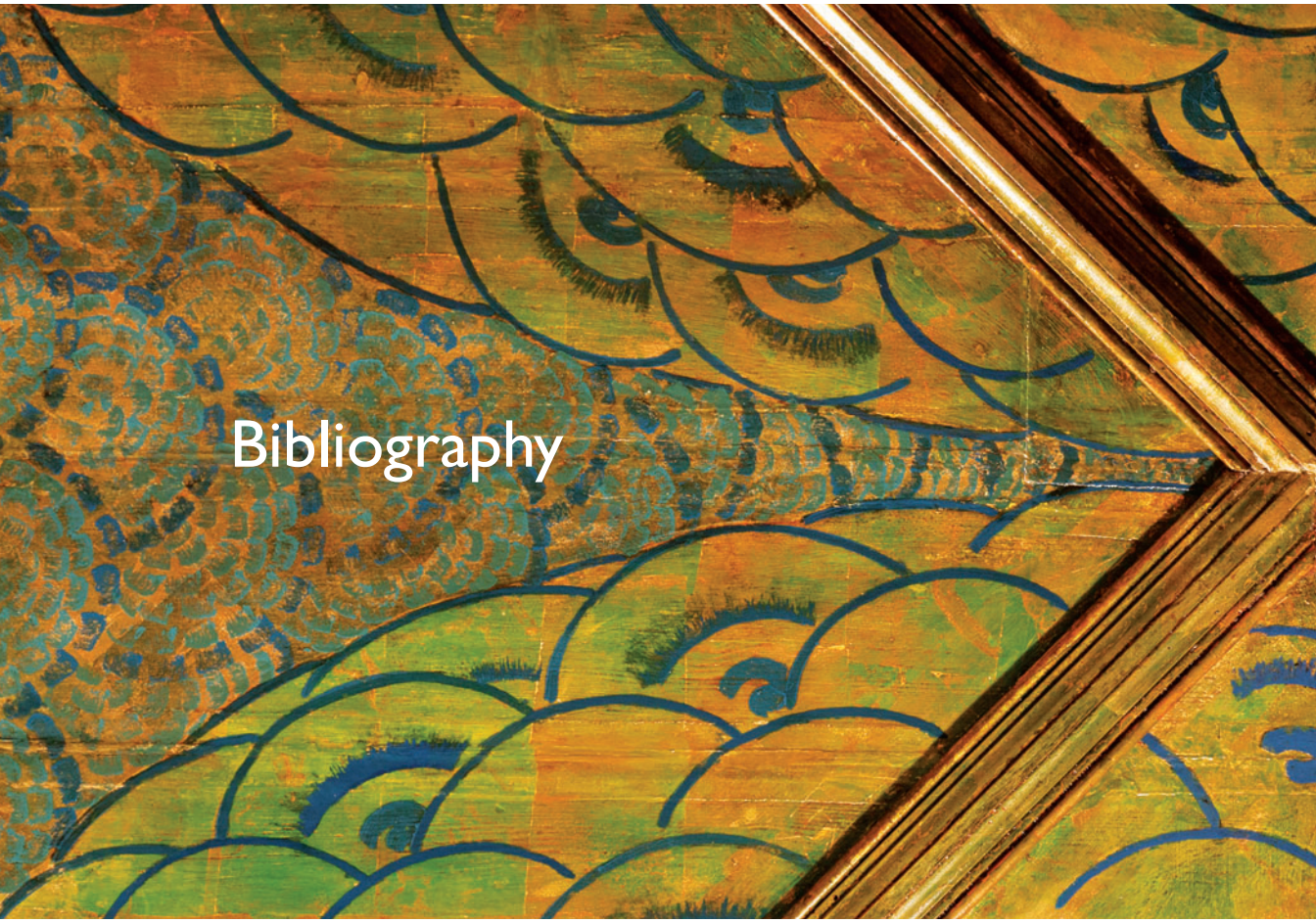
So it was that the lowly hut, rather than the luxurious palace, attracted the attention of artists during the Great War, impelling them to depart their rarefied existence and commit the offense, as Whistler would see it, of confounding Beauty with Virtue. Yet the end of the war, and the end of the Aesthetic movement, did not, as some expected, restore art to its early function of educating and enlightening the masses. Instead, as the art historian Milton Brown pointed out decades ago, art in the wake of the war "sought forgetfulness by burying itself more deeply in formal problems."[53] A. E. Gallatin again provides a salient example: his move toward European modernism from the aestheticist taste for Whistler and Aubrey Beardsley culminated in 1927 with his Museum of Living Art, which held iconic works by Picasso, Léger, and Miró. Indeed, the triumph of modernism in the interwar years represents the second reversal that Tennyson's "Palace of Art" foretold, another retreat from responsibility. "Yet pull not down my palace towers, that are / So lightly, beautifully built," the recovering spirit earnestly entreats, implying its ambivalence about aestheticism: "Perchance I may return with others there / When I have purged my guilt."

Notes

1. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 8.
2. Alfred Tennyson, *The Palace of Art, and Other Poems,* ed. Edna Henry Lee Turpin (New York, 1898), http://openlibrary.org.
3. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock*, 27.
4. Duncan Phillips, "The Allied War Salon," *American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 4 (February 1919): 117.
5. Creel to C. D. Gibson, November 8, 1917, quoted in Eric Van Schaak, "The Division of Pictorial Publicity in World War I," *Design Issues* 22, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 34.
6. Whistler, *Ten O'Clock,* 11.
7. Charles Dana Gibson, program for a gala victory dinner for the artists of the Division of Pictorial Publicity, February 14, 1919, Hotel Commodore, New York, quoted in von Schaak, "Division of Pictorial Publicity," 44–45.
8. Pène du Bois, quoted in "Behind the Scenes with A. E. Gallatin," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 14, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The exhibition of portraits of Whistler was held at the Bourgeois Galleries, New York, January 3 to February 2, 1918.
9. Albert Eugene Gallatin, *Art and the Great War* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1919), 21.
10. Lambert St. Clair, *The Story of the Liberty Loans: Being a Record of the Volunteer Liberty Loan Army, Its Personnel, Mobilization and Methods: How America at Home Backed Her Armies and Allies in the World War* (Washington, DC: James William Bryan Press, 1919), 14.
11. "Allied War Salon Opens," *New York Times,* December 10, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
12. "'Avenue of the Allies' Is an Art Exhibit," *New York Times,* October 6, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
13. "Allied War Salon Opens."
14. "Exhibitions for December: Edwin H. Blashfield," *Bulletin of the Detroit Museum of Art* 13, no. 2 (December 1918): 11. Acquired in 1918, *Carry On!* was later deaccessioned and sold through Plaza Art Galleries on June 5, 1956. James Moske, managing archivist, Metropolitan Museum, e-mail message to author, July 12, 2011.
15. "Exhibitions for December." See also "'Avenue of the Allies' Is an Art Exhibit."
16. J. Moses Montrose, "Brushes, Attention! An Account of the American Artists' War Work and a Sprightly Meditation upon the Return of First-Rate Art to the Subject of War," *Bookman* 47, no. 5 (July 1918): 503.
17. Gallatin, *Art and the Great War,* 36.
18. Gallatin, *Art and the Great War*, 47; Ilene Susan Fort, *The Flag Paintings of Childe Hassam* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 13–14.
19. "Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts: Art at Home and Abroad," *New York Times,* September 15, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

20. International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, National War Work Council, *Summary of World War Work of the American Y.M.C.A.* (New York: International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1920), 119.
21. The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, *Summary of World War Work*, 120; William H. Taft, *Service with Fighting Men: An Account of the Work of the American Young Men's Christian Associations in the World War* (New York: International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, 1922), 85.
22. "Open Y.M.C.A. Hut in Bryant Park. Formal Presentation Will Take Place Today with Dedication and Flag-Raising Exercises," *New York Times,* June 9, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Blanche Brace, "Y.M.C.A. Hut Nestling in Bryant Park Solves the Question of Where to Go While in New York—It's Only for Soldiers and Sailors," *Columbus Daily Enquirer* (Georgia), August 2, 1918, 8, NewsBank/Readex, America's Historical Newspapers.
23. "The Bryant Park Eagle Hut and Brother Alvin E. Gillett," *Delta* [Sigma Nu Fraternity: A National Society of College Men] 36, no. 1 (October 1918): n.p.
24. "When the Waitress is Worth a Million," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, July 5, 1918, 6.
25. "Bryant Park Eagle Hut," n.p.
26. Albert Herter, *A Dubious Lineage: Short Stories by Albert Herter (1871–1950),* ed. Harriet Conel Herter and Caroline Ames Herter (San Francisco: HerterStudio, 1998), 31.
27. Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "Christian Herter's Decoration of the William H. Vanderbilt House in New York City," *Magazine Antiques* 147, no. 3 (March 1995): 408, ProQuest Research Library.
28. Earl Shinn, *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection*, vol. 3 (New York: George Barrie, 1883–84), 61–62.
29. *Artistic Houses: Being a Series of Interior Views of a Number of the Most Beautiful and Celebrated Homes in the United States with A Description of the Art Treasures Contained Therein* (New York, 1883; repr., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 1:113. See also Marilynn Johnson Bordes, "Christian Herter and the Cult of Japan," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 34, no. 2 (1975): 20–27.
30. Elsie De Wolfe, *After All* (1935; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1974), 1–3, 48.
31. "The Vanderbilt Palaces," *New York Times,* August 25, 1881, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Frelinghuysen, "Christian Herter's Decoration," 408. On Watney and the Peacock Room, see Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998), 314–15.
32. International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, *Summary of World War Work,* 120; John W. Pontius, "Y Work in London," *Norwester* 2, no. 3 (January 1919): 15.
33. Emily Burbank, "Interior Decorations That Soldiers Like," *House and Garden*, December 1918, 26.
34. Janet Scudder, *Modeling My Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925), 276.
35. Burbank, "Interior Decorations," 62.
36. "Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts."

37. See Linda Merrill, ed., *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in association with the High Museum of Art, 2004), 200–201.
38. Interview with Frederick MacMonnies, February 15, 1927, in "Interviews of Artists and Architects Associated with the National Academy of Design, 1926–1927," p. 33, DeWitt Lockman Collection, New-York Historical Society, lent to the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, microfilm 503, frame 945.
39. Grace Wickham Curran, "The Herter Memorial," *American Magazine of Art* 18 (June 1927): 299; Ruby Ross Goodnow and Rayne Adams, *The Honest House* (New York: Century, 1914), 58.
40. Patsy Southgate, "The Herters: Lavish Legacy," *East Hampton Star,* May 1989, quoting from an unidentified article in *Antiques.*
41. "Inside of a Hundred Suburban Homes," *Ladies' Home Journal* 19, no. 11 (October 1902): 28, American Periodicals Series Online; "Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts."
42. Brace, "Y.M.C.A. Hut."
43. Burbank, "Interior Decorations," 58.
44. "Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts."
45. Q.R., "Nineteenth Century Landscape Painting," *Christian Science Monitor,* September 30, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
46. "Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts."
47. "Open Y.M.C.A. Hut."
48. George G. Booth to Albert Herter, August 30, 1918, and Herter to Booth, August 22, 1918, George G. Booth Papers (1981-01), Cranbrook Archives, Bloomfield Hills, MI. I give sincere thanks to Robbie Terman of the Cranbrook Archives.
49. "The Great Crusade—A Unique War Memorial, *American Magazine of Art* 12 (February 1921): 58–59.
50. Herter to Booth, August 22, 1918, Cranbrook Archives.
51. "New York Artist Killed in France," *New York Times,* June 28, 1918, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
52. "Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts."
53. Milton W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955), 76.



Bibliography

Manuscript Collections

Booth, George G., Papers (1981–01). Cranbrook Archives, Bloomfield Hills, MI.

The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855–1903, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855–1880*, edited by Georgia Toutziari. Online ed. Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2003–2010. http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence.

Freer, Charles Lang, Papers. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Pennell-Whistler Collection. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Sherard, Robert Harborough, Papers. Special Collections, University of Reading.

Secondary Sources

Adams, James Eli. *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Alpers, Svetlana. *The Vexations of Art.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.

Artistic Houses: Being a Series of Interior Views of a Number of the Most Beautiful and Celebrated Homes in the United States with A Description of the Art Treasures Contained Therein. New York, 1883. Reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971.

Armstrong, Carol. *Odd Man Out: Readings of the Work and Reputation of Edgar Degas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Arnold, Horace Lucien. *The Complete Cost-Keeper*. New York, 1900.

———. *The Factory Manager and Accountant: Some Examples of the Latest American Factory Practice*. New York: Engineering Magazine Press, 1903.

Arscott, Caroline. *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Ashbee, Charles Robert. "The English Arts and Crafts Exhibition at the Royal Academy," dated December 1916. *American Magazine of Art* 8 (February 1917): 137–45.

Asleson, Robyn. *Albert Moore*. London: Phaidon Press, 2000.

Bailey, Brigitte. "Travel Writing and the Metropolis: James, London, and English Hours." *American Literature* 67, no. 2 (June 1995): 201–32. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2927787.

Barclay, John. "Consuming Artifacts." *Victorian Poetry* 35, no. 1 (1997): 1–13.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Les Fleurs du mal.* Translated by Richard Howard. Boston: David R. Godine, 1985.

Beard, George M. *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences*. New York, 1881.

Becker, Howard S. *Art Worlds*. 25th anniversary ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Bendix, Deanna Marohn. *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.

Blanche, Jacques-Émile. *Essais et portraits*. Paris: Dorbon-Ainé, 1912.

Bordes, Marilynn Johnson. "Christian Herter and the Cult of Japan." *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 34, no. 2 (1975): 20–27. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3774437.

Brace, Blanche. "Y.M.C.A. Hut Nestling in Bryant Park Solves the Question of Where to Go While in New York—It's Only for Soldiers and Sailors." *Columbus Daily Enquirer* (Georgia), August 2, 1918, 8. NewsBank/Readex, America's Historical Newspapers.

Braesel, Michaela. "The Influence of Medieval Manuscripts on the Pre-Raphaelites and the Early Poetry of William Morris." *Journal of William Morris Studies* 15, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 41–54.

Brett, David Brett. *C. R. Mackintosh: The Poetics of Workmanship*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Brown, Milton W. *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955.

Brunk, Thomas. "The Charles L. Freer Residence: The Original Freer Gallery of Art." *Dichotomy* 12 (Fall 1999): 6–150.

"The Bryant Park Eagle Hut and Brother Alvin E. Gillett." *Delta* [Sigma Nu Fraternity: A National Society of College Men] 36, no. 1 (October 1918): n.p.

Bulwer-Lytton, Edward. *Zanoni: A Rosicrucian Tale of Alchemy, Immortality, and the Wisdom of the Mystic Masters*. Leipzig, 1842.

Burbank, Emily. "Interior Decorations That Soldiers Like." *House and Garden,* December 1918, 26–27, 58, 60.

Burns, Sarah. *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

Bury, Shirley. *Jewellery, 1789–1910: The International Era*. 2 vols. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1991.

———. "Rossetti and His Jewellery." *Burlington Magazine* 118, no. 875 (1976): 94, 96–102.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble*. London: Routledge, 1990.

Caine, T. Hall. *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883.

Calloway, Stephen, and Lynn Federle Orr, eds. *The Cult of Beauty*. London: V&A Publishing, 2011.

Casteras, Susan P. *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*. London: Associated University Press, 1987.

Casteras, Susan P., and Colleen Denney, eds. *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.

Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery and Personal Ornaments, 1872. London: John Strangeways, 1873.

Catleugh, Jon. *William De Morgan Tiles*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1983.

Child, Theodore. "A Pre-Raphaelite Mansion." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December 1890, 81–99.

Clack, Randall A. *The Marriage of Heaven and Earth: Alchemical Regeneration in the Works of Taylor, Poe, Hawthorne, and Fuller*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000.

Clarke, Edwin, and L. S. Jacyna. *Nineteenth-Century Origins of Neuroscientific Concepts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Cline, C. L., ed. *The Owl and the Rossettis: Letters of Charles A. Howell and Dante Gabriel, Christina, and William Michael Rossetti*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978.

Codell, Julie. "Exotic, Fetish, Virtual: Visual Excesses in Victorian Painting." In *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture, 1600–2010*, edited by Julia Skelly. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, forthcoming.

Cunnington, Phillis. *Costume in Pictures*. London: Studio Vista, 1964.

Curran, Grace Wickham. "The Herter Memorial." *American Magazine of Art* 18 (June 1927): 298–301.

Curry, David Park. *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art*. Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1984.

Danahay, Martin. "Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Virtual Bodies." *Victorian Poetry* 36, no. 4 (1998): 379–97.

Daston, Lorraine J. "British Responses to Psycho-Physiology." *Isis* 69, no. 2 (June 1978): 192–208. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/352003.

Davis, Elliot Bostwick. "The Art of the Americas Wing. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." *American Art* 24 (Summer 2010): 9–11. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/656451.

———. "Breaking Ground in Boston." *Magazine Antiques* 177 (November–December 2010): 124–33.

———. "Communicating through Design and Display: The New American Wing at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston." In *Beyond the Turnstile: Making the Case for Museums and Sustainable Values*, edited by Selma Holo and Mari-Tere Álvarez, 182–85. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2009.

de Barrera, A. *Gems and Jewels*. London: Bentley, 1860.

"Decoration for Y.M.C.A. Huts: Art at Home and Abroad." *New York Times*. September 15, 1918. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Dellamora, Richard. *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

———, ed. *Victorian Sexual Dissidence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Denker, Eric. *In Pursuit of the Butterfly: Portraits of James McNeill Whistler*. Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1995.

Denney, Colleen. *At the Temple of Art: The Grosvenor Gallery, 1877–1890*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2000.

Deusner, Melody Barnett. "A Network of Associations: Aesthetic Painting and Its Patrons, 1870–1914." PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2010.

De Wolfe, Elsie. *After All*. 1935. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1974.

Divine, David. *These Splendid Ships: The Story of the Peninsular and Oriental Line*. London: F. Muller, 1960.

Dorment, Richard, and Margaret F. MacDonald. *James McNeill Whistler*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995.

Doughty, Oswald, and J. R. Wahl, eds. *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965–67.

Dowling, Linda. *The Vulgarization of Art: The Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy*. Charlottesville:

University of Virginia Press, 1996.

Dunn, Henry Treffry. *Recollections of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and His Circle; or, Cheyne Walk Life*. Edited by Gale Pedrick. London: Elkins Matthews, 1904.

Edel, Leon, ed. *Henry James: Letters*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974.

Edwards, Jason, and Imogen Hart, eds. *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867–1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010.

Ellmann, Richard. *Oscar Wilde*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987.

Elsner, J., and R. Cardinal. *The Cultures of Collecting*. London: Reaktion, 1994.

Entwistle, Joanne. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Escott, Thomas Hay Sweet. *England: Its People, Polity and Pursuits*. London, 1879.

"Exhibitions for December: Edwin H. Blashfield." *Bulletin of the Detroit Museum of Art* 13, no. 2 (December 1918): 11.

Feldman, Jessica R. "Modernism's Victorian Bric-à-Brac." *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 3 (September 2001): 453–70. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/mod.2001.0061.

Fennell, Francis L., Jr., ed. *The Rossetti-Leyland Letters: The Correspondence of an Artist and His Patron*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1978.

Fenollosa, Ernest F. "The Collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer." *Pacific Era* 2 (November 1907): 57–66.

Fine, Ruth E. *Drawing Near: Whistler Etchings from the Zelman Collection*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984.

———. "Drawings in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection." *Drawing* 4, no. 3 (September–October 1982): 49–55.

———, ed. *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*. Studies in the History of Art 19. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987.

———. *Lessing J. Rosenwald: Tribute to a Collector*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1982.

Forbes, Archibald. *Chinese Gordon: A Succinct Record of His Life*. New York, 1884.

Forsdick, Charles. *Victor Segalen and the Aesthetics of Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Fort, Ilene Susan. *The Flag Paintings of Childe Hassam*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art in association with Harry N. Abrams, 1988.

Fortunato, Paul. "Wildean Philosophy with a Needle and Thread." *College Literature* 34, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 37–53. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/lit.2007.0032.

Fredeman, William, ed. *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. 7 vols. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002–5.

Freedgood, Elaine. "Fringe." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no. 1 (2002): 257–63. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1060150302301128.

Freedman, Jonathan. *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism, and Commodity Culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Freeman, Nicholas. *Conceiving the City: London Literature and Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Frelinghuysen, Alice Cooney. "Christian Herter's Decoration of the William H. Vanderbilt House in New York City." *Magazine Antiques* 147, no. 3 (March 1995): 408–17. ProQuest Research Library.

Fried, Michael. *Manet's Modernism; or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Gagnier, Regenia. *The Insatiability of Human Wants*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Gallatin, Albert Eugene. *Art and the Great War*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1919.

Geffroy, Gustave. *La vie artistique*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1892.

Goodnow, Ruby Ross, and Rayne Adams. *The Honest House*. New York: Century, 1914.

Gere, Charlotte. *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior.* With Lesley Hoskins. London: Lund Humphries, 2000.

Gere, Charlotte, and Judy Rudoe. *Jewellery in the Age of Queen Victoria*. London: British Museum, 2010.

Getscher, Robert H. *The Stamp of Whistler*. Oberlin, OH: Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1977.

Glazer, Lee. "'A Modern Instance': Thomas Dewing and Aesthetic Vision at the Turn of the Century." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996.

———. *The Peacock Room Comes to America.* Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2012.

Glazer, Lee, Margaret F. MacDonald, Linda Merrill, and Nigel Thorp, eds. *James McNeill Whistler in Context: Essays from the Whistler Centenary Symposium, University of Glasgow, 2003*. Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, n.s., 2. Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 2008.

"The Great Crusade—A Unique War Memorial." *American Magazine of Art* 12 (February 1921): 58–59.

Ha, Marie-Paule. *Figuring the East*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999.

Hall, Herbert Byng. *The Adventures of a Bric-a-Brac Hunter*. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868.

Hamilton, Walter. *The Aesthetic Movement in England*. London, 1882.

Hart, Imogen. *Arts and Crafts Objects*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Hartmann, Sadakichi. *The Whistler Book*. Boston: L.C. Page, 1910.

Haweis, Mary Eliza. *The Art of Beauty.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878.

———. *The Art of Decoration*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1881.

———. *The Art of Dress.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1879.

———. *Beautiful Houses: Being a Description of Certain Well-Known Artistic Houses*. London: S. Lowe, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1882.

Hayashi Tadamasa. "On Dr. Toyama's Lecture." *Meiji Bijutsukai Dairokkai Hōkoku,* July 1890:10–31.

Helsinger, Elizabeth. "Aesthetic and Social Experiment in the 1860s." *Ideas* 5, no. 2 (1998). http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ideasv52/helsing.htm.

Hermens, Emma, Joanna Meacock, and Grischka Petri, eds. *Connecting Whistler: Festschrift for Margaret F. MacDonald.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow School of Culture and Creative Arts, 2010. http://gla.ac.uk/schools/cca/research/instituteofarthistory/publications/connecting-whistlerfestschriftforprofmacdonald/.

Herter, Albert. *A Dubious Lineage: Short Stories by Albert Herter (1871–1950).* Edited by Harriet Conel Herter and Caroline Ames Herter. San Francisco: HerterStudio, 1998.

Hideo Takumi. *Modern Japanese Art and Literature: Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa Illustrations*. Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1979.

Highmore, Ben, ed. *The Everyday Life Reader*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Hitchcock, E. A. *Remarks upon Alchemy and Alchemists*. Boston, 1857.

House of Commons. Testimony of Frederick Leyland, July 5, 1880. In "Report from the Select Committee on Merchant Shipping; Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix." *Parliamentary Papers* 11 (1880): 192–200.

Huysmans, J.-K. *Certains*. Paris, 1889.

International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, National War Work Council. *Summary of World War Work of the American Y.M.C.A*. New York: International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1920.

Ishii Hakutei. "'Art,' the Goddess." *Hōsun* 2, no. 1 (1908): 2.

———. "History of Art." *Hōsun* 1, no. 4 [n.d.]: 2–4.

James, Henry. "John S. Sargent." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October 1887, 683–91.

———. "London." *Century* 37, no. 2 (December 1888): 219–38.

———. *Portraits of Places*. London: Macmillan, 1883.

James, William. *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking: Popular Lessons on Philosophy*. London: Longmans, 1907.

———. "The Spatial Quale." *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 13, no. 1 (January 1879): 64–87.

Jenkins, Ian. "Frederick Lord Leighton and Greek Vases." In *The Burlington Magazine: A Centenary Anthology*, edited by Michael Levey, 150–59. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.

Kaneko Kentaro. "Bijyutsu to Jisei tono Kankei." Transcribed in *Kinko Zattetsu,* 1896, 58–59.

Kelly, Sarah Elizabeth. "Camera's Lens and Mind's Eye: James McNeill Whistler and the Science of Art." PhD diss., Columbia University, 2010.

Kennedy, Edward G. *The Etched Work of Whistler*. New York: Grolier Club, 1910.

Kigi Yasuko. *Hayashi Tadamasa to sono jidai* [Hayashi Tadamasa and his era]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō , 1993.

Kinoshita Mokutarō. "Miduumi to Whisky to-no [Whisteer no E no Kokoro wo]." *Hōsun* 3, no. 2 (1909).

Kume Keiichirō. "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (1)." *Kōfū*, 2nd year, no. 1 (January 1906): 1–14.

———. "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (2)." *Kōfū*, 2nd year, no. 2 (March 1906): 12–22.

———. "An Aspect of Whistler's Life (3)." *Kōfū*, 2nd year, no. 4 (October 1906): 1–13.

———. "Whistler vs. Ruskin and the Origins of Impressionism." *Seika* 2, no. 1 (December 1904): 1–20. Reprinted in *Myōjō*, Year of the Snake, no. 2 (February 1905): 48–59.

Kyōnan [Hakutei Ishii]. "Words from Hōsun." *Hōsun* 1, no. 4 (1907): 2.

Lambourne, Lionel. *The Aesthetic Movement*. London: Phaidon Press, 1996.

Laughton, Bruce. "The British and American Contributions to Les XX, 1884–93." *Apollo* 86 (November 1967): 372–79.

Leclercq, Julien. *Le Caractère et la main*. Paris: F. Juven, n.d.

Lewes, George Henry. *Problems of Life and Mind*. 3rd ser., vol. 2, *Problem the Second: Mind as a Func-*

tion of the Organism; Problem the Third: The Sphere of Sense and the Logic of Feeling; Problem the Fourth: The Sphere of Intellect and the Logic of Signs. Boston: Houghton Osgood, 1880.

Lochnan, Katharine A. *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984.

———, ed. *Turner, Whistler, Monet*. London: Tate Publishing in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 2004.

Lucy, Henry. *Sixty Years in the Wilderness.* New York: Dutton, 1909–16.

Lysack, Kristin. *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008.

MacDonald, Margaret F. *Beatrice Whistler: Artist and Designer.* Glasgow: Hunterian Art Gallery, 1997.

———. *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours; A Catalogue Raisonné.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

———. *Palaces in the Night: Whistler in Venice.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

———. "Whistler's Designs for a Catalogue of Blue and White Nankin Porcelain." *Connoisseur* 198 (1978): 290–95.

———. "Whistler's Last Years: Spring 1901—Algiers and Corsica." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (1969): 323–42.

———. "Whistler's Lithographs." *Print Quarterly* 5 (1988): 20–55.

———. *Whistler's Mother: An American Icon.* Aldershot, UK: Lund Humphries, 2003. MacDonald, Margaret F., and Galine Andreeva. *Whistler and Russia.* Moscow: Scanrus, 2006.

MacDonald, Margaret F., Susan Grace Galassi, Aileen Ribeiro, and Patricia de Montfort. *Whistler, Women, and Fashion*. New York: Frick Collection, 2003.

MacDonald, Margaret F., and Jan F. Heijbroek. *Whistler and Holland*. Zwolle, Netherlands: Waanders, 1977.

MacDonald, Margaret F., and Joy Newton. "Correspondence Duret-Whistler." *Gazette des Beaux -Arts* 110 (1987): 150–64.

MacDonald, Margaret F., Grischka Petri, Meg Hausberg, and Joanna Meacock. *James McNeill Whistler: The Etchings, a Catalogue Raisonné.* Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2011. http://etchings.arts.gla.ac.uk.

MacKay, Charles. *Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds.* 1841. Reprint, London: Wordsworth Reference, 1995.

Maginnis, Arthur J. *The Atlantic Ferry, Its Ships, Men, and Working*. London, 1892.

Mansfield, Howard. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etchings and Dry-Points of James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Chicago: Caxton Club, 1909.

Marillier, H. C. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti.* London: George Bell and Sons, 1899.

Marley, Anna O., ed. *Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Mauclair, Camille. *De Watteau à Whistler.* Paris: Fasquelle, 1905.

Maus, Octave. "Whistler in Belgium." *International Studio* 23 (July 1904): 7–12.

McGann, Jerome. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the Game That Must Be Lost*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Menon, Elizabeth K. "Guilt or Gold: Alchemy and Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Paris." In *Art*

and Alchemy, edited by Jacob Wamburg, 149–70. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2006.

Merrill, Linda, ed. *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.

———. *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

———. *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in* Whistler v. Ruskin. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.Mongan, Elizabeth. *Selections from the Rosenwald Collection*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1943.

Monkhouse, Cosmo. "Albert Moore." *Magazine of Art* 8 (1885): 191–96.

Montrose, J. Moses. "Brushes, Attention! An Account of the American Artists' War Work and a Sprightly Meditation upon the Return of First-Rate Art to the Subject of War." *Bookman* 47, no. 5 (July 1918): 503–11.

Morris, William. *The Collected Works of William Morris, with Introductions by his Daughter May Morris*. London: Longmans, Green, 1910–15.

Muther, Richard. *The History of Modern Painting.* Vol. 3. London, 1896.

Myzelev, A., and J. Potvin, eds. *Fashion, Interior Design, and the Contours of Modern Identity*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010.

Nakanishi, Branka. "A Symphony Reexamined: An Unpublished Study for Whistler's Portrait of Mrs. Frances Leyland." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 18 (1992): 156–67. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/4101560.

Neiswander, Judith A. *The Cosmopolitan Interior: Liberalism and the British Home 1870–1914*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Noda Utarô. *Nihon tanbiha bungaku no Tanjô* [The birth of literary aestheticism in Japan]. Tokyo: Kawade Shobô Shinsha, 1975.

O'Neill, Morna. "Rhetorics of Display: Arts and Crafts and Art Nouveau at the Turin Exhibition of 1902." *Journal of Design History* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 2007): 205–25. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jdh/epm013.

Ono, Ayako. "Interpretation about Art and Theory of J. McN. Whistler in Japan: From the Viewpoint of East and West Exchange—Hayashi Tadamasa, Iwamura Toru and Kume Keiichiro." *Studies in Japonisme* 30 (2010): 28–44.

———. *Japonisme in Britain—Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. "Overseas Bulletin." *Bijutsu shinpō* 2, no. 14 (1903): 7.

"Overseas Bulletin." *Bijutsu shinpō* 2, no. 24 (1904): 7.

Ovid. *Ovid's Metamorphoses in Fifteen Books*. Translated by John Dryden et al. Edited by Samuel Garth. London, 1717.

Owen, Alex. *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Parkins, Wendy, ed. *William Morris and the Art of Everyday Life*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010.

Parris, Leslie, ed. *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*. London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1984.

Pater, Walter. *Appreciations with an Essay on Style*. London: MacMillan, 1889.

———. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry.* 3rd ed. London, 1888.

Pearson, Roger. *Mallarmé and Circumstance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. *Unfolding Mallarmé: The Development of a Poetic Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Pels, Peter. "The Spirit of Matter." In *Border Fetishisms*, edited by Patricia Spyer, 91–121. London: Routledge, 1998.

Pennell, Elizabeth Robins, and Joseph Pennell. *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1908.

———. *The Whistler Journal*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1921.

Petri, Grischka. *Arrangement in Business: The Art Markets and the Career of James McNeill Whistler*. Hildesheim, Germany: Olms, 2011.

Phillips, Duncan. "The Allied War Salon." *American Magazine of Art* 10, no. 4 (February 1919): 115–23.

Pointon, Marcia. *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery*. London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2009.

Potolsky, Matthew. "Decadence, Nationalism, and the Logic of Canon Formation." *Modern Language Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (June 2006): 213–44. http://dx.doi.org/10.1215/00267929-2005-003.

Prettejohn, Elizabeth, ed. *After the Pre-Raphaelites: Art and Aestheticism in Victorian England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

———. *Art for Art's Sake: Aestheticism in Victorian Painting*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.

———. *Beauty and Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.Psomiades, Kathy Alexis. *Beauty's Body: Femininity and Representation in British Aestheticism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Pyne, Kathleen. *Art and the Higher Life: Painting and Evolutionary Thought in Late Nineteenth-Century America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.

Quilter, Harry. "The New Renaissance; or, The Gospel of Intensity." *Macmillan's Magazine*, September 1880, 391–400.

Rappaport, Erika. *Shopping for Pleasure*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Robertson, Graham. *Time Was*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1931.

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family-Letters, with a Memoir by William Michael Rossetti*. London, 1895.

Rossetti, William Michael. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti as Designer and Writer*. London: Cassell, 1889.

———, ed. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters, Part Two*. London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895.

———. *Fine Art, Chiefly Contemporary*. London: Macmillan, 1867.

———. *Ruskin: Rossetti: Preraphaelitism*. London: George Allen, 1899.Rothenstein, William. *Men and Memories, Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1872–1900*. Vol. 1. London: Faber and Faber, 1931.

Russell, R. *Preventable Causes of Impurity in London Air*. London, 1880.

Rylance, Rick. *Victorian Psychology and British Culture 1850–1880*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Sakai Gisaburō [Saisui]. "Whistler, a Critical Biography (First Part)." *Sketch*, no. 5 (1905): 13–16.

———. "Whistler, a Critical Biography (Last Part)." *Sketch*, no. 6 (1905): 34–37.

Satō Haruo. "The House of a Spanish Dog." Translated by George Saito. In *Modern Japanese Stories*, edited by Ivan Morris, 162–172. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961.

Schaffer, Talia. "Fashioning Aestheticism by Aestheticizing Fashion: Wilde, Beerbohm, and the Male

Aesthetes' Sartorial Codes." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 28 (2000): 39–54. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1060150300281035.

———. "The Women's World of British Aestheticism." PhD diss., Cornell University, 1996.Schaffer, Talia, and Kathy Psomiades, eds. *Women and British Aestheticism*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1999.

Scudder, Janet. *Modeling My Life*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925.

Segalen, Victor. *Essay on Exoticism*. Translated and edited by Yaël Rachel Schlick. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.

Sherard, Robert Harborough. *The Life of Oscar Wilde*. London: Werner Laurie, 1906.

———. *Oscar Wilde: The Story of an Unhappy Friendship*. London: Greening, 1909.

———. *Twenty Years in Paris, Being Some Recollections of a Literary Life*. London: Hutchinson, 1905.

Sidlauskas, Susan. *Body, Place, and Self in Nineteenth-Century Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Simpson, Marc, ed. *Like Breath on Glass: Whistler, Inness, and the Art of Painting Softly*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009.

Sinfield, Alan. *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Movement*. London: Cassell, 1994.Spencer, Robin. "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain and the Significance of Industry and Commerce for His Art, Part II." *Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1099 (October 1994): 664–74.

Squire, Geoffrey. *Simply Stunning: The Pre-Raphaelite Art of Dressing*. Cheltenham, UK: Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, 1996.

St. Clair, Lambert. *The Story of the Liberty Loans: Being a Record of the Volunteer Liberty Loan Army, Its Personnel, Mobilization and Methods. How America at Home Backed Her Armies and Allies in the World War*. Washington, DC: James William Bryan Press, 1919.

Steinlight, Emily. "'Anti-Bleak House': Advertising and the Victorian Novel." *Narrative* 14, no. 2 (2006): 132–62. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/nar.2006.0007.

Stephens, F. G. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. London: Seeley, 1894.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.

Strahan, Edward [Earl Shinn]. *Mr. Vanderbilt's House and Collection*. Boston: George Barrie, 1883–84.

Stratis, Harriet K., and Martha Tedeschi, eds. *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*. With contributions by Nesta R. Spink, Katharine Jordan Lochnan, and Nicholas Smale. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial, 1998.

Sully, James. *Sensation and Intuition: Studies in Psychology and Aesthetics*. 2nd ed. London: Kegan Paul, 1880.

Swinburne, Algernon Charles. *William Blake: A Critical Study*. London,1868.

Symons, Arthur. *Studies in Seven Arts*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1906.

Taft, William H. *Service with Fighting Men: An Account of the Work of the American Young Men's Christian Associations in the World War*. New York: International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, 1922.

Tedeschi, Martha. "The New Language of Etching in Nineteenth Century England." In *The "Writing" of Modern Life: The Etching Revival in France, Britain, and the U.S., 1850–1940,* edited by Elizabeth Helsinger, 25–38. Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2008.

Tennyson, Alfred. "The Palace of Art." In *Poetical Works*, 42–46. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Thomas, Ralph. *A Catalogue of the Etchings and Drypoints of James Abbott Macneil Whistler*. London, 1874.

Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

Toyama Masakazu. "The Future of Japanese Painting." *Meiji Bijutsukai Daigokai Hōkoku,* June 1890:29–93.

Turner, Mark. "Furniture Is a Kind of Dress: Interiors as Projection of Self." In *Contested Terrains: Proceedings from the 23rd Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians,* edited by Terrance McMinn, John Stephens, and Steve Basson, 530–35. Fremantle, Western Australia: Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand, 2006.

The Valuable Contents of the Residence of Dante G. Rossetti. London: T. G. Wharton, Martin and Co., Auctioneers, 1882.

Vance, Norman. "Ovid and the Nineteenth Century." In *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Charles Martindale, 215–41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Van Schaak, Eric. "The Division of Pictorial Publicity in World War I." *Design Issues* 22, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 32–45.

Watts-Dunton, Theodore. "The Truth about Rossetti." *Nineteenth Century* 13 (1883): 404–23.

Waugh, Evelyn. *Rossetti: His Life and Works*. London: Methuen, 1991.

Weinberg, Jonathan. *Ambition and Love in Modern American Art.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

Wedmore, Frederick. "Some Tendencies in Recent Painting." *Temple Bar* 53 (1878): 334–48.

———. *Whistler's Etchings: A Study and a Catalogue*. London, 1886; 2nd ed., 1889.

Wigley, Mark. "Network Fever." *Grey Room* 4 (Summer 2001): 82–122. http://dx.doi.org/10.1162/152638101750420825.

Whistler, James McNeill. *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*. 2nd ed. London: W. Heinemann, 1892.

———. *Mr. Whistler's "Ten O'Clock."* Delivered 1885. London: Chatto and Windus, 1888. Reprint, London: Pallas Athene, 2011.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: A Centennial History*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970.

Wood, T. Martin. *George Du Maurier, the Satirist of the Victorians: A Review of His Art and Personality.* London: Chatto and Windus, 1913.

Wyvern [Arthur Robert Kenney Herbert]. *Furlough Reminiscences: A Potpourri of Reflections, Observations and Incidents, Compiled from the Diary of a Happy Holiday in England*. London, 1880.

Young, Andrew McLaren, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles. *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.

Young, Robert M. *Mind, Brain and Adaptation in the Nineteenth Century.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Contributors

Caroline Arscott is head of research and professor of nineteenth-century British art at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, where she has lectured since 1988. She was a member of the editorial board of the *Oxford Art Journal* from 1998 to 2008. She is also a UK editor of the international *RIHA Journal* (Research Institutes in the History of Art). She has been a visiting scholar at the Yale Center for British Art in New Haven and at the University of California, Berkeley. In 2011, she was the Sarah Cutts Frerichs Lecturer in Victorian Studies at Brown University and she presented the 2013 Allen R. Hite Memorial Lecture at the University of Louisville. She has published on William Holman Hunt, Millais, Leighton, Poynter, Sickert, Tissot, Fildes, Frith, and Whistler, and is the author of *William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones: Interlacings* (2008), which discusses Morris's design and Burne-Jones's mythological painting in relation to the armaments industry and other Victorian technologies.

Susan P. Casteras is professor and chair of art history at the University of Washington, Seattle. She received her undergraduate degrees from Vassar College and her doctorate from Yale University. She is the author of more than seventy-five books, articles, essays, and reviews on Victorian art, especially Pre-Raphaelitism and its main artists and issues. For many years she served as curator of paintings at the Yale Center for British Art, where she organized numerous exhibitions on Victorian painting. Currently, she is working on a long-term project on Victorian religious painting and another on the commodification of Pre-Raphaelitism from 1975 to the present. A past Fulbright Distinguished American Scholars Program fellowship enabled her to study and speak in New Zealand, and she has lectured extensively in numerous academic symposia and conferences as well as at the National Gallery, the Tate Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Julie Codell is professor of art history at Arizona State University in Tempe and has published widely on Victorian art and literature, on colonial India, especially Indian craft production, and on film. She wrote *The Victorian Artist* (2003; 2012) and *Images of an Idyllic Past: Edward Curtis's Photographs* (1988); edited *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930* (2012), *Power and Resistance: The Delhi Coronation Durbars* (2012), *The Political Economy of Art* (2008), *Genre, Gender, Race, World Cinema* (2007), and *Imperial Co-Histories* (2003); and coedited *Encounters in the Victorian Press* with Laurel Brake (2004) and *Orientalism Transposed* with Dianne Macleod (1998), which is now being translated into Japanese (2014).

Melody Barnett Deusner is assistant professor of art history at Indiana University, Bloomington. She specializes in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century art, with particular emphasis on the study of American art and mass culture in an international context. She received her doctorate from the University of Delaware and is currently completing a book titled *A Network of Associations: Aesthetic Painting and its Patrons in England and America*. Her broader research interests include the visual culture of communities in the nineteenth century, the international reception of American art, and the evolution (and intersection) of private, corporate, and

museum collections in the United States. Her scholarship has been sponsored by the Terra Foundation for American Art, the Smithsonian American Art Museum, the Luce Foundation/ACLS, the Kress Foundation, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Ruth Fine was a curator for the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, from 1972 through 2012. Her research on Whistler dates to the 1970s when she was curator of Alverthorpe Gallery, home of Lessing J. Rosenwald's prints and drawings now at the National Gallery. She wrote the catalogue documenting the etchings by Whistler assembled by Julius and Anita Zelman, edited *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (*Studies in the History of Art* 19), contributed to the catalogue for the 1995 *Whistler* exhibition in London and Washington, and advised on the online catalogue of Whistler's etchings. Among her other monographic exhibitions and catalogues are those that address the art of John Marin (one of Whistler's early enthusiasts), Romare Bearden, Mel Bochner, Helen Frankenthaler, Jasper Johns, and Georgia O'Keeffe. Fine serves on the boards of the Terra Foundation for American Art, the Richard Diebenkorn Foundation, the Roy Lichtenstein Foundation, and the Fabric Workshop and Museum.

Lee Glazer is associate curator of American art at the Smithsonian's Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. She recently reinstalled the Peacock Room to its appearance in 1908 and wrote the accompanying book, *The Peacock Room Comes to America* (2012). Since coming to the Freer and Sackler in 2007, she has reinstalled the museum's American galleries and organized a series of thematic exhibitions, including watercolors by Winslow Homer, seascapes by American artist Dwight Tryon and Japanese photographer Hiroshi Sugimoto, and nocturnes on paper by Whistler. She coedited *James McNeill Whistler in Context* (2008) and *East West Interchanges in American Art* (2012), and she was the project director for "The Story of the Beautiful: Freer, Whistler, and Their Points of Contact," an interactive Web resource created with colleagues at Wayne State University that launched in 2013.

Imogen Hart is a visiting lecturer at the University of California, Berkeley. She has taught courses in the history of art departments at the University of Bristol, the University of Birmingham, and Yale University. She is the author of *Arts and Crafts Objects* (2010) and coeditor, with Jason Edwards, of *Rethinking the Interior, c. 1867–1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (2010). Other publications include chapters on William Morris in *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites* (2012) and *William Morris and the Art of Everyday Life* (2010) and on Arts and Crafts magazines in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* (2009). More recently, she contributed an essay on Edwardian history painting to the center's publication *Edwardian Opulence: British Art at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (2013).

Erica E. Hirshler is an expert in American painting of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and a senior curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. She is particularly interested in issues of national identity and the artistic exchange between the United States and Europe. She also studies patronage and collecting, women artists, and Boston art and history. She holds a BA from Wellesley College and a PhD from Boston University. Her most recent book is *Sargent's Daughters: The Biography of a Painting*, which illuminates Sargent's masterpiece *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*. She organized and wrote the accompanying books for the popular exhibitions *A Studio of Her Own: Women Artists in Boston 1870–1940* (2001) and *Dennis Miller Bunker: American Impressionist* (1995), and she has contributed to several other important shows, among them, *The Lure of Italy* (1992), *John Singleton Copley* (1995), *Mary Cassatt* (1998), *John Singer Sargent* (1998), *Edmund Tarbell* (2001), *Childe Hassam*

(2004), *Impressionism Abroad: Boston and French Painting* (2005), *Americans in Paris, 1860–1900* (2006), *Sargent and the Sea* (2009), and *John Singer Sargent Watercolors* (2013).

Sally-Anne Huxtable is the principal curator of modern and contemporary design at National Museums Scotland, and a member of the board of trustees of the Design History Society. Previously, she worked as a lecturer in art and design history at Northumbria University and was the research associate for the 2010 exhibition and catalogue *Gustav Stickley and American Arts and Crafts* at the Dallas Museum of Art. In 2011 she gained her doctorate from the University of Bristol, where she also lectured in the history of art. Her publications include contributions to exhibition and collections catalogues for the Courtauld Institute of Art, the Museo Nacional del Prado, Dallas Museum of Art, and Yale University Press. She also coauthored and edited the British catalogue for the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico (2013). Huxtable is currently completing *Aestheticism and Its Interiors 1848–1900*, to be published by Ashgate in 2014.

Margaret R. Laster is an art historian who specializes in the study of nineteenth-century art and material culture, with a particular emphasis on transatlantic histories of collecting and patronage. She has served as Research Fellow for Provenance at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and performed similar research at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Brooklyn Museum. The recipient of an MA from the University of Chicago, and a doctorate from the Graduate Center, City University of New York, she has been awarded fellowships from the City University of New York, the Huntington Library and Art Collections, the William Morris Society, the Frick Collection and Frick Art Reference Library, and the Smithsonian Institution. She was a Leon Levy Fellow at the Frick's Center for the History of Collecting in 2012. In 2011, she completed a 13-month term as the inaugural fellow of the Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, where she collaborated with consortium partners to create their first international symposium, from which this book developed.

Margaret F. MacDonald is professor emerita of art history at the University of Glasgow and a specialist in nineteenth-century art, particularly the life and work of James McNeill Whistler. She is author, coauthor, or editor of numerous publications on Whistler, including catalogues raisonnés of his oils (1880) and works on paper (1995), *Palaces in the Night: Whistler in Venice* (2001), *Whistler, Women, and Fashion* (2003), and *American Icon: The Painting of Whistler's Mother* (2003). She was the coeditor of the online edition of Whistler's correspondence and the cocurator of a number of exhibitions on Whistler and his circle, including those at the Rijksmuseum (1987), the Tate Gallery, Musée d'Orsay, and the National Gallery in Washington, DC (1994–95), the Frick Collection (2003), IVAM Valencia (2005), and the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (2007–08). She is the director of the Whistler Etchings Project, an online catalogue raisonné of Whistler's etchings that launched in 2011. Her most recent project is cocurating *An American in London: Whistler and the Thames*, an exhibition co-organized by the Addison Gallery of American Art, the Dulwich Picture Gallery, and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery.

Linda Merrill is a lecturer in the department of art history at Emory University in Atlanta. She was the curator of American art at the Freer Gallery of Art from 1986 through 1998, and more recently, she served as the Margaret and Terry Stent Curator of American Art at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta. She has published several books on Whistler and his contemporaries, including *The Peacock Room: A Cultural*

Biography (1998), *A Pot of Paint: Aestheticism on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin* (1993), and *An Ideal Country: Paintings by Dwight William Tryon in the Freer Gallery of Art* (1990). In 2003 she organized the exhibition *After Whistler: The Artist and His Influence on American Painting* for the High Museum and the Detroit Institute of Arts. She received her BA in English from Smith College and PhD in the history of art from the University of London, where she studied on a Marshall Scholarship.

Ayako Ono teaches art history at Shinshu University in Nagano, Japan, and serves as a visiting lecturer at Nagano Prefectural College. She received her master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Glasgow. Her research interests include cross-cultural exchange between the West and Japan, especially concerning Japanese influence on Western art in the nineteenth century. Her current research focuses on Whistler and his introduction in Japan. She is the author of *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan* (2003). As a member of the Freer's International Scholarly Advisory Board for American Art, she participated in the 2011 webinar and the online project "The Story of the Beautiful: Freer, Whistler, and Their Points of Contact." Dr. Ono is also curating the first-ever retrospective exhibition of Whistler's work in Japan.

Anna Gruetzner Robins is professor of the history of art at the University of Reading. She has published widely on late nineteenth-century art, including an edition of Walter Sickert's complete writings on art (2000) and *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and His Impressionist Followers* (2007). In 2005 she was cocurator (with Richard Thomson) of the exhibition *Degas, Sickert and Toulouse-Lautrec*. She is currently completing a book on the London art world in the 1890s.

John Siewert teaches courses in modern and contemporary art at the College of Wooster, where he is an associate professor. After graduating from the University of Minnesota with a BA in art history, Siewert went on to earn his MA and PhD from the University of Michigan. A former Fulbright, Smithsonian (affiliated with the Freer Gallery of Art), and Luce Foundation Fellow, he held an appointment as research fellow at the Centre for Whistler Studies, University of Glasgow, from 1996 to 2006. His numerous publications on Whistler include an essay and entries in the catalogue for *Turner, Whistler, Monet*, an exhibition seen in Toronto, Paris, and London in 2005. Currently, he is completing a book manuscript titled *Whistler and the Aesthetic Landscape of London*, with the institutional and financial support in 2012–13 of a Smithsonian Senior Fellowship at the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate illustrations.

Académie Carmen, 179
Academy, 59, 107, 110
Ackroyd, Peter, 79n25
Adams, James, 86, 90
Aestheticism, 7, 8, 9–10, 55–65, 62, 68, 70–71, 78n8, 82, 111–112, 113–115, 121, 150–151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158–159, 160–161. *See also* Art for Art's Sake
Aesthetic movement, iii, 6, 7–8, 10, 31, 46, *47*, 107–109, 149, 156, 173, 182
  androgyny, 110, 116–118
  commercialism, 7, 112, 121, 130, 135
  connotations of sickness, 107, 111–112, 117–118, *117*
  critics, 107, 109–111, 143
  display, 48, *135,* 135–136, 150
  elevating taste, 81–82, 182
  fashion, 108, 121, 126–128, 128–129
  gender, 107–112, 113, 115, 116, 119n16
  interior decoration, 70–71, 113–115, 135–136, 176, 178
  parodies, 110, *110, 111,* 111–112
Aird, Sir John, 157
alchemy, 9, 72–76, 78n11,18
Alexander, Cicely, 55, *55*
Alexander, John White, 47
  Isabella and the Pot of Basil, 47
Allied Art Salon, 174
Alma-Tadema, Lawrence, 121–122, 155
American Camouflage Corps, 181
American Car and Foundry Company, 158
American Eagle Hut, 176, *177* 179–180, *180,* 181–182
American Magazine of Art, 181
American War Relief, 174
Armory Show (1913), 173
Armstrong, Carol, 84
Armstrong, Thomas, 77
  The Lesson, 108, 109
Arnold, Horace Lucien, 159
Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother (Whistler), 93, 94–96, *95,* 96–98, 102nn9,10, 103n19, 175, *175, 176,* 179
Art for Art's Sake, 7–8, 10, 31, 57–58, 108, 112, 143, 150, 165, 173, 181
Art Institute of Chicago, vii, 5, 28, 34, 35
The Artist's Reality (Rothko), 16
Art-Journal Illustrated Catalogue, 125
Art Nouveau, 47, 169
Arts and Crafts movement, 10., 126, 135–136, 137–139, *136,* 143
  Arts and Crafts Exhibition (1890), *136*
  Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, 136–137
Art Worlds (Becker), 8
Ashbee, Charles Robert, 136
Asleson, Robyn, 109
Athenaeum, 57, 58, 59
Athenaeum Club, 171
Atwood, Miss, 74
Avery, S. P., 33, 34
Avon Old Farms School, 42

Bain, Alexander, 58–59
Baltimore Museum of Art, 17, 29, 35
Barclay, John, 130
Barkan, Leonard
  Michelangelo: A Life on Paper, 20
Baudelaire, Charles, 74, 78n18, 79n23
Beard, George
  American Nervousness, 159
Bearden, Romare, 17
Beardsley, Aubrey, 182
Beaux, Cecilia, 174
Becker, Howard S.
  Art Worlds, 8
Belgravia: A London Magazine, 113
Bellows, George, 174
Benson, W. A. S., 155
Benton, Thomas Hart, 20
Beuys, Joseph, 72
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 34, 35
bijutsu (fine art), 165, 166
Bijutsu shinpō (art magazine), 167, 169
Bixby, William K., 157, 158, 161
Black, Peter, 19
Blake, William, 20
  The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, 76, 79n25
Blakelock, Ralph, 44
Blanche, Jacques-Émile, 84
Blashfield, Edwin
  Carry On!, 174, *175,* 183n14
Blavatsky, Mme., 74
blue-and-white (porcelain), 3, 5, 18, 22, 71, 82, 110, 123, 177–178. *See also* Chinese porcelain and Kangxi porcelain
Bochner, Mel, 20
Boldini, Giovanni, 174
Booth, George G., 181

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. *See* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Boston Public Library, 34
Bourgeois Galleries (New York), 183n8
Bouvier, Gustavus
In the Morning: Three Young Ladies in an Aesthetic Interior, 113
Brett, David, 156
bric-a-brac, 10, 122, 128–129, 131
British Library, 74
British Museum, 35, *96,* 96–101, 130
Brown, Ford Madox, 129
Brown, Milton, 182
Brown, Myra, 36
Brownell, William C., 40
Browning, Robert
"Andrea del Sarto," 65n33
Bucaslossi, E., 112
Builder, 63n9
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward, 74, 78n18
Burbank, Emily, 178
Burne-Jones, Edward, 65n38, 67, 71, 74, 107, 110, 150–151, *151*
Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 32
Bury, Shirley, 132n20
Butler, Judith, 124
Byron, Lord George Gordon
Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, 42

cabinets of curiosities, 128, 133n34
Cage, John, 22
Caine, T. Hall, 123
Calder, Alexander, 22
Calmour, Alfred Cecil
The Amber Heart (play), 29
Campbell, Lady Archibald, 89–90
Canfield, Richard A., 42, 47
Carte, Richard D'Oyly, 112
Cassatt, Mary, 20, 40
Castellani, 125, 126
Cauda Pavonis, *72,* 73,
Cavafy, George, 42
Cavafy, John, 42
Caxton Club, Chicago, 33
Cazin, Jean Charles, 101n4
Center for Advanced Study in the History of Art, 17
Chase, William Merritt, 47
Chevalier Bayard. See under Herter, Albert
Child, Theodore, 64n23, 154
Chinese porcelain, 5, 108, 176. *See also* blue-and-white (porcelain) and Kangxi porcelain
Christian Science Monitor, 174
Cikovsky, Nicolai, 40
Clemenceau, Georges, 82
Cleveland Malleable Iron Company, 159
Cobain, Kurt, 23
Coburn, Alvin Langdon
Portrait of Charles Lang Freer, 159, *159*
Colby College Museum of Art, vii, 5, 35
Cole, Sir Henry, 76
Collcutt, Thomas E., 156
Collin, Raphaël, 167
Colnaghi, London, 34
The Colonel Waltz (sheet music cover), 112, *112*
Colvin, Sidney, 59
Committee on Public Information, 173–174, 180
Comparative Exhibition of Native and Foreign Art, 160
Connecting Whistler (online festschrift), 19
Contemporary Review, 59
Copley Hall
Whistler Memorial Exhibition (1904), 48, *48,* 160, *160,* 167
Copley Society, 48
Corcoran Gallery of Art, 17
Core Club, New York, 22
Cornforth, Fanny, 124, *124*
Cort, Louise, 3
cosmopolitanism, vii, 6–8, 39, 41, 46, 154
Courbet, Gustave, 87
Cranbrook Academy, 181
Crane, Walter
"Imperial Federation Map," 152, *153*
Creel, George, 173–174
Curran, Grace Wickham, 179
Curry, David Park, 3, 5, 21
Curry, John Steuart, 19

Daily News, 57, 63n11
Dalou, Jules, 82
Darwin, Charles, 59
Daston, Lorraine J., 65nn30–31
David Stern Company, 16
Davis, Elliot Bostwick, 40, 45
Dawson, Elizabeth, 32
Dawson, Frances. *See* Leyland, Frances
decorative art, 6–7, 10, 45–46, 68, 93, 100, 108, 113–114, 122–123, 130, 134n56, 135–142, 151, 156, 159, 175–178
Degas, Edgar, 40, 84, 101n4
de Kay, Charles, 40
de Montfort, Patricia, 18
De Morgan, William, 71
tile panel for the ocean liner *Sutlej, 157,* 157–158
Deschamps Gallery, 57
de Steiger, Isabelle, 74
Dewing, Thomas Wilmer, 158
de Wolfe, Elsie, 178–179
Dickens, Charles, 57
display strategies

Aesthetic movement, *135,* 135–136, 143
Arts and Crafts movement, 135–137, *136,* 143
commercial spaces, 122, 130, 131, 136
museums, 43, 44–49
Whistler's contributions, 21, 136
dualism, 59, 60, 61–62, 65n31
du Bois, Guy Pène, 173
Du Maurier, George
"Aesthetic Love in a Cottage," 110
"Aesthetic Midday Meal," 112
aesthetic parodies, 110, *110,* 111, 112, 113–114, 115, 142–143
English Society, 119n22
"An Infelicitous Question," 114
"Intellectual Epicures," 113, *113*
"Love-Agony," 115, *115*
"Nincompoopiana: The Mutual Admiration Society," 114, 117, *117*
and T. Armstrong, 109
"The Passion for Old China," 114
"The Six-Mark Teapot," 110, *110*
Dunn, Henry Treffry, 122–123, 124
Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Theodore Watts-Dunton in Drawing-Room, 123
Duret, Théodore, 18, 95
Durlacher Brothers, 42
"Duveneck boys," 47

Eagle Hut. *See* American Eagle Hut
Eastlake, Charles
Hints on Household Taste, 127
Edison Swan, 154–156
Edward VII, 33
electricity, 154–155
Eliot, George, 64n24
Encuentros (symposium), 25n22
Escott, Thomas, 57, 63n11
Estabrook, John Nichols, 24n17
The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler (Lochnan), 17
Evans, William T., 161
exhibition strategies. *See* display strategies
Expositions Universelles, 91n7 (1882), 125 (1867), 166 (1878), 169 (1900)

Fantin-Latour, Henri, 79n23, 82
fashion, 18, 31, 88, 107, 108, 118n2, 121, 125–126, 128–129, 155
Feldman, Jessica R., 123, 127
Fenollosa, Ernest F., 159
Fifth Avenue Shop Window Display, 174
Fine Art Society, London, 28, 35
first trippers, 157
fog, 55–57, 58, 60, 62, 62–63n5, 63nn8–11,13, 64n15, 65nn33,36
Foo, Maya, 20
Forain, Jean-Louis, 101n4
Forbes, James Staats, 155–158
Fortnightly Review, 57, 59, 63n11, 64nn23–24
Foster + Partners, 40, 45
Fourth Liberty Loan Drive, 174
Frankenthaler, Helen, 20
Franklin, Maud, 21, 31–32, 98, 116
Freedgood, Elaine, 127
Freedman, Jonathan, 130
Freer, Charles Lang, 29, 48, 158–160, 161
collection, 4, 17, 29, 32, 34, 157, 158–159, *159*
Peacock Room, 2–3, 21, 157–158
portraits of, 3, 159, *159*
Freer Gallery of Art, 17, 20, 28, 30–31, 34, 35, 157
Freer's planning of, 161
Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies, vii, 5
Peacock Room, 3, *4,* 5, 21
and Whistler Etchings online catalogue, 28, 35
French Symbolists. *See* Symbolists
Fried, Michael, 86–87
Fujishima Takeji, 169
Myōjō illustration, *169*
Fuller, Margaret, 78–79n18
Fun, 57
Furniture Gazette, 154

Galerie Durand-Ruel, 91n7
Gallatin, Albert Eugene, 174, 175, 182
Suggestions and Information for Artists, Architects, Sculptors, and Those Practicing the Allied Arts Desiring to Apply Their Knowledge to War Work, 174
Garth Fagan Dance, 15
Gauguin, Paul, 22, 82, 93, 98, 102n15
Volpini Suite, 102–103n15
Geffroy, Gustave, 84–87, 95
Geibun (literary magazine), 169
Gellatly, John, 160, 161
Gemini G.E.L., 20, 22
Georgetown University Library, 17
Getscher, Robert, 21
The Stamp of Whistler (exhibition catalogue), 21
Gibson, Charles Dana, 174
Gilbert and Sullivan
HMS Pinafore, 39–40
Patience, 112
Gilliam, Sam, 17
Giuliano, Carlo, 63n9, 126
necklace, *126,* 133n28
Glasgow University. *See* University of Glasgow
Gloriani, 100
Godwin, E.W., 76, 91n7, 114
Goncourt brothers, 166
Gonse, Louis, 166

Gould, Mrs. Jay, 176
Goupil's (Goupil Gallery, London), 102n15
Gow, Anne, 19
Goya, Francisco de, 20
Graphic, 56
illustration in, *56*
Great Exhibition, London (1851), 131
Greaves, Alice, 32
Greaves, Walter, 32
Greenwood, Frederick, 74
Grimshaw, John Atkinson
Day Dreams, 125, *125*
Grosvenor Gallery, London, 6, 31, 33, 56, 62n1, 63n11, 107, 108, 110, 118, *135,* 143n3, 155
electrical network, 155, *155*

Haden, Francis Seymour, 34, 102n12
Portrait of a Lady (etching), 36n9
"The Thames from Its Source to the Sea," 21
Hadley, James
Aesthetic teapot, 111
Hall, Major H. Byng, 128
Hamilton, Walter, 109
Harley manuscripts, *72,* 74
Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room (Whistler), 1–5, *2, 4, 67,* 67–79, 149 *149,* 150–152, 177
alchemical allusions, 75
dispute over payment, 68, 71, 76, 79n27, 151, 157
in Freer Gallery of Art, 3, *4,* 5, 21
in Freer's Detroit mansion, 3, *5,* 157–158
L'Art et L'Argent; or, the Story of the Room, 69, *69,* 70, 76
in London (Prince's Gate), 1–3, *3,* 150, 152
use of gold, 74, 75
Whistler's butterfly signature, 72
Hashiguchi Goyō, 169
book design, *170*
Hassam, Childe, 44
Hausberg, Margaret, 19
Haweis, Mary Eliza, 155
The Art of Beauty, 131
Hawthorne, Julian, 78–79n18
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 78–79n18
Hayashi Tadamasa, *165,* 165–167
letter to Shinagwa Yajiro, 166, *166*
"On Dr. Toyama's Speech," 166
Hecker, Frank J., 158, 159, 160
Herter, Adele McGinnis, 179–181
Herter, Albert, 179–181
Chevalier Bayard, 180, 180–181
The Great Crusade, 181–182, *181*
Portrait of Bessie, 179, *179*
Portrait of the Artist's Son (Everit A. Herter), 181, *182*
Près Choisis, 179
Herter, Christian, 179
Japanese Parlor, Vanderbilt mansion, 177–178, *178*
Herter, Everit, 181, *182*
Herter Brothers. *See* Herter, Christian
Herter Looms, 180
Hideo Takumi, 169
Hiffernan, Joanna, 108, *108, 109*
Highmore, Ben, 137
Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, Conn., 42
Hiroshige, Utagawa, 71, 167, 169, 170–171
Rokuju-yo Shu Meisho Zue (Views of Famous Places in the 60-odd Provinces), 32
Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, 17
Hitchcock, Ethan Allen, 78n18
Hokusai, Katsushika, 167
Profile of Geisha, 32, *33*
The Sazaido Hall of the Temple, Gohyakurakanji, 32, *33*
Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji (series), 32, *33*
Turban-shell Hall of the Five-Hundred-Raka Temple, *33*
Holland Park (1 Holland Park)
morning room, 140, *140*
Homer, Winslow, 43
Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, 156
Hopkinson, Martin, 19
Horn, Rebecca, 72
Hōsun (art and literature magazine), 167–168, 169, 170
House and Garden, 178
Howell, Charles Augustus, 33, 154
Hughes & Kimber, 32
Huish, Marcus B., 28
Hunt, William Holman, 121
Hunterian, The, 28, 29, 34, 35
Hutchinson, Joshua H., 34
Huysmans, Joris-Karl, 91n7, 101n4
Certains, 82, 84, 89–90
H. Wunderlich & Co., New York, 33. *See also* Wunderlich gallery
hyperesthesia, 60, 61

Illustrated London News, 110
Illustrated Review, 56
interior decoration, 122–123, 175–179. *See also* Aesthetic movement
interiority, concept of, 7, 9, 84
International Exhibition, London (1862), 125
International Fine Print Dealers Association, 35
Ionides family, 140. *See also* Holland Park
Ishii Hakutei, 170

James, Henry, 40, 40, 47, 57, 60–61, 65n33, 100,

103n20
The Ambassadors, 100–101
The Princess Casamassima, 103n20
James, William, 61, 62, 153
Japan, 165
Japanese art
influence on Whistler, 32, 71, 165, 167, 168–169
Whistler's influence on, 7, 165–171
japonisme, 7, 71, 166
Jeckyll, Thomas, 2, 68, 151, 177–178
Jenkins, Ian, 121
jewelry, *126,* 126–128, 132n26
Jobs, Steve, 15, 16
Johns, Jasper, 20
Johnson, John G., 158
Johnston, John Humphreys
Le Domino Rose, 46
Journal of Speculative Philosophy, 59
Judy
"The Sage-Green Sickness," 117, *117,* 118
Jugend (German magazine), 170
Jung, Carl, 78–79n18

Kaneko Kentaro, 171
Kangxi porcelain, 2, 3, 5. *See also* blue-and-white (porcelain) and Chinese porcelain
Kant, Immanuel, 7, 59
Karolik, Maxim and Martha, 41
Karolik Collection, *41,* 44
Kelmscott House
dining room, 139, *139*
Kelmscott Manor, 141, 142
Kennedy, Edward G., 27, 28, 41, 42
The Etched Works of Whistler, 17, 34
Kennedy Galleries, New York, 34
Kinoshita Mokutarō, 170
"Inspired by Whistler's Painting" 170
Kitahara Hakushu, 170
"Blue and Gold" 170
Knaths, Karl, 43
Kodak, 16
Kōfū (magazine), 167–168
Koto, 125
Kramer, Hilton, 45
Kreider, Tim, 22–23
Kume Keiichirō, *167,* 166–167
"An Aspect of Whistler's Life," 168–169
"Whistler *vs.* Ruskin and the Origin of Impressionism," 169

Ladies' Home Journal, 179
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, 35
La Farge, John, 46
Lane, Fitz Henry
Owl's Head, Penobscot Bay, 41, *41*
Lane, John, 102n7
Lathrop, Brian, 33, 34
Laurens, Jean-Paul, 167
Leclercq, Julien
Le Caractère et la main (Character and the Hand), 82, *84,* 89–90, 92n19
Léger, Fernand, 182
Leighton, Frederic, 27, 71, 121–122, 155
Leighton House, 71, 137
Les XX (Les Vingt), 85, 91n11
Le Vieux, Pierre Terrail, seigneur de Bayard (Chevalier Bayard). *See under* Herter, Albert
Lewes, George Henry, 59–60, 61–62, 64nn24–25
Lewis, Norman, 17, 20
Leyland, Frances (Mrs. Frederick R.), 31–32, 74
Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland (Whistler), 18, 31, 87, *89*
Leyland, Frederick R., 151–154, 155–156
collection, 2, 150–151, 154, 155, 177
dispute with Whistler, 68, 70–71, 76, 79n27, 151, 158
house at 49 Prince's Gate, 1, 2–3, 151–152, *152,* 154, 177
portraits of, 87, *88*
Leyland Line, 152, 153–154
Liberty & Co.; Liberty's, 76, 134n56
Library of Congress, 17, 34
Lichtenstein, Roy, 20
Lindsay, Sir Coutts, 155
Lippincott's Magazine, 65n34
Liquid Paper, 9, 16
Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association, 153–154
Lochnan, Katharine, 17, 19, 21
The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler, 17, 21, 32
Whistler, Turner, Monet, 21
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 17
Loti, Pierre, 101n4, 103n16
Louise, Princess, 76
Lucas, George, 17
Lucy, Henry, 157
Ludovici, A. J., 111
"With Yearnings for Your Intense Joy," 111, *111*
Luks, George, 43, 174
Lunder, Peter and Paula, viii, 17
Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies, vii, viii, 5, 10, 15
Lunder Foundation, vii, 35
Luxembourg Gardens, 89, 94
Whistler's lithographs of, *97,* 97–101, *98, 99*
Luxembourg Museum, 93, 94–109. *See also* *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of*

the Painter's Mother
Lyceum Theatre, 29
Lysack, Kristin, 131

MacColl, D. S., 95, 102nn7–8
MacDonald, Helen, 19, 21
MacDonald, Kathy, 19
MacDonald, Norman, 18, 19
Macmillan's Magazine, 110
MacMonnies, Frederick, 179
Magazine of Art, 56, 111, 117
Mallarmé, Stéphane, 18, 82, 95, 99–100, 101n4, 102n15, 103n17
"Billet à Whistler," 99
Manet, Edouard, 93
Olympia, 96
Mansfield, Howard, 33, 158, 159–160
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etchings and Dry-Points of James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1909), 27
Marillier, H. C., 129
Marin, John, 17
Marley, Anna, 17
Mary, Queen of Scots, 97
Matisse, Henri, 22
Mauclair, Camille, 89–90
Maudsley, Henry, 59, 65n30
Maus, Octave, 85–86
May, Phil, 101n4
Mayor's Committee on National Defense for the City of New York, 174
Meacock, Joanna, 19
Meiji Bijutsukai (Meiji Fine Arts Society), 166
Meiji Restoration, 7, 157, 168, 169
Menpes, Mortimer, 166
photogravure of Whistler, *2*
Mercure de France, 82
Merton Abbey, 141
Meryon, Charles, 19
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 34, 174, 183n14
Michelangelo: A Life on Paper (Barkan), 20
Michigan-Peninsular Car Company, 159
Miles, Hamish, 18
Millais, John Everett, 76
Millet, Jean-François, 43
Milwaukee Public Library, 47
Mind, 59
mind-body distinction. *See* dualism
Miró, Joan, 182
modernism, 7, 129, 182
Monet, Claude, 57
Monkhouse, Cosmo, 150
Montesquiou-Fezensac, Comte Robert de, 87, *88*
Moore, Albert, 82, 141
Beads, 109, *109*
female imagery, 107, 109, *109,* 116
An Open Book, 114, *114*
A Venus, 150–151
Morris, Jane Burden, 71, 109–110, *110,* 116
Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., 68
Morris, William, 10, 67, 73, 137–141, 142, 143. *See also* Kelmscott House; Kelmscott Manor
Bird, 138
The Forest, 140
Kennet, 142, *142*
Peacock and Dragon, 138
Pimpernel, 139, *139,* 141
Poppy, 137, 137–138
Strawberry Thief, 140
Vine, 138, *138,* 139–140
Morris and Co.
1 Holland Park morning room, 140, *140*
Green Dining Room, 68, *68*
Mucha, Alphonse, 169
Munsey's Magazine, 39
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 46
museum displays, 43–48, 130
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Art of the Americas wing, 8, 39–49
installation views, *44, 45,* 46, *47*
Karolik Collection, *41,* 44
Whistler collection, 8, 41–43, *44,* 44, *45,* 46, *47,* 47–48, 49n9
Museum of Living Art, 182
Muther, Richard, 85
Myōjō (art and literature magazine), 169, *169,* 170

National Gallery of Art. *See also* Center for Advanced Study in the History of Art
bequests, 19–20
French galleries, 40
Treasure Houses of Britain (exhibition), 44–45
Whistler collection, 17, 19–20, 34
nationality/nationalism, 39, 40–41, 44, 47
naturalistic art, 58
Nature, 59
networks. *See* social networking
New York, Bryant Park. *See* American Eagle Hut
New York Public Library, 34, 35
New York Sun, 64n23
New York Times, 21, 22, 23, 40, 45, 175, 178, 180, 182
Nicholson, William, 174
Nochlin, Linda, 16
Nocturne (Sutton), 18

Obach & Co., 33
O'Keeffe, Georgia, 17, 20
O'Neill, Morna, 136–137
Ovid

Metamorphoses, 71–72, 77
Owen, Alex
The Place of Enchantment, 74

Pall Mall Gazette, 74
Pan no kai (Association of the Greek god of Pan), 170, 172n22
Paris
rue de Rome, 99
rue du Bac, 95
rue Notre Dame des Champs (Whistler's studio), 9, *81,* 81–91, 93–101, *93*
Paris World's Fair, 1878. *See* Expositions Universelles
Parliamentary Papers
"The Method Adopted at the Port of Montreal for Stowing Grain Cargoes," 154, *154*
Partch, Harry, 22
Partridge, J. Bernard
The White Feather, 116, 116–117
Pater, Walter
on Aestheticism, 10, 69, 121, 142, 143
alchemy imagery, 72–73
influence on Whistler, 68–69, 72–73
"Poems by William Morris," 69
The Renaissance, 69, 72
Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 35
Peabody and Stearns, 46
Peacock Room. *See Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*
The Peacock Room Comes to America (exhibition, 2011), 3, 5, 21–22
peacocks, 70–73, 123, 138
Pearson, Roger, 99
Peladan, Joséphine Sâr, 93
Pels, Peter, 128
Peninsular and Oriental Steam Ship Company (P&O), 71, 156–157
Pennell, Elizabeth Robins, 17, 27, 156
Pennell, Joseph, 17, 27, 102n8, 156
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 17, 33
Perry, Commodore Matthew C., 165
Perry, Thomas, 48
Pershing, General John J., 181, *181*
Pershing's Crusaders (film), 181
publicity poster, *181*
Petit gallery, 84
Petri, Grischka, 19
Philadelphia Museum of Art, 34
Philip, Rosalind Birnie, 30
Phillips, Duncan, 173
Phillips Collection, 17
physiological aesthetics, 55–62
Picasso, Pablo, 182
Poe, Edgar Allen, 78–79n18
Poggi, Christine, 7
Pointon, Marcia, 124
Polke, Sigmund
Hermes Trismegistos I–IV, 72, *72*
Pope, Alfred Atmore, 42, 158, 159
Pope, Theodate (Mrs. John Riddle), 42
Postlethwaite, Jellaby, 112
Pottery and Glass Trades' Journal, 154
Poynter, Edward
Helen, 126, *126,* 133n28
Prettejohn, Elizabeth, 7, 141, 143, 150
Prince's Gate. *See under* Leyland, Frederick R.
Princess Louise, 76
Punch magazine, 107–108, 109, 110–112, 142. *See also* Du Maurier, George

Quarterly Review, 59
Queen, 126
Quilter, Harry ('Arry), 74, 78n15, 110

Rae, George, 125
Rathbone, Perry, 42
Rembrandt (Rembrandt van Rijn), 20
The Artist's Mother Seated, in an Oriental Headdress, Half Length, 96
The Artist's Mother Seated at a Table, 96
Revillon, Joseph W., 27
Ribner, Jonathan, 57
Riddle, Mrs. John, 42
Rivett-Carnac Collection, 132n26
Robert, Thomas, 102n7
Robertson, Graham, 129
Rochefoucauld, Comte Antoine de la, 101n4
Rodin, Auguste, 82
Rogers, Malcolm, 45
Rosenwald, Lessing J., 17, 19
Rosenwald Collection, 17, 20
Ross, Denman, 42
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 10, 59, 71, 74, 113–131, 121, 151
Astarte Syriaca, 124
The Beloved (The Bride), 124, 124–125, 128–129, 133n43
The Blue Bower, 107–108, 123, 124, *124,* 125
Bocca Baciata, 125, 126
Fair Rosamund, 124
female imagery, 107–108, 130
in Leyland's collection, *152,* 154
Monna Pomona, 132n20
Monna Vanna, 125, 126, 127, *127,* 133n29
Perlascura, 109, *110*
photograph of, *121*
La Pia de'Tolomei, 110
Regina Cordium, 132n20
"The Burden of Nineveh," 130
Tudor House, 71, 122–123

Rossetti, William Michael, 57, 71, 107, 129
Rothenstein, William, 94, 102n7
Rothko, Christopher, 16
Rothko, Mark, 20
The Artist's Reality, 16
Rowlandson, Thomas, 19
Royal Academy, 39, 135, 136
Royal Library at Windsor, 33
Ruskin, John, 68, 74, 141
Ryder, Albert Pinkham, 44

Sakai Gisaburō (Saisui)
"Whistler, a Critical Biography," 167, *167*
Salon des Refusés, 86
Sambourne, Linley
"Fancy Portrait No. 37," 112
Sarasate, Pablo de, 87
Sargent, John Singer, 39–40, 46, 101n4
La Carmencita, 96
Sartre, Jean-Paul
The Age of Reason, 101
Satō Haruo, 170
"Supein-ken no ie" (The House of a Spanish Dog), 170
Saturday Review, 59
Schaffer, Talia, 114
Scudder, Janet, 178
Seated Woman and an Attendant (Greek), *96,* 96–97
Segalen, Victor, 130
Shaw, Richard Norman, 177
Sherard, Robert Harborough, *93,* 101n6
interview with Whistler, 93–96, 98–99, 101nn2–3, 102n15
Shinagawa Yajiro
letter from Hayashi Tadamasa, 166, *166*
Shinn, Earl (Edward Strahan), 177
Shinshisha (New Poetry Society), 169
Simpson, Marc
Like Breath on Glass: Whistler, Inness, and the Art of Painting Softly, 21
Sinfield, Alan, 119n16
Sinnett, A. P., 74
Sketch (Japanese magazine), 167
Smalley, George, 39
Smithsonian American Art Museum, 17, 21
Smithsonian Institution, 161. *See also* Freer Gallery of Art
social networks and networking, 8, 9, 10, 94, 151–152, 155, 156–158, 160, 165
Société Nationale, 47
Society of Art Collectors, Incorporated, 160
Society of British Artists, 136
Sotheby's, 34
Southampton, 157
South Kensington Museum. *See* Victoria and Albert Museum
Sparks, Nathaniel, 30
Special Collections, University of Glasgow, 28
Speke Hall, *31,* 31–34, *32*
Spencer, Herbert, 59
Spencer, Robin, 18, 154
"Whistler, Manet, and the Tradition of the Avant-Garde," 21
Splendor Solis, 72, 74
Spooner, Elizabeth, 46
Standard, 62n5
Steer, Philip Wilson
Children Paddling, Walberswick, 99–100, *100*
Steichen, Edward, 47
Stephens, F. G., 126, 128
Stetz, Margaret, 115
Strether, Lambert, 100–101
Suez Canal, 156
Sully, James, 59–60, 64n27, 65nn31–32
Sutherland, Sir Thomas, 156, 157
Sutton, Denys
Nocturne, 18
Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 59, 64n23, 76, 113, 119n3
William Blake: A Critical Essay, 76
Symbolists, 7, 9, 82, 84–86, 88, 90, 98
Symons, Arthur, 57, 149–150, 151
Syracuse University Art Galleries, 34

Tack, Augustus Vincent, 174
Tanner, Henry Ossawa, 17
Henry Ossawa Tanner: Modern Spirit (exhibition), 17
Taylor, Edward, 78–79n18
Tedeschi, Martha, 19
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord
"The Palace of Art," 1, 10, 149, 173, 182
Terra Foundation, 21
Terry, Ellen, 29, 76
Thayer, Abbott, 161
Thomas, Ralph
A Catalogue of the Etchings and Drypoints of James Abbott Macneil Whistler, 27
Thomas Colville Fine Art, 35
Thorp, Nigel, 18, 21
Tiffany, Louis Comfort, 46
Times, The (London), 156
Toyama Masakazu
"The Future of Japanese Painting," 166
Tree, Beerbohm, 29
Trimosin, Salomon
Peacock in Flask, 72
Tryon, Dwight William, 158
Tudor House, 71, 122–123
Turin exhibition of 1902, 136–137
Turner, Whistler, Monet (exhibition), 17

UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, 34
Union League Club, New York, 33
United States Military Academy at West Point, 40
University of Glasgow, 28, 31, 34, 35
Lunder Consortium for Whistler Studies, vii, 5
University of Michigan, 31, 34
University of Reading, 93

Vanderbilt, Alice, 178
Vanderbilt, George Washington, 87
Vanderbilt, Mrs. William K., 176
Vanderbilt, William H., mansion
Japanese Parlor, 177–178, *178*
van Gogh, Vincent, 82
Vanity Fair
Talon Rouge, 77
Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva
Las Meninas, 82
Venice Set, 28
Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly the South Kensington Museum), 67
jewelry, 125–126, 132nn20,26
Vienna World's Fair (1873), 165
Vogel, Dorothy and Herbert, 20
Volpini Exhibition (1889), 102–103n15
Vuillard, Edouard, 100, 103n19
Mother and Sister of the Artist, 103n19
The Park, 100
Public Gardens: The Interrogation, 100, *100*

Walker, Emery, 139
Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, 34
Wallace & Flockhart, 156
Warhol, Andy, 22
Warring, Stephen, 159
Waseda bungaku (literary magazine), 169
Watney, Blanche, 2, 178
Waugh, Evelyn, 129
Way, Thomas, 174
Webb, Philip, 67
Wedmore, Frederick, 110, 112
Whistler's Etchings: A Study and a Catalogue, 27
Weinberg, Jonathan, 96
Weir, J. Alden, 174
Westminster Gazette, 101n3
Westminster Review, 59
Whirlwind, 99
Whistler, Anna Matilda, 18, 55, 76, 96. *See also Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*
Whistler, Beatrice, 18, 27, 30, 32, 97
portraits of, 29–30, *30*
View from the Chateau Walls, Loches, 30, *30*
Whistler, James McNeill
aesthetic networks, vii, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15–25, 30, 32, 39–40, 43, 46–47, 59, 60, 64n23, 68–69, 71, 73–74, 76, 78n18, 82, 98, 102n15, 157, 159, 165, 166–167, 169–170, 173, 179–180
and alchemy, 9, 47, 67, 71, 72–76
and Art for Art's Sake, 7–8, 10, 31, 57–58, 108, 112, 143, 150, 165, 173, 181
childhood, 97, 98, 100
children, 98
conflict between spiritual and material aspects of art, 68, 69, 71, 75–76
correspondence, 18, 28, 70, 73–74, 76, 79n27, 96
etchings, 19–20, 27, 28, 29–30, 32, 33, 75–76, 79n23, 95
as exhibition designer, 21, 136
finances, 32, 42, 68, 69, 71, 75–76, 78n15, 79n27, 151, 156, 157
The Gentle Art of Making Enemies, 165, 167
interest in the occult, 74
lithographs, 20, 28, 94
physiological aesthetics, 55–56, 59, 61, 62
portraits of, 2, 29–30, 47
hand of, by Leclercq, 82, *84,* 89–90, 92n19
Head of Whistler, 29
in Paris studio, *81, 82, 83*
The White Feather, 116, 116–117
publicity, 28, 75–76
"Red Rag," 166
Ten O'Clock (lecture), 7, 47, 69, 72, 73–74, 75, 165, 167, 170, 173
White House, 78n15, 156
works by (*see also Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother; Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*)
Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket, 87
Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, 87, *88*
Arrangement in Black: La Dame au brodequin jaune—Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell, 89, *89*
Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F. R. Leyland, 87, *88*
Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder, 87
Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle, 170
Arrangement in White and Black, 116, 117
L'Art et L'Argent; or, the Story of the Room, 69, *69*
An Artist in His Studio, Seated before a Table (ca. 1856), 81, *82*
The Artist in His Studio (1865–66), 81–82, *83*
Balustrade, Luxembourg Gardens, 102n14
The Band, Luxembourg Gardens, 102n14

Bébés, Jardin du Luxembourg, 102n14
Bird-Cages, Chelsea, 29, *29*
The Blue Wave, Biarritz, 42
[Canfield's portrait], 42
Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen, 32, 168, *168*
The Church–Brussels (Adoration), 29
Conversation under the Statue, Luxembourg Gardens, 97, *99*
Cutler Street, Houndsditch, 29
Emanuel Hospital, 30
From Agnes Sorrel's Walk, Loches, 30, *30*
The Gold Scab: Eruption in Filthy Lucre (The Creditor), 69, *69*
Gretchen at Heidelberg, 29
The Guitar Player (M.W. Ridley), 32
Harmony in Black, No. 10, 116–117
Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red, 42, 46
Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander, 55, *55*
Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl—Connie Gilchrist, 58, *58*
The Last of Old Westminster, 41, *41,* 42, 44, 46
Little Rose of Lyme Regis, 41, 43, *44, 45,* 46
Little Terrace, Luxembourg Gardens (G.443), 102n14
The Little Terrace, Luxembourg Gardens (G.444), 102n14
Market Place, Ostend ("Market, Calais"), 27
The Master Smith of Lyme Regis, 41, 43, *44,* 46
Mother of Pearl and Silver: The Andalusian, 87–88
Nocturne: Blue and Gold—Old Battersea Bridge, 56, *56,* 171
Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Battersea Reach, 57, *57*
Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Cremorne Lights, 57, *57*
Nocturne: Grey and Silver, 61
Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Water, 157
Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice, 42–43, *43, 44,* 46
Nocturnes, 169
Nursemaids: "Les Bonnes du Luxembourg," 97–98, *99,* 99–100
The Pantheon, from the Terrace of the Luxembourg Gardens (C.70), 97, *98*
The Pantheon from the Terrace, Luxembourg Gardens (G. 473), 102n14
The Piano (G.144), 32
Polichinelle, Jardin du Luxembourg, 102n14
La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine, 68, 125, *150,* 150–151, 160
La Rétameuse, 29
Shipbuilder's Yard, Liverpool, 32
The Silk Dress, 32
"Songs on Stone," 99
Speke Hall: The Avenue, 31, 31–34
Under the Statue, Luxembourg Gardens, 102n14
The Steps, Luxembourg, 97, *97*
Street in Old Chelsea, 42, 46, *47*
Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland, 18, 31, 87, *89*
Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl, 86, 86–87, 179
Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl, 108, 108–109, 113
Symphony in White, No. 3, 41, 109, *109,* 114
The Terrace, Luxembourg, 97–98, *98*
Tillie: A Model, 32
The Tyresmith, 99
The Velvet Dress, 31
Venice Set, 28
Venus Rising from the Sea, 159
View from the Chateau Walls, Loches, 30, *30*
A Winter Fog, 62n5
Woman Sleeping in a Chair, 29–30, *30*
Whistler, William, 96
Whistler Etchings Project, 9, 19, 27–37
Whistler's Mother's Cook Book, 18–19
Whistler v. Ruskin, 65n38, 75, 169
Whittemore, J. H., 158, 159
Wilde, Oscar, 93, 101n6, 110, 112
  The Picture of Dorian Gray, 94
Wood, T. Martin, 114
Wordsworth, William, 73
World, 63n11
World's Columbian Exposition (1893), Chicago, 29, 160
World War I
  artists' contributions, 10, 176–182
  "Fight for Her" (poster), *175*
  "Old Age Must Come" (poster), *176*
World War II, 44
Wunderlich gallery, 42. *See also* H. Wunderlich & Co., New York

Yates, Edmund, 63n11
YMCA huts, 175–176. *See also* American Eagle Hut
Yōga (Western-style painting), 165, 168
Young, Andrew McLaren, 18

Zelman, Anita and Julius, 17
Zola, Émile, 82

Smithsonian Institution
Scholarly Press

MIX
Paper from
responsible sources
FSC® C007894